

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

VOLUME 112—PART 19

OCTOBER 5, 1966, TO OCTOBER 12, 1966

(PAGES 25175 TO 26444)

11 4

order to carry out the policies of America abroad, American as a whole has made it the first order of business to get that war done first. I don't care. You can bring up all the programs that have to do with welfare and space and all the rest. Everything must take a back seat to winning the war and that's what I believe in.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, it seems equally appropriate and fair, because of General Eisenhower's repeated emphasis upon his support of President Johnson in his conduct of our foreign affairs, that I ask unanimous consent that the text of President Johnson's comments on this issue, as made yesterday in his press conference, also be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 7, 1966]

POLICY ON VIETNAM

(President Johnson's press conference remarks as taken from a transcript of his remarks on Thursday, Oct. 6, 1966)

Mr. LISAGER (question). Former President Eisenhower has said we should use whatever is necessary not excluding nuclear weapons, to end the fighting in Vietnam.

What do you think of such a proposal?

Answer. Without passing on the accuracy of your quotation of President Eisenhower, I would say it is the policy of this Government to exercise the best judgment of which we are capable in an attempt to provide the maximum deterrence with a minimum involvement. The easiest thing we could do is get in a larger war with other nations.

We are constantly concerned with the dangers of that. At the same time, we have no desire to capitulate or to retreat. So it has been the policy of your present Administration to provide the strength that General Westmoreland felt was necessary: to prevent the aggressor from succeeding without attempting to either conquer or to invade, or to destroy North Vietnam.

Our purpose is a limited one and that is to permit self-determination for the people of South Vietnam. We are going to be concerned with any effort that might take on more far-reaching objectives or implications.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, finally, because of its objective and helpful assessment of this question, an editorial from the Baltimore Sun of October 5 deserves the attention and consideration of the press, the Congress and the public. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the full text of that editorial also be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

NUCLEAR STRATEGY

Against the background of his own earlier remarks about the Korean war of 1950-1953, former President Eisenhower's comments on the war in Vietnam are less startling than they seemed at first glance. In the first volume of his presidential memoirs, General Eisenhower reported on a talk he had with President Truman shortly after the start of the war in Korea. He wrote that he said to Mr. Truman:

"Our nation has appealed to the use of force. We must make sure of success. We should move quickly to the necessary level of mobilization and begin at once to concentrate and use whatever forces may be required."

If this sounds familiar it is because it is substantially what General Eisenhower said last week during a press conference in Chi-

cago, and again on Monday in Washington, with respect to the war in Vietnam.

After he had become President himself, and the negotiations for an armistice in Korea were dragging inconclusively, General Eisenhower wrote in his book that he came to the conclusion that "definite measures" were needed to halt this intolerable condition.

"One possibility," he wrote, "was to let the Communist authorities understand that, in the absence of satisfactory progress, we intended to move decisively without inhibition in our use of weapons, and would no longer be responsible for confining hostilities to the Korean Peninsula. We would not be limited by any world-wide gentleman's agreement. In India and in the Formosa Straits area, and at the truce negotiations at Panmunjon, we dropped the word, discreetly, of our intentions. We felt quite sure it would reach Soviet and Chinese Communist ears. Soon the prospects for armistice negotiations seemed to improve."

In other words, this was intended to be a notice that the United States would not bar the use of nuclear weapons to bring the Korean war to an end. (The Soviet Union had tested its first atomic devices by that time: Red China, of course, had not.)

There is no conclusive evidence in the Western world that the warning in itself caused the Communist side to take a more amenable position toward an armistice. The late John Foster Dulles, who was then Secretary of State, let it be known in Washington that he thought the warning had reached the right persons and was a factor in the Communist action. General Eisenhower, in his book and in subsequent comments, showed his own agreement with the Dulles thesis.

General Eisenhower would seem to have somewhat the same thing in mind now with respect to Vietnam. He is saying that he would not "automatically preclude anything" necessary to bring the war to an end. He would not publicly promise that the United States would not use nuclear weapons under any circumstances in Vietnam.

Former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, a lawyer as well as a politician, made this comment on General Eisenhower's statement: "I don't believe he was really recommending the use of nuclear weapons. He was simply saying that you don't inform the enemy on what you intend to do."

President Johnson has shown by his actions thus far, as well as by his many statements, that he intends to bring the war in Vietnam to an honorable conclusion without using nuclear weapons. He has not threatened to use them but he has not publicly or "automatically" excluded them. Nor did President Truman during the Korean war.

Thus the present discussion of what General Eisenhower said about nuclear weapons, and what can be inferred from his words, has little real application to the facts in Vietnam. The discussion could be damaging to the United States position if it causes others to think there is any substantial sentiment in this country for the use of such weapons or for an expansion of the war.

ARTICLE BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY ON "THE SHIRT-SLEEVES WAR IN VIETNAM"

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, most of what we read, see, and hear as regards Vietnam concerns the battle of bullets and bombs, of armed combat in the jungles, mountains, and rice paddies.

But there is another "war" being waged in Vietnam. It is the fight to

help the civilian population to attain a higher standard of living. It is part of mankind's oldest effort—against disease, illiteracy, and hunger. In this fight, almost all Americans see eye to eye. Few among our people are opposed to the humanitarian aid we are providing to a nation which, for more than 20 years, has been torn by war.

The American men and women who are engaged in this peaceful struggle deserve our highest praise. Their sacrifice, skill, and diligence are well described in an article by Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY in the April-June 1966 issue of the Civil Service Journal. The article is entitled "The Shirt-Sleeves War in Vietnam." It is based upon the Vice President's personal findings during his trip to Vietnam, in addition to subsequent information which he has compiled.

In an attached statement, the Vice President has specifically commended personnel of the Agency for International Development in that embattled land.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Vice President's article including his tribute to AID personnel be printed in the RECORD.

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

SHIRT-SLEEVES WAR IN VIETNAM

(By HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Vice President of the United States)

When I went to Vietnam at the direction of the President last winter, a high official of the South Vietnamese government said to me on the plane from Honolulu to Saigon: "We are 12 years late . . . but it is not too late."

He was referring to the reforms needed to give his 15 million people a better life. He was looking beyond the war which has ravaged his country. What gave him hope were advances under the new development program, the agricultural advances, the 2,300 schools built, the 6,200,000 textbooks printed and distributed in the past 3 years.

He has reason for hope. Throughout Vietnam there are visible signs of progress—a new well dug, a clinic constructed, a school roofed, a fish pond stocked. In themselves they may not seem much, especially in relation to the needs. But they are steps in the right direction.

The United States is helping take those steps too. During fiscal year 1966 the Agency for International Development, which administers economic assistance, committed \$729 million in aid, including agricultural products distributed through the Public Law 480 Food for Peace program.

AID maintains its largest mission in Vietnam. More than a thousand Americans are directly hired or under contract. They, and the 1,600 Vietnamese and 300 citizens of other Free World countries who are employed by AID, are fighting what has been called "the other war in Vietnam." I call it "the shirtsleeves war." Through personal observations and staff assistance I have pulled together some information on that war and the dedicated freedom-loving civilians who are fighting it. I know firsthand how vitally important their battle is—and I saw how doggedly they are waging it. Their efforts, their resourcefulness, their bravery, and their determination fill me with pride—which I want to share with others.

"THERE IS NO LIMIT . . ."

AID's headquarters are in Saigon, but most of the work is done in the provinces. AID

has assigned a representative, and in most cases an assistant, to direct the AID program in each of the 43 provinces.

The "prov rep" is the American AID man who, more than any other, makes it possible to say, "we are not too late." An AID prov rep must be a little of everything. He knows how to fill out an invoice for a bulk shipment of steel bars and cement, and he knows how to build a makeshift wheelchair for an invalid child. He can compose and dispatch clear reports to Washington and he can teach tribal women how to cook bulgur wheat. He can live for days in a cave if he has to, and he can breathe underwater through a straw in a rice paddy.

There is no limit, it seems, on what an AID man must do in Vietnam. One moonlit night last year, Sanford (Sandy) Stone, of Cleveland, Ohio, a Deputy Regional Representative for AID, found himself sitting in a mortar pit, hoping the Viet Cong would agree with him that it was too beautiful—and too brilliant—a night to fight.

"I kept saying to myself," he said in telling about it later, "Stone, you spent 21 years in the army: What are you doing here as a civilian?"

The village of Song Be had been attacked the week before; the AID Provincial Representative had been sent back to Saigon with the body of his murdered Filipino assistant, and Sandy had been sent in to see what he could do to help the townspeople recover from the assault. Sandy saw to it that food was shipped in from Saigon, enlisted four volunteers to restring the electric power lines, recruited more people to lay enough water pipe to supply the hospital and provincial headquarters with water.

With the assistance of a Vietnamese officer he assembled work crews, offering wages of one AID can of cooking oil a day per man.

"We've got to do something to change the scenery around here," he told the people. The workers appeared—men, women and children—and within a couple of days shattered stores had been cleared away, and a bomb crater filled in. Roofing provided by AID covered the town market and the remaining damage was erased.

The work helped morale, Sandy said. "There's a psychological uplift," he said, "in people doing something for themselves like building a market. If they put their own effort into it, it means that much more."

Other problems arose. The hospital had no food, so Sandy arranged for rice and vegetables. Dead Viet Cong lying around the countryside were breeding grounds for diseases that could be spread by flying insects. Sandy requested DDT teams.

About 5 days after the attack, intelligence reports came to the defenders of Song Be that two Viet Cong battalions were returning to finish the job their companions had muffed earlier. Every man was called for guard duty, and Sandy, a veteran of World War II and Korea who had only retired from the Army in August 1963, found himself back in a set of fatigues in the mortar pit in the American military compound.

"Fortunately," he said, "it was a beautiful, moonlit night. If I had been in charge of the forces attacking, I would have called it off." The Viet Cong apparently felt the same way because they never came.

Sandy has expressed the situation well. "In Vietnam," he said, "we are faced with a new kind of war where a purely military solution is impossible. Unless military action is combined with social, political, and economic improvements so the rural people are given a stake in their country worth defending, there can be no permanent victory here over communism."

It is the AID prov rep who brings home to the farmers and the fishermen of Vietnam the understanding that Americans are fighting for more than just military victories,

that we are also fighting "the other war"—the war against poverty, ignorance, and disease. We are there not only with soldiers, sailors and airmen, but with nurses, teachers and farm experts.

Last year, AID medical personnel assisted the Vietnamese in administering 23 million inoculations for cholera, smallpox, the plague, and other diseases—enough for one and a half shots for every man, woman, and child in the entire country. AID has also helped build and stock 12,500 rural health clinics—an average of one for every hamlet. More than 9,000 elementary and secondary school classrooms have been added. To grow better crops and increase farm income, AID has helped distribute nearly 100,000 tons of fertilizer under the Vietnam Government's credit fertilizer program.

All of these statistics point in one direction: nation-building. The opportunity to help save and build a nation is the real challenge for the United States in Vietnam. It is a challenge of enormous proportions. Even without a war, the task would be an awesome one. The average Vietnamese has an income equivalent to \$115 a year. Less than half the people can read and write. There are only 200 Vietnamese civilian doctors.

To relieve this situation, AID hires its own doctors when it can, gets help from the Public Health Service through doctors on loan, and finances a program started last summer called Project Vietnam. Under this program, American doctors can volunteer for 60 days' service in a Vietnamese provincial hospital. The dollar cost of AID's health programs this year will be about \$45 million.

One of Project Vietnam's volunteers, Dr. Martin Funk of Park Ridge, Ill., reported to the 66-bed hospital in the city of Kontum in central Vietnam's remote highlands to find only one Vietnamese doctor available to treat the needs of the 74,000 citizens. There was no clinic for outpatient treatment.

"My primary concern in medicine is to keep people well," Dr. Funk said. "I am interested in controlling ailments in their early stages so people don't have to go to the hospital." That's why he decided to begin an out-patient clinic.

"I started with nothing," he said. "No interpreter, technicians, nurses, or medications." He got an extra room in the hospital for his clinic, painted it, and put in fluorescent lights and running water. A United States Army doctor stationed in Kontum volunteered to help with the clinic.

"We started with a couple of bottles of pills and 20 patients," he said.

News about the clinic began to spread. In less than 2 months Dr. Funk was handling as many as 121 patients in a single morning.

Weekends, Dr. Funk went to villages in the province with American soldiers to hold sick call. Some of the villagers had never seen an American before.

"Usually when we went into a village, they would seem apprehensive," he related. "But after 5 or 10 minutes, they would start to relax and by the time I left, they would be very amiable."

"We would always try to leave the message with the people that if they were ill, they should come to the clinic for care."

Many of them did come, including Viet Cong prisoners brought in by the police. Their diseases included pneumonia, arthritis, tapeworm, diarrhea, and tuberculosis.

"I think I have seen more TB here than in my entire practice at home," he said.

Why did a successful doctor with a comfortable practice in the heart of America volunteer to travel halfway around the world and put himself in the middle of a remote and primitive society, hundreds of years behind all that he was accustomed to? Dr. Funk says he went to Vietnam "because there

was something to be done, and I wanted to help."

A MILLION REFUGEES

The battle to overcome the problems that beset the Vietnamese is made more difficult by the swelling numbers of refugees. The fighting has created almost 1 million refugees—mostly women and children who have been forced to flee from their homes. AID men and women help these refugees at first to maintain themselves, and then to find new homes. There are 235 refugee camps in the country, mostly in the coastal areas.

Through the Government of Vietnam, AID sees that foodstuffs are distributed, that tin roofing is put up over the new homes, that latrines are dug and clinics established. Already nearly 500,000 refugees have been resettled through AID's assistance.

Frank Wisner, 27, a native of Washington, D.C., is one of the AID employees helping the refugees. In a small camp 55 miles from Saigon, he works side by side with the Vietnamese.

"When I first came here, the people wouldn't talk to me," he said. "They didn't know what to think, being forced out of their homes and thinking they had nowhere to go. I speak Vietnamese, and now that they know I am here to help them, they talk to me all the time."

The farmers Wisner referred to were part of 25,000 refugees in Dinh Tuong Province, the scene of some of the fiercest fighting in the Delta south of Saigon. Wisner is assistant provincial representative, and he sees to it that the refugees get clothing, food, medical care, housing, and finally the means to earn a living. For one family he helped establish a small furniture-making operation so that they could earn their own living on the market.

To the north, in the port city of Danang, another provincial operations officer is equally successful in quite a different way. Roger Burgess of Holyoke, Mass., is a former vice president of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union. He reported for duty in Vietnam last September. Vietnamese newcomers are not Burgess' major problem, but the sudden arrival of thousands of American military personnel has created heavy demands on the city's transportation, electricity, and garbage disposal systems. A community relations council has been established to help iron out differences, and Burgess has helped increase the cargo handling ability of the port.

At a recent livestock fair in Danang, Burgess says, American pigs were the biggest hit. Burgess plans to distribute another 300 of them around the farming outskirts of Danang before the end of spring. AID's so-called pig-corn program has been one of the Agency's outstanding success stories. It was started in 1963 by a former chairman of the Federal Farm Credit Board, Earl Brockman, poultry farmer from Idaho. The program is a joint effort of the National Federation of Agricultural Cooperation Associations of Vietnam, which distributes supplies and offers credit to buy the pigs. The AID Mission provides cement for the pigsties and surplus feed grains for the pigs. The program has put tens of thousands of Vietnamese farmers into the pig-raising business. The cost to AID is about \$6 per family for the concrete. The feed comes from Food for Peace stocks.

Here is another example of the way AID's prov reps work:

In Kien Phong Province, which is an area along the meandering Mekong River, prov rep Robert M. Traister of Liverpool, N.Y., received a visit from a village elder named Nguyen Van Tram. A former chief, Van Tram had earlier been kidnapped by the communists who sliced off his index finger and sent it to his wife in a ransom demand. He was ransomed, but before he was released,

the Viet Cong told him they would kill him if he "worked for the enemy."

This didn't stop Nguyen Van Tram. He decided to work even harder for his people. He took a 40-mile trip down the Mekong to the capital of Cao Lanh, and there he looked for AID's Bob Traister. He asked Traister for AID's help in building a school for 600 children. Van Tram said that if AID would furnish the building materials, he would donate the land. The property he gave was worth about 10 years' pay for an average Vietnamese.

Soon Van Tram and Traister were on a boat with a supply of cement, steel, and roofing. Back at the hamlet of Phu Loi where Van Tram owned his property, the people were told of the joint project and immediately pitched in. The combination of AID materials, the village elder's land, and the people's own labor built a 2-room schoolhouse. Today a new 3-room addition is under construction.

This may seem like a little bit—two rooms and another three rooms—for a country that is embroiled in a life-and-death struggle and that needs almost everything. But it is this spirit of cooperation, this sacrificing and this working together that will bring victory in this "other war" we are fighting.

A demonstration project I visited in Vietnam was staffed by teenagers from the Eighth District of Saigon—a badly rundown slum, the worst in the city. Under the leadership of those students, however, a group of refugee families had converted what had been an abandoned and water-filled graveyard into an attractive and orderly neighborhood of new homes. A community center and a new school were being built, and local officials had been elected by the people.

Sometimes success with needed projects can, instead of easing the burdens, actually make more work for the prov rep. One man who had a particularly large influx of refugees in his coastal province had to work night and day to help reestablish them in new homes nearby.

That same prov rep—Richard Kriegel of Arlington, Va.—once slept five nights alone in an abandoned hamlet to prove to the former inhabitants who had fled that the Viet Cong were not in control and that they, the owners of the homes, could return.

Americans like Kriegel are strengthening the Vietnamese people's faith in themselves and their will to resist communist domination.

AN ABUNDANCE OF COURAGE

This is hard and often dangerous work. For their Vietnamese counterparts, it can mean death. In 1965 alone, 354 of the Vietnamese engaged in rural development were assassinated; 500 were wounded. Since 1958, the Viet Cong have assassinated or kidnapped 61,000 village leaders and government representatives.

The Agency for International Development has not gone unscathed. Back in November 1960, a public safety advisor, Dolph Owens, on his way to conduct a class at Vung Tau on the coast was set upon by marauders about 7:30 a.m. and riddled with bullets. Another casualty was Joseph Grainger who, driving to a sugar cane experimental station 2 years ago, ran into a Viet Cong roadblock. As he tried to escape, his car was shot up and he was captured. Months later, he managed to elude his abductors only to be found by them days later hiding in a rice paddy. Once more trying to escape, he was murdered by the Viet Cong. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in awarding Grainger's widow a posthumous decoration for bravery, paid high tribute to the deceased. "Peace has its heroes as well as war," said the Secretary. Grainger's body was recently recovered and given a military burial at Arlington Cemetery.

One particular aspect of the Grainger tragedy concerns the abortive attempt of the V.C. to exploit their captive. After the kidnap-

ping, the V.C. tried parading Grainger, manacled, through the streets of the surrounding villages, telling the people: "Here is that imperialist American who was trying to exploit you." The V.C. soon were forced to give up their idea for propaganda and instead threw Grainger into solitary confinement. Instead of arousing anti-American sentiment among the villagers, he stimulated in return such statements as, "No, this is not a bad man. He has been our friend. He has been here before, and he helped us build this water well so we don't have to go all the way to the river for our water."

Half a year after Grainger was cut down in the rice paddy, Jack J. Wells was killed when the small plane in which he was riding was hit by Viet Cong ground fire and crashed.

When I was in Vietnam this past February I had the honor to accept the posthumous decoration bestowed by the Government of Vietnam on Peter Hunting, a young (24 years old) and dedicated worker with AID, a member of the International Voluntary Services, which under contract to AID, sends volunteers to underdeveloped countries around the world. Peter Hunting was killed by the V.C. last November in a province near the border of Cambodia. The Government of Vietnam wished to honor him in absentia for his efforts to help the people, and when I was there, I felt highly privileged to be able to accept the honor.

A year ago, a contract employee working for AID, John Cone, was cut down by the Viet Cong. Many AID men have had remarkably close calls. A prov rep, Travis King, escaped death during the V.C. attack on the provincial capital of Song Be by hiding out in another house just before they arrived. His assistant, a Filipino, who stayed behind to finish a letter to his wife, was killed.

Other men working for the AID Mission in Vietnam under contracts rather than as regular employees who have been killed by V.C. action include Max Lee Sinkler (April 1966), Jerry Rose (September 1965) and Clyde Summers (January 1962). In all, eight AID men have given their lives in this shirtsleeves war.

Two of AID's people now are in the hands of the Viet Cong. Gustav Hertz, who had headed the public administration division of the AID Mission to Vietnam, was captured in February 1965 while riding his motorbike just outside the city limits of Saigon. He has not been heard from since. The other, Douglas Ramsey, was one of AID's prov reps. Trying to deliver a truckload of rice far in the hinterland, he was halted by V.C. firing which wounded the driver of the truck. He was last seen in January being led away with his hands in the air.

Eleven have been wounded, some severely. The day after Christmas last year Tony Cistaro, an AID prov rep, suddenly found himself spread along a dirt road "with my legs in my lap." His jeep had struck a mine and was blown into the air. The U.S. Army major with him was killed instantly. A sergeant died on the way to the hospital. Tony survived, he is convinced, principally because the Viet Cong who had set off the mine thought he was already dead. Only half-conscious, he heard them rummaging around among the wreckage and then shortly one of them rolled him over, took his wallet and his watch, saying, "Cung chet" which means "also dead." Tony is in the U.S. Naval Hospital at Bethesda and will be there for many more months.

Despite his wounds, Tony wants to return. He says, "The greatest reward I've ever had is doing the work out there. No money they could pay me, no medals they could pin on me could ever match the satisfaction I got from the thanks of the Vietnamese people. They didn't have to say a word. I could see the appreciation in their eyes."

Vietnamese counterparts of Americans have been targets of the V.C. In the past 5

years, 13 malaria control workers have been killed and more than 150 others have been wounded or kidnapped. Still, the joint AID-Vietnam malaria control program is one of the most successful in that country. Begun in 1958 by AID technicians, it has now extended to include 83 percent of the population—people who are protected against the disease.

Vietnamese malaria teams have been trained and guided by people like Ray Collins, of Turners Falls, Mass., a malaria specialist with the AID Mission. Collins, who often travels into remote areas to observe the work of spray teams, has been fortunate. He has had no close calls with the Viet Cong in more than 4 years of service in Vietnam. His area of responsibility is the northern part of Vietnam from the demilitarized zone south past the port of Danang to the populous province of Quang Ngai. It includes rugged mountains along the Laotian border, where primitive mountain tribesmen live in villages near remote U.S. Army Special Forces camps, and the rich, rice-growing central lowlands.

The increasing intensity of the war has raised new problems for malaria control. Areas occupied by the Viet Cong cannot be sprayed, and people moving in and out of these areas spread the disease. The Viet Cong troops coming from North Vietnam also bring malaria with them.

One new program under consideration is to have the spray teams and malaria technicians work in areas that have been cleared by the U.S. military of Viet Cong control. This would enable the teams to become a useful part of assistance programs designed to regain the confidence of the people in their government, and to work as well in areas that may previously not have been sprayed. AID will provide the sprayers and supplies for the teams and part of Collins' responsibilities will be to see that they get there when needed.

A man who travels far and works out in the field with the people, Collins knows the advantages and the responsibilities of having to make decisions on his own. His kind of resourcefulness and initiative is what is needed in Vietnam, for much of the work is done in the provinces and programs must be organized from the bottom up.

FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

One of the most impressive features of AID in Vietnam is its decentralization. It does not insist on a headquarters, either Washington or Saigon, which must plan every move and, in so doing, possibly delay needed reforms. AID has its own internal strengths—its employees and their resourcefulness heading the list.

Sam Wilson, one of the top men in the provincial operations in Vietnam, said to me that the AID program is like cement. It brings together and it holds together the Vietnamese people and their government; both of them put something into the program to make it work. The Declaration of Honolulu pledges to make it work. That document says that "we are dedicated to the eradication of social injustice," and I say that document is a blueprint for peace and progress under freedom.

But the job cannot be done without dedicated motivated Americans who are willing to help fight the shirtsleeves war in all kinds of ways. AID needs agricultural advisors, teacher education advisors, sanitary engineers, and controllers and auditors for Vietnam. AID also needs doctors, medical technicians, nurses, secretaries, business managers, personnel officers, and specialists in transportation logistics, labor industry, and administration. The need is great—and urgent.

Americans have always responded to the needs of others—a characteristic that has made us a great people, a great Nation. And,

despite the dangers and hardships that go along with helping the people of Vietnam, American civilians are there with sleeves rolled up, doing battle just as surely as our military people are.

It's an unbeatable combination.

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S TRIBUTE TO AID PERSONNEL

During my visit to Vietnam, I was deeply impressed by the sacrifices brave Americans are making—both in the war of the battlefield and in the other war against human misery. I saw at firsthand what American courage and resourcefulness have achieved on both fronts.

Truly, our men in uniform have added to the laurels of our highest military tradition. But so, too, Americans in their shirtsleeves have accomplished near-miracles—helping Vietnamese civilians to build and rebuild their shattered society. AID personnel have gone wherever they are needed, enduring every conceivable hardship so as to get their vital job done. I have seen them serve side by side with the peasant and the laborer. They have proven themselves to be the friend of the refugee, the sick, the injured, and the orphaned. AID healing arts personnel have performed countless acts of mercy. AID supervisors have made possible innumerable acts of reconstruction—the digging of new wells, the building of new homes, schools, clinics.

Their are peaceful victories. Unfortunately, these triumphs tend to be obscured in the din of battle. Violence dominates the news. Most of what we read and hear from Vietnam still concerns the clash of arms. But what inspiring chapters Americans have written in the quiet war against man's ancient enemies—against hunger, illiteracy, and disease.

Our gallant "warriors in shirtsleeves" deserve our people's thanks and the gratitude of men and women of good will throughout the world.

I salute AID personnel. They are upholding America's noblest humanitarian traditions—helping others to help themselves.

DELAWARE WINS NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL "FLAME OF LIFE" AWARD FOR SECOND TIME

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the State of Delaware has again been selected to receive the "Flame of Life" Award from the National Safety Council. The presentation will be made on October 26, 1966, in Chicago.

This award is in recognition of Delaware having the best safety program with the best results of any State for the year 1965.

This award takes into consideration all aspects of Delaware's statewide accident safety program—on our streets and highways, on our farms, and in our schools, homes, and industrial concerns.

Delaware has now won this significant award twice. In 1962 it was given to our State for the 1961 activities year.

The Delaware Safety Council deserves special commendation for its outstanding efforts in promoting safety. James T. Ferri is the current president and the council's broad program is under the very able direction of J. James Ashton.

Delawareans have given the council their willing cooperation, and the combination of effort, skill, and dedication

has resulted in a safety program and record of which the State can be proud.

I take this opportunity to salute the citizens of Delaware and the Delaware Safety Council. Delaware is known as the First State. I hope it continues to be the first State in safety.

THE "NEW LEFT"

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, a new phenomenon has arisen on the American political scene, and it is one which can no longer be ignored. No longer can we say that the "new left" is simply a vociferous, activist minority, nothing to be truly concerned about, something which will fade away if we only pretend it does not exist.

The "new left" may be a vociferous, activist minority. But such minorities often influence events in a manner far out of proportion to their numbers. Revolutions are not made by disorganized majorities, but by tightly organized and committed minorities. We forget this lesson of history at our peril.

The "new left" has in recent months made a formal entrance on the American political scene. "New Left" candidates have challenged the seats held by incumbent Congressmen in many States. Dorothy Healy, a well-known west coast Communist leader, polled more than 80,000 votes in Los Angeles, and Herbert Aptheker, leading Communist theoretician, is running on a "Peace and Freedom" ticket for a congressional seat in New York City.

The "new left" with which we are faced is many things. In order to place it in proper perspective it is essential that we understand its real nature. A significant aid in understanding it is an article by Dr. Milorad M. Drachkovitch entitled "The New Left in the United States: A Critical Appraisal," which appears in the spring 1966 issue of *Western Political*, published at Stanford University.

One thing the "new left" has proven to be is the possessor of a moral double standard. Dr. Drachkovitch states:

... by espousing the cause of Vietcong, they put themselves uncritically on the side, as Albert Camus used to say, of the "privileged executioners". They were ready to advance to excuse all the excesses of the revolutionary fury ("nuns will be raped and bureaucrats will be disemboweled", said Carl Oglesby in his Washington speech, and absolved these atrocities as a "letting loose of outrages pent up sometimes over centuries"), reserving moral opprobrium exclusively for the American side in the war.

Another important factor about the "new left" is its willingness to work with Communists and to accept Communists as members of its organizations. The original Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society, for example, opposed communism. It said that—

As democrats we are in basic opposition to the Communist system. The Soviet Union, as a system, rests on the total suppression of organized opposition, as well as a vision of the future in the name of which much human life has been sacrificed and numerous small and large denials of human dignity rationalized.

But the 1965 annual convention of the Students for a Democratic Society struck this antitotalitarian clause from its constitution. A policy of "nonexclusion" took its place, and full-fledged cooperation with Communists became possible.

David McReynolds, himself a radical, has expressed his view of the "new left" in these terms:

The "new left" is nihilist, anti-American, courageous, anti-political, anti-ideological, oriented to spontaneity, given to substituting moral clichés for political analysis, deeply moral and, yet, capable of profound unconscious dishonesty.

Dr. Drachkovitch does not underestimate the morality and virtue of many of the young people who participate in various "new left" movements. Their rebellion, however, seems to be a rebellion "without a cause". They know that they want to change American society, but they do not know what they want to establish in its place. In this respect, the Communists stand ready with an answer.

Dr. Drachkovitch concludes his unusually thoughtful analysis as follows:

A full spectrum of organized left-wing movements—from social democrats to "Maoists" is busy today trying to channel into politically and organizationally much more precise frameworks the energies of the elusive "new left". It would be futile to indulge in political forecasts. Shall we have, "in a year or two, everywhere" a new and powerful Communist party, heralded by the new draft-program of the CPUSA; shall a reinvigorated social democratic movement emerge; shall the "Maoists" capture the imagination of the young insurgents; can the current fragmentation of leftist groups continue indefinitely? Only the future will tell.

I wish to share this article with my colleagues and ask unanimous consent for its insertion in the RECORD at this point.

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

THE "NEW LEFT" IN THE UNITED STATES: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

(By Milorad M. Drachkovitch)

"Much of left-wing thought is a kind of playing with fire by people who don't even know that fire is hot."

George Orwell.

"There are unhappy signs of a new populism of the left in which the old Narodnik illusions about the peasants are being applied to students and the poor."

Alasdair MacIntyre.

These last few years we have been witnessing a new phenomenon in American political and intellectual life which is usually termed the "new radicalism" or the emergence of a "New Left," and which, curiously enough, resembles the populist movement among the Russian "alienated" youth in the second part of the last century. In the 1860's and '70's, many among the educated people in Russia, belonging to the socially privileged classes, went "to the people" with consuming fervor and expectation that by making the peasants conscious of their abject material and moral situation, not only the feudal structure of Russian tsarist autocracy would break, but a new, qualitatively superior, communist society would emerge. Today, in America, on a much smaller scale but with probably no less intensity, hundreds of American students belonging by their social background to the privileged strata of society, go "to the people"—the most economically backward Negro regions of the South, or the