

Mr. MORSE. For Mr. McKean's education and enlightenment, I have sent for the tear sheets from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that set forth the official statistics and figures as to what happened to the Du Pont money so far as the official reports are concerned. On the basis of those official figures, I repeat that they have used less than 12 percent of their \$8 million or more in net profits after taxes per year for any assistance to crippled children. I applaud them for that much. But, Mr. President, does anyone mean to tell me that they must be exempt from the Federal Bank Holding Act in order to be charitable, or does anyone mean to tell me that what they really mean is that, "If you want us to contribute to charity, you must pay us to do it; you must give us these great economic advantages and benefits to do it"?

That is not my conception of Christian charity. That is charity by economic expediency.

Mr. President, one or two more sentences and I shall conclude.

Although I think we ought to handle the problem by way of amendment to the Bank Holding Act, that if it should develop that the labor dispute now involving the class I railroads of the country is not peacefully settled by the adoption of peaceful procedures by the parties thereto in the 15-day extension period that the great statesmanship of the President of the United States persuaded the parties to accept the other night at the White House, or if it is not settled in any other period of extension that might possibly develop, it will become necessary for the Congress to act.

Let us not fool ourselves. If we get to a point where the economy of the country will suffer irreparably as a result of a prolonged railroad strike, we cannot sit here in a vacuum. We shall be sitting within the climate of a greatly injured economy, and, of course, we shall have to take action. I have not the slightest idea what that action could or should be, and would not even mention a suggestion about it until we know what the facts are. But if we reach the position where we have to act on a strike involving the class I railroads, the senior Senator from Oregon now announces and makes clear to his administration and the Congress that he will offer an amendment that will include action on the floor with respect to the East Coast Railway situation.

It would be a travesty on justice for Congress to enact legislation involving the class I railroads of the country and let the tyrant in Florida operate the East Coast Railway in violation of the Railway Labor Act and in violation and defiance of every request made of him to resort to the peaceful procedures of arbitration for settlement. We cannot let him get by with that kind of economic tyranny and then enact legislation dealing with the very serious situation in the class I railroads. I shall at least give Members of Congress an opportunity to stand up and be counted as to whether or not they want to give aid and support to that kind of economic defiance and to the tyrant

in charge of the Florida East Coast Railway and his underlings and puppets.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it is my intention this morning to address myself to the civil rights bill. Before I do so, I should like to discuss some morning hour business. First of all, I thank the Senator from Oregon who has kept complete fidelity with his assurances to me about the time he would take. I congratulate him.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator for his graciousness and kindness. It was a pleasure, as always, to cooperate with him.

THE BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the 13th in a series of Bilderberg meetings on international affairs, in which I participated, was held in Williamsburg, Va., on March 20, 21, and 22. These meetings are designed to bring together leading figures in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe for informal round-table discussions of international problems, particularly those affecting the Atlantic community. In keeping with the basic objectives of increasing mutual understanding on both sides of the Atlantic through a free and relaxed exchange of ideas, the meetings do not attempt to reach formal conclusions or adopt resolutions. Representatives of governments as well as authorities in the fields under discussion attend in a personal capacity, not official. The meetings are private and off the record, and attendance is confined to those who are actually participating.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a background paper entitled "The Bilderberg Meetings," explaining the origin and purpose of the Bilderberg meetings, a list of the persons who attended the Williamsburg series, and a list of the 12 meetings which had preceded this one.

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

THE BILDERBERG MEETINGS

The idea of the Bilderberg meetings originated in the early fifties. Changes had taken place on the international political and economic scene after World War II. The countries of the Western World felt the need for closer collaboration to protect their moral and ethical values, their democratic institutions, and their independence against the growing Communist threat. The Marshall plan and NATO were examples of collective efforts of Western countries to join hands in economic and military matters after World War II.

In the early 1950's a number of people on both sides of the Atlantic sought a means of bringing together leading citizens, not necessarily connected with government, for informal discussions of problems facing the Atlantic community. Such meetings, they felt, would create a better understanding of the forces and trends affecting Western nations; in particular, they believed that direct exchanges could help to clear up differences and misunderstandings that might weaken the West.

ORIGIN

One of the men who saw the need for such discussions was the late Joseph Retinger. In 1952 he approached H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands with the suggestion of informal and unofficial meetings to discuss the problems facing the Atlantic community. Others in Europe wholeheartedly supported the idea, and proposals were submitted to American friends to join in the undertaking. A number of Americans, including C. D. Jackson, the late General Walter Bedell Smith, and the late John Coleman, agreed to cooperate.

The first meeting that brought Americans and Europeans together took place under the chairmanship of Prince Bernhard at the Bilderberg Hotel in Oosterbeek, Holland, from May 29 to May 31, 1954. Ever since, the meetings have been called Bilderberg meetings.

NO STRICT RULES OF PROCEDURE

From the outset it was the intention of the Bilderberg founders and participants that no strict rules of procedure govern the meetings. Every effort was made to create a relaxed, informal atmosphere conducive to free and frank discussions.

Bilderberg is in no sense a policymaking body. No conclusions are reached. There is no voting and no resolutions are passed.

The meetings are off the record. Only the participants themselves may attend the meetings.

PARTICIPANTS

It was obvious from the first that the success of the meetings would depend primarily on the level of the participants. Leading figures from many fields—industry, labor, education, government, etc.—are invited, who, through their special knowledge or experience, can help to further Bilderberg objectives. Representatives of government attend in a personal and not an official capacity. An attempt is made to include participants representing many political parties and points of view. American participation has included Members of Congress of both parties.

Over the years, Bilderberg participants have come from the NATO countries, Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, and Finland, and have included prominent individuals such as Dean Rusk, Christian A. Herter, Maurice Faure, Franz-Josef Strauss, Amintore Fanfani, Panayotis Pipinelis, Reginald Maudling, the late Hugh Gaitskell, Omer Becu, Guy Mollet, the late Michael Ross, Herman Abs, C. L. Sulzberger, Joseph Harsch, and T. M. Terkelsen. Individuals with international responsibilities have also participated, among them being Gen. Alfred Gruenther, Lord Ismay, Eugene Black, Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, Paul-Henri Spaak, and the late Per Jacobsson.

THE MEETINGS

Bilderberg meetings are held at irregular intervals but have taken place once or twice a year since 1954. All the early conferences were held in Europe, but a meeting is now held on this side of the Atlantic every few years to provide a convenient opportunity for American and Canadian participants to attend.

The Bilderberg meeting at Williamsburg, Va., on March 20, 21, and 22, is the 13th to take place since 1954. The 12 preceding meetings were held at:

1. Oosterbeek, the Netherlands, May 29-31, 1954.
2. Barbizon, France, March 18-20, 1955.
3. Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, September 23-25, 1955.
4. Fredensborg, Denmark, May 11-13, 1956.
5. St. Simon's Island, Georgia, United States, February 15-17, 1957.
6. Fluggi, Italy, October 4-6, 1957.
7. Buxton, United Kingdom, September 13-15, 1958.

8. Yesilkoy, Turkey, September 18-20, 1959.
9. Burgenstock, Switzerland, May 28-29, 1960.
10. St. Castin, Canada, April 21-23, 1961.
11. Saltsjobaden, Sweden, May 18-20, 1962.
12. Cannes, France, March 29-31, 1963.

## BILDERBERG MEETINGS

(Williamsburg Conference, March 20, 21, and 22, 1964)

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

H.R.H. the Prince of the Netherlands, Chairman.

Ernst H. van der Beugel, Honorary Secretary General for Europe.

Joseph E. Johnson, president, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Honorary Secretary General for the United States.

Paul Rykens, Honorary Treasurer.

Arnold T. Lamping, former ambassador, Deputy Secretary General for Europe.

Acheson, Dean, former Secretary of State, United States.

Agnelli, Giovanni, vice-chairman of the board and managing director, Fiat Co., Italy.

Ball, George W., Under Secretary of State, United States.

Baumel, Jacques, Senator, Secretary General, "Union pour la Nouvelle République," France.

Baumgartner, Wilfred S., former Minister of Finance, France.

Beer, Henrik, secretary, General League of Red Cross Societies, International.

Bennett, Frederic, Member of Parliament, United Kingdom.

Berg, Fritz, president, Federation of German Industries, Germany.

Birgi, M. Nuri, Ambassador to NATO, Turkey.

Birrenbach, Kurt, Member of Parliament, Germany.

Brauer, Max, former burgomaster of Hamburg, Member of Parliament, Germany.

Buchan, the Honourable Alastair, director, Institute for Strategic Studies, United Kingdom.

Bundy, McGeorge, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, United States.

Cabot, Louis W., president, Cabot Corp., United States.

Cisler, Walker L., industrialist, United States.

Collado, Emilio G., vice president, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), United States.

Dean, Arthur H., international lawyer and diplomat, United States.

Defferre, Gaston, Department of National Assembly, mayor of Marseille, France.

Duncan, James S., company director, Canada.

Dundee, Lord, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, United Kingdom.

Erler, Fritz, Member of Parliament, floor leader Social-Democratic Party, Germany.

Ford, Gerald R., Congressman, United States.

Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., Congressman, United States.

Fulbright, J. William, Senator, United States.

Gallois, Pierre, general, specialist in nuclear problems, France.

Griffin, Anthony G. S., banker, Canada.

Gubbins, Sir Colin, industrialist, United Kingdom.

Haekkerup, Per, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark.

Hague, Gabriel, president, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., United States.

Healey, Denis, member of Parliament, Labour Party spokesman on defense, United Kingdom.

Heaney, Arnold D. P., former Ambassador to the United States, chairman, International Joint Commission on Water Resources, Canada.

Heinz II, Henry J., chairman of the board, Heinz Co., United States.

Herter, Christian A., former Secretary of State, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, United States.

Hoegh, Leif, shipowner, Norway.

Holfield, Chet, Congressman, United States.

Jackson, Charles D., senior vice president, Time, Inc., United States.

Jackson, Henry M., Senator, United States.

Javits, Jacob K., Senator, United States.

Jellicoe, Lord, First Lord of the Admiralty, United Kingdom.

Kerchove d'Ousselghem, Nicolas W. de, assistant "Ecole des Sciences politiques et sociales," Belgium.

Kissinger, Henry A., professor, associate, Harvard University Center for International Affairs, United States.

Kleffens, Eelco N. van, chief representative in the United Kingdom of the European Coal and Steel Community, International.

Kundtson, Harald, general manager, "Den Danske Landmandsbank," Denmark.

Kohnstamm, Max, vice president, Action Committee for a United States of Europe, International.

Koster, Herman J. de, president, Federation of Netherlands Industries, Netherlands.

Kraft, Ole B., former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Member of Parliament, Denmark.

Krapf, Hans, Chief of the Political Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany.

Kuhlmann-Stumm, Knut Freiherr von, Member of Parliament, floor leader of the Free Democratic Party, Germany.

La Malene, Christian de, Member of Parliament, Member of European Parliament, France.

La Malfa, Ugo, Member of Parliament, Italy.

Lamontagne, Maurice, President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, Canada.

Lange, Halvard, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway.

Lennepe, Jonkheer Emile van, Chairman Monetary Committee EEC, Chairman, Working Party 3 OECD, International.

Lindsay, Franklin A., president of Itek, United States.

Lipkowski, Jean de, diplomat, Member of Parliament, Member of European Parliament, France.

Litchfield, Lawrence, Jr., chairman of the board, Aluminum Co. of America, United States.

Lolli, Ettore, deputy general manager "Banca Nazionale del Lavoro," Italy.

Luns, Joseph M. A. H., Minister of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands.

Majonica, Ernst, Member of Parliament, Germany.

Maifatti, Franco M., Under Secretary Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Italy.

Mansholt, Sicco L., vice president EEC, International.

McCloy, John J., lawyer and diplomat, United States.

McGhee, George C., Ambassador to the Federal Republic, United States.

Meyner, Johannes, managing director, AKU, Netherlands.

Murphy, Robert D., president, Corning Glass International, United States.

Nebolsine, George, international lawyer, United States.

Nykopp, Johan, former Ambassador, president of Tampella, Finland.

Pearson, Lester B., Prime Minister, Canada.

Peccei, Aurelio, managing director, Italconsult, Italy.

Pinay, Antoine, former Prime Minister, France.

Rockefeller, David, president, Chase Manhattan Bank, United States.

Roll, Sir Eric, Economic Minister at the British Embassy to the United States, head of the United Kingdom Treasury and Supply Delegation, United Kingdom.

Scaglia, Giovanni Battista, member of Parliament, vice chairman, Christian Democratic Party, Italy.

Schmid, Carlo, Vice President, Federal Parliament, Germany.

Schwitzer, Pierre-Paul, managing director, International Monetary Fund, International.

Shulman, Marshall, research associate, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, professor of international politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, United States.

Smith, H. Page, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (NATO), International.

Snoy et d'Oppuers, Baron, managing director "Compagnie d'Outremer pour l'Industrie et la Finance", Belgium.

Speidel, Hans, special adviser on defense matters, Germany.

Stewart, Michael, Member of Parliament, United Kingdom.

Stikker, Dirk U., Secretary General of NATO, International.

Stone, Shepard, director, International Affairs Program, Ford Foundation, United States.

Terkelsen, Terkel, chief editor, Denmark.

Umbricht, Victor H., former head of Swiss Treasury and diplomat, president, CIBA Corp., New York, Switzerland.

Vittorelli, Paolo, Senator, Italy.

Wallenberg, Marcus, chairman, Federation of Swedish Industries, Sweden.

Westrick, Ludger, Secretary of State, Office Federal Chancellor, Germany.

Winters, Robert H., industrialist, Canada.

Wolf von Amerongen, Otto, senior partner Otto Wolf Kohn, Germany.

Wriston, Walter B., executive vice president, First National City Bank, United States.

Wyndham White, Eric, executive secretary, GATT, International.

Wynham White, Eric, executive secretary, GATT, International.

## CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1963

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7152) to enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, now to the business in hand: First, I had a debate last week on title VI of the bill. I made some statements with respect to the critical importance of the right to withhold Federal funds from Federal-State segregated programs or programs in which there was some segregation, and I gave figures at that time as to the amount of support which was available from the Federal Government for such programs, as compared to the amount which was paid into the Federal Treasury by those States. At least that part which was allocated and which went to Federal grants generally was challenged by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG].

I have since sought further confirmation of these figures from the Library of Congress. The figures I gave were from the Tax Foundation, Inc., a very reliable concern. Nevertheless, I felt it was appropriate to respond to the challenge which has been made to those figures.

I have now had the advice and analysis of the Library of Congress. I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD