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its historic 7-to-2 decision. Justice William O. Douglas, in writing the majority opinion, declared the case concerned "a relationship lying within the zone of privacy created by several fundamental constitutional guarantees" and said the Connecticut law "in forbidding the use of contraceptives rather than regulating their manufacture or sale, seeks to achieve its goals by means having a maximum destructive impact upon that relationship."

"We deal with a right of privacy older than the Bill of Rights—older than our political parties, older than our school system," he concluded. "Marriage is a coming together for better or worse, hopefully enduring and intimate to the degree of being sacred."

The two dissenting Justices, Stewart and Black, both thought the Connecticut law offensive but constitutional.

Within days after the Supreme Court decision the New York Legislature modified its 84-year-old Comstock law to remove all restrictions on the dissemination of birth-control information and to permit sale of contraceptives to everyone over the age of 16. Although the law had not been enforced for years, it had been resurrected by the Catholic Welfare Conference in an effort to stop birth-control activities by the State board of social welfare.

Later in the summer the Massachusetts Legislature defeated a similar repeal move, but this was the one exception to last year's general easing of legal and administrative restraints. Ohio and Minnesota joined New York in clearing away restrictions from their statutes. Seven States—California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, and Nevada—adopted positive legislation to authorize or encourage public family planning services. And according to a Planned Parenthood survey more than 40 States have made administrative decisions favorable to such programs over the past 4 or 5 years.

The long and bitter political battle in Chicago and Illinois ended last June when the State legislature passed a resolution authorizing State agencies to provide birth-control services. And the Chicago Board of Health, under the adroit persuasion of its president, Dr. Eric Oldberg, a prominent neurosurgeon, cautiously began family planning services in 9 of its 39 city health centers. His viewpoint conflicts sharply with that of Dr. Karl A. Meyer, 79-year-old medical superintendent of the huge Cook County Hospital, which still has no birth-control clinics even though its annual delivery of 18,000 babies is the largest of any hospital in the country. "Birth control," Meyer has remarked, "is a socioeconomic problem, not a medical one."

However you define it, birth-control information has been denied to the many women who have sought it at Cook County. In an interview on CBS-TV, one woman said she asked a doctor at Cook County if he could help her stop having children. "He told me no, I was too young," she said, "and was good for 20 more."

"CIVIC ACTION" IN VIETNAM

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, Reporter Bob Schieffer of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram has recently written a most penetrating and important article about the Vietnam war. In it, he points out the fact that in this troubled land our pacification work is going ahead on a priority equal to the battle efforts. My own trips to South Vietnam confirm for me that Mr. Schieffer is correct.

I commend him on his apt analysis and congratulate the Star-Telegram for providing its readers such professional and talented observers.

In order that other Senators may share Mr. Schieffer's thoughts, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

COCKED WEAPONS AND TIP OF HELMET: KILLING, PACIFYING GO HAND IN HAND IN VIET WAR

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Soldiers in Vietnam often find themselves engaged in civic as well as military action, writes Bob Schieffer, who recently returned after 4 months in Vietnam. Why and how the servicemen wage a war of pacification is told in this article, the fifth of a series.)

(By Bob Schieffer)

On Monday a marine private might be pinned down by enemy rifle fire as his company advances on a Vietcong controlled village.

By Tuesday afternoon he might be helping one of the villagers to build a pigsty or showing a small boy how to put medicine on a leech bite.

"Every marine is a civic action officer." Maj. Paul Melcher, who heads the Marine civic action program, explained one day.

"You might say we go into a village with weapons cocked but we still tip our helmets."

"Civic action" or "pacification" as it is sometimes called is one of the biggest efforts in the war against the Vietcong.

In short, pacification is a program to build the loyalty, confidence and respect of the peasants in Vietnam's farflung rural hamlets for the Central Government.

There is a saying in Vietnam that "the Emperor's power does not extend beyond the palace gate."

Vietnam no longer has an Emperor, but a succession of Saigon governments has found it difficult to extend much influence beyond the streets of the capital city.

Sometimes when friendly forces drive the Vietcong out of a village they find themselves unwelcome.

"You can't blame them for being suspicious," said an Army captain. "They expect the worst because that's all they've ever had."

That is why such emphasis, government officials say, is placed on pacification.

The soldiers attempt to show the villagers that their government can offer them a better life.

Schools are rebuilt, committees are organized for food distribution and public health and other services which more sophisticated societies expect in return for their taxes.

Care is exercised and tight controls are used in the civic reforms.

"If a person needs pills to cure an illness," says Maj. Mike Styles, a marine based at Da Nang, "he is given only one pill and told to come back the next day for his next dose."

"That way the Vietcong are not liable to get hold of a large supply of medical supplies."

"Also we feel that this gives a person a chance to maintain more frequent contact with his government, especially the village chief."

The village chief is always present at such functions and American representatives are careful to see that such aid is never a project greater than what the Saigon government will be able to furnish after the Americans are gone.

Civic action can range from singing classes to rebuilding burnt-out schools.

The Korean soldiers often instituted another twist. Tra Quan Do, the Korean combination of karate and judo.

The Korean soldiers often stage shows to display their prowess in the deadly art. They will break planks over their heads and shatter bricks with their bare hands.

"We tell the villager, 'See how strong we are. You don't have to be afraid of the Vietcong anymore, we'll show you how you can be this strong too,'" said Maj. Gen. Chae Myung Shin, boss of the ROK Tiger Division.

"We have 700 high school age boys enrolled in the classes," Chae said. "We've really been encouraged."

The projects are not always encouraging. Advisers once built a small village a well only to return later and find it being used as a community latrine.

Foodstuffs are sometimes distributed and later found in Vietcong supply areas.

But the program continues and is having at least some effect.

Tien Phong, organ of the Communist Party in North Vietnam, reported the American buildup and pacification, practically speaking, had forced the Vietcong to extract higher taxes from the peasant and increase military conscription.

The Communist magazine counseled the comrades not to forget the political side of the war.

They admit they are being hurt by the pacification programs. They also admit, like politicians in other countries, that raising taxes and increasing the draft are not the easiest ways to make friends.

EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF STATE OF ISRAEL

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last week, together with a number of other Members of this body, and Members of the other House, I had the privilege of attending a luncheon sponsored by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. It was a part of the Seventh Annual National Policy Conference of the committee, and coincided with the 18th birthday of the State of Israel.

I understand that the Hebrew word for 18 is "chai" which also means "life." A particularly significant birthday, I should think, for a state which has given dignity and opportunity to so many lives and which has in fact been responsible for saving the lives of a considerable part of its populace. To oppressed and homeless Jews throughout the world, living in lands where freedom is a myth and tolerance a vice, the word "life" and the word "Israel" can also be synonymous.

In the spirit of celebration of Israel's 18th birthday, and in recognition of the close and continuing ties of friendship between our two democracies, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of the address delivered last week by Dr. Phillip S. Bernstein, chairman of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, and the policy statement adopted by the committee at the conference.

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

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

According to an ancient Jewish practice there are prescribed readings from the Scriptures in each Sabbath service. Last Saturday morning we read from II Kings, chapter 5. It told of Naaman, the Aramean

general, who was stricken with leprosy. Learning of a healing prophet in Israel named Elisha he sought him out for advice. The prophet said, "Bathe seven times in the river Jordan." Naaman was furious. Were there not rivers in Syria larger and greater than the little Jordan? But he was persuaded and he was healed.

The Jordan is a little river. Palestine is a small country. Israel is no larger than New Jersey. But that little place has brought healing and light and hope to mankind. Out of it have come the three great religions of the Western World. From the Holy Land emerged moral guidance, the blueprint for the good life, the messianic goals of God's kingdom.

This has been understood in the Western World, and the special relationship of the Jewish people to its ancestral home has been recognized.

Especially has this been true in America. Every American President since Woodrow Wilson endorsed the Zionist objective. President Harry Truman gave official recognition to the State of Israel within minutes after its establishment. For decades now the Congress of the United States has indicated its approval and support by official action and practical aid. The American people on the whole have been sympathetic and helpful. Without this sympathy and aid Israel might not have come into existence, and it would have faced the greatest difficulty in surviving. For this Israel and its friends are profoundly grateful.

However, I want to point out on this occasion that this has been a reciprocal process. Israel has made very important contributions. It was one of the first free states to emerge after World War II. It became a pilot plant for small aspiring democracies.

Israel has given technical aid, guidance and assistance to more than 60 countries in Asia, Africa, and, more recently, in Latin America. Israel is committed to democracy by its deepest instincts and by its most urgent needs. It does not wish to be a pawn in the East-West struggle, but a whole constellation of factors have made it the one trustworthy bastion of democracy in that part of the world.

Israel is steadily becoming economically stronger. It still needs help from the West because of its heavy burdens of defense, because of the cessation of German reparations and because of its large-scale immigration.

However, it has been pointed out that U.S. commercial sales to Israel have climbed from about \$70 million in 1960 to more than \$125 million in 1964. The desalination program for which we hope there will be adequate assistance by the United States is not entirely altruistic, but will be through Israel's technological competence of great assistance to our country as well. There is hardly an important level of life in which there cannot be a mutually fructifying exchange of ideas and personnel.

This is Israel's 18th birthday. The Hebrew word is "chai," which means life. It is wonderful after the Nazi holocaust—and remember at just this time 23 years ago the Nazis were engaged in destroying the embattled Jews of the Warsaw ghetto—that children in Israel sing "Am Yisrael Chai," the Jewish people lives. It's wonderful that a strong viable democratic state has come into existence which again promises a moral message to mankind.

But problems continue. The Arab States, and especially the United Arab Republic under Nasser's leadership, are committed to the destruction of Israel. Can we not express the hope that the United States will use its great influence, its strength, its firm statesmanship, toward bringing Arabs and Jews together at a peace table? The mood seems to be changing somewhat in the Arab coun-

tries. Can we not by a firm clear position throw all our weight behind efforts to achieve peace? Israel desperately wants it. The Arabs desperately need it.

However, until that consummation is reached and while the U.S.S.R. pours billions in arms into the Arab lands, our Government must help Israel to maintain deterrent strength. We know it is such strength that has kept Nasser from attacking Israel in the past and we know that it will be a deterrent factor in the future. By such aid as needed we are in effect saying to the peoples of the area that an arms race is futile, wasteful, and dangerous; that it will not bring victory to one or the other, and the sooner it can be ended the better for all the peoples of the area.

We express then on this significant anniversary gratitude and hope. We pray that United States-Israel friendship will deepen and grow in the interests of peace for all.

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE STATEMENT OF POLICY, APRIL 24, 1966

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee is a national organization of American Jews established in 1954 which supports day-to-day action in Washington to strengthen U.S. policy in the Near East in order to guarantee stability, raise living standards, and promote an Arab-Israel peace settlement.

Israel this year celebrates her 18th birthday. In these 18 years, Israel has redeemed land and people, provided a home for refugees from persecution, restored an ancient spiritual and cultural homeland, translated the precepts of democracy into action to promote cooperation and freedom throughout the world.

But Israel is still a besieged land. She must remain on constant alert to defend herself from neighbors who refuse to make peace and who accumulate planes, tanks, ships, missiles and other lethal weapons in preparation for another attack.

I. THE NEED FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

The continuing Arab threat to destroy Israel, reinforced by the arms escalation, menaces all the peoples of the Near East and challenges the great powers to take positive action looking toward peace.

We call upon our Government to exercise the full weight of American influence to bring the Arab States and Israel to the peace table.

II. THE ARMS RACE

The policies of the Egyptian Government gravely menace the peace of the area. In 1955, Egypt opened the Near East to Soviet penetration when President Nasser acquired large quantities of Soviet arms. Since then, there has been a constant flow of Russian military equipment, economic assistance and technical personnel to Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. To fulfill his design to encircle Israel by an Egyptian-led and Egyptian-armed unified Arab command, Nasser has pressured other Arab States to increase their armaments, with funds contributed by the oil-producing states.

We are opposed to an arms race in the Near East or any other place, but we are also opposed to an arms imbalance which favors the nation bent on destroying its neighbor.

As long as Egypt continues these military acquisitions, our Government has recognized the need to supply weapons to Israel in order to enable her to maintain her deterrent strength. Our Government has emphasized "the destabilizing effect of massive Soviet sales of arms to the area" and has assisted other nations whose regimes are threatened by President Nasser's Soviet-equipped forces.

The Arab States may be induced to make peace if they come to realize that Israel is

fortified both by her own strength and by the commitment of the international community to preserve the peace.

There is no alternative to direct Arab-Israel peace negotiations. The call for peace must be raised constantly by the United States and all the great powers—firmly and without conditions.

III. U.S. AID

In recent years, American policy has clearly reflected our Government's determination to preserve the independence of the peoples of the Near East.

Its programs of economic assistance to Israel and the Arab States have fed, housed, trained, and employed people, and promoted better utilization of human and material resources.

Both the administration and Congress have adopted discriminating criteria in the allocation of economic aid, setting conditions to discourage recipients from misusing it—to the detriment of their economies and to the danger of their neighbors.

We welcome United States-Israel cooperation to develop a desalting program and we urge our Government to assist in the financing of such projects, which will open similar development in many lands.

IV. REFUGEES

We call for a realistic and constructive solution of the Arab refugee problem to serve the best interests of the refugees themselves. For almost two decades they have been kept as pawns in a propaganda and political war against Israel. They have been exploited by a demagogic leadership, which has refused all attempts to facilitate their resettlement and absorption and which now seeks to create an artificial nation in exile.

The Palestine Liberation Organization now seeks to enlist these refugees in an army and it is indefensible that funds of the United Nations Relief and Works Administration (UNRWA) should be squandered for rations which subsidize the mobilization and training of that army.

The rolls of UNRWA have been inflated and should be purged of those no longer eligible because of death, employment, and resettlement.

The Arab States responsible for the displacement of the Arab refugees must begin to assume responsibility for their rehabilitation and resettlement, and our aid program should be geared to serve those objectives.

V. THE BOYCOTT

We commend the Congress of the United States for its 1965 legislation to oppose the boycott which the Arab States have employed to harass American businessmen who deal with Israel and to involve Americans in the Arab war against Israel. We urge the administration to strengthen the regulations which implement that legislation.

We also commend the Congress of the United States for its strong opposition to the policies of the Arab States which discriminate against American Jews on the ground that they are Jews. We urge the administration to intensify its efforts to put an end to these intolerable practices.

We remind our Government that the Suez Canal is still closed, illegally, to Israel shipping.

VI. SUMMARY

We urge our Government:

To insist that the Arab governments negotiate a peace settlement with Israel which will pave the way for disarmament and economic cooperation.

To prevent a dangerous arms imbalance by providing arms to Israel to match those which the Arab States are acquiring to attack her.

To provide generous economic aid to Israel and to facilitate her water desalting program.

To continue aid to Arab countries which will be used to raise living standards and to withhold aid used to finance aggression.

To promote the resettlement of Arab refugees in Arab lands.

To resist Arab boycott practices.

Israel's progress has fulfilled the hopes of her supporters. We record our satisfaction at the continuing friendship between the United States and Israel—a friendship based on common democratic aspirations and ideals.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to an editorial entitled "Stop Rewarding the Unruly." The editorial, by Editor Harry Hamm, appeared in the Wheeling News-Register on April 24. The editorial called attention to the dangerous conditions that have been spawned in this country as a result of so-called civil disobedience. It pointed out that our system of free government cannot continue to exist if persons are permitted to choose the laws they wish to obey and permitted to disregard those laws they do not like.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be included in the RECORD.

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

STOP REWARDING THE UNRULY

If you saw the scene on television several days ago you must have come away a bit horrified at the uncivilized behavior we are encouraging in this country today.

We refer to the shameful treatment accorded antipoverty director Sargent Shriver at a Washington conference on the problems of the poor. The unruly crowd booed, stomped, hooted, and shouted to the point where Mr. Shriver had to walk out of the meeting. Some of the participants in this mob scene appeared at times to be on the verge of taking a swing at the Federal official. The whole thing got so far out of hand that those in charge adjourned the meeting.

Equally appalling was the tenor of remarks made by certain speakers who represented the so-called grassroots poor who were unhappy at not having been given what they consider enough, soon enough. One of the speakers went so far as to come right out and demand that they be given money and "we'll show you how to spend it."

The whole affair was shocking and pointed up again how we have gone too far in what the New York Herald Tribune called "the canonization of direct action, led by civil rights radicals." We have witnessed assault after assault on the concept of law and the processes of orderly decision. We have made anarchy fashionable in today's society. And many intelligent persons have been guilty of encouraging this unlawful behavior. "Cause enough havoc and thou shall be rewarded," has become the theme of these irresponsible persons.

We saw another example of this mob rule a couple of weeks ago when a riot occurred at an amusement park in Maryland near Washington, D.C. After the rioters had been ejected from the amusement park, they left a trail of damage and terrorized homeowners in their wake as they rode buses or walked back to their Washington homes. They stoned homes and automobiles, damaged police cars and ambulances, and destroyed property in some of the most expensive neighborhoods in Northwest Washington. They invaded stores, and threw catsup, chocolate milk, baby food, and soft drinks everywhere, requiring hours of hard work to clean up the mess. Windows of service sta-

tions were broken by rock-throwers. Firemen, rescue squadsmen, and newspapermen were pelted with thrown objects. Buses were used to remove the rioters from the area, but during the bus riding every one of the buses was damaged.

One of the bus drivers stated that he "only was able to collect fares from about 50 out of 115" persons aboard. He went on to say, "The girls were raising just as much hell as the boys, and I knew I had to go along with what they wanted to do or else."

The bus driver, a 7-year veteran with the bus company said:

"They yelled four-letter words at each other and at me. They tore up the seats. All the way into the District along Massachusetts Avenue, some of the kids threw parts of the seats and things out of the windows."

These are the sad and dangerous conditions we have spawned in this country with our urging and promoting of civil disobedience. Our system of free government cannot continue if a person chooses to obey what laws he likes and disobey those he doesn't like. This is anarchy. We must stop encouraging the law of jungle and sowing the seeds of disrespect for law which can only damage our very freedom. Freedom does not mean license. It means responsibility and respect for the rights of others. Isn't it time that we regained our sanity and began punishing the rioters and lawbreakers instead of rewarding them and holding them up as great citizens?

A LOOK AT FREE CHINA TODAY

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, the Communist regime on mainland China has received a greater measure of attention in the past 6 months than at any time in the past 15 years. With speculation that a change in leadership is imminent, and that changes in free world policy toward the Asian giant may lead to her admission to the United Nations, there has been increased interest, not only in the Communist mainland, but in the Republic of China governing from Taiwan.

In this context, I call to the attention of my colleagues an article from the May issue of the American Legion magazine written by Jeff Endrst. The article is entitled "A Look at Free China Today."

China watchers, amateur and professional alike, have acknowledged the enormous disparity in living conditions in Formosa and on the mainland. In his article, Mr. Endrst takes note of the fact that in 17 years Nationalist President Chiang Kai-shek has developed a nation-within-a-nation which boasts one of the highest standards of living in Asia, while the mainland regime has given its people little more than militancy and propaganda of hate.

With reference to talk of a change in Chinese representation in the U.N., the author notes:

It would certainly be an oddity if the only underdeveloped nation to succeed, and the only one to lift its poor to a new life and a new future, were kicked out of the council of nations.

And he goes on to observe that "the per capita income of the Free Chinese in 1965 was three times that of the mainland reds."

The article also effectively treats the argument of Red China's apologists who

maintain that the Communist regime is simply an extension of the revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1911. Communism, in fact, is as alien to the Chinese history, philosophy, and temperament as it is to the people of Europe.

As a Chinese, quoted in the article, puts it:

The Peiping regime has cut itself away from the main Chinese historical stream and has thrown overboard all traditional cultural and moral values. Gone is the family system. Gone are filial piety, the sanctity of marriage, fraternal love between brothers and sisters and the entire Confucian system of human conduct and morals. In their stead the Communists have enthroned the party and the State.

Mr. President, I ask that the article, "A Look at Free China Today," be printed in the body of the RECORD.

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

A LOOK AT FREE CHINA TODAY

(By Jeff Endrst)

There is something vaguely familiar in some of the comments heard today that the Government of South Vietnam is incapable of social and land reform with U.S. help and advice, because it is corrupt, set in its ways, authoritarian, backward, indifferent to outside advice, and doomed to be overcome by the Communist wave of the future, etc.

These cases are by no means the same, yet those were the same comments made by pessimists two decades ago about the failing regime of Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as it struggled to hold off organized Red Chinese attacks on the mainland of China. At that time, the defeatists and Red Chinese apologists told the world the now bitter joke that the Chinese Communists were only "agrarian reformers," trying to give the peasants a fair shake, while Chiang Kai-shek's government was (remember?) incapable of social and land reforms with U.S. help and advice because it was corrupt, set in its ways, authoritarian, backward, indifferent to outside advice, and doomed to be overcome by the Communist wave of the future, etc.

While today's free Chinese under Chiang were still holding out on the mainland of China in 1948, an attempt at land reform was made, working with American field representatives under the U.S. China Aid Act of that year. But in the absence of significant U.S. military assistance such as we are now giving South Vietnam it was too late for reforms in a land beset then, as South Vietnam is beset today, by Communist violence.

In December 1949, Chiang's government and army had to give up their long fight to hold back the Reds on the mainland. They fled to the island of Formosa, accompanied by a horde of refugees—some 2 million strong.

Formosa was no island of dreams, even though the name of Ilha Formosa, meaning beautiful island, was given it by early Portuguese navigators. The Portuguese looked at the 225-mile-long island through the eyes of sightseers. A magnificent mountain range dominates the central and eastern length, with some peaks exceeding 12,000 feet. Through the eyes of a people who must live there, it is something else than "beautiful island." Hot, humid, in the typhoon belt, Taiwan (as the Chinese and Japanese have always called Formosa) lies between the Philippines and Japan, about 90 miles off the Chinese mainland province of Fukien. The central mountain range leaves only a narrow strip of flat land on the west