

wars governments have been changed. Great governments and great empires have disappeared from the family of nations. We are moving into a new scientific era, the results of which nobody can predict. History is the account of the decline and fall of nations and empires, and of the emergence of new nations and empires.

I believe firmly in the Government which was established by the framers of our Constitution—a government of the people. But our Government is not immune to change. It can die, it can fall, as other governments and empires have fallen in the past. There is that danger now.

Everyone who has read a modicum of history knows that unsound financial policy has wrecked many a government; that inflation has destroyed nation after nation. We know now, from the statements of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the President, that we do not raise by taxation or by any other form of revenue sufficient money with which to carry on the program for which the President has asked. Much of this program is for the defense of other nations. It is called mutual security. But I have yet to see any evidence of a desire upon the part of many of the countries to which our largess is going, to provide defense for us.

We have been carrying the burden of the cost of the United Nations. I am for the United Nations.

We have been carrying the burden of the cost of military aid. We have been carrying the burden of the cost of economic aid, but the countries to which we have been sending military aid and economic aid have not been responding in kind.

The International Cooperation Administration reported recently that as of December 31, 1957, it had on hand in foreign currency—soft currency—the equivalent of 2,500 million American dollars. That is soft currency which we cannot spend. We cannot use it to pay interest on the national debt, which is increasing. We cannot even use the soft currencies in the countries which issue them, without the consent of those countries, because to do so would induce inflation there.

The United States has spent approximately \$30 billion on foreign-aid programs; yet secrecy is maintained about the kind and character of the contracts, and Congress is not permitted to know what the contracts are until after the commitments have been made. This means that our own U.S. dollar is being weakened.

We have heard many of the critics of those who have stood for popular government and for Federal expenditures for the aid of distressed areas in the United States talk about the declining value of the dollar, when they thought they were criticizing a Democratic Congress. But we do not hear them criticizing the accumulation of soft currencies. If that continues, if secrecy is maintained in the executive branch of the Government, secrecy of the pattern which is exemplified by Admiral Strauss, then we shall be on the road to bankruptcy; and bankruptcy will destroy free government. If we are to defend free government in the world, we must defend it here at home. The essence of free government is that the people shall know the public business which is carried on in the interest of the people.

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.