

was previously with the U.S. Department of Justice, has been appointed as director of the Legislative Reference Service by the Librarian of Congress and I look forward to many years of association with him.

I want to express my personal appreciation as well as that of the Senate to Dr. Elsbree for his devoted service to the Congress during a period in which this body, because of its heavy legislative responsibilities, has placed great burdens on the Legislative Reference Service. I hope that his retirement will be a happy and fruitful one.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SPEECH ON THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, 5 years ago Monday, President Eisenhower made his famous speech on the military-industrial complex. Many have forgotten that speech. But the American Veterans Committee has reminded us of the speech and of its significance.

I ask unanimous consent that their statement on this anniversary, which includes General Eisenhower's words, be printed at this point in the RECORD as a reminder to all of us of that speech.

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

STATEMENT ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S FAREWELL ADDRESS BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

Five years ago, last Monday—on January 17, 1961—President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his farewell radio and television address to the American people spoke out on a matter he considered of significant long-range consequence to this Nation. He coined the phrase, "the military-industrial complex."

General Eisenhower's entire life gave him a unique background to discuss this vital subject. Certainly, no one else in our recent history knows better, both from a military and a civilian vantage point, all the relationships involved in this area of national life.

Today, as 5 years ago, it would be well for the Nation to recall his words.

"A vital element in keeping the peace is our Military Establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

"Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

"Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the Defense Establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all U.S. corporations.

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal Government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, re-

sources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

"We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

"Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

"In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by or at the direction of, the Federal Government.

"Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a Government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

"The prospect of domination of the Nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present—and is gravely to be regarded.

"Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

"It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system—ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society."

The American Veterans Committee wholeheartedly endorses General Eisenhower's remarks and intends to use its energy and resources to study the military-industrial complex in its many ramifications for the Nation.

#### REPUBLICAN STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE IS A GAIN FOR ALL AMERICA

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, earlier this week the capable minority leader, Mr. DIRKSEN, and his colleague in the House, Mr. FORD, went before network television cameras in the Old Supreme Court Chamber to present the Republican appraisal of the state of the Union message.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the occasion was historic. For the first time, the leaders of the opposition party were formally presenting their own views of the state of the Union and offering their own proposals for progress.

The appearance was important in another sense. It reasserted the vitality of the two-party system. Thoughtful Members of both great political parties have shown increasing concern over the imbalance between the parties which now exists in the Congress today. Our system of government was designed to function best with only a narrow division in the strength of the parties.

This point is stressed in an assessment of the Dirksen-Ford appearance by the able columnist, Roscoe Drummond. He points to several gains for the Nation—more resourcefulness by the Republican Party in its public advocacy, a wider national audience for Republican views, and the fact that "Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. FORD spoke constructively without any outdated partisan opposition for the sake of opposition."

Mr. President, the tests of Senator DIRKSEN's and Representative FORD's remarks were printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD yesterday and appear on pages 512 to 514 of the House proceedings. I commend their reading to all Americans, regardless of party.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have inserted in the RECORD Mr. Drummond's article which appeared in the Washington Post this morning.

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

#### THE GOP SPEAKS OUT

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The voice of the Republican Party in Congress is being lifted to better effect than at any time since it lost the White House 6 years ago.

The very concept of a Republican state of the Union address—delivered on prime television time by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN and Representative GERALD FORD—shows the GOP is becoming more resourceful in its public advocacy. That is a gain in itself.

Still anemic in its 1-to-2 minority status, the GOP voice may not be more widely heeded in Congress, but it is being more widely heard in the country. That's another gain.

Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. FORD spoke constructively and responsibly without any outdated partisan opposition for the sake of opposition. That's a third gain.

It seems to me that, in sum, that well served the interests of the country and of their own party by doing three things above all else:

1. They put the brand of "moderate Republicanism" on the whole range of party policy and thus prepared the way to make a political recovery in the elections this fall.

2. They identified the GOP unreservedly with the cause of racial justice and stricter enforcement of all civil rights laws.

3. They gave the President unwavering support—better support than he is getting from some highly placed Democrats—for the unyielding goals in Vietnam—securing the independence of South Vietnam by negotiation if possible and by military action if necessary.

As the Senate minority leader, Senator DIRKSEN clearly spoke for more than the minority in every crucial position he took on Vietnam. He spoke for the country and what he said cannot fail to be a source of strength to President Johnson, both in his conduct of the peace initiative and in his conduct of the war.

Mr. DIRKSEN gave to the Democratic administration reassuring evidence that it will continue to have Republican backing on these two vital prongs of U.S. policy. This was the heart of his assurance:

"Let the peace efforts continue. Who can object to any honorable effort to secure peace where young blood is involved.

"Let the military effort continue. It demonstrates our determination to keep our word. Let it be intensified, if necessary, as sound military judgment dictates."

On the whole front of the Vietnam peace effort and the Vietnam war effort, it is evidence that Senator DIRKSEN is going to be an invaluable ally of the President—as long as