

effectiveness of new methods and techniques, in the hope of finding the way to do our job more quickly and rationally than in the past.

When I say "we," I am referring to all our member republics. The new ideas and techniques must come above all from our Latin American partners, for you know best what is likely to work in your country or region. At the same time, we must be constantly aware that our searching, testing, and our consultation can be fruitful only if we stay within the basic framework set down in the Charter of Punta del Este and that each of us carries his share of responsibility for the program.

Working along these lines; casting aside both complacency and exaggerated expectation; and moving forward at the pace which dedicated men and women throughout the region have set in the first 2 years of the Alliance, I am confident that this program can and will lead to self-sustaining growth of the Latin American Republics.

But beyond this, it is our joint and solemn responsibility to make sure that such growth takes place in the framework of freedom and democracy. As President Betancourt said in his address on Monday: "When our peoples lose faith in the ballot, and in the orderly and peaceful transfer of power from one government to the next through elections, they will be tempted to succumb to the experience of Cuba They may do so out of sheer despair unless we succeed in establishing and maintaining truly democratic governments which guarantee our peoples not only a reasonable income but also access to land and to cultural values."

The words of President Betancourt are an eloquent definition of the Alliance for Progress. This is a program not for the few—but for the many. Its institutions do not serve one sector to the exclusion of another—they must serve all the people.

Let us, then, heed the urgent call of these peoples by assuring the success of this Alliance—a success for which uncounted millions have yearned so ardently for so long and which they so richly deserve.

Thank you.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, May 21, 1963, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

- S. 18. An act to change the name of Harpers Ferry National Monument to Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; and
- S. 247. An act to authorize survey and establishment of a townsite for the Juneau Indian Village in Alaska.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL THURSDAY

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate adjourn, under the previous order, until 12 o'clock noon on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 28 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned, under the previous order, until Thursday, May 23, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 21, 1963:

The following-named midshipmen (Naval Academy) to be permanent ensigns in the line of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Thomas H. Aulenbach
Patrick A. Day

The following-named midshipmen (Naval Academy) to be permanent ensigns in the line of the Navy (special duty intelligence), subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Robert D. Stiger, Jr.
David A. Wells

Roger A. Marlen (Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps candidate) to be a permanent ensign in the Supply Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

James R. Moyers
Stephen A. Pye, Jr.

The following named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

James H. Blackburn Garry L. Snodgrass
Nicholas D. Broussard John T. Watson
Eugene S. Kostliuk

The following named (Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps) for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Michael B. Peterson.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1963

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Philippians 3: 13-14: *Reaching forth, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.*

Almighty God, we thank Thee for this significant day when we are paying tribute and honor to another young American patriot and hero.

We proudly acknowledge that he has captured our imagination and admiration by soaring onward and upward into space.

Grant that his achievement may symbolize the faith and courage we need for the adventure of the aspiring and ascending moral and spiritual life.

Inspire us to believe and feel that our souls belong to a "generation of wings" and that Thou art continually calling and urging us to pursue the lofty altitudes.

Expand and enlarge our minds and hearts with a passion to attain unto the highland and heavenly life.

May we eagerly follow the vision which Thou hast revealed unto us in the life of our Lord and may that vision bless us with its gleams which are always pointing us to the higher levels.

We humbly confess that the highland life is also beset by many obstacles and difficulties but that Thou wilt kindle within in this divine assurance:

"He who, from zone to zone;

Guides through the boundless sky Thy certain flight.

In the long way that I must tread alone, Will lead my steps aright."

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 537. An act to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Government of the United States; and

S.J. Res. 60. Joint resolution providing for the acceptance by the United States of America of an instrument for the amendment of the constitution of the International Labor Organization.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. The House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 3 minutes p.m.) the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS TO RECEIVE MAJ. L. GORDON COOPER, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE

At 1 o'clock and 11 minutes p.m., the Doorkeeper announced the Acting President pro tempore and Members of the U.S. Senate who entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Acting President pro tempore, Mr. RUSSELL, taking the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate the seats reserved for them.

At 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m., the Vice President entered the Chamber and assumed the chair vacated by the Acting President pro tempore at the right of the Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to escort our distinguished visitor into the Chamber the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ARENDS], the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES], and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints on behalf of the Senate the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], and the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL].

The Doorkeeper announced the Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargé d'Affaires of foreign governments.

The Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargé d'Affaires of foreign governments entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them.

At 1 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m., Major Cooper's fellow astronauts, Virgil

I. Grissom, Alan B. Shepard, Jr., Donald K. Slayton, Malcolm S. Carpenter, and Walter M. Schirra entered the Chamber. [Applause, the Members rising.]

(The other astronaut, John H. Glenn, Jr., was in Japan.)

The Doorkeeper announced the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The Doorkeeper announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 1 o'clock and 32 minutes p.m., the Doorkeeper announced Maj. L. Gordon Cooper, Jr.

Maj. L. Gordon Cooper, accompanied by the committee of escort, entered the Chamber and stood at the Clerk's desk. [Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Members of the Congress, it is a personal pleasure and a great honor for me to present to you a brave man who has made history, a dedicated American who has added luster and glory to our country, and whose achievement will bring extraordinary benefits to mankind, Maj. L. Gordon Cooper, Jr. [Applause.]

Major COOPER. You cannot imagine what an honor it is for me to be invited here, and I thank you all very much. It is indeed a very great privilege and honor.

The other day when we came into Honolulu, coming back from the carrier, the U.S.S. *Kearsarge*, it was Armed Forces Day, and flying in the helicopter from the carrier we deviated over by the U.S.S. *Arizona* and I threw a wreath out on the tomb and I thought as I did so of the many thousands of American military who fought and died and those who are still fighting and dying, and who will in the future fight and die that we might have a free country, a country free to conduct the research and development of a peaceful scientific program such as the one I am now in.

I think that this program is composed of many members of the military such as myself who are integral members of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration as well as the many civilians from all walks of life and from all avenues of endeavor. I do not think I have ever been with a team that was more dedicated, or striving harder, or was more completely sold on their product than the total space effort and particularly the manned space flight effort in which I am involved. I think one thing that we are proving is that man is very definitely a primary part of the space vehicle system, of the manned space vehicle system in particular, that man can still function with his brain, his thoughts, his body, and aided by the various intricate parts of the hardware which we developed over the years, he can still accomplish his mission, take

varied courses of action, and conduct research and explore space in all avenues. I think that the door to the manned space flight was opened by the gentlemen who appear here with me; Alan Shepard and his spacecraft *Freedom 7*. [Applause.] Shortly after this momentous occasion and still a man riding on top of the rocket and getting into space was Gus Grissom and his spacecraft *Liberty Bell 7*. [Applause.] Next there was a gentleman whom we certainly all know and the entire world knows and loves and respects, John Glenn and his spacecraft *Friendship 7*. [Applause.] John is doing some ambassadorial work in Japan for us. He is out there with his wife Annie. He phoned yesterday morning via long distance to extend his best wishes and to say that he wished he could be here and all his best wishes were with us, and to give you all his best. He was followed by Scotty Carpenter in his spacecraft *Aurora 7*. [Applause.] We then had a very complete systems wring-out, elongation of flight, an engineering test flight in Wally Schirra's *Sigma 7*. [Applause.] And then followed by myself in the spacecraft that I flew, *Faith 7*. [Applause.]

I think of all things that I am constantly amazed at is the public's response to this program. I think it is tremendously impressive. I think examples of this are the parades that we have had—and more recently in Honolulu, then the one we have had here in Washington. I think that these show that Americans want to express their feelings and their confidence that we as Americans can conduct peaceful research programs; that we can conduct them openly, honestly, and under the surveillance of every man, woman, and child in the entire world. [Applause.]

I think that in furtherance of this—of the interest that is shown in the program—is my privilege of being invited to speak to you ladies and gentlemen here today.

I named my spacecraft *Faith 7* for three reasons: First, because I believe in God and country; second, because of the loyalty to organization, to the two organizations, actually, to which I belong and, third, because of the confidence in the entire space team. [Applause.]

I am not too much of a preacher, but while on the flight on the 17th orbit I felt so inclined to put a small prayer on the tape recorder in the spacecraft—it was over the middle of the Indian Ocean in the middle of the night. Things had been going so beautifully, everything had been working perfectly, and it was an ideal flight. I was encouraged to read a little transcript of this prayer as an ending:

I would like to take this time to say a little prayer for all the people, including myself, involved in this launch operation. Father, thank You, especially for letting me fly this flight. Thank You for the privilege of being able to be in this position; to be up in this wondrous place, seeing all these many startling, wonderful things that You have created. Help guide and direct all of us that we may shape our lives to be much better Christians, trying to help one another, and to work with one another rather than fighting and bickering. Help us to complete this mission successfully. Help us in our future space endeavors that we may

show the world that a democracy really can compete, and still are able to do things in a big way, and are able to do research, development, and can conduct many scientific and very technical programs. Be with all our families. Give them guidance and encouragement, and let them know that everything will be OK.

We ask in Thy name. Amen.

At 1 o'clock and 43 minutes p.m., Maj. L. Gordon Cooper, Jr., accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Doorkeeper escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order:

The members of the President's Cabinet.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargés d'Affaires of foreign governments.

JOINT MEETING DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The joint meeting of the two Houses is now dissolved.

Accordingly, at 1 o'clock and 46 minutes p.m., the joint meeting of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, at 2 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m. the House was called to order by the Speaker.

PRINTING OF PROCEEDINGS HAD DURING THE RECESS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings had during the recess be printed in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

MAJ. L. GORDON COOPER

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record on the life of Astronaut Leroy Gordon Cooper, Jr.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, like all the other people of Leroy Gordon Cooper's hometown, Shawnee; his home county, Pottawatomie, and his home State, Oklahoma, I feel a limitless pride in his achievement.

All Americans and indeed people everywhere shared in the anxieties and exaltations of his space flight. But we who saw him grow up in Shawnee and who have maintained a warm friendship through the years with the Cooper family felt an unusually keen sense of personal involvement.

Many have known him ever since he was born at Shawnee, March 6, 1927. His father, the late Col. Leroy Gordon Cooper, Sr., was active in the community for many years.

The future astronaut attended all 12 years of public school at Shawnee except for the 10th grade, which he spent in Murray, Ky.

His principal for 7 years at Jefferson grade school, Mrs. Gladys Risher, was typical of many who recall him when she said:

He was serious, intent on doing what was expected of him and what he expected of himself. He was a happy child, and as so many of us look back to those years we remember the quick smile, the bright, alert eyes, the sunny disposition.

Others recall him best accompanied, as he habitually was, by his dog Max, who lived to be 16 years old.

At Shawnee High School Leroy Gordon Cooper, Jr., was a member of the honor society, the Hi-Y and won a letter in football. He was taught to fly by M. C. "Davey" Davenport, still a resident of Shawnee, where he is assistant city engineer. After his graduation in 1945 he joined the Marine Corps. For several months prior to his discharge in 1946 he was a member of the Presidential Honor Guard here in Washington.

After leaving service, he joined his parents in Hawaii, where he studied engineering for 3 years at the University of Hawaii. It was there that he met and married his wife, the former Trudy Olson of Seattle, Wash., who at the time was teaching flying in Honolulu.

While attending the university, Cooper received an Army commission. After transferring to the Air Force, he was recalled in 1949 for flight training. For 4 years he was with the 86th Fighter Bomber Group in Munich, Germany, flying F-84's and F-80's. Then for 2 years he attended the Air Force Institute of Technology at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, where he received a bachelor's degree in aeronautical engineering in 1956.

Major and Mrs. Cooper have two daughters, Camala K. and Janita. His mother, Mrs. L. G. Cooper, Sr., now lives in Carbondale, Colo., but was in Oklahoma last week during the space flight with his grandmother, Mrs. Orena Herd of Tecumseh. His paternal grandmother, Mrs. Cora Cooper, also is a resident of Shawnee, as is an aunt, Mrs. J. J. Truscott.

Last August 11, when Major Cooper returned to Shawnee to participate in the naming of a Reserve armory in honor of his father, the community showed what it thought of him. Although the temperature broke records in a terrific heat wave, a crowd estimated at 20,000 persons jammed the downtown area for the welcoming parade.

As Jack Reese, news editor of the Shawnee News-Star, wrote last week:

Today, he imprints permanently his name on the pages of American and world history as one of the seven original U.S. astronauts, explorers of space.

To Oklahomans it is an interesting footnote that the commander of the aircraft carrier which picked up Major Cooper near Midway after his flight, the U.S.S. *Kearsarge*, also is a resident of our State. Capt. Eugene S. Rankin, commanding officer of the *Kearsarge*, is the

son of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Rankin of Sapulpa and a 1932 graduate of Sapulpa High School.

HOUSE PARLIAMENTARIAN HAS PLAYED VITAL ROLE IN COURSE OF U.S. HISTORY

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished Parliamentarian, Lew Deschler, is now serving his 36th year in that most important position in this House of Representatives. Although he possesses a passion for anonymity, he has become as well known a fixture in this House as the Mace beside which he sits. The late Speaker Sam Rayburn called him "A big brain man." Our beloved Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK calls him "The No. 1 Parliamentarian of the world."

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed with my remarks a story about Lew Deschler from the May 19 edition of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican:

MEET LEWIS DESCHLER: HOUSE PARLIAMENTARIAN HAS PLAYED VITAL ROLE IN COURSE OF U.S. HISTORY

WASHINGTON.—Meet the man who lays down the law to the Nation's lawmakers. He is Lewis Deschler, Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives—a big, genial Ohioan who for 35 years has passed judgment on legislation affecting millions of U.S. citizens and the world at large.

GIVES OPINIONS

"I don't make rulings, I just give opinions," insists Deschler.

But so seldom have his "opinions" been challenged over more than a third of a century of both Democratic and Republican rule that he is accepted without question as the lawgiver of the House.

Deschler, a 6 foot, 3 inch, 250-pound former tackle for Miami (Ohio) University, describes the job as "something like refereeing at a football game."

But no football referee ever faced the problems of the man who must have every one of the 11,000 rules of the House at his fingertips, and keep the 435 Members from each other's parliamentary throats.

Only once has he been overruled by the House, and then with his own agreement in order to straighten out a technicality.

He acts as constitutional lawyer, historian, adviser, and confessor to the always independent, sometimes rambunctious Members of the House.

Many Members call him "judge," but he has never presided over a courtroom or served as an attorney, and he didn't even have a law degree when he first took the job.

CAN DECIDE HISTORY

Yet Deschler's opinions can decide the course of the Nation's history.

There would probably still be only 48 States instead of 50 if Deschler had not searched a century of House precedents to find a rule allowing the Alaska and Hawaii statehood bills to bypass the Rules Committee, where they had been blocked.

And in depression days, he thumbed back through 15,000 pages of House rulings to find in President Andrew Jackson's era the legis-

lative key that opened the door for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "hundred days" of high speed reform legislation.

IMPARTIAL ADVISER

At the same time, Deschler gave impartial parliamentary advice to Republicans who sought to use the rules to block Roosevelt's programs.

Deschler's opinion can mean victory or defeat in a bitter legislative battle, but members of both parties trust him.

"They come to me and ask me questions. I answer them," he says. "It does not matter to me what party they belong to. They are all entitled to the same service."

More than one President has had reason to be grateful to Deschler.

When he was introduced to Franklin Roosevelt as "The man who has kept four House Speakers straight," the President—plagued by a balky Senate—replied: "Why don't you let him work on the Senate?"

Deschler's anonymity in the midst of a whirl of nationally known Washington personalities is by his own choice.

"I am not an unduly modest man," he says. "I just believe these Members who have to run for reelection every 2 years should get any credit there is. I'm not running for anything."

WORDS OF PRAISE

"He is less well known in the United States than many men of less importance here," says Representative RICHARD BOLLING, Democrat, of Missouri.

Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK calls him "the No. 1 parliamentarian of the world."

Says the Republican House leader, CHARLES A. HALLECK of Indiana: "I have known no other person more fiercely proud of the highest traditions of the House."

Without the rules, and Deschler to interpret them, added HALLECK, "We never would get anything done around here."

The late Democratic Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas used the highest accolade in his lexicon to describe Deschler: "A big brain man."

Deschler's minute knowledge of the complex workings of Congress would make him invaluable to any industry, but he has turned down offers to become a lobbyist at many times his \$22,000 a year salary.

"This is my life, my love," he says.

Deschler was a Republican when first appointed Assistant Parliamentarian by GOP Speaker Nicholas Longworth in 1927, but now, as to politics, "I wouldn't describe myself at all."

RANGE OF DECISIONS

Deschler's opinions have ranged from such solemn matters as the procedure for declaring war, to deciding how soon Americans could buy a drink after the repeal of prohibition.

After a mixup in timing between the House and Senate, Deschler advised that April 7, 1933, was the earliest date a thirsty citizen could legally hoist a highball. The ruling stood.

The Constitution, Thomas Jefferson's manual and the nearly two centuries of precedents make up the rules of the House. They have confused more than one trained lawyer, but Deschler boils down the legalistic maze to one basic principle: "The Nation," he says, "is entitled to fair play in enacting its legislation."

After a mixup in timing belong that now, he says, "I can walk but on the floor and feel it when something is going to happen."

EULOGIZED RECENTLY

But one proceeding he failed to anticipate was the recent eulogy to mark his 58th birthday and 36th year as Parliamentarian.

A rare House tribute usually reserved for congressional bigwigs or other national notables, it covered nearly five pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Looking proudly down from the gallery were Deschler's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Deschler, both now in their 80's.

"I never dreamed when I was a barefoot boy in Chillicothe that I would ever be here," Deschler said later.

If Deschler ever doubted his value to the House, there is no question in the minds of its Members, past and present.

One of them—President John F. Kennedy—sent Deschler this message: "You have played a unique and vital role in the life and work of the House of Representatives. I had an opportunity myself as a Member of Congress to know of your wise and effective influence."

SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Subcommittee No. 4 of the Small Business Committee be allowed to sit Wednesday and Thursday of this week during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

POSTPONEMENT OF SPECIAL ORDERS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order program for tomorrow may be postponed until Thursday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. GROSS. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, what is the occasion for this request, if I may ask the majority leader?

Mr. ALBERT. If the gentleman will yield, two Members have special orders for tomorrow. We do not plan any legislative program for tomorrow. We plan to ask unanimous consent to adjourn over from today until Thursday, when we do have legislative business.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tomorrow to file certain reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

MANMADE FIBERS

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask, unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the informal textile committee of the House, created in the 87th Congress, under the leadership of the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON], labored long and

hard to save the textile industry of this country from unfair low-wage foreign imports. Much progress was made in calling this problem to the attention of the Congress, to the country, and to the world. As a result of the persistent efforts of the textile committee in the House and that of the other body, the long-range agreement with 23 countries of the world, representing 90 percent of the textile manufacturing of the free world, was signed.

Mr. Speaker, any solution of the textile import problem must take into consideration all phases and all categories of textile imports, including wool, silk, and manmade fibers. So far this year, imports of woolen goods are skyrocketing over last year. There has been a fantastic increase in the imports of manmade fibers. As of May 1, imports of manmade fibers reached a staggering total of more than 34 million square yards above the same period last year. May I remind the House that last year manmade fiber imports were the highest on record. During our many meetings at the White House, at the State Department, here on Capitol Hill, in the Commerce Department, and everywhere, it was agreed that no real solution to the textile problem could be found without limiting imports of wool, silk, and manmade fibers. As secretary of the textile group, I recall that all major participants in these discussions agreed that imports of manmade fibers must be limited in order for any general agreement to work successfully. Those of us in the textile group were aware from the beginning that foreign manufacturers, exporting to the United States while limiting exports of cotton goods, could literally shift overnight to the exports of manmade fibers. This could not only wreck the manmade fiber industry but could undermine any other agreement concerning cotton goods.

Mr. Speaker, I maintain that the President has the tools with which to do the job and, if not, a favorable decision in the textile industry's national security case would give the President the green light to go ahead and save the entire textile industry of this country including wool, silk, and manmade fibers. I urge the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning to proceed under the law and thoroughly investigate the effect of these imports on national security. After such an investigation the Director could come to only one conclusion—that is, the textile industry, including manmade fiber, is essential to national defense. With this ruling by the Director, the President could move swiftly to save this essential industry.

CAHOKIA, ILL., FOUNDED IN 1699

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, today, as the Congress pays tribute to one of the Nation's astronauts, L. Gordon Cooper,

I would like to take a few moments to refer to an earlier date in our country's history.

Even before our Nation obtained its independence, there was established near the banks of the Mississippi River in an area now known as St. Clair County, Ill., a thriving community—a community that was to have a significant role in the history of the new world and which has lived continuously since founded by early French missionaries.

In this age of space exploration and jet transportation, it is well for us to look back into history and to examine the manner in which our land and our country was developed. I am particularly interested that my colleagues in the House have some idea of the early settlements in the Midwest—quite a few of which date back as far as Williamsburg and other historic settlements in the East. Cahokia, the community of which I speak, for instance has been in existence since 1699—a historical fact of which relatively few people in our country are aware.

The development of new outposts and frontiers in those early days of Cahokia was as important to the world then as the achievements of our astronauts of today.

For the edification of my colleagues in the House and for posterity, I would like to make the history of Cahokia, one of the earliest settlements in the new world, available to my colleagues and so that it will be of permanent record. I ask unanimous consent to include with my remarks a history of the historic community of Cahokia. This historical data appeared in the dedication program of the new Cahokia Village Hall sponsored by the Cahokia Jaycees and held on May 17, 18, and 19, 1963. It was compiled and written by Dolores B. Tygard.

The story of Cahokia follows:

THE FOUNDING

A young British commandant, Capt. Thomas Sterling, wrote an amazing and very human letter to his general in the year 1765. He was reporting upon conditions in the little French village of Cahokia, which was under his command.

Cahokia was a venerable 66 years old by this date, having been in existence since 1699. In this letter, we read of the captain's distress with his people, who had a tendency to slip across the Mississippi River and settle in the little town of St. Louis . . . which was exactly 1 year old.

He said, in part, "I have not been able to get an exact account of the number of inhabitants, as there is always many of them at New Orleans, trading with the Indians, or hunting, which they go to as regularly as the savages. My estimate of Cahokia is about 40 families. The new settlement of St. Louis has now 50 families . . . I wrote your excellency that few or none had given in their names, which made me hope they intended staying, but I have found since that that was a blind for many of them drove off their cattle in the night and carried off their effects and grain, but as I was not in condition to send parties to the two ferries of Cahokia and Caskaskias, a good deal has been carried off. If the gentlest methods are not used with those that stay . . . who are the best . . . we shall lose them, too."

These early French settlers, bound by ties of blood to their native France, found life intolerable under the rule of George III. They disregarded all the notices of the young British captain, and carried off grain and

cattle . . . even parts of their houses. These emigres made up a large part of the St. Louis settlement and Prairie a Catalan (later Carondelet).

In this 20th century it is like a pendulum of time, swinging in a returning arc, for hundreds of St. Louis families have discovered Cahokia. They are moving back across the river to this historic little town, to take up residence in the new subdivisions.

Everywhere the newcomers discover the rich lore of Cahokia. On Illinois State Highway No. 3, at the intersection of Highway No. 157, the State has erected a marker proclaiming that this village was founded by missionaries from the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec in 1699.

The story began in Paris, 300 years ago, when the first bishop of Quebec was a student. It was his dream to start the Seminary of Quebec, which dream was realized. For 35 years the seminarians prepared for the first great missionary project among the aborigines of the Mississippi Valley. The village of the Tamaroa Tribe of the Illinois Nation was chosen as the most advantageous location for central headquarters, because it was the "key and necessary passage to the nations beyond."

On May 1, 1698, the party left Quebec. There were three missionaries . . . Messrs. De Montigny, Davion, and St. Cosme, a deacon, three lay assistants, two blacksmiths, and some dozen workers.

When they reached the western country, no less a personage than Henri de Tonti, LaSalle's famed lieutenant, joined their party as their guide and friend. They passed slowly along the west shore of Lake Michigan, and by the 6th of December, they reached the mouth of the Missouri, and set up a camp among the Tamaroa-Kaoquis Indians. The first tribe they met were the Kaoquis. The following day, at noon, they were asked to visit the Tamaroa, across the river.

St. Cosme, who seems to have been the chronicler of the expedition, wrote a journal, which has been handed down as a classic of our western literature. He says:

"We camped on the other side of the river on the right bank. Monsieur de Tonti went to the village, and after reassuring them to some extent, he brought the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so, and on the following day, the Feast of the Conception, after saying our masses, we went with Monsieur de Tonti and seven of our men well armed. All the women and children were there. No sooner had we entered the cabin, than the young men and women broke away a portion of it to see us. There seemed to be a great many of them although the majority of their people were away hunting. They gave us food and we gave them a small present . . . they received the gifts with many thanks and after that we returned to our camp. The three villages speak the Illinois language."

The party divided, and St. Cosme and two workers remained behind. When Montigny returned on May 14, he found that a presbytery had been built and that the timbers for the chapel had been cut. A few months later, he wrote to Quebec "The chapel being finished, we planted a cross, with the greatest possible ceremony. All the Indians were in attendance."

This was in the week of May 14-22, 1699. The Mission of the Holy Family of Kaoquis was formally established, and here it stands today, at the crossroads of the Middle West, with a history which staggers the imagination.

The little parish has been by turns French, English and American. It has witnessed Indians massacring Europeans, patriots winning a revolution, and Americans marching off to every war our country has fought.

The hardships endured by the young St. Cosme and his men can only be surmised. By 1700, a Father Marc Bergier had been

appointed vicar-general for the Mississippi Valley, and he replaced St. Cosme at Cahokia.

Further along in this same year, two Jesuit priests arrived, one speaking the native tongue of the Tamaroa Tribe. The Jesuits, who had been working with the Illinois Indians for 25 years, felt their territory had been taken over. They soon established a mission of their own at Cahokia, but the problem was resolved by decision made in France in 1701. The original instructions were upheld, and the two Jesuits moved on down the river to found the village of Kaskaskia.

For all of them, the days were filled with anxiety and danger. Our histories give us an account of a Sioux uprising, coming down from the north, which surprised a group of local tribesmen out picking strawberries. They cut off the neck of a slave belonging to a Frenchman . . . stabbed two women and scalped them, wounded a girl with a knife, and crushed another underfoot. This was indicative of the resentful minority which opposed the coming of the missionaries, and their first settlers.

Father Bergier died in Cahokia, and, incredibly enough, is one of four priests buried behind the log church in the ancient burial ground.

A letter from the Jesuit father at Kaskaskia, still preserved in Quebec, recounts his death at the faraway outpost . . .

"His death was a cause of triumph for them. They gathered around the cross that he had erected, and there they invoked their Manitou . . . each one dancing and attributing to himself the glory of having killed the missionary, after which they broke the cross into a thousand pieces. I learned that with great grief afterward."

LOUISIANA PERIOD

Up until 1717 the town was under the government of Quebec. However, in that year the whole Illinois country was reallocated to the administration of Louisiana. A district command was shortly afterward established at the new Fort de Chartres. Things brightened considerably for the little band of French, at that time, for the commandant of Fort de Chartres gave the mission a large grant of land . . . 4 leagues (12 miles square) beginning above the village and extending down along the river. However, Cahokia . . . the most isolated spot on the Mississippi . . . did not show much material progress until the complete defeat of the Fox Indians in the year 1730.

The first official estimate of the population of Cahokia was made in 1723. It credits the village with seven habitants, one white laborer, one married woman, and three children.

The development of the Cahokia plowlands can be followed in part. The ground was fertile and did not have to be cleared of trees. A peculiar "strip farm" layout seems to have been contemplated as early as 1731, when the missionaries purchased from the Indians an area of land of 30 "arpents" frontage. This was laid out in tracts 3 arpents wide, starting at the Commons fence. The Indian occupation of the riverbank interfered with the completion of these fields, which the farmers insisted should run, without interruption, from the river to the bluffs. The unusual pattern of these farms, known as "the long narrow commonfield tracts of Cahokia" can be traced even today. Some of the strips, less than 200 feet wide, were over a mile long.

Farming was most successful, for our first settlers tell us that the ground would produce three times as much food as they could consume. A document of this period says, ". . . there is not, in all America, any special officer who has such a province as has he who commands for the King among the Illinois."

By 1752, the village had grown considerably. The census taken by the commandant was probably incomplete, for it does not contain names which should have been listed. However, it totals 136 persons, a tripling of the population since the first census. The resources were listed as 33 arpents of land, 224 head of cattle, 83 horses, and 100 hogs. Boys above the age of 12 were considered as capable of bearing arms, bringing the total of citizen soldiers to 21. For the defense of the village they had 29 fusils, 67 livres of powder, and 68 of lead and ball.

BRITISH OCCUPATION

These years would see the last of the great frontier struggle between the English and the French for domination of the Mississippi Valley. However, after the fall of Quebec, the war was lost and defeat cost France her colonial empire in America.

The years preceding the peace of 1763 had been hard for the little village, with Indian raids, drafting of her men to campaign for France, and disturbed conditions generally. But this was a bitter blow to the villagers, for they were French to the core.

The English paid little attention to such frontier posts as Cahokia. When administrators were finally sent, they were disdainful of the French customs and ways of thought.

FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS

The founding of St. Louis, on Spanish territory in 1764 was the real turning point in Cahokia's career. Pierre Laclede's party arrived from New Orleans late in 1763, and spent the winter at the fort. To get settlers for St. Louis, the commandant and Laclede endeavored to empty the French villages on the east bank, in spite of the British efforts to preserve them.

Thus it was that so many families crossed the river to take up life in the Spanish settlement . . . causing Captain Sterling to say, with plaintive sadness . . . "If the gentlest methods are not used with those who stay . . . who are the best . . . we shall lose them, too."

Up to this point, Cahokia had been called "the center of commerce of New France, or Louisiana, which is considerable in furs."

St. Louis was to take its place. The new establishment was located on the opposite bank . . . and under the energetic leadership of Pierre Laclede, it soon became the metropolis of the upper valley.

PONTIAC

After the origin of St. Louis, the most celebrated event of this period was the assassination of the great Indian Chief, Pontiac, on April 20, 1769. The famous Ottawa chief had come down the Mississippi "to trade and talk and drink." On that day, he was doing some trading on the main street of Cahokia at the store of Bayton, Wharton, and Morgan. History or legend tells us that a British trader, being jilted in courtship by one of the Cahokia French maidens, hired an assassin to waylay Pontiac. He, in turn, tried to fasten the guilt upon her lover.

Pontiac, who had been a great chieftain . . . who won his laurels at Detroit against the northern Indians . . . who was heard of at the great defeat of Braddock . . . who was in the French-Indian War at Quebec, and received his uniform from the celebrated French commander, Montcalm, was destined to die in this quiet little town of Cahokia, slain by a halfbreed Indian.

Pontiac had been in St. Louis, visiting with the elder Chouteau. While there, he heard of the great ball to be held at Cahokia. Dressed in his uniform, he crossed the river to mingle with his friends.

During the dance a shock came to the assembly which was as great as a cannon's roar. A young girl, on her way to the festivities, had come upon Pontiac's body on the edge of the forest. It was she who spread the alarm.

On the morning, he was buried within the village limits. The exact spot, pointed out by old citizens, is about 60 feet southeast of the lots owned by an early citizen of Cahokia, a Dr. Illinski. In 1881, the oldest house of the village stood on this lot.

EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD

The Illinois country became an important theater of operations for the Virginia frontiersmen. George Rogers Clark's famous campaign started with the capture of the Illinois country. On July 6, 1778, Capt. Joseph Bowman and 30 Americans (called "Big Knives") rode up on horses borrowed at Kaskaskia, and took Cahokia by surprise. (Note: The Illinois Historical Society has the original account of this by Bowman, himself.)

By reminders that France was on the American side, by promises of political freedom and by direct threat, Clark won over the majority of the French inhabitants. Bowman says he " . . . informed them not to be alarmed that although resistance at present was out of the question . . . they were at liberty to become free Americans."

The Mississippi River villages then became the base of operations from which Vincennes was laid under the military occupation of Virginia troops.

Among the outstanding events of the Revolutionary period were the visit of the Spanish lieutenant governor of St. Louis, for making war plans, and the reception of great numbers of Indians, from hundreds of miles around. They "soon flocked into the town of Cahos (Cahokia) to treat for peace." Even frontiersman Clark was amazed. The councils, which lasted 5 weeks, were enlivened by an attempted abduction of Clark by one of the tribes.

Within a year, a large striking force of British-led Indians descended on St. Louis and Cahokia. Clark was able to garrison Cahokia with 400 men, and when the attack broke on May 26, 1780, it was firmly repelled.

DESCRIPTION OF CAHOKIA

Much of the descriptive material relating to the old village is obscure, but by piecing together various references, and examining their historical documents, we learn this about our early Cahokians.

They settled their whitewashed houses around a square, close together. Their innate politeness, love of their families, and sheer joy of living runs through the pages of history. Each little house was surrounded by a white picket fence . . . flowers bloomed in profusion . . . and made a picturesque background for their quaint costumes. The people had a strong predilection for the blue color. Both male and female wore blue kerchiefs on the head. Hats were seldom used; in the winter a "capot made of white blanket" was the universal head-dress. Pantaloon for the men were commonly of a coarse blue cloth in the summer and buckskin in the winter.

In "The Pioneer History of Illinois" we find an interesting description of the houses.

"The French houses were generally one story high, and made of wood. They were formed of large posts, being set 3 or 4 feet apart and the intervals were filled up with mortar made of common clay and cut straw. Over the whole wall, outside and inside, it was generally whitewashed with fine white lime, so they presented a clean and neat appearance . . . all of the houses, almost, had galleries around them. The roofs were uniform and peculiar. They were made of rafters and lath for sheeting. The ends sloped considerably toward the center of the building. No nails were used to fasten the shingles to the lath. Pegs were put into the holes . . . and then one course of shingles bound another, until the whole roof was solid and good, never leaking one drop."

The farmlands lay entirely outside the village. The Cahokia Commons, as they

were called, consisted of thousands of acres, extending all the way to the present site of East St. Louis. The habitants described the common fields as "land on which to support their cattle, and for getting wood; not only for building but for fuel."

Each family possessed individual interest in a portion of the field marked off and bounded. Ordinances were made to regulate the repairs of fences, the time of gathering of the crop, and the opening of the field for the range of cattle. Each plat of ground in the common field was owned in fee simple by the person to whom granted . . . subject to sale and conveyance, the same as other property.

Sunday, as elsewhere in the colonies, was a day of pleasure. One historian stated that he did not believe there was a more devout people than the primitive French. With sentiments of true piety, it afforded them the utmost happiness to attend the church and perform their devotions.

But after mass was over, they enjoyed the day in amusements, merriment and recreation. Dancing, training the militia, house raising and similar performances were indulged in by the French on the Sabbath.

Public sales of land and other property in early times was held at the church doors on Sunday, after mass.

John Reynolds says: "I have seen the young folks dancing on a Sunday evening under the shade of the trees, with as much gentility and decorum as if the dance were any other day of the week. The old people were frequently seated around, enjoying the amusement with decided approbation."

In the years closing the 18th century, men of affluence and wealth were settling in Cahokia. We see names like the Sauciers, the Trotters, Charles Gratiot, Nicholas Jarreau (Jarrot).

In the courthouse papers, we read that the commandant, Trotter, was "grandly housed" and received a party of Indians in "a great furnished hall where a large crowd came to see them in the evening."

Charles Gratiot was a formidable resident. He came in 1777 and opened a trading post. The Missouri Historical Society is in possession of his *Journal des Cahos*, "dating from August 6, 1778, to December 1781, and from it we have received much of our information regarding these early times.

He remained in the area until 1781, when he moved to St. Louis and married the sister of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau.

CAHOKIA COURTHOUSE

The courthouse is still standing, one of three remaining landmarks, and is an Illinois State memorial, open to visitors.

It is the oldest house in Illinois, possibly the oldest private dwelling in the Midwest, built shortly after 1737. It is a classic example of this early type of French dwelling.

The house was the home of Capt. Jean Baptiste Saucier, builder of Fort de Chartres. In turn, it became the property of his son, Francois. One historian notes that in 1783 two rooms in this house were rented to a M. Marchessau. However, later documents show that Francois Saucier sold his home to the county for a courthouse.

With the establishment of the Northwest Territory, Cahokia became the seat of St. Clair County, a vast area embracing the largest part of what is now the State of Illinois. A grand jury report on October 4, 1791, recommended " . . . that for the support of the laws and government of our county the speediest means be taken to have a proper jail in this village, such as the state of this district may afford in its present situation . . ."

It appears that about this time a town-house was bought for public use, but was soon afterward exchanged for the Saucier

dwelling, "facing the rigolet next to the parade ground." This was then converted into a prison and courthouse under the authority of a territorial statute.

Nothing more is known about this building, which continued as a courthouse until 1814, when the seat of government was moved to Belleville. It then fell into private hands, and, as a curious specimen of early architecture, was sent to the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904. Later it was moved to Jackson Park, Chicago. In 1939, such timbers as remained were brought back to Cahokia and re-erected on the original site.

Interesting pictures and documents of the early days of Cahokia are now housed there. The names of our first settlers: . . . Thomas Brady, Jean Baptiste LaCroix, the Sauciers, Trotters, Jarrots . . . run through these documents.

The Cahokia courthouse is considered to be one of the leading relics of the French period in Illinois, a prototype of the better houses of the period.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY FAMILY

The Church of the Holy Family is the second of the landmarks still remaining.

In 1768 a French missionary, Father Pierre Gibault, was to come to Cahokia. He was welcomed with great joy and festivity . . . but Father Gibault sent back to Quebec a very gloomy picture of the Cahokia mission.

The presbytery was in ruins . . . the orchards gone . . . everything in disrepair. They needed to reorganize, to build a new presbytery, and for the time being, Father Gibault had to take up residence in Kaskaskia.

It was this early pastor of Cahokia who shows up in the American history books in later years. He was on fire with the cause of George Rogers Clark, and he disposed of all his own private means to lend material aid to the American cause.

The first successful attempt on Vincennes was a peaceful embassy led by Father Pierre Gibault and Jean Baptiste Laffont. His influence and support (which was great among the French) made a great deal of difference to Clark in the subsequent victory at Vincennes.

The years of the Cahokia mission in this period of her history are rather obscure. There was a church which burned down in 1783. That much we know, for they say "they were holding services in a rented church, and dreamed of the day when they would have a fine new one."

A Father St. Pierre came out to join Father Gibault in the Illinois country in 1786, and we have this graphic memorandum . . . "for the purpose of lodging our cure, we have begun by building a priest's house which has cost us almost 5,000 livres. The old house had been entirely ruined by the English and American troops lodged there . . . we have decided to build the church on the ruins of this house . . . we have commenced work on our projected church, which will cost more than 15,000 or 16,000 livres."

This was the present church, standing today, which has a construction date of 1786-99. This is set by a surviving affidavit, "The Reglement de la Fabrique de l'Eglise des Cahokias" . . . which shows it was dedicated and pews sold in that year.

According to manuscripts at the Holy Family Church, the dedication took place in 1799, but it may have been in existence for some time. There is a receipt dated April 3, 1797 to Louis Lebrun, who was paid for "crying several publications" at the door of the church. And a year earlier, Leno Lepage was paid for "tolling the bell for the late Joseph Cecire" which bill is dated March 25, 1796.

If the starting construction date is taken as 1786 or 1787, the church is undoubtedly the oldest church structure standing in the entire Mississippi Valley. The Cane Ridge

Meeting House in Paris, Ky. (1791), and the New Orleans Cathedral (1792-94) are the closest contenders for the title.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the present structure is the one started by Father St. Pierre. The oldest part consists of a simple rectangle entered at the north end. Hewn vertical wall posts of heavy dimensions were channeled out to accommodate a filling of stone and mortar. Another feature it has in common with the ancient Canadian churches is the characteristic fine French-hewn trusswork of the roof. Over the doorway, one sees a round "oeuil de bouc" (literally, goat's eye) window. The contract for the first wooden church called for this type of window. The roof displays bell-cast eaves. The church bell, dated 1776, is still in use. Not a nail was used, but huge wooden pegs were employed when needed.

The dominant men of the community all had a hand in its construction. Nicholas Jarrot, Louis LeCompte, Etienne, Louison and Louis Pinconeau, and the Voudrie brothers. To the latter was entrusted the actual building of the church, and they and their men cut the timber in the woodlot of the Cahokia Commons. We learn that they were paid partly in money, partly in peltries and wheat.

On the morning of September 8, 1799, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the little village was teeming with expectancy * * * for the new church was to be dedicated. Father Gabriel Richards was pastor at this time, and missionary priests came from all the surrounding towns in Illinois.

There is an atmosphere of restrained rugged strength to be felt as soon as one enters the church, which has weathered over 150 years of life.

In 1949, when Cahokia celebrated the 250th anniversary of her founding, the church was completely restored through the efforts of Father Joseph Henry Mueller, her present pastor, and Mr. Joseph Desloge, of St. Louis.

The names of the great men who had charge of the parish from time to time reads like a who's who in ecclesiastical circles. Father John Loisel, the first native St. Louisan to be raised to the priesthood, was its pastor—Father Gibault, the staunch defender of the American Revolutionary forces—Father Gabriel Richards, who is the only priest in America ever to have the distinction of having been elected to Congress, and who left Cahokia to go to Detroit, where he started the first newspaper—Father Robert Hynes, who launched a campaign to save the old church in 1912, and paved the way for its present contemporary restoration—the list goes on and on. Bishop Flaget, Bishop DuBourg, Bishop Rosati—all at one time or another had the care of Cahokia.

In the old burial ground, behind the log church, rest four of these illustrious priests: Father Bergier, Father Condamine, Father Jacquot and Father Hynes.

The church is open to visitors at all times, and attracts tourists from all parts of the United States. Mass is still celebrated there on all holidays. Eventually it will be under the care of our National Park Service. Our Government considers the building so priceless a part of our heritage, that it is to be placed in a category with Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

The parishioners of the Holy Family Church now use the lovely Romanesque church of stone, which stands in the same yard with the log church. This was dedicated in 1891.

Father Mueller came to the parish in 1928, and has remained as pastor since that time.

JARROT MANSION

The third landmark remaining in Cahokia is the celebrated Jarrot House. No history of Cahokia would be complete without the mention of Nicholas Jarrot, one of her most colorful and romantic sons.

Monsieur Jarrot came to Cahokia from France in 1797. He died there in 1820. Arriving a poor man, by his talents and energy he soon acquired an immense fortune. He was an Indian trader; he kept a small general store; he operated several mills, but the bulk of his wealth was acquired through real estate. In 1815, he recorded his land at 25,000 acres, including the site of East St. Louis.

He married twice, the first time to a Marie Barbau of Prairie du Rocher. One child was born of this marriage, Elise. However, when Madame Jarrot died in childbirth, Nicholas married again, several years later. This time his bride was Julia St. Gemme Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve. Her family was the aristocratic French of Illinois, and the St. Gemme Beauvais home in Ste. Genevieve is now a museum.

To Julia, upon her marriage to Nicholas, came the heritage of the wedding ring and the solid silver which her mother had brought from France in 1776. Julia's trousseau came from Paris—even a cloth of gold.

In 1798 they lived in a wooden house across the street from the Church of the Holy Family. However, Nicholas was not content until he built a house which would be suitable for one of his increasing fortune. This ambitious young man began building a mansion which stands today as a monument to his efforts.

He wanted it built directly east of the church, and nothing would do but brick. In 1799 the work commenced and continued until 1806.

A great deal of care was needed in the foundation planning for a house whose outside walls were 18 inches thick, and with partition walls, also made of brick, 16 inches in thickness. Even the roof was built to endure, for it lasted a hundred years.

It was to be a 2-story house, 38 by 50 feet, in the manner of what we know as colonial. The foundation rested upon black walnut timbers with about 2 feet exposed, and several feet underground. The glass for the windows and the panes were imported from France. The bricks were all fired by hand in a kiln located close to the original wooden Jarrot house.

The large hall was 16 feet wide, and ran the length of the house. There were five rooms downstairs—two on each side—with a kitchen built on at the rear. The stairs at the back of the hall led to the second floor, where a large ballroom extended across the front of the house. There was a bedroom on the east side, and one on the west. The slaves were quartered in the basement, where there were four fireplaces.

The large hall was the scene of much gaiety. The guests were received before the large fireplace, while the Jarrot children peered over the railing to see who had come. Slaves stood at each end to fan the guests, who were entertained at banquets in the hall.

The old mansion stood through the earthquakes of 1811, 1812, and 1818. Two large cracks at the rear of the house attest to the severe quake of 1812. Major Jarrot had a cave built in the fields back of his house, and when the first quake was felt, everyone fled to the cave. The children remember that he called the roll for children and slaves alike. The "big quake" blew down the chimneys of the church, caused great damage in the town, but did not seriously injure the mansion.

The Jarrot children born to Julia and Nicholas were Ortance, Melanie, Eugenie, Francois, Vital, Julie, and Felicite. The kindness of heart and urbanity of manner of the father and the gentleness and friendliness of the mother attracted many visitors. Our historians say all visitors were received and entertained by the Jarrots and their interesting children "in a polished and elegant style."

A major in the militia and a judge of the county court, Nicholas gave as much time to public affairs as any man of his day. His church and his family were the core of his life—and anyone in the territory who needed help came to Major Jarrot.

His influence was felt far beyond the confines of Cahokia. There is record of an incident before the War of 1812 when the British were arousing the Indians against the Americans. Major Jarrot, and two men, had gone out to a large Indian camp. The traders were armed only with shotguns, when the Indians descended upon them. A Winnebago chief stepped in front of Nicholas Jarrot with his tomahawk, defending him against the warriors. He was thereafter called "Jarrot," and remained a true friend of the major.

John Reynolds, in "The Pioneer History of Illinois," states the Indian "Jarrot" was seen at Galena as late as 1829.

Another account is recorded when the Indians kidnaped two children of Samuel Garrison, and took them to their village on the Sangamon. There they were kept for a year, and ransomed to "a Col. N. Jarrot of Cahokia."

Nicholas had a mania for mills, and spent much money and strength on a water mill on Cahokia Creek, only to be beaten in the end by sand and swamps. He operated another water mill up the river in Illinois-Town (East St. Louis) which was more successful than his Cahokia venture.

The Cahokia mill, which Jarrot started in 1812, was for use of the troops in the war. He provided flour and gunpowder, and the small stone magazine standing behind the Jarrot mansion at the present time was for the storage of gunpowder.

The Jarrots were a very close family—loving, and devoted to one another. They had many slaves, and took excellent care of them. Madame Jarrot was the last slaveholder in Illinois. One of the famous law cases handed down to us is *Jarrot v. Jarrot*, where the Supreme Court handed down a decision on a Cahokia slavery case. This, incidentally, antedated the celebrated *Dred Scott* case on the opposite side of the Mississippi by several years.

In the main, all of the French were lenient masters. The wives spun linsey for the Negroes' clothing, and taught them their catechism. One day the children heard a baby crying in the basement of the mansion. Ortance went to investigate and found that the cook had run away and abandoned the child. She took him upstairs and took charge of the boy, naming him "Louis." So kind was her supervision that when he was old enough to obtain his freedom, he did not want to go. Years later, in 1841, when the daughter of Ortance, Maria Brackett, was married, Louis returned from his job on a riverboat to prepare the wedding breakfast in the old house.

Most of the charming vignettes of French family life, as we see it in this period, came to us through stories handed down by the Jarrots.

One ball followed another so closely, they say they could not understand how the ladies carried on. On the 6th of January, the people of Cahokia celebrated "Le Jour de Rois." A large party was given, and a huge cake baked, served only to gentlemen. There were four beans inside, and the men who received them were the kings of the carnival. They chose their queens, and had the honor of giving the first ball. At this affair, succeeding "kings" were selected—and the social season was assured.

The gentlemen had one room set aside for cards, and often played "vingt-un." They say it was not unusual for them to sit at the card table for 30 hours at a stretch. During these weekends, the Jarrots entertained the Chouteau brothers, the Bonds, Ninian Edwards, John Reynolds, Pierre Menard. Before the days of banking, each man kept a

considerable part of his fortune in his own home. Jarrot kept his silver in a large horse-hair chest. A small red trunk held the more precious gold pieces. When luck was running against him, or one of his guests wished to be accommodated, he gave the key to a slave and sent him up to get "so many scoops of the little yellow fellows." The same red trunk with the original key is in Memorial Hall in Washington.

The holidays were exceptionally bright, with the laughter of the children, and the merriment of their elders, rocking the old mansion. The young men of Cahokia dressed as beggars and went from door to door, where they were entertained at each home.

Another historian tells us that it was the custom of the French to celebrate midnight mass on Christmas eve. It was also the custom to select a young lady of the parish to take up the collection on this night. It was Felicite Jarrot who was performing this service when fire broke out in the presbytery, and seriously threatened the old church.

On New Year's Day, they kissed when they met acquaintances on the streets of Cahokia. Slaves kissed the master and the mistress, to show the affection in which they were held.

Pancake Tuesday was the day before the advent of Lent, and the occasion of a party, where pancakes were served * * * piled high, and cut like cake. Madame Jarrot's were as thin as paper and as light as a feather, and all Cahokia was in attendance at the Shrove Tuesday ball.

However, love of pleasure was not the only characteristic of families such as the Jarrots. They raised their families lovingly and carefully. Separated from the educational advantages of the country, they had to depend upon each other. They were not unlike the same aristocratic class in Virginia for this period.

They still retained the love of France—her customs, and her tongue. The story is handed down through the Jarrot family that one day the grandchildren were out walking in the fields back of the house, hunting for persimmons. Julia Jarrot saw a farmer approaching and asked, "Mistaire, Mistaire, will you tell me where I can find persimmonie?" He was deeply concerned * * * "Oh, Madame Jarrot, have you lost your purse-o-money?" And the grandchildren were greatly embarrassed, pulling at her skirts and correcting her * * * "No, no, Grandmere. It is persimmons." However, she persisted that the correct word was "persimmonie."

The lives of the Jarrots continued in this happy vein, one day gracefully following another, for all the world like a masterpiece by Manet. However, one day in 1820, Major Jarrot contracted a respiratory ailment while working at his Illinois town mill.

He died in his mansion at Cahokia, and lay in state in his great hall, while the ancient church bell next door tolled his passing.

The great men of his period say that he lived a life which touched all others * * * for a man is measured by his association with his fellow man, his public life, his church, his family.

He is buried behind the old church, in the burial ground. The historians say that if you visit his grave, walk softly and say a prayer, for the words on his tombstone * * * "Priez Pour le Repose de Son Ame" (for there lies a noble man) are true.

The family stayed in the house until 1844, when the floods caused unusual devastation. The marks of the water are still on the rear doors of the church. Boats were tied to the railing in the hall of the mansion, and every member of the house moved to the second floor. For the children, it was high adventure. When the waters started to come up, the boys took skiffs and went out to the slaves' cabins in the field to bring them to

safety. One grandchild, Maria, mischievously dumped the cook into the water, and all of Cahokia heard her terrified screams.

The children say they learned to swim during the flood, and lowered themselves into the skiffs in the hall from ropes tied to the stair-railings.

When the waters receded, the entire family moved to St. Louis for 3 months to escape the malaria germs. All of the church vestments were removed from the church, and hung in one of the second-floor bedrooms, to dry. A catafalque and candles was stationed outside the door, to discourage pilfering, and to frighten off the superstitious.

The old house saw generations of children grow up in it. In 1818, Benedicte Ortance became the first bride of the family when she married Robert McCracken. However, Mr. McCracken died at an early age, and Ortance eventually married Dr. James Brackett, of Maine. Maria, their daughter, married Joseph Sibley, and from this source (the Sibley letters) comes much of the information we have on the Jarrot family.

Ortance continued to live in the old family house until 1886. She died there, and is buried in the cemetery beside her father.

Francois, the first son, remained a bachelor, and died when he was 34. Melanie married Samuel Christy, a prominent St. Louis businessman. Their daughter, Mary Felicite Christy, was born in the mansion. She, in turn, became Mrs. James J. Scanlan, and was an outstanding leader of St. Louis society. Her daughter, Marie Therese Christy Scanlan (the great-granddaughter of Major Jarrot) was the Veiled Prophet Queen in St. Louis in 1898.

Mrs. Nicholas Jarrot eventually went to St. Louis to live, and died there in 1875 at the age of 97.

Vital was the child destined to carry on his father's name. At an early age he showed his father's business acumen. His early education was derived from tutoring by Samuel Davidson—when his father set up the first school in Cahokia in the second-floor ballroom—but he continued on at Georgetown.

There were few business enterprises which did not feel his touch. He was in partnership in the publishing of the "American Bottoms Gazette" (the first newspaper in East St. Louis)—the establishment of a railroad in 1833—the building of the Eads Bridge.

Vital served as representative of St. Clair County at the general assembly in Springfield, and there became a friend of young Abraham Lincoln. He later on in life received an appointment from President Lincoln—as Indian agent to the Sioux in the Black Hills region.

He was the mayor of East St. Louis in 1869, serving 4 years * * * and was also president of the Bank of East St. Louis.

Vital Jarrot died out in the Indian country in 1877. There he rested for two generations before he was brought back to his father's house. Not too many years ago he was buried in the old churchyard, where he played as a boy.

The house has a history as colorful and as picturesque as any home in America. It has seen laughter and tears—births and deaths—weddings, christenings, and funerals.

In 1825, when the Marquis de la Fayette visited the Midwest on his triumphal tour, he stopped in St. Louis. At that time, the entire entourage came to Cahokia for a huge ball in his honor. Major Jarrot had been dead for 5 years, and his son, Francois, had just attained his majority. Story has it that it was Francois who stood beside his mother, in the great hall, to receive the distinguished visitor.

The Jarrot mansion is considered the oldest brick house in the Upper Mississippi Valley. The State of Illinois has detailed plans

of it in the Library of Congress for safe-keeping.

The Jarrot mansion was showing signs of considerable wear and tear when it was purchased by Oliver L. Parks. Mr. Parks commissioned the St. Louis architectural firm of Study, Farrer & Majors (working in collaboration with Hoener and Hubbard) to restore it as nearly as possible to its original state. Mr. Study reviews the work, "Oliver Parks Restores the Jarrot Mansion at Cahokia" in the Illinois State Historical Society Journal, XXXVIII.

In later years, the Church of the Holy Family acquired the property. At one time, it served as a school for the children of the parish. At present it is the residence of the teaching sisters of the parish, the Congregation of the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood, whose motherhouse is in Ruma, Ill. These sisters who came to Cahokia in 1889, originally, have been teaching the children of the parish since that date.

GOLDEN ERA

Cahokia hit her peak—the golden era—in the early part of the 19th century. There were 3,000 inhabitants, 24 stores, and the people of St. Louis made it their principal trading place. However, her hopes of developing into an important city in the heart of America were foredoomed. Under the banner of Pierre Laclède, St. Louis was destined to take its place as the commercial center.

By 1838, business had definitely moved to the west bank of the river and Cahokia—19 years older than New Orleans—65 years older than St. Louis—104 years older than Chicago—139 years older than St. Paul—declined in importance. It was to remain an agricultural center, where life was pleasant and regular.

PARKS COLLEGE

In 1927, Parks College of Aeronautical Engineering was founded at Cahokia by Oliver L. Parks. Today, as a part of St. Louis University, it is still training hundreds of young men in the various fields of aviation, and many of its students come to Cahokia from all parts of the country, and foreign lands. It is considered one of the most modern aeronautical schools in the United States, with beautiful landscaped grounds and modern dormitories and school buildings.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

In 1949, the little town was teeming with activity, for it celebrated its 250th birthday. Visitors flocked into Cahokia—and distinguished guests included the Archbishop of Chicago, His Eminence Samuel Cardinal Stritch; Adlai Stevenson, Governor of Illinois, and Monsieur Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador to the United States. A fitting tribute was paid to the mission town when a visitor said: "From a mere hut, with a cross beside it in a virgin wilderness, it has grown through 250 years. Cahokia's importance is based on strong foundations. The village and the parish are important because of what was accomplished here for God and His creatures."

PRESENT DAY

An incalculable boost to the town's morale came when news was released in the summer of 1955 that the proposed million-dollar bridge, linking Cahokia and St. Louis, had been approved. The new bridge, under consideration for a number of years, will connect the new superhighway entering St. Louis from the south with Illinois State Highway No. 3, at Cahokia. This will bring the city and the town together as closely as they were in the days when they stood alone in the Northwest Territory.

Now that St. Louis has rediscovered the little town, large subdivisions are springing up on all sides, bringing scores of St. Louis residents across the Mississippi to live in the historic Cahokia. How pleased the young

Captain Sterling would be to see them come—augmenting his first "Forty Families".

On all sides the newcomers find the rebirth of the "new Cahokia". The schools are making plans for expansion—some have started their building program. They see the new and modern Cahokia Commonfields High School, occupying a campus of 46.5 acres. Stores are expanding—a new supermarket has recently been completed. Churches have announced additional building plans—a new sewerage system is in—and the streets have been widened and repaired.

Many of the St. Louisans feel akin to the early pioneers—a vast number of them actually see Cahokia for the first time when they come to look at the new subdivisions.

On all sides they see the flurry of activity which means resurgence and progress, yet Cahokia still retains the air of smalltown country living. Several miles away from their homes, and the new residents are on quiet country roads, with picturesque farmhouses, cultivated fields, barns and windmills—a monograph of a country scene. Several miles in the opposite direction, and they are in the heart of the bustling spirit of downtown St. Louis.

To the imaginative, the little village is a direct link with our historic past. Some of the new residents of Cahokia will undoubtedly be able to trace their own ancestors back to its early citizens.

The young people of the Church of the Holy Family still hold their summer street dances on the lawn outside the old log church—the women of the parish still do their quilting in the log church—and some of the older residents tell fabulous tales of days when the Mississippi was a solid sheet of ice and they walked across to visit their St. Louis friends—and how all of the produce which they raised was ferried across to the old French Market in St. Louis. It gives a quiet air of timelessness to the old town.

Some of the old French names are still in evidence. Among their new neighbors, the newcomers will meet the LaCroix's, the Jeromes, the Saugets, the LePere's, the LeMieux's, the LaMotte's. If we delve into the historical documents—there is a Narcisse LaCroix living within a stone's throw of the church; Jean Baptiste LaCroix was the village magistrate in 1780. The name LeMieux appears in the census of 1732. In the burial records of the church, a Felicite Jerome, daughter of Francois Jerome, was buried on January 4, 1787. The daughter of Joseph LaValle are Cahokia residents, and a Francis LaValle appeared as appellee in a court case in the beginning of the 1800's. Mr. Joseph Desloge, of St. Louis, was influential in the restoration of the church in 1949, and a much earlier Joseph Desloge appears as the opponent of Charles DuCharum in a card game in the 1700's.

The children have come to Cahokia in droves, playing in the fields where Melanie and Orntance Jarrot, and their brothers and sisters played. Once again they dig imaginary caves in the area behind the Jarrot house, in essence very like the one Major Jarrot prepared for the quake of 1812. They roam the fields in small bands, shooting imaginary Indians—they weave weird tales about the old stone magazine—the old "perale ground" adjoining the courthouse is a converted ball field.

Three times a day the Angelus rings in the old church steeple, and the children scatter in all directions, heading home for meals, as uncounted children have before them, for uncounted years.

It is a subtle shading of the old and the new—the progressiveness of the new—Cahokia—the traditional antiquity of the old—in the little town which is preserved as the oldest white man's settlement in the entire Mississippi Valley.

PRIVATE CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Private Calendar Day. The Clerk will call the first individual bill on the Private Calendar.

OUTLET STORES, INC.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2300) for the relief of the Outlet Stores, Inc.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

DR. AND MRS. ABEL GORFAIN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2706) for the relief of Dr. and Mrs. Abel Gorfain.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

CHARLES WAVERLY WATSON, JR.

The Clerk call the bill (H.R. 2728) for the relief of Charles Waverly Watson, Jr.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

CATALINA PROPERTIES, INC.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2262) for the relief of Catalina Properties, Inc.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

CLARA G. MAGGIORA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1237) for the relief of Clara G. Maggiora.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 212 (a) (3) and section 212(a) (4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Clara G. Maggiora may be issued a visa and admitted to the United States for permanent residence if she is found to be otherwise admissible under the provisions of such Act, under such conditions and controls which the Attorney General, after consultation with the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, may deem necessary to impose: Provided, That a suitable and proper bond or undertaking, approved by the Attorney General, be deposited as prescribed by section 213 of the Immigration and Nationality Act: Provided further, That this ex-

emption shall apply only to a ground for exclusion of which the Department of State or the Department of Justice had knowledge prior to the enactment of this Act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONSTANTINOS A. GRIGORAS (GREGORAS)

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1560) for the relief of Constantinos A. Grigoras (Gregoras).

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of section 4 of the Act of September 22, 1959 (73 Stat. 644), section 42.22(d) of title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations shall not be applicable in the case of Constantinos A. Grigoras (Gregoras) duly registered as an immigrant on August 11, 1953.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 4, strike out "section 42.22 (d)" and substitute in lieu thereof "section 42.66(a) (7)".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MRS. KAZUKO (JOSEPH JAMES) KAPP

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3218) for the relief of Mrs. Kazuko (Joseph James) Kapp.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Mrs. Kazuko (Joseph James) Kapp, the widow of a United States citizen, shall be deemed to be within the purview of section 101(a) (27) (A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and the provisions of section 205 of that Act shall not be applicable in this case.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO CANCEL DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS IN THE CASES OF CERTAIN ALIENS

The Clerk called the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 390) authorizing the Attorney General to cancel deportation proceedings in the case of certain aliens.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the resolution as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Attorney General is authorized and directed to cancel any outstanding orders and warrants of deportation, warrants of arrest, and bonds, which may have issued in the cases of Mrs.

Branca da Gloria Franco Freitas, Mrs. Annie Gabbay, Mrs. Mui Kim Chen Liang, Mrs. Chu Chai-Ho Hay, Mrs. Gisela Fuchs, Santa Giannalva, Sister Myriam (Marta Krzyzowska), and Mrs. Agnes Geldl. From and after the date of the enactment of this Act, the said persons shall not again be subject to deportation by reason of the same facts upon which such deportation proceedings were commenced or any such warrants and orders have issued.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. This concludes the call of the Private Calendar.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct an inquiry to the majority leader as to the legislative program for Thursday.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. ALBERT. On Thursday, if a rule is reported out tomorrow, the equal pay bill will be taken up.

Mr. MORSE. May I inquire of the majority leader as to the program for next week?

Mr. ALBERT. If the gentleman will yield, we are not ready to announce the program for next week at this time. The program will be announced later, of course.

Mr. MORSE. Then this is all the business for the remainder of this week?

Mr. ALBERT. This will finish the business for this week, so far as I know as of this time.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the gentleman.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

DOUBLE STANDARDS CUT TWO WAYS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the continuing controversy over the advancement of the Negro. Certainly, we all share dismay at the fact that violence and demagoguery are

becoming the order of the day whenever pressures arise in this field.

Columnist Jenkin Lloyd Jones, writing in yesterday's Washington Evening Star, discusses the subject in a progressive, moderate and thorough fashion, deserving of nationwide attention. For this reason, while fully realizing the tremendous differences of opinion that exist, I feel this article is a practical contribution to understanding, and I place it into the RECORD at this point.

DOUBLE STANDARDS CUT TWO WAYS

Among the worst enemies of American Negroes today are many who proclaim themselves as the Negroes' best friends.

These are the people who gloss over, alibi, explain away or attempt to cover up a rising tide of Negro misbehavior in America's big cities. They represent the "It's-all-the-white-man's-fault" school. Down this road lie endless disappointments and setbacks for America's Negro citizens. The inevitable reaction will be particularly rough on those young colored kids who are really trying to better themselves.

A once-submerged race doesn't rise on a record of irresponsibility. Unpunished crime is not the way to obtain social acceptance. Illegitimacy, family abandonment and relief loafing by preference are pretty sure methods of drying up good will. No amount of fair employment legislation will overcome the disastrous results of a record of bad citizenship.

Yet these are the net result of a peculiar social philosophy that has attempted to tell Negroes that they are not responsible for their actions.

Following a riot at the Washington baseball park last month in which a group of young Negro toughs attacked white fans for no reason, Mrs. Agnes Meyer ascribed the outbreak to frustration.

"The Negro is sick and tired of being kicked around 90 years after passage of the 14th amendment, which promised him equality," said Mrs. Meyer. She called for a new outpouring of Federal money to meet the "social, educational and economic problems" of Negroes in the District of Columbia.

Well, the Negro certainly has been kicked around. He needs better schools and wider job opportunities. But he also needs a greater sense of responsibility. Washington news stories are dreadfully repetitive about young muggers and purse snatchers who are "released to the custody of their parents." What kind of parents?

People don't walk in the Washington parks after dark any more. These are parks that belong to the whole Nation. When the sun goes down, upper Central Park in New York City is deserted and the policemen patrol in pairs. Sure, there's plenty of white juvenile delinquency. But the comparative crime rates make chilling reading even though the NAACP has made every effort to have racial designations suppressed on the police records.

There is too much sly hypocrisy in the effort to assure Negroes that, however they behave, they are merely innocent victims of white bigotry.

Under our outmoded electoral college system, Negro votes in the large States are rich prizes. You can help gather these prizes by thundering oratory against the little Alabama town where integration would result in Negro majorities in all the schools. Yet there isn't a single politician in Washington of either party who has school-age children who couldn't, if he wished, send them to schools where Negro children are in the majority. How many do?

The Southern whites have plenty to answer for. One of their great errors was the acceptance of a racial double standard of behavior. Southern courts were notoriously

lenient with Negroes who stole from Negroes or killed Negroes. It was only when Negroes transgressed against whites that retribution was swift and often brutal.

But the Northern sentimentalists have set up a double standard in reverse. The little candy store owner who is beaten to death by colored thugs draws only mild tongue-clucking and perhaps an editorial, "Where Have We Failed?" Yet the riotous white kid on the Ol' Miss campus who throws eggs at James H. Meredith is photographed for a four-column spread on page 1 and treated as a national menace.

Race relations are not going to improve in America until we climb off these double standards. Crime is crime. Whites and Negroes, alike, have a right to be protected. And they have equal obligations in crime prevention.

In this respect, American Negroes who count themselves among the leaders of their race have been doing a terrible job. They have been long on self-pity and short on self-criticism. It has been more fun to organize marches into Dixie than to level with their people about the end result of the attacks on police in Harlem.

This failure of leadership has been immensely damaging to Negro aspirations. The shenanigans of Adam Clayton Powell have hurt Negroes at least as badly as the stubbornness of Gov. Ross Barnett. It is ironic that the only strong voice calling for better Negro behavior comes from the Black Muslims, who are as racist as the White Citizens Councilites, but are in favor of black supremacy.

Better opportunities may be presented to Negroes by court action, but they can be retained and expanded only by demonstrating reliability. A court has ordered Continental Airlines to hire a Negro pilot. Hooray! There isn't any reason why a Negro shouldn't fly a transport plane. But if he shows up at operations disheveled and hung over he'll betray his people.

Many Americans now concede that it is an outrage to keep a good pilot on the ground because his skin is black. But no one will want to fly with a bad pilot who is in the cockpit by court order merely because his skin is black.

It's as simple as that. Second-class citizens will never become first-class citizens by behaving like third-class citizens. American Negroes need more friends who are honest with them, and more leaders who are ready to go to war against all double standards—even those that have been comfortable.

NAACP, NEWSPAPERS ATTACK KENNEDY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGLER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include an article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWENGLER. Mr. Speaker, the May 10 issue of "Advance Notice," the newsletter of Advance magazine, carries an interesting article on the disaffection which is presently taking place between Negroes and the administration because of the failure of our present leaders to take effective action in the field of civil rights.

This indignation is well founded, because of the pious promises of the President and the Attorney General during the 1960 campaign and especially since they assumed office. Here is another

flagrant example of the failure of the administration's performance to match its promises.

As a member of the District of Columbia Committee, I am becoming more and more aware of the shortcomings of the Kennedy administration and the democratically controlled Congress to meet the problems of the District. The greatest need here is for home rule, and again I would like to call attention to the partnership plan which I have worked out and introduced.

The schools of the District of Columbia are a shocking example of neglect and unconcern. I have visited many of these schools personally, so that I could see for myself just how much they need help and attention. The greatest need, as I see it, is for a separate budget for the District of Columbia schools. I have introduced legislation to authorize this and I am pressing for its adoption.

All of us know that there is discrimination in employment in the District and I am convinced that it will take legislation to correct these abuses. I am drafting this legislation now and trust that it will get proper recognition from the leaders who express themselves so deeply on civil rights, yet do so little to back up their words with deeds.

The Advance article is an indication that those who have been shortchanged on civil rights are becoming fed up with promises and are looking to leaders who are sincere in their efforts to improve race relations; eliminate discrimination and segregation and to give the District of Columbia a model government and a model school system in keeping with its role as the seat of government where "liberty and justice for all" should be more than just a catch phrase.

The article follows:

SHIFT IN NEGRO POLITICS: NAACP, NEWSPAPERS ATTACK KENNEDY

Some Negro leaders in the NAACP and some Negro newspapers at last seem to be awakening to the hypocrisy that characterizes the Kennedy political technique. By appointing Negro leaders to Federal offices and supporting welfare measures in Congress, the administration hopes to secure continued overwhelming Negro support and at a relatively low price politically.

In Congress meanwhile the Kennedy's follow the now standard pattern of civil rights lip service, followed by no substantive support. Their belief seems to be that with occasional handouts to Negro officeholders and dole-seekers, colored voters will remain safely in the Democratic fold. This belief was bolstered by the civil rights fight in the Senate earlier this year. The administration first remained aloof from the struggle to impose cloture on the filibuster role—the very key to rights legislation.

After this struggle was lost the administration cynically announced a series of rights proposals it knew would not pass, especially without the determined backing it had no intention of providing (and has not provided). But amazingly enough, much of the Negro press wildly celebrated—in banner headlines—the Kennedy announcement, as though it were the most momentous declaration since the Emancipation Proclamation.

Two months later, however, perhaps as delayed reaction, Negro criticism of the Kennedys is beginning to mount. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and the Reverend Martin Luther King have warned the President

united Negro support in 1964 is by no means assured.

The Negro Sun-Reporter (San Francisco) recently urged Negro leaders who hold State offices as well as posts in the NAACP to resign the latter. It criticized these men for attempting to lead the civil rights crusade while in reality serving as obstructionists and apologists for Democratic Gov. "Pat" Brown. At the same time the Sun-Reporter predicted that nationally Kennedy's "failure to fulfill 1960 campaign pledges will leave Negroes disillusioned" for 1964. If Rockefeller or some equally progressive Republican is nominated, "he will have more appeal to the Negro voters than had either Eisenhower or Nixon."

How durable is the current Negro indignation remains to be seen. Republican candidates in the past have found that Negro papers which praise them throughout their terms are capable of an about-face come election time. Nonetheless, the disenchantment with Kennedy that exists today gives the GOP its best opportunity for winning back Negro support on the basis of promising a practical civil rights program on which it can deliver. Republican senators and congressmen have presented such a program already, and it is now up to the staff of the Republican National Committee and each State committee to sell it.

DEMOCRATS UNITE TO OPPOSE GOP ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The administration and the Senate Democrats chose May Day (Law Day in the United States) to demonstrate that on the issue of racial discrimination the Democratic Party is not always so divided as is often supposed.

It must have been inspiring to Democratic partisans to watch such Southern Democrats as JAMES EASTLAND and JOHN STENNIS join with Northern "liberals" like JOE CLARK and TED KENNEDY in support of the Administration and its Senate leadership against the all but unanimous "obstruction" of the Republicans.

The vote occurred on a motion to table an amendment of Senator JACOB JAVITS, Republican, of New York, which would have prohibited the use of a supplementary appropriation for the Farmers Home Administration in any State where the program's participants or beneficiaries are discriminated against on account of race, creed or color. Senator JAVITS presented figures to show the almost total exclusion of Negroes from the benefits of the program.

All but one of the Republican Senators—from JOHN TOWER of Texas to CLIFFORD CASE of New Jersey—voted or paired in favor of the amendment. MILTON YOUNG of North Dakota was the exception; all but a handful of the Democrats voted with the Southerners to table. Intense pressure from the administration, unwilling to offend its Southern supporters in the Senate, was reported in opposition to the amendment, and was said to have accounted for the near unanimity of the Democrats.

As Senator KENNETH KEATING, Republican, of New York, pointed out during the debate, the appropriate way to end discrimination in the disbursement of Federal funds is through an Executive order. But as long as the President abdicates his constitutional responsibilities, the Congress must step into the breach. In this case the amount of money involved was not large; but the principle involved is indispensable in a free society. Senator JAVITS is preparing similar amendments to attach to other appropriations. Though like the last one they might not pass, the principle that Federal money gathered without racial discrimination must be distributed accordingly, should not be compromised. Even if to the most liberal Democrats this principle seems to be less important than smooth passage for administration pork barrels.

PUBLIC REACTION TO THE MINORITY STAFFING SITUATION

MR. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

THE SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

MR. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, we have been receiving letters about the need for staff responsible and reporting to the minority—99 percent of them favorable—from all parts of the country, from men and women, rich and poor, all obviously active and interested voters.

We are most pleased at the response to the minority staffing fight that the House Republican conference subcommittee on increased minority staffing and the Senate-House joint ad hoc committee on minority staffing, headed by Senator HUGH SCOTT, our distinguished former national chairman, have been receiving. Below follow excerpts from some of these letters. We are very encouraged indeed that voters do take the time and trouble to write to their legislators and newspapers about this, and that this is an issue which has come to the attention of citizens all across the country. The letters speak for themselves:

W.R., Memphis, Tenn.: "After reading the editorial in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, I feel impelled to write you, and ask what can we do to correct this gross injustice."

B.C., Pawhuska, Okla.: "Mr. Roscoe Drummond had an article in the Tulsa World of recent date on the imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees and showing that the Democratic Members have far more on the staff than the Republicans. . . . We have opened Republican headquarters here in Pawhuska and would appreciate several copies of the information which you will send out."

L.S., New Castle, Pa.: "One of several articles which appeared recently in our local New Castle News carries further information in regard to the imbalance of staffing of congressional committees. . . . May I hear more about this reform which seems to have been set in motion? Always interested in anything which will insure the future of our two-party system and the good of our Republican Party. Thank you."

L.F., Lynn, Mass.: "I am interested in the preservation of the two-party system of government. I wish to see a reform of the injustice of one-sided monopoly of congressional staffing. I believe we should do all we can to gain Republican men in Congress to preserve our two-party system in government. While I am a Democrat, I believe that the good work done by valiant men should not go unrecognized. With a two-party system in the government that will prove strength, unity and show the world our great United States of America."

C.J., McDonald, Ohio: "May I take this occasion to register my strong approval to the stand you are taking concerning congressional staffing. It is again with considerable pleasure I find you being a champion for a cause that is right in face of almost insurmountable opposition. Due to the confines of the Hatch Act and my civil service position, it is impossible for me to offer myself to your cause as an active worker. However, if you have printed information relative to this subject, I would deeply appreciate a

copy of it. From time to time I find it possible to drop a well timed word where the effect is most convincing. Again allow me to express my endorsement of your stand. The people of this State can well be proud of the excellent representation you are affording both them and the entire Nation. May God continue to bless your dedication to right in government and justice at all levels."

F.A., Carrolltown, Pa.: "It has been brought to my attention that there is considerable inadequacy in the appointment of the subcommittee members, which may endanger the two party system. What can we do to help?"

H.B., Williston, N. Dak.: "I have just finished reading a column of Roscoe Drummond's * * *. I don't know how they were able to get by with this with a good number of constructive Republicans in Congress, but if there is anything the citizens can do to help, we would like to."

W.P., Memphis, Tenn.: "I'm interested in helping reform this injustice."

W.F., Lancaster, Pa.: "As an American citizen and one accustomed to fairplay, I am deeply distressed at the one-sided monopoly of congressional staffing which the Democratic Party has promulgated. I have talked to many citizens, all of whom are interested in supporting you in your efforts in Congress to reform these injustices in congressional staffing. It is folly for us to attempt to sell democracy abroad if the Democratic Party in our own country is unwilling to practice even fairplay in its handling of the professional staffs in Congress. I wish you success in this fight."

K.T., Perrysburg, Ohio: "What can one do to help in the situation we are reading about in the papers—the imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees?"

H.M., New Haven, Conn.: "You undoubtedly know that in the New York Herald Tribune recently there was an article by Mr. Roscoe Drummond concerning the present flagrant injustice in congressional staffing. I would be most grateful for suggestions indicating what my wife, my friends, and I might do in this connection."

R.G., Philadelphia, Pa.: "I read Roscoe Drummond's piece in the Herald Tribune * * *. I believe you're performing a great service by exposing this injustice to the American people. What can I do to help you?"

E.P., Westfield, N.J.: "I am very interested in the work you are doing about the unbalanced committees in Congress. What can we do to help?"

H.B., Ponca City, Okla.: "What can Republicans do here to help correct the ridiculous imbalance of the congressional committees? The ratio is appalling."

C.M., Abilene, Tex.: "Today I read an editorial by Roscoe Drummond in the Abilene Reporter News in reference to congressional staffing of committees. I am chairman of a local study group; and if you have available material on how to help further a reform of this injustice, I would appreciate greatly your sending this information in order that this study group of about 20 people may benefit from it, as well as help."

M.M., Rutherford, N.J.: "I am enclosing an editorial which appeared in the South Bergen News, our local paper recently. It sets forth the matter of unfair staffing very clearly and I trust will stir up some public indignation."

J.D., Los Angeles, Calif.: "In Roscoe Drummond's column in the Los Angeles Times, yesterday, he alerted us to the egregious imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees, due to the high-handed practice of majority chairmen—Democrats. In order to help, I am writing to those chairmen whose names I know. If there is an available list of these Democrats, I shall gladly write to each one."

R.B., Valley Forge, Pa.: "I am writing you to inquire about how to assist your vital effort to staff congressional committees on an equitable, effective basis."

B.B., Toledo, Ohio: "Thank you for alerting the public as to the unfair imbalance in Washington politics. I feel our two-party system is in grave danger. The entire world suffers when either party lacks sufficient voice to be heard."

P.B., Fair Lawn, N.J.: "I have read an article regarding the unfair professional staffing of the congressional committees and I understand that you are taking an interest in this issue. I am not one of your constituents, but I feel deep concern over the arrogance of the present administration and of the party in power. I would like to take this opportunity to express my own sympathy with the efforts you are making to seek some correction of this situation. It was suggested that you might be in a position to offer some guidance to those who would like to make their feelings known. Any such guidance you can give would be appreciated * * *."

R.M., Thompsonville, Conn.: "I have just read Roscoe Drummond's column in the New York Herald Tribune concerning the obvious imbalance in the staffing of congressional committees. It seems to me that the ability of a committee whose purpose is to investigate or examine the operation of any portion of our Federal Government would be severely hampered by this imbalance. A politically balanced staff could not be accused of political leanings, hence giving ordinary citizens the feeling that the facts brought forth are true and meaningful. I applaud your efforts in trying to right this obvious injustice to the opposition and I offer my services to this end. Please advise me as to the means of helping to correct this rather obvious bending of legislative justice."

H.T., Los Angeles, Calif.: "I am sure the public in general has been unaware until recently that the majority chairmen of House committees had the power and used it to keep the staffs of minority members down to such a low level, to hire and fire at will, set salaries, and determine tenure. Like most citizens I thought it was something regulated by law. I am at a loss to understand why nothing has been done about it before. It is such a glaring injustice * * * I intend to do my part in protesting this injustice at every opportunity."

R.E., Casper, Wyo.: "I was not aware of the one-sided monopoly of congressional staffing until I read an article by Roscoe Drummond. I am interested in knowing what may be done to further a reform of this injustice in congressional staffing in the interest of both parties and would appreciate having you inform me how I may help."

A.W. and R.W., Ogunkit, Maine: "The undersigned voters in Maine would like to congratulate you heartily on your efforts to bring to public attention inequalities in the staffing of congressional committees to the detriment of the minority party. To the average voter the brazen attempt of the majority party to load the committee staffs and to maintain control of them for obvious political advantage is just one more scandal to add to the sad picture of a Washington bureaucracy gone mad. But it is an exceedingly important scandal, and one which we fervently hope can be so thoroughly aired by your committee's efforts that the people will refuse to stand for it * * *. You have our unqualified support in your efforts."

E.P., Weston, Conn.: "I am interested in your fight against a one-sided monopoly of congressional staffing, and I am indeed shocked that so few of our voters are aware of the Democratic Party's imposition of such a completely inequitable distribution of staffs. Please tell me how I can be of help."

D.J., Wichita, Kans.: "Would you please let me know what I can do to further a reform

of the injustice in congressional staffing? Thank you for doing all that you are doing for us who care about this."

D.M., Berkeley, Calif.: "I am writing you in reaction to an article by Roscoe Drummond printed in the Oakland Tribune concerning the intolerable and crippling imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees. How can I help further a reform of this injustice and prevent this attempt to exterminate the party in opposition?"

W.T., Silver Lake, Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio: "I feel strongly that in order to preserve the two-party system of government it is necessary to have a more closely balanced Congress. We cannot have fair play until we correct the unjust congressional staffing. Will you help? Thank you."

W.H., Willow Grove, Pa.: "I am writing editorials for our local newspaper. For an editorial on the disproportionate committee staffing so far as the Republican representation is concerned, I would appreciate any information. I also would appreciate knowing just what work the staff members do and specific instances of the way in which this handicaps the projection of Republican viewpoints. Finally, I would appreciate information as to the plans and progress your fine committee is making in this regard."

R.M., Molverne, Long Island: "May I offer my services in an effort to equalize congressional staffing?"

M.F., White Plains, N.Y.: "Have just read an article by Roscoe Drummond in the New York Herald Tribune and am appalled at the imbalances on the various staff committees. As a citizen and a Republican, what can I do to further a reform of this injustice in congressional staffing?"

M.C., Passaic, N.J.: "I am very desirous of assisting to further reform the deplorable inequities existing in the Senate and House committees * * *. Please let me know how I can aid with a view to correcting the imbalance."

O.K., Memphis, Tenn.: "I am concerned about the injustice in congressional staffing and will appreciate any suggestions you can give me on how I can help in this matter."

W.F., Orinda, Calif.: "I wish to thank you for your effort in bringing to the attention of many citizens of the United States, the very unfair imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees in the Senate and House. Please send me information."

E.O., Sweet Springs, Mo.: "Congress should not endorse a ratio of 12 to 1 between the majority and minority staffs in Congress. They should not have to be demanded * * *. I do not approve of a system that places virtually complete control of the congressional committee staffs under the majority chairman—with the majority chairman free to hire and fire at will, set salaries, and determine tenure * * *. Neither do I endorse the limitations placed upon the minority in terms of inadequate office space, very limited travel, telephone calls, secretarial services, and other essentials of the mechanics of adequate staff work."

A.K., St. Petersburg, Fla.: "I would like to help in reforming the injustice in congressional staffing in the interest of both parties."

E.M., New York, N.Y.: "I am very much interested in your efforts to correct the intolerable and unjustifiable imbalance in the professional staffing of congressional committees. I would like to enlist my services in this cause and I, therefore, await your instructions and directives, and assure you that it is most refreshing to have you as one of the recognized leaders of the Republican Party taking an aggressive stand and initiative in a matter that approaches a national scandal. Please accept my congratulations and best wishes for your continued success."

F.R., Bronx, N.Y.: "I refer to an article in the Herald Tribune recently concerning a reform of the injustice in congressional staffing. I am very much interested in helping to accomplish this and would appreciate your sending me information as to how to make my influence felt in this respect."

E.B., Kansas City, Mo.: "Noticed a write-up in the Kansas City Star today of the lopsided method of the congressional committees. Please advise what we can do to correct this injustice."

C.L., Tenafly, N.J.: "Would you be kind enough to let me know what I can do to correct the imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees?"

C.C., Wichita, Kans.: "I wish to further a reform of this injustice in congressional staffing in the interest of both parties. Please advise me how to help."

S.H., Toledo, Ohio: "I wish to protest vigorously against the present imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees * * *. Such disparity in these appointments is almost unbelievable and should be discontinued at once. If continued, it would lead to the destruction of our two-party system and of the effective functioning of Congress. I trust that you will do all that you have power to do to put an end to this unfair policy."

P.S., Hillsborough, Calif.: "I read with a great deal of interest efforts made by you to secure better representation for our minority group on congressional investigation staffing * * *. I would like to be of assistance to you in this endeavor as would numerous friends of mine, and I therefore look forward to hearing from you as to how best we might help."

P.L., New York, N.Y.: "As a Republican of some 20 years standing, I noted a recent item by a columnist concerning the partisan staffing of congressional committees. I would like further details with particulars as to how citizens can help in bringing about reform in the staffing procedures."

A.W., Smithville Flats, N.Y.: "I have just finished reading Roscoe Drummond's article in the New York Herald Tribune of recent date. What he says about the staffs of the congressional committees has interested me greatly, and I would like to know what I could do to help further a reform in the present setup * * *."

Y.G., Sweet Springs, Mo.: "After reading a New York Herald Tribune article by Roscoe Drummond regarding your fight for a more equitable distribution of resources and power within the Senate and House subcommittees, I would be interested in knowing what measures you recommend to remedy the situation. I would also appreciate knowing where and to whom I should write to give my support to your movement. Keep up the good work, and I will be more than willing to do my part from here."

V.H., Valley Stream, N.Y.: "I am indeed concerned about the conditions described in the Roscoe Drummond recent column in the New York Herald Tribune as regards the professional staffing of the congressional committees. The term dictatorship, I think, has numerous objects less obvious than uniforms and concentration camps, but certainly no less dangerous, therefore, how can I assist you in your efforts to reverse this mistaken trend?"

J.S., Los Angeles, Calif.: "We are tired of one party or the other stacking the deck on the other party, by loading the legislative staffing of the congressional committees. We do not think that we, the people, are being properly represented by one party that takes complete rule over the other. A more favorable balance should be reached in the future. Either equal or near equal representatives of both parties would give us much better government and would keep one or the other from ramming through their ideas."

E.M., New York, N.Y.: "I have just read Roscoe Drummond's column in the Herald Tribune on the inequity present in the staffing of congressional committees. I am astounded at the imbalance present and the affront to the public in this packing. Be it Republican or Democratic administration in power, I am most strongly in favor of the minority party having fair representation on any and all legislative committees for the public's protection."

F.T., Norwich, N.Y.: "How can I help to correct professional staffing of congressional committees?"

A.M., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: "I am interested in a reform of this injustice in congressional staffing, and would appreciate further information on how individual citizens can help."

L.W., Stamford, Conn.: "You probably read Mr. Roscoe Drummond's column in the papers a few days ago, in which he discussed your crusade to correct the imbalance in professional staffing of the congressional committees * * *. What can I do to help in correcting the situation about which he wrote?"

J.T., Glendale, Calif.: "My husband and I wish to express our approval of your crusade to correct the imbalance in professional staffing of the congressional committees. We have been aware for some time of this inequity and wondered just how long the people would tolerate this situation * * *."

G.B., New Orleans, La.: "I am interested in your fight against the imbalance of staffing congressional committees * * *. I am only an independent but I will be glad to help in any way that you think I can * * *."

L.H., Medford, Oreg.: "In a recent issue of the Medford Mail-Tribune, I read an article by Roscoe Drummond concerning the inequities in the staffing in Congress * * * how can I help?"

F.F., Amherst, Va.: "Please send me information on what I should do to further a reform of the injustice in congressional staffings."

J.J., Emmett, Idaho: "I am vitally interested in this and anything else I can do to keep our Nation a government of, by, and for the people, and not one of one party or one man. Please tell me what I can do to help."

M.M., Camp Hill, Pa.: "I am very concerned about the imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees. In a system which places nearly complete control of congressional committee staffs under the majority chairman, and puts limitations on the minority, Congress cannot function effectively. This country has a two-party system of government, and I urge needed reform to correct this condition of imbalance for the good of the American people."

A.M., Hollywood, Calif.: "I wish to register my strong disapproval and disgust in the unfair way the majority party is loading the Senate-House committees * * *. I think a great injustice is being done to the American people by the Democratic leadership, and I hope it will soon be corrected. I am grateful for my privilege of addressing you and expressing my feelings regarding this very important matter."

D.W., Seattle, Wash.: "I am interested in your views on the staffing of congressional committees and would appreciate any information you can send me."

A.P., Chestnut Hill, Mass.: "Having read Roscoe Drummond's article in the Herald Tribune on the intolerable and critical imbalance of the professional staffing of congressional committees, I feel compelled to voice a strong protest against this practice * * *. The two-party system on which our Constitution was formed must be preserved. I wish this outrageous imbalance in Congress could be brought to the attention of the public and that some action could be taken before it is too late."

J.E., Denbigh, N. Dak.: "Please inform us as the public to make our influence felt to promote the true two-party system to reform the injustice in congressional staffing."

R.M., Toledo, Ohio: "I am one of many thousand Republicans who I am sure would like to do what they can to correct the Democratic Party's hold on the lopsided control of legislative committees."

A.J., Glen Rock, N.J.: "In a recent issue of the New York Herald Tribune, Mr. Roscoe Drummond wrote an article concerning the present imbalance taking place in the staffing of congressional committee * * *. I would appreciate your advice in this matter."

E.T., Santa Monica, Calif.: "After reading Roscoe Drummond's article in the Los Angeles Times, I am fully in accord with your fight to get equal representation for the minority party * * *. I do hope the public will be aroused. Best wishes for success in your fight."

G.M., Newark, N.J.: "Have been reading your articles with reference to imbalance in professional staff * * *. Some day I hope more people read and let their Representatives know that they are disgusted with the way this matter is handled."

F.W., Tulsa, Okla.: "What can I, as a private citizen, do to fight the complete control of the congressional committee staffs under the majority chairman?"

D.S., Hartford, Conn.: "Will you tell me how I can help correct the imbalance in congressional staffing?"

B.K., Douglas, Wyo.: "Roscoe Drummond in his column called attention to the imbalance of professional staff members * * *. How can we help?"

D.M., Phoenix, Ariz.: "Recently received information dealing with the injustice of congressional staffing. To say the least, I am not at all pleased with this inequity. Please send me any information you can offer."

W.S., Short Hills, N.J.: "This morning in the New York Herald Tribune, Roscoe Drummond's column, I read of a situation which is described most surely as a very regrettable, unfair imbalance, which, I imagine, few people realize is existing. Now, what can I do?"

N.S., Harrisburg, Pa.: "After reading Roscoe Drummond's article on the imbalance in the professional staffing of congressional committees, my friends and I would like to know how we can help."

E.M., Wichita, Kans.: "I will appreciate any information you can send me concerning this subject of correcting bias in committee staffing."

J.R., Owensboro, Ky.: "I am very anxious to know what I can do to reform congressional staffing * * *."

R.J., Youngstown, Ohio: "I would appreciate receiving from you whatever information you have available on the imbalance in professional staffing of congressional committees."

A.W., Crystal River, Fla.: "In regard to the injustice in congressional staffing, could you inform me of a way in which an ordinary citizen could help the Republican Party gain more representation?"

R.K., New York, N.Y.: "I read with great interest Roscoe Drummond's column today in the Herald Tribune. Please send information about the scandalous imbalance of Democratic staff jobs."

H.W., Marne, Mich.: "Please advise how I may help to eliminate the understaffing of committees of the Republican minority in proportion to the Democrat majority."

A.D., Mission, Kans.: "Please tell me how I can help eliminate the extreme injustice of congressional staffing that now exists."

W.L., New Haven, Conn.: "Please advise what can be done to correct the lack of proper staff personnel for the Republicans in Congress."

M.H., Tulsa, Okla.: "Would like to know what my woman's organization can do to make our influence felt in opposing this injustice in congressional staffing."

P.S., Pasadena, Calif.: "I believe the imbalance of the professional staffs in the Senate and House of Representatives between Republicans and Democrats is wrong. It is detrimental to good government * * *."

M.W., New York, N.Y.: "Looking back to Mr. Roscoe Drummond's column which brings out the intolerable imbalance of the congressional committees * * *. If the Democrats were faced with this situation, you would hear their cries around the world. I do hope something can be done about this."

J.O., Tuckahoe, N.Y.: "Please advise me what I can do to reform the imbalance in congressional staffs * * *."

J.F., Lyons, N.Y.: "How can I help to correct the crippling imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees * * *."

E.W., Sun City, Calif.: "Referring to Roscoe Drummond's recent article in the Los Angeles Times, we are wondering what the average citizen can do with a view to remedying this flagrant injustice."

H.K., Pacific Palisades, Calif.: "We are all behind your efforts to correct the imbalance of the professional staffing of congressional committees."

B.D., Ocean Grove, N.J.: "Please send me any information or pamphlets you have available for distribution concerning the imbalance in the professional staffing of congressional committees."

C.F., Portage, Ind.: "I am greatly disturbed by the recent Roscoe Drummond editorial regarding the unequal staffing facilities of a minority party. What can I do to help?"

R.B., Scarsdale, N.Y.: "Roscoe Drummond's article in regard to the imbalance of the professional staffing of the Congress interests me * * *. I would like to help."

M.S., Kansas City, Kans.: "The editorial by Roscoe Drummond in today's Kansas City Star tells about the imbalanced committees of the House and Senate by the Democratic Party * * *. So many times an individual voter feels so helpless, but if you have ideas how to go about this particular problem, I would surely appreciate hearing."

R.G., La Canada, Calif.: "Thank you for standing up to overwhelming odds in your fight against the Democrats loading our congressional committees. What can I do to help?"

M.E., Alameda, Calif.: "Am interested in receiving information on the congressional staffing reform."

J.T., Lakeland, Fla.: "What can I do to help with reform of injustice in congressional staffing?"

S.H., Elk Rapids, Mich.: "Having reference to an article by Roscoe Drummond syndicated and used by the Grand Rapids Press of Grand Rapids, Mich., I am interested in knowing what I can do in this connection * * *. I have written to my Congressman and Senator as I am very much concerned about these activities * * *."

F.L., Emporia, Kans.: "I want to help. Please send me more information on the staffing of the congressional committees."

R.G., Richmond, Calif.: "I am most in favor of your carrying further your campaign to reform injustices practiced in the staffing of congressional committees."

F.H., New York, N.Y.: "I am on your side regarding imbalance of committee staffing * * *."

J.C., New York, N.Y.: "I have read the Drummond article in the Herald Tribune and am writing to protest the imbalance in professional staffing of congressional committees."

G.C., Glendale, Calif.: "I recently read an article in the Los Angeles Times by Roscoe Drummond regarding your attempts to get the minority party more favorable representation on congressional committees. The article indicated the imbalance that now exists. I heartily endorse your efforts to bring about a more equitable representation by the minority party in regard to assignments to the committees. Some persons have expressed concern that much could be hidden in the present congressional hearings simply because the committee was predominantly Democrats and steps could be taken to avoid party embarrassment."

B.H., Azusa, Calif.: "I wish to register my complaint against the one-sided staffing of congressional committees. More power to you. From a former Democrat."

F.F., Prairie Village, Kans.: "According to Columnist Roscoe Drummond, there is a very unfair imbalance in the staffing of professionals in congressional committees. What can I, as a voter and taxpayer, do to help you?"

H.W., Drudee, Fla.: "Obviously the conditions which Mr. Drummond describes are intolerable and should be corrected if it is possible to do so. What can I do to help?"

J.A., Hollywood, Calif.: "Please tell me what I can do about the injustice in congressional staffing, in the various committees."

H.R., New York, N.Y.: "I have just finished reading Mr. Roscoe Drummond's article * * *. Please tell me how I can help to reform the injustice in congressional staffing."

J.M., Buffalo, N.Y.: "I read of your fearless and determined fight to right the wrongs of the present Democratic majorities in both Houses * * *. How can I help to right this immense wrong and terrible unfairness?"

A.R., Arcadia, Calif.: "Thanks to Mr. Roscoe Drummond, some of our voters will learn and raise their voices against the great inequities put upon the Republican minority Members of Congress. Our attention is called to what you are trying to do to right this contemptible situation imposed upon the Republican members of these committees by the Democratic members. We support you in all these efforts."

C.W., Ottawa, Kans.: "Please tell me how I might help correct the imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees."

J.R., Clearwater, Fla.: "Yesterday in the St. Petersburg Times, we read an article written by Roscoe Drummond, explaining the shocking condition of imbalance that exists in the U.S. Senate-House committees. This is a disgraceful state of affairs * * *. Please do your best to bring this situation out in the open, and if little people like ourselves can help, please instruct us."

R.C., Kansas City, Mo.: "We are interested in this reform and would like information on what we can do to bring or help bring it about."

D.T., Yonkers, N.Y.: "I recently read an article in the New York Herald Tribune about the injustices that exist in congressional staffing. This is certainly not the American way to do things. I want reform. Please write and tell me how I can help."

P.F., Tampa, Fla.: "I would like information on furthering a reform of the injustice in congressional staffing in the interest of both parties."

I.H., Los Angeles, Calif.: "In Roscoe Drummond's article appearing today in the Los Angeles Times, the inequality of partisan staffing of congressional committees is forcibly pointed out. As a citizen, and an actively interested voter, I urge you to continue your efforts, and commend you for so doing, to bring this injustice to the attention of the public and correction of the situation. Without an effective two-party system, the representative form of government which we cherish is doomed * * *."

A.H., Hutchinson, Kans.: "I am interested in further reform of congressional staffing. Please send information."

R.J., Dearborn, Mo.: "I have just read the editorial by Roscoe Drummond concerning the imbalance in the staffing of the congressional committees * * *. I would like to know how this situation might be protested by thinking citizens."

L.P., Ticonderoga, N.Y.: "In the Herald Tribune I read about the injustice in congressional staffing in the committees. How can the ordinary citizen help to correct this?"

L.R., Syracuse, N.Y.: "Roscoe Drummond, in a recent column stated that an effort was being made to correct injustices in congressional staffing. If I may be of any help to you * * *."

K.C., Alhambra, Calif.: "I do not condone the limitations placed upon the minority. I do not approve of the complete control of the staffs under the majority chairman. I think it most unfair and most undemocratic."

E.P., Los Angeles, Calif.: "I am most grateful to have found a fine editorial today in the Los Angeles Times regarding the inequities of professional staffing as it exists. I shall give it as much publicity as possible * * *. If there is anything else we can do, please let me know * * *."

H.C., Clearwater, Kans.: "Have just read Roscoe Drummond's article on the inequality of Republicans and Democrats in the investigating committees. We wish to commend your action * * *. I belong to an active Republican women's club and thought we might help."

W.D., White Plains, N.Y.: "Please advise me as to how I may help in bringing to a halt the Democratic Members of Congress practice of packing committees with Democrats."

E.A., Liberty, Mo.: "We appreciated the article by Roscoe Drummond and heartily approve the crusade to correct the imbalance in the professional staffing of congressional committees * * *. We wish you every success in this important undertaking."

B.R., Augusta, Kans.: "Could you please send me information that would be helpful in correcting the present imbalance in congressional committee staffing? I am sure that many people would be aroused to action if they were acquainted with the facts in this matter * * *."

P.S., Wichita, Kans.: "Please inform me how I may help correct this politically unhealthy situation."

E.F., Glendale, Calif.: "We wish to express our appreciation for your efforts to eliminate the obvious inequitable staffing by majority party of the congressional committees. We are proud to have men of your stature in Congress."

I.R., Syracuse, N.Y.: "Roscoe Drummond in his recent column stated that an effort was being made to correct injustices in congressional staffing. If I may be of help to you, please write to me."

W.H., Queens Village, N.Y.: "What are the facts in the professional staffing of congressional committees, and what can we do about it?"

C.B., Long Beach, Calif.: "The imbalance in professional staffing of congressional committees is of great concern to me, so I am writing to indicate my feeling about it. I cannot endorse the ratio between majority and minority staffs in Congress as it now stands. A strong stand should be taken to bring about a change in this matter to put minority party on a fairer basis."

F.W., Albany, Mo.: "I am interested in the preservation of the two-party system of government and also the effective functioning of Congress * * *. Please send me some information."

H.B., San Francisco, Calif.: "The surprising preponderance of control of professional staff personnel by Democrats on the various congressional committees is a matter of grave concern * * *. The philosophy of too many Democrats is surely leading the coun-

try in the wrong direction * * *. Anything you can do to correct this very wrong and serious situation would be a great service to our country."

M.H., Watkins Glen, N.Y.: "As a result of reading a column in the Tribune, I would sincerely like to see a fairer distribution of congressional committee jobs * * *."

A.C., New York, N.Y.: "In the New York Herald Tribune this morning I read of the imbalance of professional staffing of congressional committees. I am writing to ask how I can help further the reform of this blatant injustice. I will be looking forward to hearing as to what my family and I can do."

C.M., Junction City, Kans.: "Your efforts in behalf of correcting the imbalance of the advisory staffs of congressional committees has greatly impressed me. It is this that has inspired me to inquire whether you have any available information suitable for a grassroots individual * * *."

D.C., Los Angeles, Calif.: "I am heartily in accord with your efforts to halt the current practice in congressional committee staffing."

L.F., Great Neck, N.Y.: "Please forward information as to how my influence can be felt in correcting this injustice to the Republican Congress."

B.M., Santa Fe, Calif.: "I approve of your interest and work in connection with the correction of abuses of the professional staffing of committees as they now stand."

E.M., Yonkers, N.Y.: "Please tell me how I can help to publicize the injustice in congressional staffing."

E.F., Los Angeles, Calif.: "The intolerable and crippling staffing of the congressional committees has just come to my attention and I certainly wish to take issue with it. It is at last being taken into the hands of high level and influential party leaders and is now being pressed in a manner which indeed cannot be denied. Whatever you may do to help destroy this situation will be appreciated by all red-blooded loyal American citizens and voters."

H.N., New York, N.Y.: "A recent article by Roscoe Drummond in the New York Herald Tribune on the imbalance in professional staffing of congressional committees prompts this note. I believe the ratio as it stands between majority and minority staffs in congressional committees is outrageous, and that the control of these staffs, hiring, firing, salaries, tenure, should not be completely in the hands of the majority chairman. I believe for the preservation of a strong two-party system, there should be a more nearly equal distribution of services, privileges, and facilities to both parties * * *."

MANNED BOMBER FORCE AND B-52 MODIFICATION PROGRAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SHRIVER] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the release over the weekend of testimony by Air Force officials before the Defense Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations offered support and some encouragement to many of us in Congress who still believe that the United States must maintain a proper mixture of both manned bombers and missiles in its defense arsenal.

In a statement before the subcommittee, Maj. Gen. Robert J. Friedman, Director of Aerospace Programs, Deputy

Chief of Staff, Program and Requirements, USAF, said:

Even though our tactical forces are in a high state of readiness, and our long-range missiles capability is increasing, the manned bombers of the Strategic Air Command with their nuclear striking power and highly skilled crews today remain our greatest deterrent to war.

SAC bombers played a vital part in last fall's Cuban crisis when they maintained an around-the-clock airborne alert for approximately 1 month.

We also have been told that the Air Force plans to spend at least \$1.2 billion over the next 3 fiscal years for modifications on the fleet of B-52 strategic jet bombers which will remain operational beyond 1971.

Of course this is heartening news to the people of my district who continue to play a vital role in the maintenance and modification of the B-52 on the flight lines in Wichita.

However, while there will be this program to modernize and keep the B-52 fleet operational into the 1970's, I must again remind you that the production lines are empty. There are no new manned bombers of any kind coming down the line either in Wichita or in any of our Nation's aviation production centers.

Our military authorities have expressed the hope that there will be manned bombers beyond 1972. They tell us that several means are being considered for a follow-on for the current manned bomber force.

The Congress has time and again demonstrated its readiness to provide funds both for continued production and for accelerated development of a new weapons system to follow the B-52H. The administration has chosen not to utilize those funds.

Mr. Speaker, this is a most appropriate day for the administration, the civilian leaders in the Pentagon, and the Congress to be reminded that man has not lost his place in the skies to push-button missileery.

We need but remember last week's history-making space flight of Astronaut Gordon Cooper. Here was America's space technology at its finest. I do not discount this great achievement of putting an American in orbit. However, when the automatic electronic devices went inoperative at the crucial period, it was the man in the capsule who manually directed the *Faith 7* to the bull's-eye in the Pacific.

Just as we could not afford to put Gordon Cooper's life in the hands of an automatic pushbutton, we certainly cannot afford to place the defense and security of our Nation entirely in the missile basket.

It is not enough that we keep the B-52 weapons system operational into the 1970's. We must ask what manned weapons system will be available after the B-52 has reached full attrition?

As of today, there is no answer.

NONPROFIT HOSPITALS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] may ex-

tend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill today to facilitate the granting of an exemption from admissions tax under section 4233 of the Internal Revenue Code for benefits sponsored by various auxiliary groups for hospitals which qualify as nonprofit tax-exempt organizations for income tax purposes.

An incongruous situation arises under existing law with respect to the tax on admissions to hospital benefits. In order for the benefit to qualify for an exemption, it is not sufficient that the hospital be a nonprofit organization as defined in section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code, which provides for the exemption from income tax. In addition, it must be shown that the hospital is supported either in whole or in part by funds contributed by the United States or any State or political subdivision thereof, or is primarily supported by contributions from the general public.

In the case of hospitals, it is generally impossible to meet the public contributions test because under that test more than half of the gross receipts of the hospital—including any charges for services—must consist of contributions from the general public. Accordingly, the admissions tax exemption under existing law must be based upon a showing that the hospital is supported in whole or in part by governmental funds.

I understand that the latter test has been liberally construed from time to time so that if a hospital had a single county welfare patient, for which reimbursement was received from the State or county, the hospital benefit would qualify for purposes of exemption from the admissions tax. On the other hand, a hospital which might otherwise qualify as a nonprofit organization, and might even have several indigent patients for which no charge would be made, could not qualify for the admissions tax exemption. I see no justifiable basis for this distinction.

Accordingly, under the bill which I have introduced, the admissions tax exemption would be made uniform for all hospitals, whether or not receiving Federal, State, or municipal funds, providing the hospital qualified for exemption for income tax purposes. Exemption of the hospital benefit from the admissions tax would depend solely upon whether the hospital could qualify as an organization exempt from tax under section 501 of the code.

RESOLUTION OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. ST GERMAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks the following resolution, adopted by the State of Rhode Island Legislature:

RESOLUTION H1521

Resolution memorializing Congress respectfully requesting the enactment of appropriate Federal legislation to incorporate the Italian American War Veterans of the United States, Inc., as a national organization

Resolved, That the Members of the Congress of the United States be and they are hereby respectfully requested to enact such legislation to incorporate the Italian American War Veterans of the United States, Inc., as a national organization.

Resolved, That the secretary of state be and he is thereby requested to transmit to the Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States duly certified copies of this resolution in the hope that each will use every endeavor to have favorable action taken by Congress upon this special matter.

AUGUST P. LAFRANCE,
Secretary of State.

THE LATE DR. R. M. WILSON, FOUNDER OF THE R. M. WILSON LEPROSY COLONY IN KOREA

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and insert material in the RECORD, I should like to call attention to the article appearing in the Greensboro (N.C.) Record, on March 28, 1963, concerning the death on the preceding day of Dr. R. M. Wilson, founder of the R. M. Wilson Leprosy Colony in Korea. This great humanitarian went to Korea as a medical missionary in 1908, and in 1909 he started the leprosy colony, which was officially named for him half a century later, in an old tile kiln. Dr. Wilson spent 40 of his 81 years working among the lepers of Korea and bringing the solace of Christianity to them. In correspondence about the lepers in Korea, Dr. Wilson wrote:

After receiving Christ I feel they become the happiest people in the world, as seen in the colony. They make remarkable Bible students and it is a real joy to see the miracle that takes place in their lives. This home to the leper is like Heaven on earth and one big problem is to get them to go home, even the cured.

Dr. Wilson retired in 1948 and made his home in Richmond, Va.; however, at the time of his death he was visiting his son, and my good friend, Dr. John K. Wilson, in my hometown of Greensboro.

Although Dr. R. M. Wilson has now gone to his reward, his fine work continues under the supervision of his successor, I understand, and certainly his dedication to this great work and his accomplishments in Korea of a medical and ministerial nature constitute an enduring monument to his life and memory.

Dr. Wilson was named to the "South's Hall of Fame" for the living in 1960, selected as "A Great American" in 1961, and as "Man of the South" for 1962, by Dixie Business magazine. When informed of his selection as "A Great American" in 1961, Dr. Wilson wrote to Mr. Hubert F. Lee, of Decatur, Ga., founder of the "South's Hall of Fame for the Living":

I appreciate very much the honor * * * I am unworthy of all this and wonder just how it comes about. We must give the good Lord the glory for it is only through His name can real good be accomplished. I often wish I might have another try at the past for I would like to have done a better job. This old world is in a sad and dangerous state and it is time for God's people to be in constant prayer.

Thus a great man modestly disclaimed any personal glory or accomplishment and turned the emphasis to the need for God's people to be in constant prayer. In this noble and selfless life there is a lesson for all of us if we but take it to heart.

The article follows:

FUNERAL FRIDAY FOR DR. WILSON,
DEAD HERE AT 83

Funeral for Dr. Robert Manton Wilson, 83, who died at 10 o'clock last night at Moses Cone Hospital after suffering a stroke last Thursday, will be held at 2 p.m. Friday at Ginter Park Presbyterian Church in Richmond, Va.

Dr. Ben Lacy will officiate and burial will be in a Richmond cemetery.

He had been living here with a son, Dr. John K. Wilson, 1008 Dover Road. He was a native of Columbus, Ark., and was married to the former Bess Knox, of Huntersville. He was an elder in the Richmond church and was a missionary to Korea for the Southern Presbyterian Church for approximately 40 years.

Dr. Wilson managed the R. M. Wilson Leper Colony in Soonchun, Korea, while in the country. He was elected "Man of the South" for 1962 by Dixie Business magazine. The leper colony named for him was founded in 1909 and renamed after the Korean conflict. He was cited by the Emperor of Japan for his work at the colony. Dr. Wilson earned his medical degree at Washington University at St. Louis, Mo.

Surviving are 4 other sons, Dr. James S. Wilson, of Durham, Dr. Robert M. Wilson, Jr., of Spokane, Wash., T. E. Wilson, of Sanston, Va., and Dr. Joseph F. Wilson, of Anchorage, Alaska; 2 daughters, Mrs. William C. Budd, of West Long Branch, N.J., and Mrs. Sam A. Mason, of Hampton, Va.; 2 brothers, Joe Wilson and Charlie Wilson, of Hope, Ark.; 1 sister, Mrs. R. E. Jackson, of Columbus, Ark.; and 23 grandchildren.

It was the custom of Dr. Wilson, upon the death of a friend or relative, to donate to the leper colony through the Ginter Park Presbyterian Church in Richmond.

The body will be taken from Hanes-Lineberry Funeral Home to Joseph Bierly Funeral Home in Richmond sometime this afternoon.

COMMUNISTS ON CAMPUS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it has been no secret that the No. 1 target of the Communist Party, U.S.A. has been the American campus. They have made their plans perfectly clear and as I read the Worker and the other Communist publications each week it is startling to see what giant strides they have made toward their goal of obtaining forums on college campuses throughout our Nation. Almost weekly there are reports about Carl Winter, Gus Hall, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and others addressing youth groups at our colleges and universities. While I do not believe that these party members will do much recruiting, the fundamental question arises whether or not they should be afforded the opportunity to speak on campus. It is my contention that they should not be given this forum.

Communists are dedicated to the Leninist principle that "youth will decide the issue of the entire struggle—both the student youth and still more, the working-class youth." J. Edgar Hoover has warned of this in his report, "Communist Target: Youth" which was published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. Hoover noted that—

In 1959, the Communist Party, U.S.A. launched a major campaign with youth as its target. On May 30 and 31, 1959, approximately 20 young Communists from New York City, Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia attended a conference with national leaders of the party at party headquarters in New York City. The purpose of the meeting was to devise a program to attract young blood—teenagers, students, and working youth—to the ranks of the party.

After those May 1959 conferences, campuses throughout the Nation became prime targets for Communist infiltration and recruitment efforts. The party began operating what amounted to a regular lecture bureau, with party spokesmen seizing every opportunity to project their views on campuses across the country.

To establish a closer link between the party and its youth groups, two of the most promising and active young Communists, Mortimer Daniel Rubin and Danny Queen, were included on the party's national committee. A longtime party functionary, Human Lumer, was relieved of all responsibility in youth affairs, and Rubin was given full responsibility for this phase of party activity. A new Marxist youth organization, Advance, was organized in New York City. A drive is currently underway to establish a new Marxist youth publication, New Horizons.

With their plans well laid, they have proceeded from this base to spread the word throughout the Nation. Knowing the controversy that can be engendered by those who battle over what constitutes academic freedom, the Communists have been provided with a perfect wedge to divide honest-thinking Americans. This controversy is raging in literally hundreds of campuses throughout our Nation today.

In 1953, the Association of American Universities made an excellent statement entitled "The Rights and Responsibilities

of Universities and Their Facilities." It readily acknowledged the volatility of this problem but noted that "the university supplies a distinctive forum and, in so doing, strengthens the scholar's voice." It is appropriate to add that it also strengthens the voice of visiting speakers, whomever they might be. The statement went on to note:

There is a line at which "freedom" or "privilege" begins to be qualified by legal "duty" and "obligation." The determination of the line is the function of the legislature and the courts. Any member of a university who crosses the duly established line is not excused by the fact that he believes the line ill drawn.

As to the matter of subversion among the faculty itself, the association stated:

Invocation of the fifth amendment places upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his university an obligation to reexamine his qualifications for membership in its society.

In condemning Russian communism, the university presidents summed up their beliefs with the direct charge that:

The police state would be the death of our universities, as of our Government. Three of its principles in particular are abhorrent to us: the fomenting of world-wide revolution as a step to seizing power; the use of falsehood and deceit as normal means of persuasion; thought control—the dictation of doctrines which must be accepted and taught by all party members. Under these principles, no scholar could adequately disseminate knowledge or pursue investigations in the effort to make further progress toward truth * * *. No person who accepts or advocates such principles and methods has any place in a university. Since present membership in the Communist Party requires the acceptance of these principles and methods, such membership extinguishes the right to a university position.

While I readily concede that the university presidents were not specifically including Communist speakers on campus, the case is equally well made for refusal to grant them an academic forum. Visiting speakers are as much a part of the educational process as faculty members though certainly not as important. I firmly believe that no person who accepts or advocates the principles or methods of communism has any place in a university in any capacity whatsoever.

In my own State of Ohio, a bill has been introduced by Hon. Chalmers P. Wylie, Republican of Franklin County, which would deny the facilities of State colleges and universities to Communists and other specified pro-Communists. This legislation, substitute house bill No. 800, has been voted out of committee by a 13 to 6 margin and is before the general assembly for passage. Naturally, the so-called liberal community has protested enactment of such legislation as an invasion of academic freedom and an insult to the students and faculty. I am including in the Appendix following these remarks an excellent editorial from the Cincinnati Enquirer and a letter which I sent to a student who raised this question in a letter to me.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that Representative Wylie is to be commended for introducing house bill 800 and pressing its

passage. Communists daily live in contempt of law and authority and it is ridiculous to think that they have any right to be heard on our campuses throughout the United States. Even their speakers' bureau is a ruse. They send out the tired and haggard party members who are a part of the overt conspiracy. The impression they make on students is likely to engender no real fervor for their cause but rather a wistful sympathy for their pathetic pleadings. In many ways, the Flynn's, Halls, Winters, and others sell their audiences a false sense of security and make obscure the true nature of the covert Communist conspiracy. The fact that these party hacks offer no real threat is not the issue. The issue is well summarized by the Association of American Universities report when it concluded:

Academic freedom is not a shield for those who break the law.

APPENDIX A

SUB. H.B. 800

A bill to enact section 3345.021 of the revised code, to regulate visiting speakers at State-supported colleges and universities

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. That section 3345.021 of the revised code be enacted to read as follows:

Sec. 3345.021. The board of trustees of any college or university, which receives any State funds in support thereof, shall have full power and authority on all matters relative to the administration of such college or university.

This authority includes, but is not limited to, the right to determine, by rules or regulations adopted by such board of trustees, what persons shall be permitted to use the facilities of such college or university for speaking purposes.

Such board of trustees shall not permit the use of the facilities of colleges or universities under their control for speaking purposes by any person who:

(A) Is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or any organization which is a Communist-action, or Communist-front, organization as listed on the "Register of Communist-Action Organizations" or the "Register of Communist-Front Organizations" which the Attorney General of the United States is required to maintain pursuant to section 788 of title 50, U.S.C.A., or a Communist-action, Communist-front, or Communist-infiltrated organization of the United States found to be such by the Subversive Activities Control Board pursuant to section 792 or 792a, title 50, U.S.C.A.;

(B) Refuses, upon request of such board, to execute an affidavit that he does not, knowingly or willfully, advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the Government of the United States or the government of any State, territory, District, or possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein, by force or violence, or by the assassination of any officer of any such government;

(C) Has been convicted of contempt by any court of the United States or of any State, territory, District, or possession thereof, for refusing to answer any question with regard to membership in the Communist Party of the United States or in any organization which is a Communist-action, Communist-front, or a Communist-infiltrated organization of the United States as defined in paragraph (A) herein before any duly-constituted legislative, judicial, or administrative authority of the Government of the United States or of any State, territory, District or possession thereof.

The board of trustees of any such college or university may delegate any administrative authority mentioned in this section, including but not limited to, the enforcement of rules or regulations with respect to the use of university or college facilities for speaking purposes, to the president of any such college or university, or to such other administrative personnel as may be designated or appointed therefor by the board or trustees.

APPENDIX B

[From the Enquirer, Apr. 1, 1963]

SHOULD COMMUNISTS BE HEARD?

The most hotly debated topic on the college and university campuses of America at the moment is whether Communists or alleged Communists should be accorded a campus platform from which to speak.

In many respects, it is fortunate that the debate is afoot. For from a thorough discussion of the pros and cons of inviting Communist spokesmen onto the campus can come a far more meaningful understanding of international communism and its works.

As the debate unfolds, it should be remembered that the Communists themselves are the authors of the controversy. It is they who have undertaken a massive nationwide campaign to convert academic freedom into a tool for undermining American education, for creating violent dissension within the American academic community, for misleading young Americans about their purposes and tactics and for giving themselves the prestige that accompanies identification with the colleges and universities of the Nation.

THE CAMPUS INVASION DESIGNED IN MOSCOW

The first clue to the Communist purpose is described by J. Edgar Hoover in his book, "A Study of Communism." Mr. Hoover writes:

"A meeting of young Communists and party leaders was held at the party's New York City headquarters in May 1959. At this meeting, plans were formulated to concentrate on colleges and universities in promoting a Marxist orientation among students as the first step in their eventual recruitment into the party * * *. To convey Marxism-Leninism to college and university students, party leaders have established a 'lecture bureau' and welcome every opportunity to speak before student groups throughout the country."

Mr. Hoover noted that the Communist campaign on the American campus was the direct outgrowth of the 1960 Communist Party Congress, which took the leaders of 81 Communist parties from around the world—including the United States—to Moscow.

No one can deny that the Communist pitch is a clever one. The form letter that the party directed some months ago to campus organizations all across the Nation took the line that American communism is simply another legitimate form of political expression.

THEIR CREDENTIALS DRIP WITH FALSEHOODS

The letter went on: "The Communist Party, U.S.A., is in existence 43 years and it has, according to objective historians, made valuable contributions in the struggle of labor, of the Negro people and for the cause of peace, democracy and social progress generally. Communists have made heavy sacrifices in the course of these struggles. They ought to be given a fair hearing."

Despite the plausibility of the Communist appeal, it rests upon patent falsehood.

The Communist Party is not "just another" political movement. It is—and it has been so held in a long series of court decisions—a part of an international criminal conspiracy; its masters are not in Washington or New York, but in Moscow; its purpose is

not to persuade, but to destroy the very fabric of the American Republic.

The Communist interest in the cause of labor and the Negro is an interest in manipulating these—and other elements of American society—as a means of hastening the overthrow of the American system. And the Communist interest in real peace is roughly equivalent to Al Capone's interest in law enforcement.

Notwithstanding the fraudulent nature of their credentials, American Communists have been remarkably successful in their invasions of the campuses of America. In one 12-day period last year, Gus Hall, the Moscow-schooled secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, made no fewer than 37 speeches—most of them on college campuses. Mortimer D. Rubin, national youth director for the party, has been almost as successful. So have Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the party's chairman, and all the rest.

Why, we may well wonder, do college teachers and administrators fall into the Communist trap?

The most common answer is that Communists are entitled to freedom of speech like every other American. But we should like to think that freedom of speech is not quite the same as the freedom to make a speech anywhere, any time. John Q. Citizen, in other words, possess no inherent, constitutional right to address a joint session of Congress. And Mortimer D. Rubin possesses no inherent, constitutional right to address the students of any specific U.S. college or university.

The same college that insists upon the right of American Communists to be heard does not recognize the inherent right of just any student to gain admission or of just any teacher to join the faculty. Its administrators insist upon standards of performance—both for students and for teachers.

We hear also about the "right to know." This right is—or should be—the right to learn. No university has a responsibility to instruct its students in the various forms of pornography or in the fine art of safe-cracking.

The Communist Party stands convicted of a crime against the United States in much the same way a proven killer stands convicted of a crime against the state. The only difference is that the crime of the Communist movement is far more loathsome than any of the individual acts for which we dispatch lawbreakers to the penitentiary.

As a final observation, we have deep and abiding faith in the young people of America. We are certain that no amount of platform oratory is going to convert them into Soviet agents.

But we think the Communist campaign is not aimed at conversion. It is aimed, instead, at dissension and distrust. It is aimed at inciting civil war in our academic communities. It is aimed at propagating the subtle, but wholly erroneous, notion that the Communist Party of the United States is entitled to be heard on the same footing as the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. And it is aimed, finally, at undermining the efforts of all American parties and all American Presidents to insure the survival of the United States and the civilization of which it is a part.

APPENDIX C

THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR FACULTIES

(A statement by the Association of American Universities, adopted Tuesday, March 24, 1953)

I. ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN AMERICAN LIFE

For 300 years higher education has played a leading role in the advancement of Ameri-

can civilization. No country in history so early perceived the importance of that role and none has derived such widespread benefits from it. Colleges moved westward to the frontier and carried with them the seeds of learning. When the university idea was transplanted from Europe, it spread across the Nation with extraordinary speed. Today our universities are the standard bearers of our whole system of education. They are the mainstays of the professions. They are the prime source of our competence in science and the arts. The names of their graduates crowd the honor rolls of two World Wars and of the Nation's peacetime affairs. By every test of war and peace they have proved themselves indispensable instruments of cultural progress and national welfare.

In the United States there is a greater degree of equality of opportunity in higher education than anywhere else in the world. A larger proportion of Americans study in universities and colleges than any other people. These universities have shown and continue to show greater responsiveness to the needs of our society than their European counterparts. They have equipped our people with the varied skills and sciences essential to the development of a pioneer country. They have imparted the shape and coherence of the American Nation to formless immigrant groups. American ideals have been strengthened, the great cultural tradition of the West has been broadened and enriched by their teaching and example.

Modern knowledge of ourselves and of our universe has been nurtured in the universities. The scientific, technical, medical, and surgical advances of our time were born in them. They have supplied intellectual capital as essential to our society as financial capital is to our industrial enterprise. They have more than justified the faith of the public in our distinctive system of higher education. They have proved themselves dynamic forces of American progress.

II. THE NATURE OF A UNIVERSITY

A university is the institutional embodiment of an urge for knowledge that is basic in human nature and as old as the human race. It is inherent in every individual. The search that it inspires is an individual affair. Men vary in the intensity of their passion for the search for knowledge as well as in their competence to pursue it. History therefore presents us with a series of scholarly pioneers who advanced our knowledge from age to age and increased our ability to discover new knowledge. Great scholars and teachers drew students to them, and in the Middle Ages a few such groups organized themselves into the first universities.

The modern university which evolved from these is a unique type of organization. For many reasons it must differ from a corporation created for the purpose of producing a salable article for profit. Its internal structure, procedures, and discipline are properly quite different from those of business organizations. It is not so closely integrated and there is no such hierarchy of authority as is appropriate to a business concern; the permanent members of a university are essentially equals.

Like its medieval prototype, the modern American university is an association of individual scholars. Their effectiveness, both as scholars and as teachers, requires the capitalizing of their individual passion for knowledge and their individual competence to pursue it and communicate it to others. They are united in loyalty to the ideal of learning, to the moral code, to the country, and to its form of government. They represent diversified fields of knowledge, they express many points of view. Even within the same department of instruction there are not only specialists in various phases of the

subject, but men with widely differing interests and outlook.

Free enterprise is as essential to intellectual as to economic progress. A university must therefore be hospitable to an infinite variety of skills and viewpoints, relying upon open competition among them as the surest safeguard of truth. Its whole spirit requires investigation, criticism, and presentation of ideas in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual confidence. This is the real meaning of academic freedom. It is essential to the achievement of its ends that the faculty of a university be guaranteed this freedom by its governing board, and that the reasons for the guarantee be understood by the public. To enjoin uniformity of outlook upon a university faculty would put a stop to learning at the source.

For these reasons a university does not take an official position of its own either on disputed questions of scholarship or on political questions or matters of public policy. It refrains from so doing not only in its own but in the public interest, to capitalize the search for knowledge for the benefit of society, to give the individuals pursuing that search the freest possible scope and the greatest possible encouragement in their efforts to preserve the learning of the past and advance learning in the present. The scholar who pursues the search on these terms does so at maximum advantage to society. So does the student. To the scholar lie open new discoveries in the whole field of knowledge, to his student the opportunity of sharing in those discoveries and at the same time developing his powers of rational thought, intelligent judgment, and an understanding use of acquired knowledge. Thus essential qualities of learning are combined with essential qualities of citizenship in a free society.

To fulfill their function the members of university faculties must continue to analyze, test, criticize, and reassess existing institutions and beliefs, approving when the evidence supports them and disapproving when the weight of evidence is on the other side. Such investigations cannot be confined to the physical world. The acknowledged fact that moral, social, and political progress have not kept pace with mastery of the physical world shows the need for more intensified research, fresh insights, vigorous criticism, and inventiveness. The scholar's mission requires the study and examination of unpopular ideas, of ideas considered abhorrent and even dangerous. For, just as in the case of deadly disease or the military potential of an enemy, it is only by intense study and research that the nature and extent of the danger can be understood and defenses against it perfected.

Timidity must not lead the scholar to stand silent when he ought to speak, particularly in the field of his competence. In matters of conscience and when he has truth to proclaim the scholar has no obligation to be silent in the face of popular disapproval. Some of the great passages in the history of truth have involved the open challenge of popular prejudice in times of tension such as those in which we live.

What applies to research applies equally to teaching. So long as an instructor's observations are scholarly and germane to his subject, his freedom of expression in his classroom should not be curbed. The university student should be exposed to competing opinions and beliefs in every field, so that he may learn to weigh them and gain maturity of judgment. Honest and skillful exposition of such opinions and beliefs is the duty of every instructor; and it is equally his privilege to express his own critical opinion and the reasons for holding it. In teaching, as in research, he is limited by the requirements of citizenship, of professional competence,

and good taste. Having met those standards, he is entitled to all the protection the full resources of the university can provide.

Whatever criticism is occasioned by these practices, the universities are committed to them by their very nature. To curb them, in the hope of avoiding criticism, would mean distorting the true process of learning and depriving society of its benefits. It would invite the fate of the German and Italian universities under fascism and the Russian universities under communism. It would deny our society one of its most fruitful sources of strength and welfare and represent a sinister change in our ideal of government.

III. THE OBLIGATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF UNIVERSITY FACULTIES

We must recognize the fact that honest men hold differing opinions. This fundamental truth underlies the assertion and definition of individual rights and freedom in our Bill of Rights. How does it apply to universities? In the eyes of the law, the university scholar has no more and no less freedom than his fellow citizens outside a university. Nonetheless, because of the vital importance of the university to civilization, membership in its society of scholars enhances the prestige of persons admitted to its fellowship after probation and upon the basis of achievement in research and teaching. The university supplies a distinctive forum and, in so doing, strengthens the scholar's voice. When his opinions challenge existing orthodox points of view, his freedom may be more in need of defense than that of men in other professions. The guarantee of tenure to professors of mature and proven scholarship is one such defense. As in the case of judges, tenure protects the scholar against undue economic or political pressures and insures the continuity of the scholarly process.

There is a line at which "freedom" or "privilege" begins to be qualified by legal "duty" and "obligation." The determination of the line is the function of the legislature and the courts. The ultimate interpretation and application of the 1st and 14th amendments are the function of the U.S. Supreme Court; but every public official is bound by his oath of office to respect and preserve the liberties guaranteed therein. These are not to be determined arbitrarily or by public outcry. The line thus drawn can be changed by legislative and judicial action; it has varied in the past because of prevailing anxieties as well as by reason of "clear and present" danger. Its location is subject to, and should receive, criticism both popular and judicial. However much of the location of the line may be criticized, it cannot be disregarded with impunity. Any member of a university who crosses the duly established line is not excused by the fact that he believes the line ill drawn. When the speech, writing, or other actions of a member of a faculty exceed lawful limits, he is subject to the same penalties as other persons. In addition, he may lose his university status.

Historically the word "university" is a guarantee of standards. It implies endorsement not of its members' views but of their capability and integrity. Every scholar has an obligation to maintain this reputation. By ill-advised, though not illegal, public acts or utterances he may do serious harm to his profession, his university, to education, and to the general welfare. He bears a heavy responsibility to weigh the validity of his opinions and the manner in which they are expressed. His effectiveness, both as scholar and teacher, is not reduced but enhanced if he has the humility and the wisdom to recognize the fallibility of his own judgment. He should remember that he is

as much a layman as anyone else in all fields except those in which he has special competence. Others, both within and without the university, are as free to criticize his opinions as he is free to express them.

As in all acts of association, the professor accepts conventions which become morally binding. Above all, he owes his colleagues in the university complete candor and perfect integrity, precluding any kind of clandestine or conspiratorial activities. He owes equal candor to the public. If he is called upon to answer for his convictions it is his duty as a citizen to speak out. It is even more definitely his duty as a professor. Refusal to do so, on whatever legal grounds, cannot fail to reflect upon a profession that claims for itself the fullest freedom to speak and the maximum protection of that freedom available in our society. In this respect, invocation of the fifth amendment places upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his university an obligation to reexamine his qualifications for membership in its society.

In all universities faculties exercise wide authority in internal affairs. The greater their autonomy, the greater their share of responsibility to the public. They must maintain the highest standards and exercise the utmost wisdom in appointments and promotions. They must accept their share of responsibility for the discipline of those who fall short in the discharge of their academic trust.

The universities owe their existence to legislative acts and public charters. A State university exists by constitutional and legislative acts; an endowed university enjoys its independence by franchise from the State and by custom. The State university is supported by public funds. The privately sustained university is benefited by tax exemptions. Such benefits are conferred upon the universities not as favors but in furtherance of the public interest. They carry with them public obligation of direct concern to the faculties of the universities as well as to the governing boards.

Legislative bodies from time to time may scrutinize these benefits and privileges. It is clearly the duty of universities and their members to cooperate in official inquiries directed to those ends. When the powers of legislative inquiry are abused, the remedy does not lie in noncooperation or defiance; it is to be sought through the normal channels of informed public opinion.

IV. THE PRESENT DANGER

We have set forth the nature and function of the university. We have outlined its rights and responsibilities and those of its faculties. What are the implications of current anxiety over Russian communism and the subversive activities connected with it?

We condemn Russian communism as we condemn every form of totalitarianism. We share the profound concern of the American people at the existence of an international conspiracy whose goal is the destruction of our cherished institutions. The police state would be the death of our universities as of our Government. Three of its principles in particular are abhorrent to us: The fomenting of worldwide revolution as a step to seizing power; the use of falsehood and deceit as normal means of persuasion; thought control—the dictation of doctrines which must be accepted and taught by all party members. Under these principles, no scholar could adequately disseminate knowledge or pursue investigations in the effort to make further progress toward truth.

Appointment to a university position and retention after appointment require not only professional competence but involve the

affirmative obligation of being diligent and loyal in citizenship. Above all, a scholar must have integrity and independence. This renders impossible adherence to such a regime as that of Russia and its satellites. No person who accepts or advocates such principles and methods has any place in a university. Since present membership in the Communist Party requires the acceptance of these principles and methods, such membership extinguishes the right to a university position. Moreover, if an instructor follows communistic practice by becoming a propagandist for one opinion, adopting a "party line," silencing criticism or impairing freedom of thought and expression in his classroom, he forfeits not only all university support but his right to membership in the university.

"Academic freedom" is not a shield for those who break the law. Universities must cooperate fully with law-enforcement officers whose duty requires them to prosecute those charged with offenses. Under a well-established American principle their innocence is to be assumed until they have been convicted, under due process, in a court of proper jurisdiction.

Unless a faculty member violates a law, however, his discipline or discharge is a university responsibility and should not be assumed by political authority. Discipline on the basis of irresponsible accusations or suspicion can never be condoned. It is as damaging to the public welfare as it is to academic integrity. The university is competent to establish a tribunal to determine the facts and fairly judge the nature and degree of any trespass upon academic integrity, as well as to determine the penalty such trespass merits.

As the professor is entitled to no special privilege in law, so also he should be subject to no special discrimination. Universities are bound to deprecate special loyalty tests which are applied to their faculties but to which others are not subjected. Such discrimination does harm to the individual and even greater harm to his university and the whole cause of education by destroying faith in the ideals of university scholarship.

V. CONCLUSION

Finally, we assert that freedom of thought and speech is vital to the maintenance of the American system and is essential to the general welfare. Condemnation of communism and its protagonists is not to be interpreted as readiness to curb social, political, or economic investigation and research. To insist upon conformity to current beliefs and practices would do infinite harm to the principle of freedom, which is the greatest, the central, American doctrine. Fidelity to that principle has made it possible for the universities of America to confer great benefits upon our society and our country. Adherence to that principle is the only guarantee that the Nation may continue to enjoy those benefits.

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 University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.: Edwin B. Fred, president.
 Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.: Arthur H. Compton, chancellor.
 University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.: Henry B. Schmitz, president.
 Yale University, New Haven, Conn.: A. Whitney Griswold, president.

APPENDIX D

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
 Washington, D.C., May 13, 1963.

MISS NANCY TIPTON,
 Tallavanda Hall, Miami University, Oxford,
 Ohio.

DEAR NANCY: I was glad to receive your letter regarding the problem of Communist speakers appearing on college campuses. I agree with you that this is a very difficult area in our free society and answers are not easy. To answer your question specifically, were I a member of the Ohio General Assembly at the present time, I would support Representative Chalmers Wylie's house bill 800.

To answer your first question, the bill would not, in my opinion, violate the 1st, 5th, or 14th amendment as you suggest. Freedom of speech is not and cannot be an absolute license to say anything and has never been interpreted to be such in the long history of our American jurisprudence. Certainly no one would have the right to go into a movie and yell "Fire," nor would anyone have the right to incite a mob to violence or tell slanderous lies about you or me. These would be logical areas for freedom of speech if we were to stretch it into an absolute rather than a reasonable right

guaranteed by law. While I am inclined to weigh my opinions on the side of hearing diverse views, there is a legitimate reason for singling out Communists as H.R. 800 does. They are not a political party in this country but rather are a conspiratorial party and stand criminally convicted by our highest tribunals. They are part of an international criminal conspiracy which is dedicated to the overthrow of our country by subversion, violence, lies, and deceit. As an international organization they stand convicted at the bar of justice and opinion of every conceivable crime against man and humanity—murder, slavery, dishonesty, atheism, rape—none of which qualify them for acceptance in decent society let alone speaking from our lofty places.

To include Communist speakers as a part of academic freedom is an indication that there will not be academic responsibility for several reasons. First, it is inconceivable that it is an exercise of academic freedom to grant a forum to those whose avowed purpose—even if they deny it—is to "bury us" in the words of their ignoble leader. For example, Ohio Wesleyan students recently heard Carl Winter who served a jail sentence after conviction on these very charges; second, Communists are contemptuous of the law and have failed to register with the Attorney General as required in the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954. Do you want to grant a forum to those who violate the law—I'm talking about right now, today, in contempt for our established law and procedures? Even the most ardent liberal who bleeds so profusely over the purported rights of these Communists respects the law of the land and should not tolerate this double standard.

In my own experience, I well remember in the late 1940's at Harvard how the Communist Gerhart Eisler addressed a campus meeting. His oratory was replete with the usual line—Wall Street capitalism, glib lies, denunciations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, etc. Within a few weeks, he was smuggled out of the United States on a Polish ship in violation of the law and has been living the life of an Iron Curtain Communist ever since. Maybe we gained something by hearing him, under the guise of academic freedom, but I have always doubted it.

This is one of the hard problems to answer in a free society and the Communists are always on hand to stir the strife. They want the rights accorded to decent law-abiding Americans but don't want to acknowledge the responsibilities. Quite frankly, I would not be fearful of letting my three daughters listen to Frank Wilkinson, Gus Hall, or Carl Winter when they go to college a few years hence. This isn't the point, however. These men should not be given a forum in our universities and the respectability that comes with it. I'll worry a great deal more about the economic socialism they will be taught in colleges under the guise of respectability.

I might add as a postscript that my experience in studying communism over the past 15 years has indicated several important conclusions on the basis of my comprehension of the sinister nature of this godless force. The Communists are gaining for several reasons. First of all, we seem bent on conceding to them everything while they concede to us not one thing. In the case in point, there is the tendency to concede to them the respectability which comes from addressing a college audience, the right to speak, the benefit of the doubt, the spirit of fair play, etc. What would they concede us? Nothing. While I don't want to change our ways I do not feel it is necessary to be stupid in light of their 50-year history. Internationally, we set up coalition governments in good faith and abide by the rules. They never intend to from the very start and await

the first opportunity to violate the agreement. Again, we concede them everything and they concede us nothing. In giving them access to our university forums we are conceding them one more thing they do not deserve.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., was convicted in our courts. Does it have the right to think it can preach its subversive doctrines—not political ideas but subversive doctrines—on our college campuses? It has not one right in the world, any more than the convicted rapist, arsonist, or robber. Remember, academic freedom is meaningless without academic responsibility.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. ASHBROOK,
 Member of Congress.

(P.S. Would we tolerate Communists as professors? I think not. Visiting speakers are as much a part of the education process as professors.)

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. OLSEN of Montana (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for 30 minutes, on Thursday, May 23; to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HALEY (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), on Thursday, May 23, for 1 hour.

Mrs. MAY (at the request of Mr. MORSE), for 1 hour, on Thursday, May 23.

Mr. ALGER (at the request of Mr. MORSE), for 1 hour on Tuesday, May 28.

Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. MORSE), for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. BRAY (at the request of Mr. MORSE), for 30 minutes, on May 23.

Mr. QUIN (at the request of Mr. MORSE), for 1 hour on Wednesday, May 22.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mrs. SULLIVAN and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. CAREY.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) were given permission to extend their remarks in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SICKLES.

Mr. HEMPHILL.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MORSE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. GOODLING.

Mr. SNYDER.

SENATE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

A bill and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 537. An act to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for

more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

S.J. Res. 60. Joint resolution providing for the acceptance by the United States of America of an instrument for the amendment of the constitution of the International Labor Organization; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 18. An act to change the name of Harpers Ferry National Monument to Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; and

S. 247. An act to authorize survey and establishment of a townsite for the Juneau Indian Village in Alaska.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 26 minutes p.m.) under its previous order, the House adjourned until Thursday, May 23, 1963, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon: Committee on Education and Labor. H.R. 6143. A bill to authorize assistance to public and other non-profit institutions of higher education in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities in undergraduate and graduate institutions; with an amendment (Rept. No. 310). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. H.R. 3496. A bill to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before June 1, 1965; without amendment (Rept. No. 311). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON:

H.R. 6451. A bill to amend sections 162 and 274 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the deductibility of certain business entertainment, etc., expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 6452. A bill to amend section 13 of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 6453. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for commitments to, maintenance in, and discharges from, the District Training School, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1925, as amended;

to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 6454. A bill to establish in the Treasury a correctional industries fund for the government of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin:

H.R. 6455. A bill to amend subsection (b) of section 512 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (dealing with unrelated business taxable income); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6456. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the admissions tax shall not apply where the proceeds inure to hospitals which are exempt from income tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.R. 6457. A bill to amend section 111 of title 23 of the United States Code to permit States to allow certain service facilities to be constructed or located on the rights-of-way of the Interstate System; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON:

H.R. 6458. A bill to amend section 3104 of title 38, United States Code, to permit certain service-connected disabled veterans who are retired members of the uniformed services to receive compensation concurrently with retired pay, without deductions from either; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KORNEGAY:

H.R. 6459. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LINDSAY:

H.R. 6460. A bill to amend sections 162 and 274 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the deductibility of certain business entertainment, etc., expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 6461. A bill to provide for the coverage of physicians by the insurance system established by title II of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MONTROYA:

H.R. 6462. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to permit the sale of cotton acreage allotments under specified circumstances, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 6463. A bill to determine the rights and interests of the Navajo Tribe and the Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation in and to certain lands in the State of New Mexico and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RIVERS of Alaska:

H.R. 6464. A bill for the relief of certain employees of the Alaska Railroad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

H.R. 6465. A bill to provide financial assistance to the States to improve educational opportunities for migrant agricultural employees and their children; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Texas:

H.R. 6466. A bill to amend sections 162 and 274 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the deductibility of certain business entertainment, etc., expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6467. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to the rate of duty on brooms made of broomcorn; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BASS:

H.J. Res. 444. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the week beginning October 27, 1963, through November 2, 1963, as "Country Music Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.J. Res. 445. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

H.J. Res. 446. Joint resolution to authorize and direct the conduct by the Federal Trade Commission of a comprehensive investigation of chainstore practices which may be in violation of the antitrust laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WINSTEAD:

H. Con. Res. 165. Concurrent resolution expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the matter of general disarmament and arms control; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BATES:

H.R. 6468. A bill for the relief of Harold J. Burke; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEN:

H.R. 6469. A bill for the relief of Frederik Cecil Marie Janssens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINNEGAN:

H.R. 6470. A bill for the relief of Asli Eshoo Shamalta Elias and Jennie D'Khedory Elias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 6471. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Amato; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 6472. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Ourania Thomareis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ICHORD:

H.R. 6473. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Loward D. Sparks; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 6474. A bill for the relief of Isola Dias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6475. A bill for the relief of Nicholas Koumarianos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:

H.R. 6476. A bill to provide for the free entry of certain stained glass for the Congregation Emanuel of Denver, Colo.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.R. 6477. A bill for the relief of Capt. Otis R. Bowles; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHELLEY:

H.R. 6478. A bill for the relief of Regina Gebriel Chiari (also known as Gina Chiari); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SICKLES:

H.R. 6479. A bill for the relief of Jong Wan Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Iowa:

H.R. 6480. A bill for the relief of Rafat S. Souryal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

134. By Mr. HANNA: Petition of the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

135. Also, petition of boards of directors of the sanitation districts of Orange County, opposing H.R. 3166, now pending before the Congress; to the Committee on Public Works.