was previously with the U.S. Department of Justice, has been appointed as director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library 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. Elsbernd, who has devotedly without let or hindrance served 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. Without objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SPEECH ON THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

Five years ago, 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. Not doubt, no one else in our recent history knows better, both from a military and a civilian vantage point, all the relationships of 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. It is a vast, sprawling establishment."

"Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and alleged records 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 Establishments, substantially depend on military security more than the net income of all U.S. corporations."

"The conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large armament industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is in the Federal Government. It парs every level of State and local governments."

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large armament industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is in the Federal Government. It parades every level of State and local governments. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our too, re-

source 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 more surely be attained."

"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 military 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, which is an fountainhead of ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a virtual nationalization has taken place: the Government follows and in many cases leads science."

"The prospect of domination of the Nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is such a threat to the freedoms of this country that every citizen should, at times,恫恐 the implications of this new order.

"Yet, in holding scientific research and development in the public interest, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that a scientific elite might exploit our public interest by imposing its own, often authoritarian views. The free university, the free press, TV and radio, and the public interest itself, are increasingly threatened by a new wave of official interference. The United States Government now spends nearly a billion dollars a year in support of research and development. A handful of problems occupy the center of attention of both research and popular interest—problemsrelative to the uses of atomic energy and its products and problems related to space exploration.

"The New York Times" recently reported that a scientific study of the costs and benefits of this area of research was under way in the government.

"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 the United States."

"This, of course, is in 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. Dinkins, 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 in the history of the opposition party, they 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 reassessed 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.