

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 115—PART 8

APRIL 22, 1969, TO MAY 1, 1969

(PAGES 9827 TO 11208)

We must control its objectives. But in 1969 we can see a pattern of defense spending developing which is similar to our experience after Korea. Within a few years of the end of that fighting, the Defense budgets were larger than they had been during the war.

Around the world, the credibility of our initiatives toward peace holds more promise than the size of our military budget.

Effective diplomacy is a more constructive force than sophisticated weapons systems.

But as long as decisions concerning our defense budget are made in the vacuum of the Defense Department, are accepted at face value by the Administration, and are ratified without pause by the Congress, we will continue to run the risk that alternatives to military spending in the interests of national security will never be considered adequately. And we will forever be forced to modify our foreign and domestic policies to fit our military commitments.

The choices we face for the Seventies are emerging. We cannot have both guns and butter in the manner which we have always thought possible. We simply cannot afford both.

This is not a new situation. We have not been able to afford the mixture for several years, but we have tried to manage both—without success at either.

And because of the budget pressure of Vietnam, many people have had to tighten their belts—belts that were too tight to begin with.

As long as these belts are tight—as long as we tolerate hunger and poverty in an affluent world, peace is threatened. And as long as peace is threatened, military spending will remain high.

Somehow we must find ways to break out of this vicious circle. As I see it, there is only one way to start, one option to exercise.

We must examine every request for military spending with a new skepticism, asking not whether there is a less expensive military substitute, but whether there is a more effective, non-military substitute.

We should not look to those who are skilled in war for the decisions which lead to peace. It is naive to expect the military to design the new directions we seek.

It is irresponsible for the public and the Congress to abandon its prerogatives of control. Yet these traditions are clearly threatened.

The ABM, chemical-biological weapons, and nuclear weapons are not the keys to peace.

Professor George Wald, a Nobel Laureate at Harvard, stated this very bluntly last month when he said: "There is nothing worth having that can be obtained by nuclear war; nothing material or ideological, no tradition that it can defend. It is utterly self-defeating. Atom bombs represent un-useable weapons. The only use for an atom bomb is to keep somebody else from using it. It can give us no protection, but only the doubtful satisfaction of retaliation."

We cannot eliminate risk from this world, but we can control its directions. We can make up our minds that the time has come when risks in the pursuit of peace hold more promise than risks in the pursuit of war.

But changing the direction of our efforts and the reactions of other nations will not be easy.

Congress is beginning to question the basis of our military posture and our foreign priorities. Our leaders are beginning to realize that our options are limited only by our willingness to broaden our perspectives. We think—

That trying to communicate with China will be more fruitful than isolating her;

That arms control is a more direct route to peace than arms development; and,

That hunger and poverty are more dangerous than Communism.

This progress and this skepticism will con-

tinue—if it is maintained by the support of an interested and concerned public.

Public pressure has made halting the deployment of the ABM possible, and public pressure can make it possible to rearrange our priorities and to pursue peace more vigorously and resolutely.

But this pressure will be no more automatic than reductions in military spending. And its success is far from assured.

The employment of 10 percent of our workforce depends on the defense budget.

Almost 1000 cities and towns and millions of American citizens are caught in the military-industrial combine.

This is the other side of the nuclear deterrent. We have become intimidated by the economic strength of our military as we have intimidated others by the might of its weapons.

We are afraid—

That we can no longer say "no" to the budget requests of \$80 billion and more;

That our economy might not produce housing as profitably as it manufactures weapons;

That we cannot find political solutions to political problems; and

That we are not even going to have the chance to try.

This tyranny of fear has no place in America. Instead of being one of the many nations maintaining the arms race, let us be the first nation to renounce that fear and take a first step out of the arms cycle.

But there is every chance that the public will relax with the end of the Vietnam War, believing that Gulliver's troubles are over.

But they will not be over. They will have just begun, unless we make the right decisions now.

So I plead with you, as college students who have been concerned about a war, to be equally concerned with the issues of peace.

Professor Wald put this very eloquently. He said: "Our business is with life, not death. Our challenge is to give what account we can of what becomes of life in the solar system, this corner of the universe that is our home, and, most of all, what becomes of men—all men of all nations, colors, and creeds. It has become one world, a world for all men. It is only such a world that can offer us life and the chance to go on."

This is an awesome challenge. But it is there, and we are the only creatures who can meet it.

OUR GREATEST NATIONAL PARK OPENS

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming (Mr. HANSEN), I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement entitled "Our Greatest National Park Opens" prepared by him, and a brief description entitled "This Is Big Wyoming," published by the Wyoming Travel Commission.

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

OUR GREATEST NATIONAL PARK OPENS— STATEMENT OF SENATOR HANSEN

I invite attention to a matter of interest to Americans throughout the 5 States and to foreign visitors, as well.

Our greatest national park, Yellowstone National Park, in Wyoming, will officially open to the public for the season on Saturday.

Yellowstone was the first National Park established in this country, and it has become the symbol throughout the world for the preservation of natural beauty. I urge every Member of Congress to plan a visit with his family to our great park this year, and to notify the people of his State that

their park is open, because spectacular Yellowstone National Park is the property, of all the people of the United States.

Yellowstone's fame is such that it requires little discussion, but I shall place in the RECORD a brief description entitled "This Is Big Wyoming," from a Wyoming Travel Commission publication.

"Yellowstone, the first, is still America's largest and most fabulous national park. You will leave its two million acres with memories of Old Faithful obligingly erupting on schedule, of hundreds of other geysers surging forth in a violent thermal display of Nature's hidden power; of small bubbling mud volcanoes, hot springs and brilliant pools; petrified forests and limestone terraces, waterfalls and canyons and numerous lakes including Yellowstone Lake itself, 110 miles around and filled with trout. Over 200 species of birds and almost 60 species of mammals inhabit this vast area. Yellowstone's season is May 1 through October 31 and later, weather permitting. For further information on accommodations in the park, write: Yellowstone Park Company, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming 83020."

TV STATEMENT BY SENATOR BYRD OF WEST VIRGINIA ON BILL TO CURB CAMPUS DISORDERS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on April 23, 1969, I made a statement for television regarding Federal penalties for the disruption of federally assisted educational institutions.

I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of that statement be printed in the RECORD.

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

BILL TO CURB CAMPUS DISORDERS

The sinister event at Cornell University in which rebellious students armed with rifles, shotguns, and hatchets demanded concessions from the University administration, was an escalation in the reign of terror on American college campuses. An appropriate response, in my judgment, is demanded. Law-abiding American citizens are completely fed up with the trend toward revolution, anarchy, and chaos that has paralyzed some of our institutions of higher learning. I have, therefore, introduced a bill in the United States Senate, to provide fines up to \$1,000 and imprisonment up to one year, for any person who interferes with or obstructs the operations of any Federally-assisted college or university, who occupies or destroys property in such an institution, or who otherwise interferes with the rights of faculty members to teach or the rights of students to study. Firm action is needed to counterbalance the molly-coddling of those who are destroying our educational institutions.

LEGAL ASSISTANCE TO FARMWORKERS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, an article published in last Thursday's Miami Herald describes an application by the Florida Bar Association and Gov. Claude Kirk's office to the Office of Economic Opportunity for the legal services funds presently granted to South Florida Migrant Legal Services, Inc.

Attorneys with the South Florida Migrant Legal Services were instrumental in calling the attention of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, of which I am a member, to malnutrition and hunger in the migrant camps in Florida. I have been impressed

with the caliber of the attorneys in the program and with what they have tried to do to improve the lot of migrant farmworkers. Perhaps they were too successful.

If the application of the Florida Bar Association to replace South Florida Migrant Legal Services is accepted by the Office of Economic Opportunity, legal assistance to farmworkers, although still present in name, will be greatly diminished in fact.

We must not turn programs intended for the poor into a mere facade in order to obtain the support of a local power structure. The news story from the Miami Herald indicates to me that such may be the fate of the migrant legal services program in Florida.

I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "County Government Asks Funds to Replace Migrant Aid Unit," published in the Miami Herald of April 17, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

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

COUNTY GROUP ASKS FUNDS TO REPLACE
MIGRANT AID UNIT

(By Clarence Jones)

WASHINGTON.—Opponents of the controversial South Florida Migrant Legal Services Inc. got together here Wednesday with a counter-proposal and asked the Office of Economic Opportunity to finance their plan.

The formation of Six County Migrant and Legal Aid Inc. has the backing of bar associations in the six counties, the Florida Bar Association, Gov. Claude Kirk and Rep. Paul Rogers of West Palm Beach.

The counties included in the proposal are Palm Beach, Broward, Hendry, Glades, Lee and Collier.

Palm Beach Bar Association President Gavin Letts came to Washington personally to file the application for federal financing at OEO. With him was Buddy McWilliams, director of migrant affairs for Gov. Kirk.

Notice of the application was released by Rogers' office, and the president of the new corporation is Marshal M. Criser, current president of the Florida Bar Association.

The new group of attorneys wants to replace the present migrant service which has for the past two years sought out migrant workers with complaints then represented them in court action against farmers in the area.

Opposition to the migrant service boiled over last month when a group of U.S. senators toured migrant labor camps looking for signs of malnutrition and hunger. The lawyers financed by the poverty program had arranged the tour.

Both Rogers and Kirk were angered over the nationwide publicity that showed squalid living conditions in Florida.

IN DEFENSE OF PATRIOTISM

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, an industrialist and financier of my State, Mr. W. R. "Witt" Stephens, recently spoke to the student body at Harding College, Searcy, Ark. In his speech Mr. Stephens defended and emphasized patriotism and deplored the fact that it seems to be a vanishing virtue in today's world. He also reminded the students that freedom must not be taken as a license to overthrow or advocate the overthrow of the very government which promulgates and undertakes to perpet-

uate and make secure that freedom which is theirs to enjoy.

In his address Mr. Stephens pinpointed problems that are critical to the future security of our Nation. In addition, he proposed solutions to many of the problems he identified, I am in general accord with the dominant theme of his speech. We should have more advocates of true patriotism and devotion to our country.

There must be a revival of patriotism and a renewed dedication to the ideals and fundamentals upon which our liberties rest. Citizens of this country must again develop a proper respect for law and order and constituted authority, if our Nation is to survive. We cannot continue to allow our colleges and universities and other revered institutions that give vitality and strength to our Nation to be subjected to intimidation, coercion, and subversion as is presently happening at many of our highest and most revered institutions of learning.

I join with Mr. Stephens in admonishing and encouraging our young people to use their abundant energies to construct a better society, not to destroy the one we have.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Stephens' speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

IN DEFENSE OF PATRIOTISM

(Address by W. R. Stephens, at Harding College, Searcy, Ark., Apr. 8, 1969)

Dr. Ganus, Distinguished Guests of the Head Table, Students of Harding College, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to share this evening with you and particularly with you young men and women, the hope of humanity. It is to you that I shall address the bulk of my remarks.

It was a privilege to be here today, Dr. Ganus, and to have the occasion to record some of my life's experiences and opportunities for your Library. I am grateful for the honor you bestow upon me tonight.

America by tradition has been a vibrant nation—blessed with strong, innovative people who have been dedicated to the ideals and beliefs set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It has been a nation built upon the sacrifice and the achievements of patriotic people. Until recently patriotism was a conviction in this nation—but today patriotism seems to be a vanishing virtue.

I consider myself most fortunate to have been born in this great country and in this blessed state. My parents were people of the soil. Throughout my lifetime I have known poverty as well as wealth. As my Father often remarked, "Poverty is nothing to be proud of or ashamed of, but it is certainly something to get shut of just as quickly as conveniently possible." I could have done this only in a free America.

The moral training imparted to me by my parents has contributed more to what success I have attained than any other influence. The opportunities present in a free, unfettered society made my achievements possible, but the love, the guidance and the understanding given by a patriotic American family have been the gifts that have sustained me the most. My father, who is 89, and my mother, who is 85, taught me to believe in and live by the teachings of God, with a respect for the views and rights of all. I thank God they taught me to appreci-

ate the wisdom of age and the efforts and deeds of others.

The true strength of America lies in its beginnings and in its people, for people are its greatest asset. I think it rather interesting to compare the records of the United States and Mexico. America was founded by people who sought freedom of opportunity and freedom of worship. Mexico was founded upon a search for gold. Look at the history of the nations since their foundations, and no doubt should arise as to which goal has returned the greater yield.

America, dedicated to the dignity of man, has received bountiful blessing and today our nation, sprung from thirteen diverse colonies, has grown and flourished to where it is the strongest, most affluent country in the world, and its people enjoy the highest standard of living known to mankind.

Our growth as a nation has not come easily. It has fought for its existence virtually since its inception as thirteen separate colonies. First the Indians and the French, then the British during the American Revolution. In 1812 and 1813, we once again took on the British to show the world we had the right to the use of the seas. We fought against Mexican raids on our lands in 1846, and brother fought brother in the Civil War—in defense of what each felt the American ideals were. In 1898, we fought on behalf of the Cuban people, who were seeking freedom from the yoke of Spanish cruelty. You are all familiar with America's response to the Central Powers and to the Axis in the first and second World Wars. In 1950, we answered the invasion of South Korea by Communist forces and today we are involved in Vietnam. Throughout all of these conflicts America as a nation has responded with patriotic greatness to the call for defense of country and ideals.

Citizens have often been in disagreement and their dissent has been manifested in many ways over American involvement. Riots occurred during the Civil War.

Today America faces another paradoxical situation. On the one hand, we are a nation which sees itself wracked and divided over problems of poverty, riots, race, slums, unemployment, crime and the war in Vietnam. On the other hand, we are a nation which is clearly enjoying high prosperity, rapid economic growth, and a steady diffusion of affluence at a rate almost unimaginable a decade ago. This is our America, still with differences, still beset with problems, but the American goals of justice and freedom never change, and America will continue to exist as long as these ideals guide us. "Our Country, however bounded or described, to be cherished in all our hearts, to be defended by all our hands."

Never before in history have we witnessed the contempt shown by youths burning their draft cards—of 63,000 young men deserting the armed forces, or of youths leaving the country to avoid the draft and service for their country.

Youth is courageous, but courage is not inveterate objection; courage is not flaunting the Constitution. It may take real courage to accept a commitment or decision and live with it. Courage may mean honest compromise. True moral courage is intelligent, foresighted, reasonable, and it never appears except as a part of the greater entity called character. You young people are at a vital stage in your character development. You ultimately are the architects of your own character—your home, this college, your church, men around you, may strive to help develop your character, but they seek not to determine your character. That is your challenge and responsibility. Character is the diamond that scratches every other stone.

This moment, in this great America, half our population is now under 25 years of age. What an asset this can be for our country.