

back into production next year adding further to our problems of overproduction."

Mr. MORT said that his amendment would not change the present program nor permit the soil bank acres to become involved in the controversy over a proposed House bill which has been the subject of argument for a number of weeks.

He said the House bill has been "bogged down" because it contains a provision to permit grazing of livestock on soil bank acres.

Mr. MORT said because opposition to the grazing provision has deadlocked the House measure, "the wise course of action is to merely extend the present program and let the grazing proposal be considered as a separate measure."

"This would permit the grazing suggestion to stand or fall on its own merits and not hinder the continuation of a program which already is law and requires only extension," Mr. MORT said. "Unless we make such an extension very promptly, these idled acres with their increased fertility will be adding greatly to our stored surpluses after next year's harvest. The delay in congressional action has already resulted in many of these acres being plowed under in readiness for next spring's planting."

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the extension would in no way change contracts which now exist, from the standpoint of the controversial issue which has arisen; that is, whether soil bank acreage should be permitted to be used for the grazing of livestock. The extension would definitely prohibit such grazing. It would leave for future deliberation and consideration a new soil bank program or an extension which might evolve into a different utilization of idle acres.

OPPOSITION TO ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH VIETNAM—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF RESOLUTION

Under authority of the order of the Senate of September 12, 1963, the names of Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. METCALF, and Mr. WALTERS were added as additional cosponsors of the resolution (S. Res. 198) opposing conditional continuation of military and economic assistance to the Government of South Vietnam, submitted by Mr. CURTIS (for himself and other Senators) on September 12, 1963.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 118

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Subcommittee on Housing of the Banking and Currency Committee will hold hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 118, which would increase the authorization for direct loans for housing for elderly persons, and S. 1170, a bill to assist in the provision of housing for elderly persons. These hearings will be held on October 1 and 2, in room 5302, Senate Office Building, beginning at 10 a.m. each day.

All persons wishing to testify should contact Mr. Carl A. S. Coan, staff director of the subcommittee, room 5228, Senate Office Building.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF SHOWING OF "AFRICA TODAY"

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I again announce that on next Monday, September 23, as well as on Tuesday, September 24, there will be two showings of a series of motion pictures I took on my recent trip to Africa. The showings will take place at 2 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. each day, Monday and Tuesday, in the New Senate Office Building Auditorium.

The public is invited to attend, as are all Senators and Representatives in Congress and their staffs. I hope they will take advantage of this opportunity.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

Address by Hon. Hulett C. Smith, Mr. Eugene M. Mortlock, Hon. Cecil H. Underwood, and Senator Randolph at 48th Annual Convention of the West Virginia Savings and Loan League, September 12-14, 1963, the Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.; and list of member associations of the West Virginia Savings and Loan League.

Address by Senator VANCE HARTKE, Democrat, of Indiana, before the Minnesota Retail Hardware Association Convention, Grand View Lodge, Echo Lake, Minn., August 27, 1963.

Editorial entitled "23 Billion Should Go Into the Ocean," published in Life magazine of August 30, 1963.

THE GRAVE SITUATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we are confronted with a grave situation in Vietnam. It is costing American lives and an enormous expenditure of public funds. There are no simple solutions. It is by no means an open-and-shut matter of going in and cleaning up the mess in quick order, or just packing up and leaving. In the first instance, "the quick order" could easily run to many years and thousands of American lives. In the second instance, we would be taking, in present circumstances, incalculable risks with respect to the whole future of the western Pacific.

And yet to do nothing, to permit our relationship to the situation to go on as usual, to continue to whistle in the dark as the darkness closed in on us, would have been to intensify the likelihood of one or the other of these extreme solutions—of all the way in or all the way out—which, in reality, are not solutions at all. What has been indicated for many months, Mr. President—clearly indicated has been the desirability of an attempt at modifications of our past policies, not only those with respect to Vietnam, but also those with respect to all of southeast Asia.

Some such modifications have obviously already been tried without very much success in Vietnam. It is likely that still others will be tried in the future. The success of any attempt is by no means automatic. Indeed, the prospect for any

sort of successful modifications is very dim.

But it is clear, Mr. President, that whatever prospects there may be will be lost unless there is an administrative discipline, coupled with a capacity to readjust rapidly to change, among the agencies and responsible officials directly involved in carrying out such policies as may be directed by the President, through the Secretary of State.

There are probably in excess of 15,000 Americans now in Vietnam in a variety of agencies—mostly in the military services, but also in the Embassy, the aid programs, the USIS, or whatever. Unless they function—all of them, both those mentioned and those unmentioned—as a unit, in prompt response to such modifications of policies as may be laid down by the President and the Secretary of State—and these two leaders alone—we will suffer the gravest consequences in Vietnam.

Mr. President, if this large contingent of Americans is so to function, there can be in Vietnam only one channel through which direction can flow. The President and the Secretary of State cannot set up headquarters in Saigon; but they do have in that tortured city an eminently qualified man who does speak for them—and is the only man who should speak for them—with their paramount authority in this matter. That is the Ambassador, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, our former colleague, and an outstanding American in every respect.

Mr. Lodge has the capacity, the wit, the experience, and the determination to provide overall direction and control—if any man can—for this vast, dangerous, and delicate operation. But he cannot do it alone. He must have the cooperation of all involved. I am disturbed, therefore, by press reports which suggest that he is not securing that cooperation. May I say, Mr. President, that it is not his function to beg that cooperation. It is his authority to require it in the name of the President of the United States.

Mr. President, it is obvious that we cannot control the behavior of the Vietnamese Government. But if we cannot control our own official behavior, if we cannot insure that the man who bears the responsibilities on the spot will have the prompt and full support of all others involved, if bureaucratic inertia or reticences or whatever tie his hands, we are face to face with a disaster in Vietnam. And may I say that it does not matter whether this ugly inadequacy in our administrative behavior occurs in Washington, in Saigon, or anywhere else. It is reprehensible at all times, but it is especially so at a moment of crisis.

So, Mr. President, I repeat that if there is any hope of a satisfactory solution in Vietnam, it must depend in the first instance on the ordering of our own bureaucratic house. It must be clear that the line of direction of American policy runs from the President to the Secretary of State to Ambassador Lodge, and all else must fit into this line. And if, to insure this ordering of our own

house, certain individuals must be removed from it, then the sooner they are removed the better.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. CARLSON. I compliment the majority leader for his very timely and, I believe, necessary statement, in view of our most difficult situation in South Vietnam. This problem has been of concern to many Members of Congress, who have been briefed session after session.

I sincerely hope that the statement just made by the majority leader will reach the attention of those in power and authority, not only in order that we may thus protect our position and help to establish there a sound and honest government with which we can have sincere and honest connections, but also in order that our officials there will follow the channels they should.

I thank the distinguished majority leader for his statement.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. KUCHEL. I wish to say to the distinguished majority leader that obviously the responsibility for the crisis which has existed, continues to exist, and is enlarging, in South Vietnam, is one which runs to the President of the United States. That is why I say to the Senator that although some Senators have joined in sponsoring a resolution with respect to the crisis in Vietnam, I have declined to take that position, for it seems to me that, as the majority leader has suggested, this is a time when a crisis is brewing and when the responsibility rests, not in the Senate, but in the White House, in the State Department, and in the representation which this Government today maintains in South Vietnam. Under those circumstances, I believe the comments made this morning by the distinguished majority leader are to the point.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the distinguished acting minority leader.

I wish to say that so far as this administration is concerned, orders did go out, 2 years ago, to the effect that our Ambassador to any country would be the head of all our activities in that country.

Speaking of our former colleague, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, who also has served with distinction as a Senator from Massachusetts and as our Ambassador to the United Nations, and whose nomination was reported unanimously from the Committee on Foreign Relations, and was confirmed unanimously by the Senate, I point out that his job is difficult enough, without having factions or frictions develop among our officials in the country to which he has been assigned.

I should like to see these frictions done away with. We ought to give every possible cooperation to this man, in whom we have great confidence, because

the job he has at the moment is in many respects one of the most difficult diplomatic jobs in the world.

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator is correct.

THE PRESIDENT AND LYNDON JOHNSON

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, although the American people are fully aware of the tremendously vital and consummate leadership skills of Vice President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, each day and each week he adds to his superb record of accomplishment. It is both heartwarming and reassuring to have these laurels documented through honest journalism. Recently, the nationally syndicated columnist Max Freedman provided another such documentation, and his column deserves our attention and recognition as a constructive and timely bit of reporting. Therefore I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Freedman's column, as it appeared in the Houston, Tex., Chronicle on September 3 under the heading, "The President and LYNDON JOHNSON," be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

[From the Houston Chronicle, Sept. 3, 1963]
THE PRESIDENT AND LYNDON JOHNSON—AT FIRST WARY OF EACH OTHER, THEY NOW SHARE DEEP, ABIDING TRUST

(By Max Freedman)

WASHINGTON.—Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON is in Europe as the representative of President Kennedy on a mission to the Scandinavian countries this week. Thus, this is a good occasion for discussing the relations, both personal and official, between the two men.

Those relations are marked by a friendly trust not often seen in politics. The highest tribute any Vice President can receive comes when his advice and judgment are respected by the President. Those who know most about the inner history of the Kennedy administration are the first to testify that the Vice President has earned and long held this special relationship. Such quiet cooperation at the summit of the administration is more important than his public services, useful and varied as they are.

Very early in the administration, when the memories of the election campaign had not yet faded, Mr. JOHNSON used to tell his friends that his ambition was to be the kind of Vice President that he would have liked to have if he had been elected to the Presidency in 1960. What was once his aim has now become his accomplishment.

This has not been easy. At first some of the men near President Kennedy were skeptical and cautious. They remembered Mr. JOHNSON'S immense power as majority leader in the Senate, and they wondered how he would behave in his new role. These doubts were wholly natural, and they bring no discredit on those who held them. But the period of suspense would have lasted much longer if the President had not shown such complete confidence in the Vice President.

Mr. Kennedy in the White House was for Mr. JOHNSON a leader of astonishing knowledge and resource. This was a very different man from the junior Senator of Massachusetts with whom he used to deal while he led the Senate. In the presence of his closest friends, where he could speak with absolute frankness, a note of profound admiration gradually crept into his voice as he talked

about the President. That admiration has continued and has deepened.

During Mr. JOHNSON'S years of leadership in the Senate the charge was often made that he was more interested in the manipulation of votes than in the settlement of issues. His critics forgot that his duties as majority leader compelled him to develop an almost proprietary interest in legislation, even when he personally did not agree with it.

At all events, this charge can no longer be made with any validity. He has a new concern for ideas and a much greater freedom in discussing them.

It is quite wrong, however, to think that his mind has moved in a totally new direction on civil rights; and it is an insult to think that his speeches in the racial crisis are the cynical products of political expediency.

Of course, he has been taught many valuable lessons by the racial upheavals of recent months. He thinks other people might have profitably heeded these lessons also. Sometimes it is necessary to reform in order to preserve. He still puts his trust in reason and abhors violence as a self-defeating weapon. Even now, as in 1957 when he brought the Senate to pass its first significant civil rights legislation since Reconstruction days, he thinks that the Negro's best protection is his own political power. That is why he is so eager to see full voting rights used by the Negro in every part of the South.

But the accumulated political power of the Negro takes time to express itself. The ballot will not give the Negro a job, nor get him out of a slum, nor into a desegregated school. The ballot does not take into account what Martin Luther King has called "the fierce urgency of now." Mr. JOHNSON, like other members of the administration, is not ashamed to admit that the Negro campaign for equal citizenship, with its appeal to the American conscience, has transformed the old problem of civil rights and given it an altogether new setting.

Vice President JOHNSON'S journeys have already taken him to many far places. He has always been a faithful and impressive spokesman for the American tradition of freedom with responsibility. Now he goes to Europe when there is more than a hint of change in world affairs, and when America's racial problems are being anxiously watched everywhere. He can be trusted to be a persuasive spokesman for the Kennedy administration and an effective emissary of the American people.

THE BIRMINGHAM CHURCH BOMBING

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, crime may be on the increase in the United States and its occurrence is always deplorable. Regrettably it has been evoked by the determined and proper effort of our colored fellow-Americans to secure for themselves the full enjoyment of the rights presumably guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution of the United States. But perhaps never has a more shocking atrocity in the annals of domestic violence, a more monstrous crime in the history of our land, been committed than the bombing last Sunday of the 16th Street Baptist Church during its Sunday school hour with the resulting death of four young colored girls and the grave wounding of a score of others. It is indeed a tragic sacrifice of these innocent young victims and their bereaved parents incidental to the legitimate efforts of our colored citizens to seek the equality and fairplay long denied them and long