"I personally am convinced that our world superiority in the production of food and fiber can be used to encourage great masses of humanity into peaceful pursuits, moving them toward self reliance and self sufficiency in the production of food and fiber. This should strengthen the bonds of friendship among free nations. Moreover, as I have said on many occasions, I am convinced that in the end bread will be more important than bullets in bringing peace to the world."

Mr. COOLEY said the new emphasis upon world food and fiber policy he envisions through the bill introduced today not only would aid the recipients of our food and fiber but also would be beneficial to the economy and well-being of the people of the United States.

"I am not proposing," he said, "that we remove forthwith the restraints upon farm production now operating through voluntary farm programs. If we did this, we might again find ourselves buried in surpluses. Neither do I suppose that the United States can feed everyone who is hungry around the world. But our farmers have mastered the arts of abundance and they can produce food and fiber, beyond our own needs, that can build the physical strength and morale of the populations in many countries where these people work in the direction of self-sufficiency in agriculture.

"The United States would expect to receive as great a return from its augmented exports of agricultural commodities as is reasonable and possible under the circumstances of each particular country.

"Food would be donated, where necessary. If the country could pay for all or part of our exports in its local currency, it would be expected to do so. When its economy reached a level where it could pay in long-term dollar credits this would take the place of all or part of the local currency payments. From that it is to be hoped the country would develop into a commercial importer, as many of the countries which have received help under Public Law 480 have done.

"I expect this new emphasis I propose in the bill I have introduced to bring ultimately a substantial expansion of the production of America's farms, lessening the need for programs to repress production. Our farmers would be the key to the whole program I envision. I would hope that this new program would keep millions of acres in production and employ on our farms many thousands of people who would be dislocated and crowded into our cities if we proceed with further restrictions upon agricultural output.

"I can see that this new emphasis will develop for the United States broad commercial markets around the world for our food and fiber in the years ahead. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that those countries which have developed their agriculture to the highest degree are the best customers abroad of U.S. agriculture and industry."

SENATE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1966

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Bishop W. Earl Ledden, Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

O Lord, our God, surrounded by the symbols of the power and the glory of our beloved country, we remember before Thee the disorder and distress of so many in Thy human family.

We lift hands of prayer for our tortured world. The creation which Thou didst call good is marred by man's inhumanity to man. The blood of brother slain by brother cries unto Thee from the ground. And Thy rebuke troubles the conscience of sensitive souls throughout the earth.

In this day of balanced terror and unbalanced judgment, be Thou our stay; steady our minds, strengthen our wills. Restrain those who loose wild tongues that have not Thee in awe. Make strong the hands of those who seek peace and pursue it.

Make us, we pray, conscientious projectors, driven by an awakened conscience to support those many noble projects already underway for the peace of the world. Sustain, O Lord, those many leaders among us who pray and labor for the good of their fellow men; and bring in that kingdom without frontiers of which Thy prophets have dreamed across the long generations. In His name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, January 19, 1966, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on January 19, 1966, the President had approved and signed the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 125) extending the date for transmission of the Economic Report.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION RELATING TO TERM OF OFFICE OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 364)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with an accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

To the Congress of the United States:

In 1816 Thomas Jefferson wrote:

Some men ascribe to the men of a preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment * * * I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions * * * But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind.

I believe that in the interest of progress and sound modern government—and to nourish and strengthen our creative Federal system—we must amend our Constitution, to provide a 4-year term of office for Members of the House of Representatives.

I believe that for the same reasons we must also eliminate those defects in the electoral college system which make possible the frustration of the people's will in the election of their President and Vice President.

FOUR-YEAR TERM FOR HOUSE MEMBERS

I

Debate over the length of the House term is not new. It began in the Constitutional Convention, where those who thought annual elections were essential to freedom clashed with others, such as Madison, who held that 3 years were required "in a government so extensive, for members to form any knowledge of the various interests of the States to which they did not belong," and that without such knowledge "their trust could not be usefully discharged." Madison's thoughts are ruefully familiar to Members of the House today: he was certain that a 1-year term would be "almost consumed in preparing for and traveling to and from the seat of national business," and that even with a 2-year term none of the Representatives "who wished to be reelected would remain at the seat of government."

Between the advocates of a 1-year term—those who, bearing in mind recent English experience, feared the despotism of a government unchecked by the popular will—and those who saw a tenure of 3 years as necessary for wise administration, a compromise of 2 years was reached.

Thus there was little magic in the number 2, even in the year of its adoption. I am convinced there is even less magic today, and that the question of tenure should be reexamined in the light of our needs in the 20th century.

II

The authors of the Federalist Papers said about the House of Representatives:

As it is essential to liberty that the Government in general should have a common interest with the people; so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration should have an immediate dependence on, and an intimate sympathy with the people. Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependency and sympathy can be effectually secured. But what particular degree of frequency may be absolutely necessary for the purpose, does not appear to be susceptible of any precise calculation; and must depend on a variety of circumstances with which it may be connected.

The circumstances with which the 2-year term is presently connected are—

The accelerating volume of legislation on which Members are required to pass. In the first Congress, 142 bills were introduced, resulting in 108 public laws. In the 88th Congress, 15,299 bills were introduced, of which 666 were enacted into public law.

The increasingly complex problems that generate this flood of legislation, requiring Members to be familiar with an

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immense range of fact and opinion. It is no longer sufficient to develop solutions for an agricultural nation with few foreign responsibilities; now a man or woman chosen to represent his people in the House of Representatives must understand the consequences of our spiralling population growth, of urbanization, of the new scientific revolution, of our welfare and education requirements, and of our responsibilities as the world's most powerful democracy.

Longer sessions of Congress, made necessary by the burden of legislation and outstanding public issues. In less turbulent times, Members of Congress might conduct the public business with dispatch during election years, and spend the summer and autumn campaigning in their districts. Congress adjourned in April of 1904, June of 1906, May of 1908, and June of 1910. But increasing workloads have substantially extended the sessions. Thus it was in August of 1958 that Congress concluded its work, in September of 1960, October of 1962, and again in October of 1964. The competitive pressures imposed by the 2-year term, when the incumbent must remain in Washington into the fall to attend the public business, reduce his capacity to do either task—campaigning or legislating—with the complete attention his conscience and the public interest demand.

The increasing cost of campaigning that biennially impose heavy burdens on those who represent vigorously contested districts, and that magnify the influence of large contributors, pressure groups, and special interest lobbyists.

It may be said that every elected official confronts similar circumstances in the 1960's. Yet it can be said of none that his power for the public good or ill is both so great as the Congressman's, and so sharply pressed in time.

For this public servant—part judge and author of laws, part leader of his people, part mediator between the executive branch and those he represents—is scarcely permitted to take his seat in the historic Hall of the House, when he must begin once more to make his case to his constituency.

The Congressman's effectiveness as a legislator is reduced by this.

His district's right to be fully represented in Congress is diminished by this.

The Nation's need to be led by its best qualified men, giving their full attention to issues on which our security and progress depend, is ignored by this.

In the States, in private business, and indeed, in the Federal Government itself, the wisdom of longer terms for senior officials has come steadily to be recognized. State after State has adopted a 4-year gubernatorial term.

This administration has made every effort to extend ambassadorial tours of duty, to promote career civil servants to posts of higher responsibilities, and to retain Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officers on the job for longer periods than before. For we have learned that brief and uncertain periods in office contribute—not to the best interests of democracy—but to harassed inefficiency and the loss of invaluable experience.

III

Thus I recommend that the Congress adopt this amendment to the Constitution in the belief that it will—

Provide for each Member a sufficient period in which he can bring his best judgment to bear on the great questions of national survival, economic growth, and social welfare.

Free him from the inexorable pressures of biennial campaigning for reelection.

Reduce the cost—financial and political—of holding congressional office.

Attract the best men in private and public life into competition for this high public office.

I am mindful of the principal reason advanced for maintaining the 2-year term—that it is necessary if the voice of the people is to be heard, and changes in public opinion are to be registered on the conduct of public policy. My own experience in almost three decades in public office—and, I believe, the experience of Members of Congress today—is otherwise.

For we do not live in a day when news of congressional action requires weeks to reach our constituents, nor when public opinion is obscured by time and distance. Communications media rush the news to every home and shop within minutes of its occurrence. Public opinion polls, and mountains of mail, leave little doubt about what our people think of the issues most vital to them. I do not fear deafness on the part of those who will take their seats in Congress for a 4-year term.

It is also vital to recognize the effect of a longer term on the authority of the House in making known the will of the people. Established in office for 4 years, the weight of the House in the councils of government is certain to increase. For the sake of democracy, that is a development devoutly to be welcomed.

IV

I recommend that the amendment become effective no earlier than 1972.

It is imperative that each Member of the House have the opportunity of campaigning during a presidential election year. To divide the House into two classes, as some have proposed—one elected during the off year, one with the President—would create an unnecessary and wholly unfair division in that body. It would also create severe problems in every State: as reapportionment is ordered and redistricting takes place.

Off year elections are notorious for attracting far fewer voters—perhaps as much as 15 percent fewer—than presidential elections.

If our purpose is to serve the democratic ideal by making the people's House more effective in its performance of the people's business, then we must require that its Members be chosen by the largest electorate our democracy can produce. That, assuredly, is the electorate called into being during a presidential year.

I do not believe the Congress will wish to make the House the least representative of our three elective elements by perpetually condemning half its membership to a shrunken electorate. Such a body could not long sustain its claim to be an equal partner in the work of representative government.

V

If this amendment is to serve the public interest—if Members are to be free of campaigning for a period sufficiently long to enable them to master the work of the House—it is right that they should remain at that work during the entire term to which they are elected.

It would defeat the purpose of the amendment if a Member were free to campaign for the Senate without resigning his seat in the House. Because we seek to strengthen the House, and through it, representative government—not to provide a sanctuary and platform for further electoral contests—I recommend that no Member of either House be eligible for election as a Member of the other House until his own term has expired, unless, at least 30 days prior to that election, he submits his resignation from the office he holds.

VI

Our democracy cannot remain static, a prisoner to the past, if it is to enrich the lives of coming generations. Laws and institutions—to paraphrase Jefferson—must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind, and must respond to the changing conditions of life itself.

One law that should be changed limits the term of office for one of the great arms of our Government to a period too brief for the public good.

Let us no longer bind ourselves to it. Let us reform it. We shall better serve our people when we do.

Because I profoundly agree with former President Eisenhower, when he said, "Congressmen ought to be elected for 4 years, at the same time with the President," I urge the Congress promptly to consider a constitutional amendment extending the term of office for the House of Representatives to 4 years.

REFORM OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM

In my special message to the Congress last January, I urged an amendment to the Constitution to reform the electoral college system. I renew this recommendation and strongly reaffirm the need to reform the electoral college system.

There are several major defects in the existing system. They should be eliminated in order to assure that the people's will shall not be frustrated in the choice of their President and Vice President.

First, there presently exists the possibility that the constitutional independence of unpledged electors will be exploited, and that their votes will be manipulated in a close presidential race to block the election of a major candidate in order to throw the election into the House of Representatives. This grave risk should be removed.

Second, if the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, the existing system suffers from other fundamental defects. In such an election, the House of Representatives would be empowered to elect a President from the

three highest candidates. However, each State casts only one vote, with the result that the least populous States have the same vote in the election of the President as the most populous States.

As early as 1823, Madison reached the conclusion that—

> The present rule of voting for President by the House of Representatives is so great a departure from the republican principle of numerical equality, and even from the Federal rule, which qualifies the numerical by a State equality, and is so pregnant also, with a mischievous tendency in practice, that an amendment to the Constitution on this point is justly called for by all its considerate and best friends.

I firmly believe that we should put an end to this undemocratic procedure.

Third, if the electoral vote is indecisive under the existing system, the President is elected by the House of Representatives, but the Vice President is elected by the Senate. This creates the possibility of the election of a President and a Vice President from different parties. That possibility should not exist. To prevent its realization, the President and the Vice President should both be elected by the same body.

Fourth, the 23d amendment makes no provision for participation by the District of Columbia in an election of the President by the House of Representatives, or of the Vice President by the Senate.

I firmly believe that we should extend to the District of Columbia all the rights of participation in the election of a President and Vice President which the 50 States may exercise.

Fifth, existing law fails to provide for the death of the President-elect or Vice-President-elect between election day and the counting of the electoral votes in December. There is also no provision in the Constitution to cover the contingency presented by the death of a candidate for President or Vice President shortly before the popular election in November. These gaps should now be filled.

Elimination of these defects in our Constitution is long overdue. Our concepts of self-government and sound government require it.

Congress can now, in the words of Daniel Webster, "perform something worthy to be remembered," by uprooting the more objectionable features in the system of electing a President and Vice President, and thereby helping to preserve representative government and the two-party system.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 20, 1966.*

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (H.J. Res. 767) authorizing the President to proclaim National Ski Week, and it was signed by the Vice President.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable report of a nomination was submitted:

By Mr. PROXMIRE, from the Committee on Banking and Currency:

James S. Duesenberry, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the executive calendar.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of William Gorham, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Paul Kaplowitz, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the U.S. Tariff Commission for the term expiring June 16, 1967.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. GORE, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation of the Committee on the Judiciary was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana, from the Committee on Finance, with amendments:

H.R. 7723. An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to suspend the duty on certain tropical hardwoods; (Rept. No. 949).

By Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia, from the Committee on Armed Services, with amendments:

H.R. 7813. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries; (Rept. No. 950).

STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 190) to study administrative practice and procedure, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 190

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a full and complete study and investigation of administrative practices and procedures within the departments and agencies of the United States in the exercise of their rulemaking, licensing, investigatory, law enforcement, and adjudicatory functions, including a study of the effectiveness of the Administrative Procedure Act, with a view to determining whether additional legislation is required to provide for the fair, impartial, and effective performance of such functions.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee and; (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report is findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed $175,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original

resolution (S. Res. 191) to investigate antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 191

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a complete, comprehensive, and continuing study and investigation of unlawful restraints and monopolies, and of the antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States, their administration, interpretation, operation, enforcement, and effect, and to determine and from time to time redetermine the nature and extent of any legislation which may be necessary or desirable for—

(1) clarification of existing law to eliminate conflicts and uncertainties where necessary;

(2) improvement of the administration and enforcement of existing laws; and

(3) supplementation of existing law to provide any additional substantive, procedural, or organizational legislation which may be needed for the attainment of the fundamental objects of the laws and efficient administration and enforcement thereof.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $561,700.00 shall be paid from the contingent fund for the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

CONSIDERATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO FEDERAL CHARTERS, HOLIDAYS, AND CELEBRATIONS—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 192) to consider matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 192

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to consider all matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized to (1) make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $7,500, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

AUTHORIZATION OF STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 193) authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 193

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under section 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to constitutional amendments.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its activities and findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $117,685.15, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 194) to investigate matters pertaining to constitutional rights, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 194

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to constitutional rights.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $195,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF CRIMINAL LAWS AND PROCEDURES—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 195) to investigate criminal laws and procedures, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 195

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under section 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of criminal laws and procedures.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) employ on a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed $120,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate by vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 196) to study matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 196

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $170,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF ADMINISTRATION, OPERATION, AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 197) to investigate the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 197

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 (a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, insofar as they relate to the authority of the committee, to make a complete and continuing study and investigation of (1) the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended; (2) the administration, operation, and enforcement of other laws relating to espionage, sabotage, and the protection of the internal security of the United States; and (3) the extent, nature, and effect of subversive activities in the United States, its territories and possessions, including, but not limited to, espionage, sabotage, and infiltration by persons who are or may be under the domination of the foreign government or organizations controlling the world Communist movement or any other movement seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $431,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY AND EXAMINATION OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 198) to study and examine the Federal judicial system, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 198

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under section 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a study and examination of the administration, practice and procedures of the Federal judicial system with a view to determining the legislation, if any, which may be necessary or desirable in order to improve the operations of the Federal courts in the just and expeditious adjudication of the cases, controversies, and other matters which may be brought before them.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis professional, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of departments and agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed $184,020.00, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 199) to investigate juvenile delinquency, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 199

Resolved, That the Committee of the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to juvenile delinquency in the United States, including (a) the extent and character of juvenile delinquency in the United States and its causes and contributing factors; (b) the adequacy of existing provisions of law, including chapters 402 and 403 of title 18 of the United States Code, in dealing with youthful offenders of Federal laws; (c) sentences imposed on, or other correctional action taken with respect to, youthful offenders by Federal courts; and (d) the extent to which juveniles are violating Federal laws relating to the sale or use of narcotics.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation, as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $260,000 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL PENITENTIARIES—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 200) to investigate national penitentiaries, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 200

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and inspect national penitentiaries.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems ad-

visable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $5,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

EXAMINATION AND REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE PATENT OFFICE—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 201) to examine and review the administration of the Patent Office, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 201

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 (a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a full and complete examination and review of the administration of the Patent Office and a complete examination and review of the statutes relating to patents, trademarks, and copyrights.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized to (1) make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $110,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE FLOW OF REFUGEES AND ESCAPEES FROM COMMUNISTIC TYRANNY—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 202) to investigate problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees from communistic tyranny, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 202

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees from Communist tyranny.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ on a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed $105,400, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate by vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF REVISION AND CODIFICATION OF THE STATUTES OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 203) to study revision and codification of the statutes of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 203

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to revision and codification of the statutes of the United States.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That if more than one counsel is employed, the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $42,500, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

REPORT ON DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

Mr. MONRONEY, from the Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments, to which was referred for examination and recommendation a list of records transmitted to the Senate by the Archivist of the United States, dated January 11, 1966, that appeared to have no permanent value or historical interest, submitted a report thereon, pursuant to law.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HILL:

S. 2795. A bill for the relief of Dr. Antonio B. Donesa; and

S. 2796. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rafael Anrrich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 2797. A bill to amend the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, and the Railway Labor Act with respect to emergency labor disputes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JACKSON:

S. 2798. A bill for the relief of CWO Glen Zeigler, U.S. Navy (retired); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARLSON (for himself and Mr. PEARSON):

S. 2799. A bill for the relief of Dr. and Mrs. Carlos Roberta Estrada Gonzales; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EASTLAND:

S. 2800. A bill for the relief of George Joseph Saad; and

S. 2801. A bill for the relief of Helena Gilbert Maddagiri and Heather Gilbert Maddagiri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McGOVERN:

S. 2802. A bill to extend and amend the Library Services and Construction Act; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. McGOVERN when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

S. 2803. A bill to amend title VI of the Public Health Service Act to establish a program under which assistance may be furnished for the construction of standby electrical systems in existing or proposed hospitals; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

S. 2804. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize certain grants to assure adequate commuter service in urban areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 2805. A bill to amend section 13a of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to the discontinuance or change of certain operations or services of common carriers by rail, in order to require the Interstate Commerce Commission to give full consideration to all financial assistance available before permitting

any such discontinuance or change; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. GORE:

S. 2806. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to terminate the credit for investment in depreciable property; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2807. A bill for the relief of Paul L. Finney; and

S. 2808. A bill for the relief of Phu Loc Ho Thi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. GORE when he introduced the first above-mentioned bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BAYH (for himself and Mr. METCALF):

S.J. Res. 126. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that the term of office of Members of the House of Representatives shall be 4 years; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. BAYH when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

RESOLUTIONS

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE FOR FURTHER STUDY OF MIGRATORY LABOR

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 188); which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

S. RES. 188

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to migratory labor including, but not limited to, such matters as (a) the wages of migratory workers, their working conditions, transportation facilities, housing, health, and educational opportunities for migrants and their children, (b) the nature of and the relationships between the programs of the Federal Government and the programs of State and local governments and the activities of private organizations dealing with the problems of migratory workers, (c) the effectiveness of pertinent programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act, and (d) the degree of additional Federal action necessary in this area.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed $75,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

TO CONTINUE AND TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for Mr. SMATHERS) submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 189); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 189

Resolved, That the Special Committee on Aging established by S. Res. 33, Eighty-seventh Congress, agreed to on February 13, 1961, as amended and supplemented, is hereby extend through January 31, 1967.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of such committee to make a full and complete study and investigation of any and all matters pertaining to problems and opportunities of older people, including but not limited to, problems and opportunities of maintaining health, of assuring adequate income, of finding employment, of engaging in productive and rewarding activity, of securing proper housing, and, when necessary, of obtaining care or assistance. No proposed legislation shall be referred to such committee, and such committee shall not have power to report by bill or otherwise have legislative jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. The said committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable.

SEC. 4. A majority of the members of the committee or any subcommittee thereof shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of taking sworn testimony.

SEC. 5. For purposes of this resolution, the committee is authorized (1) to employ on a temporary basis from February 1, 1966, through January 31, 1967, such technical, clerical, or other assistants, experts, and consultants as it deems advisable: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (2) with the prior consent of the executive department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to employ on a reimbursable basis such executive branch personnel as it deems advisable.

SEC. 6. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed $221,000 from February 1, 1966, through January 31, 1967, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

SEC. 7. The committee shall report the results of its study and investigation, together with such recommendations as it may deem advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967. The committee shall cease to exist at the close of business on January 31, 1967.

STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 190) to study administrative practice and procedure, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

INVESTIGATION OF ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 191) to investigate antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

CONSIDERATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO FEDERAL CHARTERS, HOLIDAYS, AND CELEBRATIONS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 192) to consider matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

AUTHORIZATION OF STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 193) authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committee.")

INVESTIGATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 194) to investigate matters pertaining to constitutional rights, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

INVESTIGATION OF CRIMINAL LAWS AND PROCEDURES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 195) to investigate criminal laws and procedures, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 196) to study matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

INVESTIGATION OF ADMINISTRATION, OPERATION, AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 197) to investigate the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

STUDY AND EXAMINATION OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 198) to study and examine the Federal judicial system, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 199) to investigate juvenile delinquency, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL PENITENTIARIES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 200) to investigate national penitentiaries, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

EXAMINATION AND REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE PATENT OFFICE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 201) to examine and review the administration of the Patent Office, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

INVESTIGATION OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE FLOW OF REFUGEES AND ESCAPEES FROM COMMUNISTIC TYRANNY

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 202) to investigate problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees from communistic tyranny, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

STUDY OF REVISION AND CODIFICATION OF THE STATUTES OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 203) to study revision and codification of the statutes of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. EASTLAND, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN LABOR DISPUTES WHICH IMPERIL THE PUBLIC HEALTH OR SAFETY

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Labor-Management Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act to give the President new, and in my opinion, critically necessary powers to protect and assert the public interest not only in labor disputes of a national character but also in any labor dispute affecting commerce which imperils the public health or safety in any substantial part of the population or territory of the Nation, including labor controversies involving State or municipal employees engaged in transportation, transmission, or communication.

This proposed legislation, which is designed to protect the public interest in a wide variety of controversies ranging from city transit strikes, like the recent one in New York City, to steel labor crises, to rail work-rules disputes—all areas where existing laws have proven to be grossly inadequate—would:

First. Authorize the President to appoint a board of inquiry to make public recommendations for a settlement based on factfinding.

Second. Authorize the President to order a 30-day freeze, during which the parties would be under a duty to bargain upon the recommendations, although neither party would be required to accept the recommendations.

Third. Authorize the President to seek appointment by a Federal court of a special receiver to operate the struck facilities to the extent which, in the opinion of the court, is necessary to protect the public health and safety.

Fourth. Extend coverage of the emergency labor disputes provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act to controversies which, though they may not affect an entire industry nor imperil the health or safety of the Nation as a whole, do affect interstate commerce and do imperil the health or safety of a substantial part of the population or territory of the Nation, and cover employees of a State or political subdivision if they are engaged in transportation, transmission, or communication.

Fifth. The emergency labor disputes provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act are not otherwise affected.

The crippling New York transit strike earlier this month was only one in a series of recent labor disputes and threatened labor disputes pointing up the inadequacy of existing laws to protect the public interest. The steel labor crisis last fall was resolved only after it brought the Nation to the brink of economic disaster—and then only after the President personally intervened and was forced to put the full prestige of his office behind a settlement which originated in the White House. And the 1963 rail crisis, which was suspended only by a special statute closely akin to compulsory arbitration—a procedure which failed to satisfy the parties then and may well erupt once more this spring when the 1963 statute expires—demonstrated with compelling force that what is needed is an established procedure which not only protects the public interest but also leaves the actual terms of the final settlement of the dispute to the parties themselves, to be reached by free collective bargaining.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. In my view, it is only a voluntary agreement which can both end a strike and also resolve the underlying controversy. It is for this reason that I believe the process of recommendations by a factfinding board appointed by the President, with a standstill period during

which these recommendations must be considered, is the best plan. The element of compulsion is not involved except to the extent that public opinion—once advised of what constitutes a fair settlement—is able to bring its weight to bear on both management and labor to see that a settlement is made. When this is coupled with the ultimate right of seizure—insuring that the economy cannot be paralyzed—we have a plan which gives us the maximum protection of the public interest with the minimum interference with the fundamental freedoms of the parties. Under this proposal, the parties are left free to bargain as long as they deem it necessary to reach a freely bargained settlement. If receivership becomes necessary, both parties operate under a disability, for the union forfeits the right to strike, but the employer forfeits possession and operation of his facilities. The Federal Government has suggested what a fair settlement would be, but the parties are free under this procedure—unlike compulsory arbitration—to reject the Government's suggestion and bargain for something else. In short, this proposal produces the maximum protection of the public with the minimum of Government decision-making.

The proposal made here is in no way inconsistent with the efforts of New York's Mayor Lindsay, nor the efforts of other city and State officials, to develop better procedures to protect the public interest in labor disputes involving public employees. The procedures I propose would become operative only in the event that local procedures fail and the public health or safety is imperiled. But it is clear beyond question that when New York's mayor turned to Washington for help in the recent transit strike, the administration had no procedure it could invoke under the law.

In my view, we simply cannot afford to continue to contemplate major labor disputes which can jeopardize or threaten to jeopardize the public health and safety, without adequate statutory tools to protect the public interest.

I have urged the administration over and over again to support new legislation in this field. Last fall, at the height of the steel labor crisis, I sent a telegram to the President urging the administration to call for the enactment of new legislation to protect the public interest in such labor disputes.

But after the President succeeded in settling the steel crisis "at the 1-foot line" by the sheer weight of his personal prestige, I received a reply from the Secretary of Labor which denied any need for any new emergency strike legislation, stating:

> The resulting settlement has obviated the necessity for immediate consideration by Congress of legislative action as recommended in your telegram to the President.

I was dismayed by that response, for to say that the need for legislation ends when each labor crisis ends is to make adequate legislation unattainable.

I was therefore delighted to learn of the administration's change of position, as reflected in the President's state of the Union message, and I look forward to having the opportunity to evaluate the administration's specific proposals, as well as those I have just recommended, in the light of committee hearings on these measures which should, and hopefully will, be held without delay, so that we may expeditiously exact legislation which will insure, once and for all, that the public will not again stand helpless in the face of a paralyzing labor controversy.

Mr. President, I make this statement in introducing the bill for the appropriate committee which deals with labor in Congress, and I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2797) to amend the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, and the Railway Labor Act with respect to emergency labor disputes, introduced by Mr. JAVITS, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2797

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Emergency Labor Disputes Act of 1966".

SEC. 2. Section 206 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 206. (a) Whenever in the opinion of the President of the United States, after consultation with the Director, a threatened or actual strike or lockout or other labor dispute in an industry affecting commerce may, if permitted to occur or to continue, imperil the health or safety of the Nation or a substantial part of the population or territory thereof, he may appoint a board of inquiry to inquire into the issues involved in the dispute and to make a written report to him within such time as he shall prescribe. Such report shall include a statement of the facts with respect to the dispute, including each party's statement of its own position, and shall, if the President so directs at any time, make recommendations in such report or in a supplemental report for the settlement of some or all of the issues in dispute. The President shall file a copy of such report with the Service and shall make its contents available to the public.

"(b) Upon receiving a report or a supplemental report from a board of inquiry which contains recommendations for the settlement of some or all of the issues in dispute, the President may direct that for a specified period not to exceed thirty days no change in the conditions out of which the dispute arose shall be made by the parties to the dispute, except by agreement. During such period the parties to the dispute shall be under a duty to bargain collectively with respect to the recommendations for settlement of the board of inquiry, but neither party shall be under a duty to accept in whole or in part any such recommendations."

SEC. 3. (a) Section 208(a)(i) of such Act is amended to read as follows: "(i) is in an industry affecting commerce; and".

(b) Section 208(a)(ii) of such Act is amended by striking out the words "national health or safety" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "health or safety of the Nation or a substantial part of the population or territory thereof".

(c) Section 209(a) of such Act is amended by striking out the words "national health or safety" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "health or safety of the Nation or a substantial part of the population or territory thereof".

(d) Section 209(b) of such Act is amended—

(1) by striking out the words "a sixty-day" and inserting in lieu thereof "an eighty-day"; and

(2) by striking out the last sentence in such section.

(e) Section 210 of such Act is amended—

(1) by striking out the words "certification of the results of such ballot" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "expiration of such eighty-day period"; and

(2) by striking out the words "and the ballot taken by the National Labor Relations Board".

SEC. 4. Such Act is further amended by inserting after section 210 thereof the following new sections:

"SEC. 210A. At any time after receiving a report with respect to a labor dispute from a board of inquiry under section 206(a), the President is authorized to direct the Attorney General to petition any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the employer, for the appointment of a special receiver to take immediate possession in the name of the United States of any plant, mine, or other facility which is the subject of such labor dispute and to use and operate such plant, mine, or other facility in the interests of the United States, and if the court finds that the exercise of the power and authority provided by this section is necessary to protect the health or safety of the Nation or any substantial part of the population or territory thereof, it shall have jurisdiction to appoint such a special receiver and to make such other orders as may be appropriate: *Provided, however,* That (1) at any time before directing the special receiver to take possession of such plant, mine, or other facility the court may direct the parties to the dispute to make every effort to agree to continue or resume such part of the operations of such plant, mine, or other facility as in the opinion of the court is necessary to protect the health or safety of the Nation or any substantial part of the population or territory thereof, and upon such continuance or resumption of operations may postpone the taking of possession by the special receiver so long as such operations continue; (2) such plant, mine, or other facility shall be operated by the special receiver only to the extent which in the opinion of the court is necessary to protect the health or safety of the Nation or of any substantial part of the population or territory thereof; (3) the possession and operation of such plant, mine, or other facility shall not render inapplicable any State or Federal law concerning health, safety, security, or employment standards, and the special receiver while operating such facility shall comply with such laws as if it were privately operated; (4) the wages, hours, conditions, and other terms of employment effective at the time of taking possession by the special receiver shall be maintained without change, except that the court may, if a board of inquiry appointed under section 206(a) shall have recommended changes in rates of pay, wages, hours, or other conditions of employment, direct the special receiver to make such recommendations effective in whole or in part in any plant, mine, or other facility which is being operated by the special receiver during such period of operation; (5) during the period of such possession by the special receiver and thereafter, the parties shall be encouraged to continue efforts to settle the dispute and the special receiver shall have no authority to negotiate a collective bargaining agreement with respect to rates of pay, wages, hours, or other conditions of employment; and the rates of pay,

wages, hours, or other conditions of employment which have been made effective pursuant to the recommendation of a board of inquiry shall remain in effect for a period of ninety days after the possession or operation of such plant, mine, or other facility has been returned by the special receiver to the owner, unless in the meantime the parties concerned have entered into a collective bargaining agreement with respect to rates of pay, wages, hours, or other conditions of employment; (6) such plant, mine, or other facility shall be returned to the employer as soon as practicable, but in no event later than thirty days, after the restoration of such labor relations in such plant, mine, or other facility that the possession or operation thereof by the special receiver is no longer necessary to insure the operation thereof required for the protection of the health and safety of the Nation or of any substantial part of the population or territory thereof; (7) such plant, mine, or other facility shall be operated by the special receiver for the account of the employer: *Provided further,* That the employer shall have the right to elect, by written notice filed with the court within ten days of such taking of possession, to waive all claims to the proceeds of such operation and to receive in lieu thereof just, fair, and reasonable compensation for the period of such possession and operation by the special receiver, to be paid by the United States as follows: (A) The President shall ascertain the amount of just, fair, and reasonable compensation to be paid as rental for the appropriation and temporary use of such plant, mine, or other facility while in the possession of or operated by the special receiver in the interest of the United States, such determination to be made as of the time of the taking hereunder, and taking into account the existence of the labor dispute which interrupted or threatened to interrupt the operation of such plant, mine, or other facility and the effect of such interruption or threatened interruption upon the value to the employer of the use of such plant, mine, or other facility; (B) if the amount so ascertained is not acceptable to the employer as just, fair, and reasonable compensation for the appropriation and temporary use for the property taken hereunder and as full and complete compensation therefor, the employer shall be paid 75 per centum of such amount and shall be entitled to sue the United States in the Court of Claims or in any district court of the United States in the manner provided for by sections 1357 and 1491 of title 28 of the United States Code to recover such further sums as when added to the amount so paid shall constitute just, fair, and reasonable compensation for the appropriation and temporary use of the property so taken. In the event such notice of election is filed with the court, the special receiver shall pay over to the United States the proceeds of the operations of such plant, mine, or other facility while in his possession.

"SEC. 210B. The provisions of sections 206 to 210A, inclusive, shall not be inapplicable to any threatened or actual strike or lockout or other labor dispute in an industry engaged in transportation, transmission, or communication, because the employer involved in such strike, lockout, or dispute is a State or political subdivision thereof, if such industry is an industry affecting commerce."

SEC. 5. The Railway Labor Act, as amended, is amended by adding after section 10 a new section as follows:

"SEC. 10A. At any time after receiving a report with respect to a labor dispute from a board appointed under section 10, the President is authorized to direct the Attorney General to petition any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the carrier for the appointment of a special receiver to take immediate possession in the name of the United States of the equipment and facilities of any carrier which is the subject of such dispute and to use and operate such equipment and facilities in the interest of the United States, and if the court finds that the exercise of the power and authority provided by this section is necessary to protect the health or safety of the Nation or of any substantial part of the population or territory thereof it shall have jurisdiction to appoint such a special receiver and to make such other orders as may be appropriate: *Provided, however,* That (1) at any time before directing the special receiver to take possession of such equipment and facilities, the court may direct the parties to the dispute to make every effort to agree to resume such part of the operations of such equipment and facilities as in the opinion of the court is necessary to protect the health or safety of the Nation or of any substantial part of the population or territory thereof, and upon such resumption of operations may postpone the taking of possession by the special receiver so long as such operations continue; (2) such equipment and facilities shall be operated by the special receiver only to the extent which in the opinion of the court is necessary to protect the health and safety of the Nation or of any substantial part of the population or territory thereof; (3) the possession and operation of such equipment and facilities shall not render inapplicable any State or Federal law concerning health, safety, security, or employment standards, and the special receiver while operating such equipment and facilities shall comply with such laws as if they were privately operated; (4) the wages, hours, conditions, and other terms of employment effective at the time of taking possession by the special receiver shall be maintained without change, provided that the court may, if a board appointed under section 10 shall have recommended changes in rates of pay, wages, hours, or other conditions of employment, direct the special receiver to make such recommendations effective in whole or in part with respect to the operation of equipment and facilities which are being operated by the special receiver during such period of operation, except that if no such board shall have been appointed, the President may in his discretion appoint a special board which shall be subject to the provisions of the first two paragraphs of section 10 and shall make such recommendations concerning changes in rates of pay, wages, hours, and other conditions of employment for the period of operation by the special receiver as it may deem appropriate and which the court may direct the special receiver to make effective in whole or in part with respect to the operation of any equipment or facilities which are being operated by the special receiver during such period of operation; (5) during the period of such possession by the special receiver and thereafter, the parties shall be encouraged to continue efforts to settle the dispute, and the special receiver shall have no authority to negotiate a collective bargaining agreement with respect to rates of pay, rules, or working conditions; and the rates of pay, rules, or working conditions which have been made effective pursuant to the recommendation of said board appointed under section 10 or said special board shall remain in effect for a period of ninety days after the possession or operation of such equipment and facilities has been returned by the special receiver to the owner, unless in the meantime the parties concerned have entered into a collective bargaining agreement with respect to rates of pay, rules, or working conditions, it being understood that in such negotiations between the parties concerned, involving proposals theretofore contained in any prior notices served pursuant to section 6 of this Act which resulted in the dispute, the parties shall be deemed to have complied with and have exhausted the procedures of the Act; (6) such equipment and facilities shall be returned to the carrier as soon as practicable, but in no event later than thirty days after the restoration of such labor relations between such carrier and its employees that the possession or operation thereof by the special receiver is no longer necessary to insure the operation thereof required for the protection and preservation of the health and safety of the Nation or of any substantial part of the population or territory thereof; (7) such equipment and facilities shall be operated by the special receiver for the account of the carrier: *Provided further,* That the carrier shall have the right to elect, by written notice filed with the court within ten days of such taking of possession, to waive all claims to the proceeds of such operation and to receive in lieu thereof just, fair, and reasonable compensation for the period of such possession and operation by the special receiver, to be paid by the United States as follows: (A) The President shall ascertain the amount of just, fair, and reasonable compensation to be paid as rental for the appropriation and temporary use of such equipment and facilities while in the possession of or operated by the special receiver in the interest of the United States, such determination to be made as of the time of the taking hereunder, and taking into account the existence of the labor dispute which interrupted or threatened to interrupt the operation of such equipment and facilities and the effect of such interruption or threatened interruption upon the value to the carrier of the use of such facilities; (B) if the amount so ascertained is not acceptable to the carrier as just, fair, and reasonable compensation for the appropriation and temporary use of the property taken hereunder and as full and complete compensation therefor, the carrier shall be paid 75 per centum of such amount and shall be entitled to sue the United States in the Court of Claims or in any district court of the United States in the manner provided for by sections 1357 and 1491 of title 28 of the United States Code to recover such further sums as when added to the amount so paid shall constitute just, fair, and reasonable compensation for the appropriation and temporary use of the property so taken. In the event such notice of election is filed with the court, the special receiver shall pay over to the United States the proceeds of the operations of such equipment and facilities while in his possession."

THE LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the Library Services and Construction Act is scheduled to expire on June 30 of this year. This important legislation has made possible a considerable growth and improvement in the library programs and services in my State. Because of it, many South Dakotans now have access for the first time to library resources. This program has awakened in communities an interest and a recognition of the great educational value of good public library services.

I was most pleased when 2 years ago this legislation was amended to include construction funds.

In view of the urgent national need for construction of library facilities, we must act now to insure the continuance and expansion of this fine program. We must act now to insure that our public libraries can continue to provide their

essential educational services to increasing numbers of American citizens. We must act now to insure that those communities in our various States which are currently planning for better library programs and facilities will be able to receive the financial support so necessary to them.

Therefore, Mr. President, I introduce today proposed legislation which will not only continue this program but will authorize its expansion to meet the obvious needs. This legislation would authorize grants to the States for library services under title I: $60 million for the fiscal year 1967; $80 million for fiscal year 1968; $100 million for fiscal year 1969; $120 million for fiscal year 1970; and $150 million for each fiscal year thereafter.

This bill would authorize under title II grants to the States for the purpose of constructing library facilities in the amount of $75 million for fiscal year 1967; $100 million for fiscal year 1968; $125 million for each of the fiscal years 1969 and 1970; and $100 million for fiscal year 1971, in a 5-year construction program.

In light of the fact that 15 million people in the United States still have no public library service and 100 million more are provided library services far below their actual needs, these amounts are modest enough.

The measure which I introduce would add a new title to authorize grants to State library agencies in a 5-year program to develop cooperative library services and joint use of facilities which would involve public libraries, school libraries, higher education libraries, and research libraries in the States. Authorizations for this new title would amount to $5 million for fiscal year 1967; $7.5 million for fiscal year 1968; $10 million for fiscal year 1969; $12.5 million for fiscal year 1970; and $15 million for fiscal year 1971.

The concept of cooperative library services is based on the recognition that every person in the United States should have available to him, no matter where he is, library collections and services of high quality. In recognition of the differing needs of every individual, title III of this bill offers States the financial help in initiating the procedures to adapt library systems to better serve people. Cooperative techniques will enable the States to take advantage of the broadest possible use of library resources.

The distinguished Representative from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS] recently introduced similar legislation in the other body. It is my earnest hope that both Houses will take action at an early date to extend the Library Services and Construction Act.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill I have introduced be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2802) to extend and amend the Library Services and Construction Act, introduced by Mr. MCGOVERN, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2802

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Library Services and Construction Act Amendments of 1966".

SEC. 2. Section 2(a) of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: ", and to promote interlibrary cooperation".

SEC. 3. Section 101(a) of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by striking out "June 30, 1957, and for each of the next six fiscal years the sum of $7,500,000, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, the sum of $25,000,000, and for each of the next two fiscal years such sums as the Congress may determine," and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "June 30, 1967, $60,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $80,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, $100,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, $120,000,000; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and each fiscal year thereafter, $150,000,000,".

SEC. 4. Section 102 of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by striking out the last sentence thereof.

SEC. 5. Section 103(a) of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (4), by redesignating paragraph (5) as paragraph (6), and by inserting after paragraph (4) the following new paragraph:

"(5) provide assurances satisfactory to the Commissioner that expenditures made for library services in the State in any fiscal year from funds derived from the State will not be less than such expenditures in the preceding fiscal year, and that no funds will be provided for library services to any local library or library system under the plan for any fiscal year if the State library administrative agency determines that the amount expended, or to be expended, for such library or library system during a fiscal year from funds derived from local sources is less than such expenditures in the preceding fiscal year; and".

SEC. 6. (a) Section 104(a) of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by striking out "1963" both times it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "1966", and by striking out "section 203" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 103".

(b) Section 104(b) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The Commissioner shall from time to time estimate the amount to which each State will be entitled under subsection (a) and the amount so estimated shall be paid in installments in advance or by way of reimbursement, after necessary adjustment on account of any previously made overpayment or underpayment."

(c) Section 104(d) of such Act is amended by striking out "(1)", by striking out "to be effective until July 1, 1957", and by striking out paragraph (2) of such subsection.

SEC. 7. Section 201 of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by striking out "June 30, 1964, the sum of $20,000,000 and for each of the next two fiscal years such sums as the Congress may determine," and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1967, $75,000,0000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $100,000,000; for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, and June 30, 1970, $125,000,000; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, $100,000,000,".

SEC. 8. Section 202 of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by striking out "(but only in the case of a State allotment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964)".

SEC. 9. (a) Section 204(a) of the Library Services and Construction Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "From such allotment, there shall also be paid to each State for each such period the Federal share of the total of the sums expended by the State and its political subdivision during such period for administration of the plan of such States approved under section 203."

(b) Section 204(b) of such Act is amended by inserting after "in such installments" the following: "in advance or by way of reimbursement".

SEC. 10. The Library Services and Construction Act is amended by inserting after title II the following new title:

"TITLE III—INTERLIBRARY COOPERATION

"Authorization of appropriations

"SEC. 301. There are authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, the sum of $5,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $7,500,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, $10,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, $12,500,000; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, $15,000,000; which shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted and had approved by the Commissioner State plans for establishing and maintaining local, interlocal, regional, State, or interstate, cooperative networks of libraries.

"Allotments

"SEC. 302. From the sums appropriated pursuant to section 301 for each fiscal year the Commissioner shall allot $10,000 each to Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands, and $40,000 to each of the other States, and shall allot to each State such part of the remainder of such sums as the population of the State bears to the population of the United States according to the most recent decennial census.

"Payments to States

"SEC. 303. (a) From the allotments available therefor under section 302, the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time pay to each State which has a plan approved under section 304 an amount, computed as provided in subsection (b) of this section, equal to the Federal share of the total sums expended by the State and its political subdivisions under such plan.

"(b) For the purposes of this section the Federal share for any State shall be 50 per centum of the sums expended under the plan: *Provided,* That the Federal share for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, shall be 100 per centum.

"State plans for interlibrary cooperation

"SEC. 304. (a) To be approved for purposes of this title a State plan for interlibrary cooperation must—

"(1) meet the requirements of paragraphs (1), (2), (4), and (5) of section 103(a);

"(2) provide policies and objectives for the systematic and effective coordination of the resources of school, public, academic, and special libraries and special information centers for improved services of a supplementary nature to the special clienteles served by each type of library or center;

"(3) provide appropriate allocation by participating agencies of the total costs of the system;

"(4) provide assurance that every local or other public agency in the State is accorded an opportunity to participate in the system;

"(5) provide criteria which the State agency shall use in evaluating applications for funds under this title and in assigning priority to project proposals; and

"(6) establish a statewide council which should be broadly representative of professional library interests and of library users which shall act in an advisory capacity to the State agency.

"(b) The Commissioner shall approve any State plan which meets the conditions specified in subsection (a) of this section."

SEC. 11. (a) Title III of the Library Services and Construction Act is hereby redesignated as title IV.

(b) Sections 301 through 304 of the Library Services and Construction Act are hereby redesignated as sections 401 through 404.

(c) Section 402(d)(2) of such Act (as so designated by subsection (b)) is amended by striking out "or title II" and inserting in lieu thereof "title II or title III".

(d) Section 403 of such Act (as so designated by subsection (b)) is amended by striking out "or 202" and inserting in lieu thereof ", 202, or 302", by striking out "and section 203" and inserting in lieu thereof "203, and 303" and by striking out "or 202" and inserting in lieu thereof ", 202, or 302", by striking out "or 203", and inserting in lieu thereof ", 203, or 303,", by striking out "or 201" and inserting in lieu thereof ", 201, or 301", and by striking out "and 202" and inserting in lieu thereof ", 202, and 302".

(e) Section 404 of such Act (as so designated by subsection (b)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) The term, 'interlibrary cooperation', means the establishment and operation of systems or networks of libraries, including State libraries, school libraries, college and university libraries, public libraries, and special libraries, working together to provide more effective and more economical services to all library users. Such systems may be designed to serve a community, a metropolitan area, a region within a State, or may serve a statewide or multistate area."

STANDBY ELECTRIC POWER FOR HOSPITALS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the great power failure which darkened the Northeastern States last fall made dramatically clear the fallibility of the interconnecting power grid systems we had thought were infallible. Unexpected and defying the predictions of experts, the failure of the grid system found many vital services unprepared to cope with the sudden loss of all electric power.

As a member of the Health Subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I was particularly concerned with the ability of the hospitals, whose lifesaving services and equipment depend on electricity, to deal with a power loss. While the man in the street can light a candle or buy a flashlight and endure the inconvenience, a power loss in hospitals can jeopardize an operation, shut down equipment vital to a life, or endanger supplies of drugs and blood which must be kept under refrigeration. The hospitals of the Northeast responded magnificently to the blackout but often by makeshifts and hurried improvisation. There were no reported deaths as a result of the blackout; this is a tribute to the skill and ingenuity of doctors and hospital staffs. But I do not believe that we can run this risk again or ask surgeons to operate by battery-powered emergency lights or hospital administrators to keep vital services in operation by the use of hastily rigged portable generators borrowed from the local police or fire departments. Every modern hospital should have a standby system which would automatically provide adequate and instantaneous power in case of a power failure. This was one of the recommendations made by the Federal Power Commission in its report to the President on the Northeast power failure, and I agree with it. In commenting on proposals for assistance to hospitals for "emergency power systems, hospitals," the Journal of the American Hospital Association, had this to say:

> Despite initial reports that hospitals in the blackout area generally were equipped to maintain services, later and more comprehensive investigations showed inadequate hospital standby power.

We have seen that great power failures can occur despite the foresight of engineers and the safeguards of human invention. Now is the time to make sure that our hospitals are adequately prepared to handle an emergency power failure.

Therefore, I am introducing, for appropriate reference, an amendment to the Hill-Burton program to establish a 3-year program of grants and loans to hospitals for the construction and improvement of standby electrical systems. This amendment to title VI of the Public Health Service Act would authorize the Surgeon General to make loans or grants totaling up to 75 percent of the construction cost of these systems to public or private nonprofit hospitals. The Surgeon General would be empowered to establish standards for emergency electrical systems for various classes of hospitals and would have to have assurance that there was adequate local financial support available for the completion of the construction of the system, and for its operation and maintenance once built. The cost of the loan would be one-fourth of 1 percent above the average borrowing cost of the Government. Applicants could receive a grant, a loan, or a combination of both up to 75 percent of the cost. A total of $30 million would be authorized to carry out this 3-year program: $5 million the first year, $10 million the second, and $15 million the third.

Mr. President, there is a clear need for this short-term program of aid to hospitals. According to estimates of the American Hospital Association, 25 percent of the Nation's hospitals do not have auxiliary generators or other satisfactory standby power supplies and another 25 percent have emergency power supplies which are inadequate. Thus, 50 percent of our hospitals are ill prepared to respond to massive power failures. This estimate has been confirmed by figures I have received from the Public Health Service. According to the Public Health Service, 1,977 or 37 percent of our hospitals require major improvements in their standby power systems and 1,242 or 24 percent need complete new systems.

It has been estimated by the Public Health Service that it would cost approximately $63 million to provide these hospitals with adequate standby power systems. This figure includes an estimate of $21.7 million to make substandard systems satisfactory sources of power and $41 million for the construction of new power systems. The bill I am introducing contains a 3-year authorization of $30 million by which the Federal Government could meet half the estimated total cost of giving the Nation's hospitals self-sufficient power supplies.

The Hill-Burton program has done a tremendous job in creating a hospital system second to none in the world. As we seek ways to improve our existing hospital system, I believe prompt attention should be given to a problem which can be quickly corrected at relatively small cost. The Northeast power blackout revealed one weakness in our hospital system; it can and should be corrected before a natural or manmade disaster again plunges a large section of the country into darkness. We can profit from the lessons learned last year by making sure that every hospital has the financial resources available to acquire a good system of standby power fully able to meet emergency needs.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2803) to amend title VI of the Public Health Service Act to establish a program under which assistance may be furnished for the construction of standby electrical systems in existing or proposed hospitals, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

COMMUTER SERVICE BILLS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, for many years now, we have recognized that the Federal Government has a basic involvement in fulfilling this country's transportation needs. In our early days, we were concerned with building long-haul railroads and creating an adequate merchant marine. As our country has gone through different phases of its history, different modes of transportation became increasingly important and made their claims on the Government's help.

Understandably enough, as the United States grew industrially and great metropolitan areas became the commercial and social hub for large masses of people, the problem of urban transportation slowly came to the forefront of our national concern. By the end of World War II, it was becoming obvious to anyone who cared to look, that we were paying a disproportionate amount of money and attention to the private automobile and a multibillion-dollar highway network, and were almost ignoring the question of how to move large numbers of commuters and casual travellers into and out of large urban areas in an orderly, pleasant and economical manner.

Congress first faced up to its responsibilities in this area when, in the 1961 Housing Act, it authorized programs for mass transportation demonstration projects, loans, and planning. This was only a small start, however, and in 1964 we finally succeeded in getting the Mass Transportation Act of 1964 enacted into law. Under this act, $375 million was authorized and $320 million has been appropriated, to revitalize and expand

all types of transit and commuter transportation systems.

However, I think it vital to keep clear in our minds just what major premises underlay the provisions of the act. Basically, the act operated on the theory that "fare box revenues could finance operation." Consequently, the grant provisions were designed to meet the heavy costs of new construction, new equipment, modernization, and the installation of new systems.

For many communities, this was just what the doctor ordered. The Memphis Transit Authority was able to purchase 75 new air-conditioned buses and complete a 3-year-old modernization program. The city of Minneapolis received a grant to develop a planned transitway and pedestrian mall along eight major downtown streets.

But it is essential to remember that the act was aimed at revamping and remodeling transportation systems which were already paying their own way out of the fare box or were receiving sufficient local subsidies to stay in business. Unfortunately, we have been somewhat beguiled by the "folklore of the fare box" and have tended to ignore the disconcerting fact that many public transportation systems—buses, subways, and commuter railroads—are simply not meeting their operational costs and consequently are in no position to take advantage of the capital grants under the Mass Transit Act.

I think that there is no longer any question that provision of adequate transit services has become a legitimate concern of government. Transportation has become as much of an essential public service as police protection or sanitation. Just as we now fully recognize that the local governments of large metropolitan areas have a responsibility for the health and safety of our cities, so we must face hard facts about our responsibilities throughout the whole broad field of commuter transportation.

The recent mass transit tieup in New York City presents a vivid and frightening example of the paralysis caused by a breakdown in transportation facilities: a city is brought to a standstill, incalculable losses are sustained by manufacturers and retailers, millions are kept from their jobs with resulting loss of pay, essential services are stymied, and virtual chaos develops on every alternate artery of transit.

This spectacle should serve as fair warning to all of us. Government is as directly concerned with the maintenance and functioning of an adequate transportation system as it is with maintenance and functioning of the power system which supplies electricity to a city.

In addition to a power failure and a disastrous mass transit labor dispute, the New York metropolitan region may well be on the verge of still another crisis which is merely indicative of that faced in other areas of the country. The commuter problem facing the tristate area of New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut—a problem which has been studied, discussed, analyzed, and argued about for over a decade—merely exemplifies that aspect of the commuter transit problem which we were not yet ready to deal with in the Mass Transit Act, and which is now staring us in the face. Many of the commuter lines—whether publicly owned subways in Boston or New York, privately owned railroads like the New Haven and Reading, or bus systems, simply cannot finance their operations out of the fare box and need immediate and direct cash grants merely to keep their heads above water.

There is no question at this point of the central role which commuter railroad service plays in every major metropolitan region. In a sense, this is a two-way relationship, for not only is the urban industrial complex dependent on those who commute into the city to perform their tasks, but the suburban, exurban, and rural communities which feed their residents into those commuter lines are even more dependent on the financial feedback from the cities.

For example, in my own State, where about 200,000 commuters daily pour into New York, it has been estimated that over $3 billion is generated by this employment for the benefit of New Jerseyites.

The time has now come for drastic action—for enactment of a carefully designed, long-range, commuter-service bill which looks forward to or envisions an eventual solution of the problem rather than the sporadic handouts which transit facilities receive each time they cry poverty and threaten stoppage of service.

For too long we have labored under the comfortable myth that provision of passenger service was strictly the concern of private enterprise and a simple matter of market economics. Because of that comforting myth—which enabled us to avoid an early and honest appraisal of the problem—we ignored the danger signals which have been sent up over the years.

For example, even though private companies did a superb job—often with generous Government contributions—of building and running a network of railroads linking every corner of our country, the events of the 20th century have drastically altered their ability to handle present needs. The reasons for this have by now become obvious to everyone.

First of all, the very nature of commuter service presents difficulties because it serves large masses of riders for only short periods of the workday and the workweek. The inroads made by the automobile and our strangulating highway network have severely curtailed railroad passenger and bus traffic. The high cost of labor and the large capital outlays required for new rolling stock, have also contributed to the woes of buses and railroads and breakdown of commuter service.

The railroads have made clear their present inability to operate their commuter operations on anything approaching a fiscally sound basis. The Erie-Lackawannna, the major commuter railroad for New Jerseyites, has estimated its losses at $63 million in the past decade and $8.2 million—before State subsidies—last year alone; the Jersey Central claims it has incurred deficits of $60 million in the past 10 years, and $6.5 million—before State subsidies—during 1964. The Regional Plan Association calculates the operating loss on all commuter operations in the metropolitan region at about $25 to $30 million annually.

Obviously, these losses cannot continue. Whether all possible efforts have been made over the years by railroad management to avoid them or to forestall them, is no longer the issue. At this time we must simply face the unpleasant facts of commuter life. The Erie-Lackawanna is reported to be preparing its application to the Interstate Commerce Commission to abandon service; the New Haven has been in bankruptcy for years; the Long Island Railroad has been virtually operated by the State of New York for over a decade.

Let me make one thing clear: I have talked in detailed terms of the problems in New Jersey and the entire New York region, but that is because, naturally, I know this area most intimately, and it is of most direct concern to me. However, the problems of this region of 17 million people are merely illustrative of the problems faced by failing commuter systems all over the country. Whether you look at the Boston area with its subway and Boston & Maine difficulties, or the current dispute right here in Washington, D.C., over a reasonable fare to be charged on the bus system, or at the remarkable progress made by the Chicago & Northwestern in serving the Chicago suburbs, the basic issue is the same. It is my strong belief that we must now make public our commitment that commuter lines—of all types—will be maintained in order to insure the continuing prosperity and well-being of the millions of people all over the country whose daily routine is so dependent on them.

Having made this policy decision, the question becomes one of how best to act. How are we going to keep these commuter facilities operating? Are we forced to accept the unpleasant notion of State or Federal ownership? I think not. Are we going to continue throwing them the bones of haphazard emergency subsidies and thinly disguised demonstration grants which demonstrate only the inadequacy of the funds granted? To me this is neither the rational nor the economic answer.

I would like to explain to you a program which I think presents an honest and well-thought-out plan for dealing with this situation. I say honest, because I think we must face squarely the financial magnitude of this problem and the funds which are needed to solve it, and we must no longer flinch at the application of some novel approaches which are necessary.

The program is relatively simple and embodies two major ideas: First, we must keep the commuter lines going. The danger on several railroad lines for example, is of immediate curtailment and abandonment or of mergers which will result in eventual abandonment. Consequently, the Federal Government must contribute a certain portion of Federal funds to keep our transit facilities run-

ning. Whether we term these temporary subsidies, interim relief, or grants to defray operating deficits, we must recognize that the first order of business is in the New York region, to transport 77,000 New Jerseyites daily to New York City and to make sure that the other 123,000 commuters from Connecticut and New York also make it to their jobs in the metropolitan region.

The concept of government subsidies for operating losses is hardly a new one. My own State has been paying out between $6 and $7 million a year for the last 6 years to the Erie-Lackawanna, the Jersey Central and the Pennsy. Connecticut has authorized a subsidy of up to $4½ million annually to keep the New Haven in operation. And New York set up a separate corporation, back in 1954, to run the Long Island Railroad rather than let it go out of service. New York City and Chicago have long realized the necessity of subsidizing their public transportation systems, and the Philadelphia area has established a transportation authority which is in the process of doing the same thing. In short, whatever long-term arrangements we make for the prosperity of commuter buses, subways, and railroads, our short-term problem is one of their continued existence, and for this the lines must have help to meet their day-to-day operating deficits.

The bill I am introducing squarely faces this portion of the problem and provides, on a two-thirds, one-third matching basis, for Federal funds to help defray the out-of-pocket operating losses of any transportation facility which provides commuter services in a metropolitan, urban area.

Second, to merely hand out, year after year, payments to meet deficits, would be throwing good money after bad. There must be a massive effort made to modernize equipment, to purchase great numbers of new cars and buses, to make service more efficient, to cut labor costs where possible, and to institute all possible economies in the running of the lines. Essentially, what is needed is a long-range capital improvement program which, once put into final effect, can either lessen deficits to the minimal level where they can be totally borne by the State or local governments, or can eliminate them entirely.

Under the provisions of the legislation I am introducing today, the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development would make these grants on a two-third, one-third matching basis, not to the operating applicant itself, but to a public transportation authority which has broad responsibilities for maintenance of commuter transportation. For example, the New York Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority, or Connecticut's Public Transportation Authority would be eligible for such aid. The excellent suggestion of Dwight Palmer, New Jersey's experienced and knowledgeable State highway commissioner, that his agency be expanded into a more comprehensive Department of Transportation would probably bring such a department under the provisions of this legislation. On a broader level, the existing Tri-State Transportation Commission could be given the powers and authority to take advantage of such assistance.

The central requirement of this bill is that no grant shall be made unless the public transportation body and the particular applicant to be assisted have submitted a "comprehensive commuter service improvement plan, which sets forth a program, for capital improvements to be undertaken by such railroad for the purpose of providing more efficient, economical, and convenient commuter service in an urban area, and for placing the commuter operations of such railroad on a sound financial basis."

In operation, a State or independent public body with transportation responsibilities, will submit to the new Department of Urban Affairs a complete, long-term program setting out a limited period of time in which its operating deficits must be met and a comprehensive schedule for capital improvements. I am hopeful that in addition to providing the benefits which I have outlined, this legislation will also stimulate creation of the broad regional transportation authorities which have proven so successful in dealing with the complex and interrelated problems of planning transportation for a particular metropolitan region. The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority and the newly emerging Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority are outstanding examples of the successful use of these far-ranging public authorities.

In order to insure, so far as possible, that this will not turn into another never-ending program of Government subsidies, we have written a 10-year limit into the program and have given the Secretary discretion, when necessary, to extend individual grant programs for an additional 5 years.

As a piece of companion legislation, I am also introducing a bill which would forestall the kind of action which the management of certain railroad lines, like the Erie-Lackawanna, is so anxious to take. Instead of allowing abandonment of service on the grounds it currently does, which are mostly financial, the Interstate Commerce Commission must first require that a carrier have made good faith efforts to take full advantage of the provisions of the commuter service bill. In this way, commuter lines will not be allowed to totally abandon their responsibilities to the public without having made the attempt—requiring time and imagination and will—to arrive at sound constructive growth plans which will enable them to get on their feet again. In short, we will give all possible help to keep the railroads in business, but we will not tolerate their just walking out of the picture because that is the simple way out.

Finally, there is the question of a specific dollar figure to be assessed as the cost of this program. Here, confusion abounds, and estimates from even the most reliable parties have varied greatly. Just as an example, the Regional Plan Association in a recent study estimated that the cost of rehabilitating just the commuter railroad system in only one area of the country—the New York metropolitan area—would require roughly a billion dollars over a 10-year period, meaning $100 million a year. In New Jersey alone, it has been estimated by Commissioner Palmer that at least $150 million would be needed, although informed estimates have ranged as high as twice that figure, and those figures do not include the needs of buses and subways necessary to a balanced transportation system. That the total amount of money needed to be spent will be very large is inescapable. But I think one fact will serve as a vivid comparison: in the past decade, over $4 billion has been spent on the highway network encircling the New York region, and this pace for highway spending is expected to continue. I think it is time we started recognizing that comparable expenditures are going to have to be made for commuter and mass transit facilities.

Consequently, I think we would do better, at this juncture, to hold off on any specific price tag for this program. Instead, I would rather wait until we hold the thorough hearings which I know this legislation will entail, and then, during the course of those investigations, arrive at a realistic and practicable cost estimate.

Mr. President, I respectfully request unanimous consent for these bills to lie on the table for 1 week for additional cosponsors and for the RECORD to include the text of the legislation as well as a brief summary of it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bills will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bills and summary will be printed in the RECORD, and the bills will lie on the desk, as requested by the Senator from New Jersey.

The bills, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, were received, read twice by their titles, appropriately referred, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Committee on Banking and Currency:

"S. 2804

"A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize certain grants to assure adequate commuter service in urban areas, and for other purposes

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress finds—

"(1) that over 70 per centum of the Nation's population lives in urban areas, and it is anticipated that by 1986 80 per centum of the population will be concentrated in such areas;

"(2) that transportation is the life-blood of an urbanized society and the health and welfare of that society depends upon the provision of efficient, economical, and convenient transportation;

"(3) that for many years the mass transportation industry served capably and profitably the transportation needs of the urban areas of the country;

"(4) that in recent years the maintenance of even minimal commuter service in urban areas has become so financially burdensome as to threaten the continuation of this vital service;

"(5) that some mass transportation companies are now engaged in developing preliminary plans for, or are actually carrying

out, comprehensive projects to revitalize their commuter operations; and

"(6) that immediate substantial Federal assistance is needed on an interim basis to enable many mass transportation companies to continue to provide vital commuter service during the period required to overhaul and revitalize commuter operations and to place such operations on a sound financial basis.

"SEC. 2. The first sentence of section 4(b) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: 'In addition to amounts heretofore appropriated to finance grants under this Act, there is authorized to be appropriated for that purpose not to exceed $——— for fiscal year 1967; $——— for fiscal year 1968; $——— for fiscal year 1969; and $——— for fiscal year 1970.'

"SEC. 3. The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating sections 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 as sections 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, respectively, and by adding after section 5 a new section as follows:

"'Interim Assistance To Assure Adequate Commuter Service in Urban Areas

"'SEC. 6. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State or local public body or agency thereof to enable such State or public body or agency thereof to assist any mass transportation company which maintains commuter service in an urban area within the jurisdiction of such State or public body or agency thereof to defray operating deficits incurred as the result of providing such service to such areas. The amount of any grant made under this section to any State or local public body or agency thereof to assist any such company shall not exceed two-thirds of the annual net operating deficit of such company as certified by such State or public body or agency thereof and approved by the Secretary. No grant shall be provided under this section to any State or local public body or agency thereof to assist any mass transportation company unless such State or public body or agency thereof and such company have jointly submitted to the Secretary a comprehensive commuter service improvement plan which is approved by him and which sets forth a program, meeting criteria established by the Secretary, for capital improvements to be undertaken by such company for the purpose of providing more efficient, economical, and convenient commuter service in an urban area, and for placing the commuter operations of such company on a sound financial basis. No mass transportation company shall be eligible to receive assistance provided under this section for a period in excess of ten years, except that the Secretary may authorize such assistance for an additional period, not exceeding five years, if he determines that an extension is necessary in order to enable such company to carry out its commuter service improvement plan.

"'(b) Assistance provided under this section shall to the greatest extent practicable be coordinated with other assistance provided under this Act.'

"SEC. 4. The first sentence of section 7(b) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (as redesignated by section 3 of this Act) is amended to read as follows: 'In addition to amounts heretofore made available to finance projects under this section, the Administrator may make available for that purpose from the mass transportation grant authorization provided in section 4(b) not to exceed $———, which limit shall be increased to $——— on July 1, 1967, to $——— on July 1, 1968, and to $——— on July 1, 1969.'

"SEC. 5. Section 10(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (as redesignated by section 3 of this Act) is amended—

"(1) by striking out the semicolon at the end of clause (3) and inserting in lieu thereof ', and the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development;';

"(2) by striking out 'and' at the end of clause (4);

"(3) by striking out 'serving the general public' in clause (5) and inserting in lieu thereof 'serving commuters and others', and by striking out the period at the end of such clause and inserting in lieu thereof the following: '; and the term "mass transportation company" means any private company or public authority or agency providing mass transportation services; and'; and

"(4) by adding at the end thereof a new clause as follows:

"'(6) the term "annual net operating deficit" means that part of the annual operating costs of a mass transportation company which could reasonably have been avoided by the elimination of commuter service in an urban area, less the annual revenues derived by such company from the provision of such services.'

"SEC. 6. Section 13 of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (as redesignated by section 3 of this Act) is amended by striking out 'section 7(b)' and inserting in lieu thereof 'section 8(b)'."

To the Committee on Commerce:

"S. 2805

"A bill to amend section 13a of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to the discontinuance or change of certain operations or services of common carriers by rail, in order to require the Interstate Commerce Commission to give full consideration to all financial assistance available before permitting any such discontinuance or change

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 13a(1) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 13a(1)) is amended by inserting after 'If, after hearing in such investigation,' the following: 'including full consideration of any financial assistance available pursuant to the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 or any other law for the purpose of continuing such operation or service and the efforts of such carrier or carriers to obtain such assistance,'.

"SEC. 2. Section 13a(2) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 13a(2)) is amended by inserting after 'The Commission may grant such authority only after full hearing' a comma and the following: 'including full consideration of any financial assistance available pursuant to the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 or any other law for the purpose of continuing such operation or service and the efforts of such carrier or carriers to obtain such assistance,'."

The summary presented by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey is as follows:

SUMMARY OF COMMUTER SERVICE BILLS

1. The proposed legislation will amend the Mass Transportation Act in the following manner:

(a) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development will be authorized to make grants to any State or local public body or agency thereof in an urban area to help meet up to two-thirds of the operating deficits incurred by railroads, subways, buses or any other mass transit facility which is supplying commuter services.

(b) Grants for operating subsidies will be given only to implement a comprehensive, long-range financial program, jointly submitted by the local public body and the applicant to be assisted. This program shall fully outline current operations (including a schedule of Federal contributions to the operating deficit) and a long-term capital improvement program which will be undertaken by the applicant in order to provide more efficient, economical, and convenient commuter service and to place the applicant's commuter operations on a sound financial basis.

(c) The Secretary will be authorized to make grants to any State or local public body or agency thereof to assist in the acquisition, construction, and improvement of facilities and equipment of railroads, subways, buses, or any other mass transit facility which is supplying commuter services. This provision clarifies the capital grant portions of the present Mass Transit Act by clearly extending its provisions to commuter railroads as well as more traditional mass transit facilities such as subways and buses.

(d) The assistance provided under both the operating subsidy and the capital grant provisions of the Mass Transit Act shall be extended for only 10 years. The Secretary shall have discretion to extend the program for an additional 5 years if necessary.

2. The proposed legislation will also amend both the interstate and intrastate provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act by requiring that the Interstate Commerce Commission fully consider, in any application for discontinuance or abandonment of commuter operations, whether the applicant made good faith efforts to place its commuter operations on a financially stable basis by utilizing the assistance provisions of the Mass Transit Act of 1964, as amended.

TERMINATION OF CREDIT FOR INVESTMENT IN DEPRECIABLE PROPERTY

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I am today introducing a bill to repeal the 7-percent investment credit which was incorporated into the Internal Revenue Code in 1962. Under conditions now existing, additional revenues must be raised. The President has made certain recommendations in this regard, but in my opinion, he has neither started at the right place nor gone far enough as I shall soon demonstrate.

Because of the big tax cut of 1964, and because of the high cost of the war in Vietnam, we are now confronted with the prospect of large and continuing deficits. The President has recognized this fact, although he seems to minimize both the extent and the seriousness of the situation. His budget figures for fiscal year 1967 are highly tentative and, in my view, quite low on the expenditure side.

A large supplemental bill for additional expenditures in Vietnam is now before us, and it is likely that the deficit for fiscal year 1966 may reach a level much higher than the presently estimated $6 to $7 billion. The deficit for fiscal year 1967 is almost certain to be higher than the $1.8 billion figure used by President Johnson in his state of the Union address. The Bureau of the Budget engaged in quite a bit of fancy figuring to arrive at this amount.

The fiscal dilemma in which we find ourselves, under conditions existing today, becomes an acute national economic problem. We are now in danger, if not on the verge, of an inflationary wave. All agree that runaway inflation must be avoided. Thus far, no really effective steps to control inflation have been taken or proposed. Thus far, the threat of inflation has served only to

afford an excuse to run up interest rates and to tighten the supply of money.

The end result of this kind of effort to get out of the fiscal box in which we have placed ourselves will be an acceleration of the trend toward the 1929 pattern of maldistribution of income, national production, and wealth. This trend has been in evidence for some years, having been given a big boost by the Revenue Act of both 1962 and 1964, and by various administrative steps taken with respect to depreciation.

I shall not at this time discuss the Vietnamese war. Whether we like it or not, we are in Vietnam in force, and we are likely to be there for a long time. Our troops have been committed and must be supported. The prosecution of this war will require large sums of money. We may contemplate, then, additional supplementary appropriation requests.

At the same time, we are faced with vast unmet needs here at home. Because our unemployment statistics look better, and because there is generally an ebullient feeling among those elements of our society where public opinion is largely formulated, there is a tendency to forget the problems of education, health, poverty, retraining, community facilities, regional development, mass transit, highway improvement—just to mention a few which remain very much with us.

The solution of these pressing problems requires the expenditure of much money, although I very much fear that it will be these worthwhile programs which will suffer as they are ground between the millstones of the Vietnamese war and too-low governmental revenues. Indeed, vast cutbacks and slowdowns are already underway. Yet if the Federal Government, as the agent for society as a whole, carries out society's obligations to the poor and less fortunate among us, as well as to future generations, domestic expenditures must of necessity be increased, not decreased or held level.

Much of our current short-fall in revenues can be traced to the unwise and inequitable tax cut of 1964. That exercise in fiscal folly lost us some $12 billion per year in revenue we now badly need. The revenues were not only lost, but they were lost in such a way that the higher income groups benefited at the expense of those lower on the economic scale.

Our present predicament could have been foreseen, at least in part, in 1964. Let me suggest, however immodestly, that the Senate was not without forewarning.

In the minority views which I filed to accompany the Finance Committee report on the tax cut bill, H.R. 8363, 88th Congress, I pointed out three specific shortcomings of that legislation:

First. I classified it as "the embodiment of fiscal folly." It is now proven to be just that. I do not hold with the view, now generally discredited as being old fashioned, that the budget must be balanced every year. But I did point out in 1964 that we had already had "3 years of unprecedented prosperity, expansion, and growth," and that nearly all the important economic indicators then pointed upward. I went on to say that we "should not seek deliberately further to increase debt and deficit and to impair, for all foreseeable time, our capacity to meet pressing public problems by a drastic reduction of governmental revenue."

Now, this is exactly what we have done. Regardless of budget juggling, regardless of the numbers game, we are not now able to meet our obligations and commitments without large and, under existing circumstances dangerous, deficits.

The second specific fault I found with the tax cut was that it provided "no solution to our economic or social problems." I pointed out then that the private sector of our economy was prosperous and that most of our unfulfilled needs lay in the public sector: "better housing for low-income groups, better mass transit systems, better educational facilities at all levels, better highways, more and better hospitals and nursing homes, more clean drinking and industrial water."

These needs are still unmet and are becoming daily more critical. Now, with reduced revenues and even greater need for sharply increased expenditures, we find ourselves short of funds.

The third specific fault I found with the bill was the way in which taxes were reduced. As I pointed out in my minority views, "the tax reduction provided by this bill for the already very rich, through both a drastic reduction in high bracket personal income rates and a cut in corporate rates, is unconscionable." It may be recalled that I preferred a reduction of revenues, if the Congress was bent on such an unwise move, by raising the personal exemption rather than by reducing rates for the high brackets.

Pursuing this equity theme, I pointed out that an undesirable result of the tax cut bill would be "to transfer yet another large slice of national production and wealth from those who produce wealth to those who parasitically participate in its enjoyment."

I went on, also, to point out the dangers of inflation and the fact that the threat of inflation would give our money managers the excuse to raise interest rates and restrict the flow of money and credit. As I put it at that time:

> My fear is that, in attempting to guard against monetary inflation, the Federal Reserve Board will raise interest rates and restrict the supply of money so that, having rid our house of the supposed evil spirit of high taxes, we will find it filled with the even more malevolent spirits of high interest rates, tight money, restrictive debt management, and reduced spending.

The reduced spending to which I had reference was the type of cutback we are now facing on badly needed domestic programs of social action.

As a result of all these interacting factors, I pointed out that:

> The reconcentration of wealth directly attributable to the tax cuts as well as indirectly realized from increased interest payments—acting as transfer payments—which will be stepped up by virtue of the built-in deficits created or increased by this bill, poses grave dangers.

Mr. President, the senior Senator from Tennessee was not alone in making a correct analysis of the bill and in accurately foreseeing its adverse effects. Many thoughtful citizens, scholars and economists took a similar view. Still other who knew better, nevertheless, gave rationale to an unsound act.

Mr. President, our situation is now clear. The causes are clear. What, then, is an appropriate solution?

The obvious first step is to increase taxes. The President is to be commended for recognizing this fact, but he must be encouraged to go a little further in some respects—and not so far in others.

The President has proposed to increase revenues by some $3.2 billion in fiscal year 1967 by accelerating the schedule adopted in 1964 for getting the larger corporations on a current payment basis, much as individuals are. This is a one-shot proposition, and merely robs revenues from fiscal years 1968 through 1970. I do not object to this procedure, but its limitations must be understood.

The President has proposed the reinstatement of excise taxes on automobiles and telephone service which were removed effective this year. I oppose this. Instead of relevying excise taxes, we must complete the job of ridding ourselves of these regressive Federal sales taxes. There are many more equitable ways of raising revenue than to lay a tax on rich and poor alike on means of transportation and communication.

The President has proposed graduated withholding tax rates. In principle, I favor this, but it must be fair and equitable. Overwithholding must be kept to a minimum, and I foresee many administrative complications when a salaried executive making $25,000 per year, and having sizable deductions because of, let us say, large interest payments, alimony, or bad debt cancellations, must file under the same rules followed by the man making the same salary but having only standard deductions. This proposal must be examined carefully.

The place to start with increased taxes is not on sales taxes levied on the poor and the rich alike, but to repeal the 7-percent investment credit. This credit is not now needed. It is harmful to the economy. This is an equitable and a proper step to take in the context of our current economy. This would be fairer, and far more beneficial than Federal sales taxes on automobiles and telephone calls.

The House Committee on Ways and Means began hearings yesterday on the President's tax recommendations. I hope action will not be unduly delayed, but, at the same time, the Committee on Finance and the Senate must examine with the greatest care whatever bill the House may pass.

I shall submit for the consideration of the Committee on Finance the proposal to repeal all the investment credit, which was always of questionable validity and which it is certainly unwise to allow to remain in the law now.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2806) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to terminate the credit for investment on depreciable property, introduced by Mr. GORE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

PROPOSED 4-YEAR TERM FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the subject I wish to discuss is of particular relevance because the Senate has received a lengthy and detailed message from the President of the United States suggesting that the Constitution be amended to provide 4-year terms for Members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Judiciary Committee, on behalf of the administration, I send to the desk a Senate joint resolution designed to accomplish this purpose, and I ask that it be appropriately referred.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 126) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that the term of office of Members of the House of Representatives shall be 4 years, introduced by Mr. BAYH (for himself and Mr. METCALF), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the matter to which the joint resolution refers has been the subject of discussion for a number of years. It has just been brought to my attention that the distinguished majority leader on January 29, 1959, introduced a resolution similar to the one which the junior Senator from Indiana has just had the privilege of introducing. A similar resolution was introduced in 1961, by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], and in 1963, by the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF]. On April 29, 1965, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], joined in introducing Senate Joint Resolution 72, which has been referred to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments.

Let me take a few moments to amplify upon several points in the President's message.

The President, I believe, appropriately points out that there is little magic in the number 2 as far as the length of terms for Members of the House is concerned. The Articles of Confederation provided for Members of the Congress to be elected annually. I believe we are prone to overlook the fact that our first Congress did not provide for 2-year terms in its legislative body.

James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, and one of the founders of the Constitution, supported 3-year terms for Members of the House on the ground that "instability is one of the great vices of our Republic to be remedied."

John Dickinson, of Delaware, who Senators will remember was the only member of the Constitutional Convention to challenge the vague language dealing with Presidential inability, a matter to which Congress gave considerable attention during the last 2 years and which we hope will be remedied by the ratification of the proposed 25th amendment, said:

> The idea of annual elections was borrowed from ancient usage of England, a country much less extensive than ours.

Mr. Dickinson, who also foresaw the inconvenience of biennial elections, favored a 3-year term.

It is important to remember that when our Constitution was framed, and for 126 years thereafter, the Members of the Senate were far removed from the popular will. Until the 17th amendment was ratified in May 1913, Senators were legislative appointees for terms of 6 years. Thus, there was additional reason to keep the terms of Members of the House to a minimum, since the people had practically no personal voice in selecting their Senators.

The President also points out that a number of developments have transpired in the history of the Nation which, it seems to me, provide additional compelling reasons for extending the terms of Members of the House.

First and foremost is the very complexity of the legislation which Congress is asked to consider. As a relatively new Member of this body, it seems to me that the complexity of the issues confronting the Senate has increased in the short period since 1962. Not until I had served in this body for 10 months did I feel sufficiently accustomed to Senate procedures and knowledgeable enough about national issues to make my first major address.

This practice has been traditional in the Senate because it is those who have mastered the rules and procedures of this body and have studied thoroughly the matters under consideration who can make the greatest contributions to its work. Most of us weigh very carefully the moments that are presented to us when we have an opportunity to address the Senate.

It is extremely important to devote all the time necessary to investigate thoroughly public issues. This requires consultation not only with other Senators but also with legal authorities, interest groups and other experts. Still further, consultation is required with members of the executive branch who will be called upon to administer the laws.

I well recall another personal experience, if I may use one—the tragic day on which our great President, John F. Kennedy, was taken from us. At that time I was the chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary, having recently been appointed to that post by the chairman of the committee. The subcommittee immediately began hearings on an amendment to provide for presidential succession. The subcommittee approved a proposal which was then adopted by the full Committee on the Judiciary. Later, the Senate itself passed this proposal. Because of the leadership of our majority leader in the last days of the session, we were finally able to find time to bring the matter before the Senate.

I know very well that if I had been a member of a legislative body with a 2-year term it is highly probable that I would not have been here, and the matter would have had to be deferred. I would in all probability have been out beating the precincts, seeking to be reelected. I do not make light of the necessity to campaign for reelection and to discuss issues of national importance with one's constituents. One of the important aspects of membership in Congress is to maintain communication with the people.

On the other hand, it is extremely important to make it possible for each Member of the House of Representatives to be a more effective legislator. This can be made more probable if they are not called upon to run for office every 2 years.

I shall close by saying that the major goal of the joint resolution is to make Members of the House more effective. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, I believe that we must not necessarily be wedded to any specific language. The language of the joint resolution which has been submitted differs from the language of the proposals of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], both of whom I have consulted on this proposal. In the hearings which will follow on this joint resolution, we hope to draw on their counsel as well as the counsel of the distinguished majority leader, who has also expressed an interest in the subject.

I hope that the Senate will be tolerant and deliberate in its consideration, so that we may adopt a proposal which will be acceptable to both bodies and which will guarantee legislators an opportunity to be more effective. It is with that thought in mind that I suggest that the Senate deliberate this joint resolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. BAYH. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I commend the distinguished Senator from Indiana not only for the way in which he has grasped this presidential proposal, but also for the speed with which he is giving it consideration. I realize, as he does, that it is not merely a question of providing a 4-year term for Members of the House of Representatives; it is a question of how to establish a 4-year term so that there will be a retention of independence on the part of those in Congress who are closest to the people, namely, the Members of the House. That question, among others, will have to be considered. But I remind Senators that the distinguished junior Senator from Indiana did a remarkable job of guiding through the Senate the constitutional amendment which is now before the States. We look forward with anticipation to his doing the same kind of excellent, workmanlike job on this proposal and also on the proposal to reform the electoral college, which will likewise be before us.

We are delighted that he has taken the initiative on the proposal to lengthen the terms of Members of the House and look forward to action by the Senate before too many months have passed.

Mr. BAYH. I thank the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be printed at the conclusion of my remarks and that it lie over for 1 week, until January 27, to permit other Senators who may desire to do so to join as cosponsors.

I also ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished junior Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF] be included as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 126) is as follows:

S.J. RES. 126

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The terms of Representatives shall be four years and shall commence at noon on the 3d day of January of the year in which the regular term of the President is to begin.

"SEC. 2. No Member of a House of Congress shall be eligible for election as a Member of the other House for a term which is to begin before the expiration of the term of the office held by him unless, at least 30 days prior to such election, he shall have submitted a resignation from such office which shall become effective no later than the beginning of such term.

"SEC. 3. This article shall take effect on January 3, 1973, if it is ratified prior to January 1, 1972; otherwise, it shall take effect on January 3, 1977."

NOTICE OF HEARINGS BEFORE THE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I wish to announce that public hearings will be held before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on Thursday, January 27, 1966, at 10 o'clock in room 6202 of the New Senate Office Building to hear testimony on S. 1995 and H.R. 8030, similar bills, which would provide for the discontinuance of the Postal Savings System. Persons wishing to testify on this legislation may arrange to do so by contacting the committee, telephone 225–5451.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OPPOSE CUT-RATE GI BILL

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, quite often in efforts to get a cold war GI bill enacted for the benefit of our 5 million cold war veterans we have encountered opposition which completely misunderstands the underlying philosophy of the cold war GI bill.

As I have repeated time after time, this is not a bonus bill or a reward for hazardous duty. Those elements of military life are covered by hazardous duty pay and other pay which a military man receives. The cold war GI bill is a bill for readjustment of veterans to civilian life. It is essentially a civilians' bill, but a bill for civilians who have served their country in its Armed Forces. Readjustment to civilian life is needed by every veteran, no matter where or how long he serves in the military service.

A recently proposed bill—the so-called administration GI bill—suffers from this same misconception about readjustment benefits. This was adequately pointed out in a memorandum from the national legislative director of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mr. Francis W. Stover, dated January 18, 1966, which I recently received.

Because of the fine and thorough understanding of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the philosophy of a GI bill, I ask unanimous consent that this forceful and accurate memorandum be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
January 18, 1966.

To: National officers and members of the national legislative committee.
From: Francis W. Stover, director, National Legislative Service.
Subject: Administration cold war GI bill (H.R. 11985)—a cutrate proposal.

For the first time the administration is supporting a cold war GI bill. Being called the administration GI bill is H.R. 11985—cost $100 million. This hodgepodge bill is a hydraheaded proposal. It would scatter the training of cold war veterans by dividing those entitled into two groups. It is a cutrate bill. It is a radical departure from the philosophy of previous GI bills.

Only those who have served in the Armed Forces since October 1, 1963, would be entitled. There are no home or farm loan provisions in the bill. There are no on-the-job or on-the-farm training provisions in the bill. Only institutional-type training would be authorized at or above the high school level.

Two agencies will administer the provisions—VA and HEW.

If the veteran received a badge or medal and has served 2 or more years, or has a service-connected disability, he will be entitled to $130 a month to a maximum of 36 months. An estimated 6,000 veterans would be entitled under this section. This is the VA part of the bill.

If the veteran does not qualify for a medal, he will be entitled to a 1-year scholarship of $800 if he has served at least 2 years. If he served 2 to 3 years, he will be entitled to 18 months; 3 to 4 years, 27 months. If he has served over 4 or more years, he will be entitled to a maximum of 36 months. An estimated 120,000 would be entitled under this section. This is the HEW part of the bill.

The Bureau of the Budget must have had its hand in this proposal. It is another bold attempt to dismember the VA.

Where readjustment of the veteran to civil life was the underlying philosophy on previous GI bills, this one seems to have departed from that philosophy by offering a bonus or reward for having served since October 1, 1963.

Minimum service of 2 years is another defect of the bill, since there will be many with lesser service who will be excluded—including even those who received a medal.

By national mandate, approved at Chicago, VFW is supporting S. 9 and similar proposals which will provide readjustment assistance to all those who have worn the uniform since the end of the Korean conflict and are carrying out American commitments all over the world.

H.R. 11985 should be rejected by the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

FRANCIS W. STOVER,
Director.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, this memorandum shows that under that bill, only 126,000 veterans out of a total of 5 million would be entitled to go to school. It is a bill that would keep the veterans from going to school, instead of sending them to school.

TOLL BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIO GRANDE NEAR PHARR, TEX.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10779) to authorize the Pharr Municipal Bridge Corp. to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge across the Rio Grande near Pharr, Tex., and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment and agree to the request of the House for a conference, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the President pro tempore appointed Messrs. FULBRIGHT, SPARKMAN, MORSE, HICKENLOOPER, and AIKEN conferees on the part of the Senate.

BUDGET CUT IN SCHOOL MILK FUND REDUCES CONSUMPTION BY SCHOOLCHILDREN

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, once again I rise to discuss the Bureau of the Budget's recent action cutting $3 million from the funds appropriated for the special milk program for schoolchildren. As I have indicated before, this is a phony economy move because milk not used in the school milk program will have to be purchased under our price support laws.

Today, however, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention a study which indicates that a rise in the cost of milk to the schoolchild will result in a disproportionate drop in consumption. Of course such a price increase may very well result from the $3 million cut, for either the school district or the child will have to take up the slack caused by a withdrawal of Federal support.

I refer specifically to a study conducted by the Department of Agriculture in September 1955, titled "The Effect of School Milk Consumption of a Reduction in Price Charged to Children in Selected Connecticut Schools." This study made an analysis of the relative effects of price reductions of 2 cents per half pint of milk on consumption. It shows that when prices were reduced from 8 cents per half pint to 6 cents per half pint, or 25 percent, consumption rose by 42 percent.

Mr. President, we can safely assume that an increase in price will also have a disproportionate effect on consumption—reducing it substantially. Certainly the poorest children—those who can least afford to purchase milk—will stop drinking it first.

Consequently it seems particularly inappropriate to cut this all-important item at a time when programs such as Project Head Start are emphasizing the need for the round development of our educationally deprived children. In the words of Dr. Julius Richmond, Project Head Start program director, "studies indicate that poor nutrition during early childhood has an effect not only on physical growth but on the mental functioning of the child." The recent cut in the school milk program undoubtedly will contribute substantially to poor nutritional standards.

NOMINATION OF JAMES S. DUESENBERRY TO BE A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am honored to have the opportunity to notify the Senate that this morning the Banking and Currency Committee unanimously approved the nomination of James S. Duesenberry to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers. Mr. Duesenberry is one of the most distinguished economists in the Nation. He is a graduate of Michigan University, with a Ph. D. He has been an instructor at Harvard University and a professor at Harvard University. He has written a number of books on economics; and I can say, having talked with many economists about him, that he is widely recognized as a brilliant, eminent, extremely shrewd and able economist, who will be of great help to the President of the United States and to the Congress in his new position.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a short biography of Mr. Duesenberry.

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

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA—JAMES S. DUESENBERRY

James S. Duesenberry was born on July 18, 1918, in Princeton, W. Va. He received his education at the University of Michigan, where he earned a bachelor's degree in 1939, a master's in 1941, and Ph. D. in 1948.

During World War II he served as a captain in the U.S. Air Force.

Prior to joining the faculty of Harvard University in 1946, he served as a teaching fellow at the University of Michigan and as an instructor at MIT. He became a full professor at Harvard in 1957, and in 1958–59 held a Ford Foundation research professorship. He has also served as Fulbright research professor at Cambridge University, England.

Professor Duesenberry is the author of a number of well-known books and articles in the field of economics, including "Income, Saving, and the Theory of Consumer Behavior," 1949; "Business Cycles and Economic Growth," 1958; "Money and Credit," 1964.

He has been a consultant for the Committee for Economic Development since 1956, for the Commission on Money and Credit in 1959–61, for the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System since 1964, and for the Department of the Treasury and the Council of Economic Advisers since 1961.

He is married to the former Margaret Torbert and is the father of four children. They currently reside at 25 Fairmont Street, Belmont, Mass.

TRIBUTE TO JOSEPH C. DUKE AS SERGEANT AT ARMS

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, an editorial in the form of a testimonial to Joe Duke, published in a newspaper which he probably never saw, the Montpelier-Barre Times-Argus.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed in the body of the RECORD, because it shows that Joe was appreciated far beyond the borders of Washington, D.C.

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

[From the Montpelier-Barre Times-Argus, Jan. 18, 1966]

JOE DUKE RETIRES

The august U.S. Senate took time out the other day (Friday) to pay tribute to a departing friend, Joe Duke of Arizona, who resigned his job as Senate sergeant-at-arms because of his own poor health and that of his wife. It's a different picture than that of Bobby Baker.

Senator AIKEN: "We all regret the departure of Joe Duke * * *."

Senator KUCHEL: "Joe Duke has ministered to the wants and needs of Senators in a superb manner * * *."

Senator SALTONSTALL: "He was always fair, impartial, and helpful to every Member of the Senate no matter on which side of the aisle he sat * * *."

Senator MUNDT: "Joe Duke is the kind of Senate employee of whom every Member can be proud * * *."

Senator MCINTYRE: "Joe has been a friend to all of us and we junior Members of the Senate will never forget his great kindness and useful advice during our early days in these halls."

Senator CHURCH: "I, for one Senator, am much indebted to Joe Duke for the many kindnesses that he extended to me."

Senator MONTOYA: "I have known Joe Duke for 30 years, from the days when he was a Capitol policeman and I was a law student at Georgetown, and I am proud to say that we have been friends all those years. A lot of water has flowed under the bridge since that time, but Joe Duke has remained essentially the man I knew back in the 1930's—warmhearted, generous, intelligent, knowledgeable, efficient, and loyal."

Senator YOUNG of Ohio: "It was a matter of great regret to me when I read that Joseph C. Duke was retiring. For 15 years he has performed outstanding service in that important position. I consider that he is a fine public servant."

The excerpts are from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. So little news comes out of Washington in praise of public servants below Cabinet level that this bit seemed refreshing and wholesome, American in a truly fine sense. Somehow, Joe Duke sounds like a pretty good neighbor. We join with the Senators in wishing for him a happy retirement and good health for both him and Mrs. Duke.

THE OPERATIONS OF LYND, APTHEKER, AND HAYDEN

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of which I am a member should not and I am convinced will not grant the requests contained in the telegrams sent from Hanoi on January 5 and from New York on January 12 by Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale University, speaking on behalf of himself and the U.S. Communist Party historian, Herbert Aptheker, and Thomas Hayden, the founder of the Students for a Democratic Society, asking for the right to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee and to give testimony and make arguments in behalf of the Communists of North Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh Communists of South Vietnam.

Lynd, Aptheker, and Hayden are the three men who, several weeks ago, flew to Brussels by commercial airline and then obtained Communist transportation to Hanoi stopping off in Prague, Moscow, and Peiping. In going to Hanoi, they violated the laws of the United States. They are now back in this country and are asking the right to appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations to speak in behalf of the Communist cause of North Vietnam.

The journey was, according to reports, promoted by Herbert Aptheker and had its inception at a Communist-dominated Peace Conference in Helsinki in the summer of 1965.

In a recent issue of Newsweek, these men are described as follows:

They are a motley threesome. Aptheker, 50, is a wheelhorse theoretician who enthusiastically supported Stalin and has for years been the leading party historian. For him the trip is already a triumph, if only by association. Never have such prominent New Leftists so openly associated themselves in a headline-grabbing affair with an old-guard Communist. Hayden's presence has a milder element of surprise; the Michigan University graduate has been concentrating on an SDS poverty project in New Jersey and several months ago told friends that the group he helped found was devoting too much time to Vietnam and too little to organizing the poor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YARBOROUGH in the chair). The time of the Senator from Ohio has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 6 more minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, may we know how much time the Senator has been allowed?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Six minutes was granted on request of the Senator from Ohio, there being no objection to the request.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Continuing the description by Newsweek, we now come to Mr. Lynd, the writer of the telegrams:

At 36, Lynd is a true athlete of the left; he hasn't missed a major "cause" in years. After the Kennedy assassination, he wrote a highly involved and much quoted New Republic article casting doubt on Oswald's guilt.

He was one of the chief organizers of the anti-Vietnam war march on Washington, D.C., last April and later wrote that "nothing could have stopped that crowd from taking possession of its Government."

That is, in the midst of the march and also at the end of it, he was convinced they could have taken hold of the Gov-

ernment, and obviously was proud of the position which they achieved.

A further study of the background of these men will strikingly emphasize the grave mistake that would be made by the members of the Foreign Relations Committee in the event these men were honored with the right to appear before the committee.

In September of 1965, at Columbia University in New York City, was held the first annual conference of Socialist Scholars of the United States. Lynd and Aptheker were in attendance and conspicuously vigorous participants. In attendance also was Eugene D. Genovese. Dr. Genovese is the man who, at Rutgers University's "teach-in on Vietnam" on April 23, 1965, made this shocking statement:

> Those of you who know me, know I am a Marxist and a Socialist. Therefore, unlike most of my distinguished colleagues here this morning, I do not fear or regret the impending Vietcong victory in Vietnam. I welcome it.

These are the words of Genovese at that conference of Socialist scholars attended by Aptheker and Lynd.

At this first annual conference of Socialist scholars, one of the topics discussed was "the future of American socialism." The panel discussion leader was Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale University—one of the persons who unlawfully went to Hanoi and is asking to testify before the Foreign Relations Committee. He has been affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party and American Youth for Democracy, both of which were cited as subversive by a U.S. Attorney General.

Professor Lynd has publicly called for—and mark these words—"civil disobedience so persistent and so massive" that the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and other high U.S. Government officials would be compelled to resign.

At the Columbia University conference among other things, he put the question: "What is to be done?"

He answered his own question. He further stated that a Socialist scholar should be ready at any moment to put aside his books and devote himself "to the jugular."

Whose jugular, Mr. President? The jugular vein of the United States. That is what he meant. This is the man who is asking for the right to come before the Committee on Foreign Relations and obtain publicity and advocate the cause of the Communists and depreciate the cause of the United States.

To exert revolutionary means Professor Lynd urged: "daring and inventive use of civil disobedience." He further stated:

> I wonder whether every teacher who calls himself a Socialist doesn't have a duty to become a professional revolutionary.

After Lynd got through——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Ohio has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Dr. Aptheker followed Professor Lynd and began his remarks with the statement:

> Not in 30 years has there been such interest in radicalism as there is today, such a sense of confidence of mass involvement in the radicalization of the United States.

Mr. President, what do these men have in mind? The answer is that their love is for Communist China and North Vietnam, and distrust and hatred for the United States.

Dr. Genovese of Rutgers, who I have previously mentioned, also spoke at this Columbia University meeting. He said that it would be a mistake for Socialist scholars to quit the campus too soon and indulge in active revolutionary activities because their services were needed in the universities.

There was present also a Mr. Sylvester Leaks, of the Harlem Writers Guild. Mr. Leaks made this statement:

> First of all, I am not nonviolent.

He meant by that, I suppose, that he believes in violence. And violence against whom? Against you and me and against the general citizenry of the United States and against the Government of the United States.

He went on to say, "My leader was assassinated."

He was speaking of Malcolm X of the Muhammads.

Then he said:

> I believe that slavery and racism are the sine qua non of American society.

He also urged that the lumpen-proletariat "Should go to war now"; and that the slogan should be, "Burn, Baby, Burn."

At this meeting at Columbia University, Aptheker seemed to have the final word. He took the rostrum and said:

> The problem is how do we move toward radicalization of America.

He answered his own question by saying that there should be a unification and consolidation of all the efforts of the leftwingers.

Now I come to the telegram sent to the Foreign Relations Committee, asking for the right of Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee members and expound to them the theories hereinbefore set forth in my statement.

I can suffer disagreements with the views that have been expressed by some of my colleagues and by individuals who have written letters to me with the course followed by the President of the United States in Vietnam. However, neither I nor any of the general citizenry, and particularly not the Members of the U.S. Senate, should give tolerance or sufferance to the persons who make statements hoping that the Communists of North Vietnam would be victorious and the United States vanquished in the troubles in our problem in South Vietnam.

These individuals—Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden—are not promoting the cause of the United States. They are not friends of our country. Nor should they be listened to. Especially should they not be allowed to desecrate the chambers of this Capitol by their advocacy of conquest over our country in favor of communism.

They should not be recognized in their false colors, but their true colors should be revealed, showing their greater sympathy for the cause of our enemies than for the cause of our Nation.

Whether or not these gentlemen committed a crime when they went to Communist Hanoi without first obtaining proper authority from the State Department, I do not know. At least, I am not certain. However, from the statements that have been made, there appears to be a prima facie case of violation of the criminal laws of the United States. Therefore, it seems to me that the Attorney General of the United States should give vigorous attention to ascertaining whether our criminal laws have been violated; and if he finds that to be the fact, appropriate action should be taken against those men in the furtherance of justice.

Mr. President, the quotations which I have used in my talk have been taken primarily from an article from Barron's written by Alice Widener. I want to give her full credit.

I feel certain that the Foreign Relations Committee will not allow Lynd, Aptheker, and Hayden to come before our committee. However, speaking for myself, I would drop my head in shame and I would have hesitancy in looking into the eyes of an Ohioan if I countenanced the presence of those men in the chamber of the Foreign Relations Committee, advocating the cause of communism and deprecating the cause of our own Nation.

I yield the floor. I am grateful to Senators for allowing me to take this time.

VAUGHN TO THE PEACE CORPS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on January 17, President Johnson announced the appointment of former Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Jack Hood Vaughn, as the new Director of the Peace Corps.

I take this opportunity to commend Mr. Vaughn for the outstanding job he has done as Assistant Secretary during a very difficult period in United States-Latin American relations. He brings to his new post a wealth of experience and understanding drawn from an outstanding academic background, a long association with our foreign aid program, as organizer of the Latin American programs for the Peace Corps, as Ambassador to Panama, and as Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs since April 1964.

I know Secretary Vaughn personally and find him to be a dedicated public servant of great ability, charm, and dedication. As Assistant Secretary he worked with great dedication to strengthen American relations with our Latin American neighbors during a very critical period following the eruption of the Dominican crisis, and worked hard to strengthen our common bonds through the Alliance for Progress.

I am pleased that the Peace Corps, such a vital and important element in our foreign relations, will be in the hands of such an effective director.

DEATH OF CHIEF JUSTICE FRANCIS B. CONDON, OF THE SUPREME COURT OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, on November 23, 1965, Francis B. Condon, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Rhode Island passed away.

Frank Condon was a man of the common people with uncommon gifts and tremendous contributions to the betterment of his times.

A jurist of superlative attainments—a public servant whose lifetime encompassed multiple careers, a citizen held in the highest respect, a layman devoted to his faith and honored by that faith, a friend of infinite value—was Frank Condon.

We note his passing in these Halls because he was Congressman Condon of the 71st, 72d, 73d, and 74th Congresses. So—30 years ago—he had already achieved a name and place in history.

Thirty years ago Frank Condon had to make a choice and face a challenge. He was called upon to forsake one career and follow another. He loved the hustings, he relished the halls of legislation, he could have looked forward to future honors without limit on the national scene. He found himself drafted by his native State to return to serve upon that State's supreme court.

Let me note Frank Condon's career to that point—and I take it from our Congressional Directory of the American Congresses.

Francis Bernard Condon, a Representative from Rhode Island, born in Central Falls, Providence County, R.I., November 11, 1891; attended the public schools; was graduated from Central Falls High School in 1910 and from Georgetown University Law School, Washington, D.C., in 1916.

He was admitted to the bar in 1916 and commenced practice in Pawtucket, R.I. During the First World War he served as a sergeant in the 152d Regiment, Depot Brigade, 23d Company from May 1918 to June 1919; he was a member of the State house of representatives 1921–1926, serving as Democratic floor leader 1923–1926; he was a member of the Democratic State Committee 1924–1926 and 1928–1930, serving as a member of the executive committee 1928–1930; he was a candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Rhode Island in 1928; Rhode Island department commander of the American Legion in 1927 and 1928; elected as a Democrat to the 71st Congress to fill a vacancy and at the same time elected to the 72d Congress; reelected to the 73d and 74th Congresses and served from November 4, 1930 until his resignation on January 10, 1935, having been appointed an associate justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court in which capacity he is now serving.

Now let us pick up the chapter of these 30 years from Justice Condon's biography in the Manual of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island:

Francis B. Condon was associate justice of the supreme court from January 1935 to April 28, 1957—acting chief justice of the supreme court from April 28, 1957, to January 7, 1958. Has been chief justice since January 7, 1958, chairman of the Rhode Island Judicial Conference. Member of the American, Rhode Island and Pawtucket Bar Associations and the American Judicature Society.

He received the Georgetown University John Carroll Award 1961; Mount Saint Mary's College (LL.D.) honorary; Providence College (LL.D.) University of Rhode Island (LL.D.). Trustee of the boys club and memorial hospital, Pawtucket; Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great with Star by appointment of Pope John XXIII, 1961.

I would add the accolade of his faith, the Catholic Church speaking through the Providence Visitor, the voice of the Diocese of Providence:

Chief Justice Francis B. Condon was one of the State's outstanding laymen. Honored many times, he was a motivating factor in diocesan affairs at the lay level. Long active in annual diocesan Catholic charity fund appeals, he will be remembered for his addresses to the clergy and outstanding businessmen at the kickoff meetings of the campaign drives. He was a former trustee of Holy Trinity Church, Central Falls, a trustee of St. Teresa's Church, Pawtucket.

His affiliations included American Legion, Elks, Knights of Columbus, Ancient Order of Hibernians, National Conference of Chief Justices, the Serra Club of Providence, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and the Sons of Irish Kings.

A son of Dennis Gerald Condon and Rose (Collette) Condon he was married to the former Lillian F. Jordan. Surviving in addition to Mrs. Condon are their children, Francis B. Condon, Jr., and Miss Rae B. Condon, a brother James Condon, two sisters, Miss Mary G. Condon and Mrs. John Quinn, a nephew Edward Condon M. M. and a niece Sister Mary Francis of the American Novitiate of Franciscan Sisters of Mary.

We have the tribute of the Rhode Island Bar Association speaking through its president, William R. Goldberg:

It is with profound sorrow that we note the passing of our fellow member, Chief Justice Francis B. Condon.

From the start his consideration for the lawyers, his keen attention to their arguments, and his incisive questions and logic gained the respect of all. His opinions were written with great care and will serve as a living memorial to him in our jurisprudence for all time.

Upon his elevation in 1958 to Chief Justice of the Court his recognition of the problems of the lawyer whose client pressed him for prompt consideration of his cause, together with his concern for the litigants, brought about an acceleration of the Court's activity to such an extent that with the help of the entire Court as constituted from time to time, the decisions have been handed down at a pace that has been unprecedented in the history of the Court.

He was keenly aware of the problems of the young lawyer and after careful consideration, our Supreme Court amended its rule requiring a 6 months' clerkship by reducing it to 3 months.

His devotion and love for his family was equaled only by his love of country. Judge Condon's views of the sanctity of the home and the rights of the individual are reflected in his opinions time and again.

Not only has his family lost a beloved and devoted father and husband and our State lost a great and wise chief of its judicial branch of the Government but we, members of the bar, have lost a brother devoted to all mankind.

Such has been the life and labors of Frank Condon in the three decades since he served on this Capitol Hill.

There are among us those of his colleagues of that day who carry on to this day. And one can only ponder on the part that the magnificent mind and powerful personality of Frank Condon might still be playing in the drama of our daily labors.

Consider who were his colleagues in the House, and the inspiration they might have given, and taken.

There were LISTER HILL, JOHN MCCLELLAN, EVERETT DIRKSEN, FRANK CARLSON, JOHN MCCORMACK, JOE MARTIN, JENNINGS RANDOLPH, WILLIS ROBERTSON, Steve Young, Sterling Cole, EMANUEL CELLER, James Wadsworth, Jr., Fiorello La Guardia, Sam Rayburn, and Tom Hennings were there. There was Richard M. Kleberg who had for his secretary a young Texan named Lyndon B. Johnson.

Much of this was in my mind as I was invited to participate in a special memorial service on November 29, 1965, in the Supreme Court of Rhode Island and I would conclude with the eulogy I was privileged to express for my dear friend and associate, Justice Condon on that occasion.

EULOGY DELIVERED BY SENATOR JOHN O. PASTORE AT MEMORIAL SERVICES IN TRIBUTE TO CHIEF JUSTICE FRANCIS B. CONDON, IN RHODE ISLAND SUPREME COURT CHAMBERS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1965

In this setting we are a little lonely for the personality who lived and labored here for 30 mortal years.

And, with all our faith in immortality, there is a sense of loss, of the victory of the grave, to realize that Francis Condon—to whom this scene meant so much, to whom this scene owed so much—moves among us no more.

Great of mind, great of heart, greatest of soul was this kindly man it was a privilege to know and an honor to call friend.

Chief justice of the State of his total loyalty, Frank Condon could well have worn an equal title of the country that he served so well as citizen, as soldier, and statesman.

For Frank Condon went to Congress schooled with the experience of the Rhode Island General Assembly in historic days. Gifted of speech, skilled parliamentarian, with rare attractions of friendship, he was baptized in an era of evolution on our national scene that will ever bear the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. There is no honor or office in the gift of all our people that could not have been his.

In an equal era of evolution on the Rhode Island scene—that will forever bear the label of our beloved Theodore Francis Green and Robert E. Quinn—Frank Condon made the sacrifice of turning his back on the broad page of national history to write the bright page of history which is the record of the Rhode Island Supreme Court in his time.

Only in terms of political opportunity would I say "sacrifice." To Frank Condon it was no sacrifice to come back to this high service to the State of his birth.

He has touched these 30 years with a courageous, correct and courteous application of justice and humanity, unsurpassed in equity and integrity.

No one knows this better than a young prosecuting attorney, no one appreciates it more than a Governor leaning upon him amid the anxieties of office. No one is prouder of it than a Senator who rejoices in his own State's excellence among constitutional equals.

This may be grand language to describe a man whose own language was simple and sincere, whether in his eloquence to an en-

raptured audience or in his quiet encouragement to a friend. A call, a message, a handclasp, a bit of spoken praise from Frank Condon was high satisfaction and inspiration.

The honors that came to him from his church were splendid. The honors that came from his people were sacred. The shadow that falls on his loved ones is our common sorrow.

A great American and a good man leaves us all the heritage of a life lived to its finest.

VIETNAM, PAST AND PROSPECT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in a series of four newspaper articles, Miss Beverly Deepe has recently reviewed the war as it has evolved in Vietnam during the past year. Miss Deepe is eminently qualified by experience to report on this critical area.

Miss Deepe writes from Vietnam, from the delta, from Saigon, from the coastal bases, from the highlands. And the picture which emerges from the four articles is a vivid and accurate summary of the situation which confronts us in Vietnam.

These articles, Mr. President, make highly informative and highly useful reading. For the benefit of the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the four articles which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune, in the issues of January 16–19 inclusive be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Jan. 16, 1966]

NEW SERIES: VIETNAM, PAST AND PROSPECT

(By Beverly Deepe)

PLEIKU, SOUTH VIETNAM.—Amid mortar craters and charred aircraft here on the morning of February 7, 1965, three figures in the war against the Communist in South Vietnam met in a gleaming C–123 transport. Before they emerged, the nature of the war had changed.

One was McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to President Johnson for national security affairs, who took time before the meeting to survey Pleiku's blasted airplanes and helicopters and the billets where shortly before 8 Americans had died and 125 had been wounded in a Vietcong guerrilla raid.

With Mr. Bundy was Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the American commander, who provided the C–123, called the White Whale and the only wall-to-wall carpeted airplane in South Vietnam.

The Vietnamese commander in chief, Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh, had arrived earlier. Meanwhile, in Saigon U.S. Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor conferred by telephone with the highest ranking American officials in Washington.

General Khanh, Mr. Bundy, and General Westmoreland escaped inquisitive reporters inside the White Whale. Soon, the key decision was told to General Khanh and within hours 49 U.S. planes from three 7th Fleet aircraft carriers sped north of the 17th parallel to bomb the military barracks at the North Vietnamese city of Dong Hoi.

At first, the bombing of North Vietnam was a policy of tit for tat—if you destroy our installations, we'll destroy yours. But it soon gave way to general retaliation, and then to regular and continual bombing. In the beginning, the policy was officially proclaimed an inducement to the north to negotiate. High ranking American officials said hopefully: "We'll be at the conference table by September."

But Hanoi did not negotiate. The new official objective was to hit the military installations and the communication routes which allowed Hanoi to pour men and materiel into South Vietnam. By the year's end, however, official estimates said North Vietnamese infiltration had more than doubled—to 2,500 men a month.

Superficially, bombing North Vietnam failed. It did not force Hanoi to negotiate; it did not stop the infiltration. But actually, the policy half succeeded. By the end of the year, the bombing had partially paralyzed the economic capacity and manpower reserves of North Vietnam.

If the bombing did not stop Hanoi's aggression, in official eyes, it would at least make it more expensive and painful for North Vietnam to continue. Escalation was accompanied by a little noticed policy of expansion; Laos was known to be subject to American bombing raids throughout the past year. By the beginning of 1966, the air war threatened to spread to Cambodia, and then would engulf the whole Indochinese Peninsula.

GROUND WAR

The air war over North Vietnam, however, did not abate sharp deterioration in the allied ground efforts in South Vietnam, which had been worsening since the fall of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime in November 1963. The repercussions of the coup against Diem badly damaged the Government's administrative and intelligence apparatuses. Amid Government instability in Saigon swirled whirlwind changes of officials at every level. The strategic hamlet program, formulated and nurtured by the Diem regime, collapsed as the Vietcong regained one Government hamlet after another, leaving behind their own guerrilla bands and political machinery.

With some accuracy the situation in the countryside could be measured by statistics. Before the fall of Diem, the Saigon government claimed control of 8,000 of the 12,000 hamlets in the countryside. By the end of 1965, the most optimistic estimate put the number of "pacified," or pro-government, hamlets at 2,000.

After the fall of Diem, military commanders quickly began to change their "measle" maps. Pink contested areas became red; and white "measle pox"—which once had been government controlled—became contested "pink." By the middle of 1965, government provincial capitals and district headquarters were ringed by small oases of friendly villages, but otherwise were isolated by increasing Red pressure in the countryside. Then, in July 1964, the first North Vietnamese regular troops began appearing. These units, later to be designated as People's Army of North Vietnam (PAVN), solidified the growing Red strength.

By the end of 1965, military spokesmen said nine PAVN regiments had infiltrated from North Vietnam (American, Korean, and Australian ground units by late 1965 numbered 44 battalions—or roughly 15 regiments.)

On March 8, 1965, the first 3,500 U.S. marines came ashore and were welcomed by a bevy of girls.

The American and allied buildup continued throughout the year. It came part of the 3d Marine Division, and later the whole division, a brigade of the 101st Airborne Division, elements of the 1st Marine Division, the Republic of Korea's Tiger Regiment and Marine Division, an Australian regiment, and finally the entire U.S. 1st Cavalry Airmobile Division, with its more than 400 helicopters and 15,000 troops, many of them airborne. By the end of the year, American combat military personnel numbered 130,000. The outlook for 1966; the equivalent of at least 1 division a month for 12 months, or nearly 200,000 more troops.

MARINES

The 1st Marines officially were to provide "local, close-in security" for the Da Nang airbase, but soon they began what U.S. spokesmen called "offensive patrolling for defensive purposes." By mid-July, American troops went into unequivocal full combat with Communist forces for the first time since the Korean war—as the 173d Airborne Brigade went out on a search-and-destroy operation in the Red stronghold known as D-Zone.

With the new employment of ground and air forces, the U.S. role went through gradual metamorphosis. At the end of 1965 America was in a war it barely realized it had entered. The cold war had gone hot in the jungles of the Indochinese Peninsula.

Beyond the ideological conflict, the war dramatized and tested two systems of power. One, the massive physical power of America; the other, the power of the Communists to manipulate the masses, to incite uprisings labeled by the Chinese Communists as the "war of liberation." Washington and Peiping appeared to agree it was the "war of the future."

The essence of the war was described by a 20-year-old American private who saw the buildup in Da Nang:

"I can tell you when Uncle Sam moves in, there's no goofing around," he said. "There was nothing here. Then the Marines moved in and the buildings started going up. We got word an F–100 squadron was moving in here and we had 4 days to fill 200,000 bags of dirt to sandbag mortar defenses. Even the colonels were shoveling dirt.

"Now you can look down this runway and for 2 miles there are American jets wing tip to wing tip," he said. "That's real power."

The private, who had sat 14 hours a day for 13 months in a foxhole at the edge of the Da Nang runway, turned to the other side of the war.

INTELLIGENCE

"'The Vietcong know more about what's happening on this airbase than the base commander and the 20,000 American marines around it," he said. "There are 6,000 workers who come on here daily. We know some of them are Vietcong. If the Vietnamese security officer keeps them off, he and his family will be killed.

"The Vietcong can come on this base right under our noses—we don't know who's who. We saw an old woman carrying a bucket of drain oil into the gate. When we checked her, there was only an inch of oil and the rest of the bucket was a false bottom filled with plastic explosive. We captured one of the workers drawing diagrams of all the defense structures on the base. We captured one of the drivers of an American bus taking down the tail numbers of all the American aircraft on the base," the private went on.

"Once my unit was given 5 hours of leave to go to the commissary. When we returned, more than half of the 100 American foxholes around the base had small paper bags in them. Each bag had a poisonous krait snake in it. Some worker had just walked around and dropped a snake in each foxhole."

This conflict of the two systems of power—the old woman with a bucket of explosive and the double-the-speed-of sound Phantom jets—was the essence of America's inscrutable war, which one Western diplomat described as "the unholy trinity of terrorism, subversion, and guerrilla warfare."

America's inscrutable war in Vietnam had brush-fired into another area of the volatile, underdeveloped, uncommitted third world.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Jan. 17, 1966]

VIETNAM: PAST AND PROSPECT—SOUTH VIETS IDENTIFY GI'S WITH COLONIALISM

(By Beverly Deepe)

SAIGON.—The buildup of American combat troops in Vietnam during 1965 produced a visible buildup in anti-Americanism among the Vietnamese population.

A significant date between the February 7 bombing of North Vietnam and the March 8 arrival of the first American combat units was the February 20 mutiny against Commander-in-Chief Gen. Nguyen Khanh by his generals. The net effect of General Khanh's overthrow was to fragment the anti-Communist power in Saigon, while the Vietcong had seized partial control of the country at the village level.

As commander in chief, a more important post in wartime than that of Prime Minister, Generan Khanh had dominated the anti-Communist scene—and had been acclaimed by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara as America's strongman for Vietnam. But by late 1964, General Khanh grew bitter toward U.S. Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor, who demanded political stability, while General Khanh was aspiring to the presidency.

FALSE COUP

Twelve days after the bombing of North Vietnam, a false coup was led by Col. Pham Ngoc Thao, who was openly acknowledged to be associated with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The next day the generals forced General Khanh out of the country. The 600,000-man Vietnamese armed forces were turned over to a weak commander in chief. Finally, the post was abolished, leaving the armed forces virtually leaderless.

Prime Minister Phan Huy Quat ran into trouble. After 3 months in office he called for support from the Vietnamese generals, who promptly tossed him out of office. A Vietnamese military junta again took on the job of governing the country while attempting to defeat an enemy.

Amid instability on the anti-Communist side, the Reds could exploit the first American combat units—who arrived without solid political, economic, or social battle plans. The instincts of the Vietnamese, traditionally xenophobic, were to identify the American troops with the former French colonial masters. Better political and economic preparation of the American troops would have eased the situation considerably.

It was widely known in Saigon that the Vietnamese—including Prime Minister Phan Huy Quat—learned of the date of the arrival of the first marines in March from foreign press announcements made in Saigon and Washington. The Vietnamese feared they might win the war but lose their country. Outbursts from officers, students, and intellectuals charged that "the Americans were running the whole show."

THE DOLLAR

No sooner did the American troops land in the northern provinces than the medium of exchange became the U.S. dollar rather than the piaster. With no restrictions on the amount of available dollars, an American private had purchasing power once held only by Vietnamese generals. Cokes, beers, and wash basins were purchased in villages with nickels, dimes, and quarters. In at least one instance, a Vietnamese village chief, backed up by his popular force platoons, attempted to invade the village of another chief and to seize the villagers' American dollars at an unfair rate of exchange. Six months after the arrival of the first American units, American officials abolished the use of dollars in Vietnam. Replacing them was military scrip, which now has become another "floating currency."

The American troops quickly became the predominant possessors of one of the scarcest items in Vietnam. Women. Few Vietnamese appreciated the loss of their women—or the fact that illiterate females could earn 10 times a man's pay. Gradually, in any city or village bordering American units, drugstores, villas, and furniture stores quickly gave way to bars and brothels.

WAGES

The buildup of American forces also brought demands for more housing, runways, offices, and other facilities. Wages for skilled labor, and cost of building materials and transportation brought inflation. "The Vietnamese economy is in horrific shape. This could ruin the whole campaign against the Vietcong," one Western diplomat said recently.

The Vietcong sabotage of roads had also produced inflation on items such as rice, charcoal, and fish sauce. The American economic mission reacted by importing consumer goods to sop up the excess purchasing power—and financed the emergency import of 250,000 tons of rice. While the Saigon price of rice dropped, in the provinces rich merchants continued to charge what the traffic would bear.

The Vietnamese hurt most by the inflation were not the Communists, but the government's own officials and troops, paid mostly on fixed salaries.

In the city of Da Nang, an average of three or four fistfights a week break out between GI's and teenage Vietnamese gangs, popularly known as "cowboys." One American serviceman was beaten up and lay in a back alley for 2 days. Though Vietnamese shopkeepers saw the body, they did not report it to police. The American military police finally located it.

By the beginning of 1966, it became apparent that the Buddhist bonzes, as well as the Vietcong, could easily exploit Vietnamese nationalism and anti-Americanism.

One incident used by the Buddhists occurred when the American marines fired two tank rifle rounds into a pagoda from which they claimed a sniper was firing at them. The word immediately spread among Vietnamese peasants that the marines had maliciously fired into the pagoda. The marines also were accused of having deliberately broken a Buddhist statue and strewn human excrement around the pagoda.

The Buddhists, widely considered to include neutralists and pro-Communists, previously had successfully toppled two administrations in Vietnam: President Ngo Dinh Diem in November 1963, and General Khanh in August 1964.

"If the Buddhist priests do turn anti-American, the war will change into a new dimension which we can't even yet imagine," one source said, looking forward to 1966.

At the beginning of the year, rural Vietnam was half conquered by the Vietcong, and the urban portion was in a state of semi-insurrection. As more American troops arrived, resulting anti-Americanism vastly complicated the prospects for economic and political stability.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Jan. 18, 1966]

VIETNAM: PAST AND PROSPECT—SUBVERSION IN THE MEKONG DELTA

SA DEC, SOUTH VIETNAM.—Officially, the Mekong Delta south of Saigon—where no American combat units have yet been based—is one of the spots where the Vietnamese Government is progressing well. The simple tranquillity of fishing boats passing through canals, the hectic automobile traffic on the roads, the unbroken routine of peasant life would seem to confirm the official version.

But those who live in the villages say the Vietcong have seized virtual control of this rich rice bowl.

The process is not one of violent battles, but the invisible strangulation and isolation of government authority. It is a process of subversion which might be called termite warfare. Government authority has been squeezed into small rings of villages around provincial and district capitals, and into isolated outposts along the main roads and canals.

At Sa Dec is the headquarters of the Vietnamese 9th Infantry Division. Six miles away is the village complex of Nha Man. Two of its three villages are already controlled by the Communists. The third village, Tan Nhuan Dong, is protected by one company of about 100 paramilitary troops. An additional platoon is assigned to each of two smaller outposts—Ba Thien, 1 mile away, and Nga Ba, 2 miles off.

ENCIRCLED

The company at Tan Nhuan Dong lives in an old French fort. Its job is to protect the village and a bridge which stretches across a river flanked by several operating rice mills and brick factories.

The two outposts are encircled by Vietcong guerrillas. Last month they were totally isolated from the local population. To bring in supplies and support for these two posts, the government has to use 10 armored boats. On every voyage the boats and their complement of troops draw Communist sniper fire.

The platoons in each of the two small posts theoretically send out small, regular patrols to gather intelligence. They are called the "ears and eyes of the regular forces." But recently, a local villager described them as "blind men in a jail." For it is rare that a member of either platoon dares leave his compound, even to fetch water from the river 20 yards away.

Last week, one defender crossed the outpost's barbed wire fence for water. He was wounded by a sniper and fell on the river bank. No one dared rescue him. He died and his body was left on the same spot for three days. The commander asked headquarters for reinforcements, to pick up the body 20 yards away from his post. The request was refused.

The platoon was ordered to bury the corpse inside the post, but again the men refused to pick up the body. On repeated orders, they eventually brought in the corpse, but the outpost had no shovels, so they used knives to dig the grave. They had no lumber or nails, so they ripped wood from the walls of their outpost to make the coffin.

After the grotesque burial, morale was so low the company commander decided to transfer the platoon. The 100-man company ordered to relieve them refused to obey their transfer order and most of them defected to the Communists rather than man the Nga Ba outpost. Most returned after the province district chiefs were forced to visit the company of deserters, but the order to man the outpost was rescinded.

ISOLATION

The influence of the Communists goes, however, far beyond the terror built with sniper's bullets.

Last month, the Vietcong ordered peasants and businessmen working or living within a half mile of the Nga Ba outpost to move away. The word went out: No one was allowed to move inside the half mile limit. Rather than sail on the river 20 yards from the outposts, villagers' sampans were assigned to small canals.

One rice miller moved his mill brick-by-brick, machine-by-machine, to a new spot nearer government authority. One villager's reaction: "The Vietcong were very nice to give him the permission to move his rice mill. Otherwise, he would have starved to death. No one would have brought rice to him to be polished within the half mile radius of the post."

In monthly propaganda meetings with the villagers, Vietcong political agents claim "the Americans are waging an all-out war against

the Vietnamese people. The people have to make a clear-cut choice between their friends and their enemies. Those who want to fight with the Americans can go to the government-controlled area. Those who want to fight against the Americans can stay with us. There is no third choice."

In Sa Dec, refugee villagers prefer to live in their sampans moored along the riverfront. They have refused to live in refugee housing provided by the government.

Many of the wealthier landowners already have been forced to flee to government-controlled zones, producing the effect of an economic purge of the area by the Communists. Their abandoned lands, especially fruit groves along the canals, have been boobytrapped and mined by Red guerrillas. The Vietcong have warned landowners that their lands will be confiscated if they allow their sons to become government soldiers.

The Vietcong forbid landowners to hire local labor, and terrorize potential workers—drying up the labor force from both ends. Once-wealthy landed proprietors must plant and harvest their own rice—backbreaking work.

VISITS HALTED

Within the last month, the Vietcong have withdrawn permission to local residents to visit friends or relatives in government-controlled areas. Even the father of one of the senior generals at the Vietnamese Army headquarters in Saigon—who previously had been allowed by the Vietcong to visit his son—now is forbidden to leave the Vietcong area.

But the Vietcong efforts are not all just erosive. They have established efficient—though unofficial and terroristic—taxation. Often using children as collectors, they force millers, small factory owners and businessmen to pay regular levies.

Peasants must turn over to the Reds 40 percent of the rice they grow above their own family's consumption. Any fish or grain grown in the Red-controlled area which is sent into government territory is taxed by the Vietcong—as if they maintained a national border.

So under the noses of government officials and a major army force, the Communists have established their own government in the Mekong Delta. It has almost eroded away the authority of the anti-Communist Saigon regime, and, perhaps more significantly, has taken major steps toward replacing it with an authority of their own.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Jan. 19, 1966]

VIETNAM: PAST AND PRESENT—MARINES' GREAT EFFORT: SECURING DA NANG

(By Beverly Deepe)

DA NANG, SOUTH VIETNAM.—Last fall, the battle cry of the U.S. Marines here was: "We'll be in Hoi An by New Year's Day 1966." Today, they estimate it will be New Year's 1968.

Hoi An is a provincial capital, only 15 miles south of the strategic airbase of Da Nang. The change in the marines' mood illustrates the changing role of American troops in Vietnam—and some of their problems.

"We could easily have fought our way to Hoi An," one marine said recently. "But then, we would have had to fight our way back. The essential problem of this war is not moving your front lines forward. It is keeping your rear covered."

The key to the problem lies in getting and keeping the support of the rural population. Without it, most authorities believe the war could go on for years.

So it was decided to halt the marines' advance until the Vietnamese could win over the local population. The decision brought dissent from within Marine Corps ranks and sneers from Army colonels, who claimed "the marines are afraid to go out and find the Vietcong." But gradually, the marine effort outside of Da Nang, under the direction of Marine Cmdr. Maj. Gen. Lewis Walt, began to dovetail with the work of the Vietnamese Government.

THIRD DIMENSION

"In a conventional war, progress is measured by an advancing front line," one official explained. "But in this war our outlying positions are constant. Progress must be measured in the third dimension. We must go down into the population to dig out the Vietcong infrastructure and then rebuild the local anti-Communist government."

The result of this coordinated effort was the Five Mountain Villages Campaign, less than 10 miles southwest of Da Nang and 15 miles from Hoi An. It is the principal current pacification program and a pilot case for the future.

"If this plan doesn't succeed here, it's not going to succeed anywhere else in the country," an official said. "We'll really be in serious trouble then."

The project already has run into some serious trouble.

The five villages of the campaign are subdivided into 19 hamlets, covering a 20-square-kilometer area. In the complex dwell 42,000 people, of whom about 7 percent are believed to be related to Vietcong. Snuggled among lush rice paddies, the villages are surrounded by the five peaks of mountains containing gray and salmon-colored marble. "These marble mountains would make a great tourist attraction, but you'd be killed going out there," one marine said.

The pacification campaign has three components: U.S. marines are assigned to secure the outer limits of the area, patrolling to prevent the invasion by Communist units; Vietnamese paramilitary troops maintain security in the villages; Vietnamese civilian teams distribute goods, wage psychological warfare, take censuses, and attempt to undo the Vietcong's existing political devices and to bring the villagers to the Government's side.

"The role of the U.S. Marines is like an egg," an official said. "Our front lines, on the rim of the area, are the shell—but like a shell, the lines can be broken. The vital installation—the Da Nang airbase—is the yolk, and we also defend that. The white is the countryside, which we are trying to pacify and solidify."

On October 18, the Vietnamese forces began their effort, using one headquarters company and four understrength line companies of the 59th Regional Forces Battalion. A civilian cadre of 327 persons was moved in from provincial headquarters. The Vietnamese commander put them through a 2-week retraining course. They were joined by five Vietnamese People's Action Teams (PATs), of 10 persons each, who were responsible for census taking and other activities.

To each village, the Vietnamese commander sent one Regional Forces company and one People's Action Team. In each of the 19 hamlets, he put a civilian cadre team.

"During the third week of the campaign, a 50-man Vietcong platoon broke through the marine blocking position. They were in our area shooting things up. They hit us hard," an official related.

"Five Regional Force troopers and several cadremen were killed. Each of our armed companies was understrength, so we had 15-man platoons where we should have had 35 men. Fighting against 50 Vietcong, of course, we lose against those odds.

"Until then we were just beginning to get the confidence of the people—but after that, the people clammed up and wouldn't tell us anything. And it also hurt the morale of our cadre. One whole 11-man team took off—but the district chief talked them into coming back," the official went on.

"Then, four nights later, the same Vietcong platoon hit us again. They slipped in between two marine patrols, attacked the regional force headquarters unit of 17 men, killed several civilian cadre and kidnaped 2 women working with a drama unit. We haven't seen the women since. One of the American marines saw action from 50 yards away—but he couldn't open up with his machinegun—he would have killed more friendlies than enemies.

"Of course, the marines can't stop all small-unit infiltration. It would take marines shoulder-to-shoulder to do that. And once you had that, the Vietcong would mortar them from across the river, which they've already started doing," he said.

Since the late November action, the Vietnamese and the marines have slightly reinforced the area. Now the marines are not only holding the outer perimeter by extensive patrolling, they also are responsible for the securing of the civilian cadre in 11 of the 19 hamlets. Vietnamese troops defend the remaining eight.

TRY AGAIN

By mid-December, "we started pacifying again and things were moving slow, but good," the official said. "The people began giving us good intelligence and were turning in some Vietcong. For the first time, on a Sunday afternoon, families from Da Nang would come to the villages to visit their relatives. More than 100 families moved back into the area—but none of the people were of draft age."

On one night in late December, however, the Vietcong launched four harassing attacks. They hit the central command post with mortars and struck another People's Action Team, killing several.

Gradually, the cadre force fell from 331 to 304. Besides attrition, there were substantial problems with the cadre because of inadequate training and the fact that they were not natives of the villages in which they were working.

The PAT's—equipped, paid, and trained for political activity and intelligence work by an arm of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency—had their own troubles. They were better armed than the Vietnamese troops, and the local commander wanted to use them for military security. They refused. One team defected and another had to be transferred because of local conflicts.

"The biggest headache is that we can't move our Vietnamese troops and cadre out of this 20-square-kilometer collection of hamlets until we have villagers here who can defend the area," the official said. "There's not one young man here between the ages of 10 and 38 whom we can recruit. We've lost the middle generation, and no one has begun to find an answer to that problem."

Before the marines reach Hoi An—with their backs protected—80 square kilometers of land must be pacified. At that, the marine estimate of New Year's Day, 1968, is not far away.

BASIN, WYO., POSTMASTER RECEIVES CITATION OF MERIT

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, it was my most welcome privilege this morning to be present in the office of the Postmaster General when an old friend, the postmaster at Basin, Wyo., received a citation of merit for beautification of the post office building and grounds.

Postmaster R. J. O'Neill, in cooperation with J. E. Johnstone of the Denver regional post office, carried out a program which included planting of flowers and shrubbery, and had the cooperation of a number of the good people of Basin. Local organization assisted in this most

worthwhile project by furnishing flowers and shrubbery.

Mr. O'Neill and 13 other postmasters met in the reception room of the Postmaster General's office at 11 this morning to receive the citations. I take this opportunity to felicitate Mr. O'Neill and the other postmasters, as well as other employees of the postal department and citizens of this Nation who are making the national beautification program a significant success.

THE NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Mr. HART. Mr. President, we need swift action toward a nuclear nonproliferation treaty for the simple reason that we are running out of time. There is no other issue before the Senate this year—including even the war in Vietnam—which is of greater basic importance to the world and the nations.

The desperate importance of this question has been seen, and stated, for many years by noted scholars and political leaders. It was recognized by President John F. Kennedy, who told a press conference on March 21, 1963, that 15 or 20 countries might have nuclear weapons by 1975 and that he was haunted by this problem. A year and a half later, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara told an interviewer that in 10 to 20 years tens of nations would be capable of having nuclear weapons, and that the danger to the world increases geometrically with the increase in the number of nations possessing those warheads.

Secretary McNamara explained that American nuclear warheads then cost anywhere from roughly half a million dollars on up, perhaps to a million dollars. But in the years ahead he warned:

> Because of advances in nuclear technology, the cost of nuclear weapons will fall dramatically—

McNamara added—

> and as the technology becomes simplier, we can expect more and more nations to acquire capability for both developing and producing such weapons.

A year later President Johnson solemnly warned the world that the proliferation of nuclear weapons was the "gravest of all unresolved human issues" and he stated:

> The peace of the world requires firm limits upon the spread of nuclear weapons.

And as all Members of the Senate are well aware, the junior Senator from New York presented two brilliant analyses of these problems in June and October of last year.

Now Mr. President, I am not technically trained or knowledgeable in matters of producing nuclear weapons, and I do not know how fast this anticipated reduction in the cost and time required to produce nuclear weapons has taken place, or what the current figures are. But I did notice in an Associated Press dispatch dated October 7, 1965, from London a statement that the annual report of the British Atomic Energy Authority indirectly revealed that Britain has been working on research "which could lead to production of cut-price atomic and hydrogen bombs."

And I am aware that for many years scientists in a number of countries have been working on top-secret efforts to make the centrifuge method of uranium separation not only workable, but workable at a cost much reduced from the gaseous diffusion process used by the present nuclear powers.

Consequently, I have absolutely no reason to doubt, and have every reason to agree with, the startling statement made last June by the junior Senator from New York:

> Within a very few years, an investment of a few million dollars—well within the capacity even of private organizations—will produce nuclear weapons. Once such a capability is in being, weapons will probably be produced for costs in the hundreds of thousands of dollars each. Similarly, delivery systems are far cheaper than they once were.

One of the wonderful things about scientific technology is that it rapidly discovers cheaper production methods for even the most expensive items. Unhappily, this remarkable ability extends to nuclear weapons as well as tractors and gumdrops.

It is not too difficult to foresee the day when atomic bomb production will be within the ability of any nation that now possesses even the know-how to efficiently manufacture popguns.

In fact, if a nuclear entrepreneur could find a permissive host country, it is even conceivable that he could open an international fireworks stand that would sell to all comers.

We already have five nervous fellows holding shotguns on each other and a new influx of gunmen will do nothing to soothe that jittery feeling and calm the stomach.

This is not a problem for some future administration to deal with. It is not a problem for some future Senate to take seriously while today we satisfy ourselves with making brief speeches. This is a problem for this year, this month, this week, this very day.

The actual work being conducted on nuclear weapons development is naturally a closely guarded secret in this, as in other countries, but we do have some disturbing clues.

In the case of Israel, we know that there has been grave concern in that beleaguered country about the work for several years on rockets by Egypt, assisted by some West German engineers. And we know that Israel has been pushing for a good many years research and development on her own atomic reactors, with a considerable amount of assistance from France.

And as long ago as July 5, 1962, there was an article in the Washington Post reporting from Jerusalem that Israeli intellectuals were protesting the building of atomic weapons by their country. Perhaps Israel had not then in fact launched an actual atomic weapons program. But the fact remains that this is a country with a well-advanced reactor program, a country that is rich in technical personnel, a country determined to fight for its survival in a hostile environment—a country, in short, which might be pressed to develop its own nuclear weapons before much longer, if the present world nuclear anarchy continues.

In the case of India, we have had repeated public assurances first from Prime Minister Nehru and then from Prime Minister Shastri that India was not embarking on a nuclear weapons program. But such expressions of intent should not lull away our concern.

This is highly unlikely to remain India's policy indefinitely. During the September fighting with Pakistan, a large group of Parliament members petitioned the Government to begin atomic bomb production. Should conflict with her neighbors reerupt, such pressures might become irresistible.

And if India takes this fateful step, how great will be the pressures for Pakistan to draw scarce resources from its own urgent economic development efforts in order to follow suit.

And, of course, so, too, will Nasser's Egypt inevitably follow the same path if Israel does develop atomic weapons.

Within a few years more, with the price and difficulty of building these horror weapons reduced, we may expect such countries as Sweden, Italy, and Canada to follow. And, by this time, West Germany may have decided to break her 1954 treaty commitments in order to start on the road to becoming one of the most powerful of the burgeoning nuclear powers, while Japan will doubtless have redrafted her constitutional inhibitions and also taken the plunge.

Other countries listed by AEC Chairman Glenn Seaborg last summer as being capable of building their own bombs before too much longer included Switzerland, Brazil, Spain, and Yugoslavia.

Fortunately, if the need for constructive action to deal with this dread possibility is great, so too is the opportunity now a great one.

For many months, the United States and the Soviet Union have been at an impasse that, basically, involved West Germany's participation in a European nuclear defense.

I think Russia's nervousness about Germany is understandable to any student of modern history. Our problem is to give Germany the feeling of being a full-fledged member of the European defense team while, at the same time, providing Russia with positive assurances that West Germany will never be able to launch a nuclear attack on her own.

Hopefully, the United States will now be able to present new proposals to the Disarmament Conference which will accomplish both ends.

The preparation and negotiation of such a treaty should be a top priority item for the leadership of this country, and of all other countries as well. In addition, I would hope we would explore the idea of developing treaties establishing nuclear-free zones in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East.

But we must not delude ourselves into thinking that such treaties will be easy to obtain, once agreement is reached between the Soviet Union and the United States. Nor should we imagine that such treaties will completely solve the problem of proliferation.

We have in fact been given ample warnings that to many of the nonnuclear countries such treaties appear to be designed by the present nuclear club to maintain its monopoly: denying entrance to any other countries, while refusing to make comparable sacrifices themselves.

Mr. William C. Foster, head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, underlined this point in his noteworthy article in Foreign Affairs last July. Mr. Foster wrote:

> Unless the nonnuclear powers are persuaded that their interests are best served by not acquiring nuclear weapons they will ultimately acquire them. A necessary, though perhaps not sufficient, condition for so persuading them is to offer clear evidence that the Soviet Union and the United States are prepared to exercise leadership in the world on a basis of strength other than that inherent in their nuclear capabilities. It is for this reason that agreements to freeze production and to start reductions in fissionable materials and in nuclear delivery systems are so important.

Mr. President, over the past 20 years the United States and the Soviet Union made the possession of nuclear weapons the basic currency of major power status. Today, we have belatedly discovered that these awful weapons, especially when they are possessed by more than one nation, are not very useful as instruments of national policy.

If we now wish to halt the proliferation of these weapons, we need a nonproliferation treaty coupled with a concerted effort by the present nuclear powers to make significant steps toward nuclear disarmament.

And it should be supported by a declaration by all the present nuclear powers that they would never be the first to use these weapons—that such stocks as they would retain at least for the time being would be kept for only one single totally defensive purpose: to use in retaliation if any other nuclear power broke its pledge and initiated the use of these weapons.

But if this seems too great a hurdle to be taken, all at once, then a halfway measure would be better than none. The recent report of the Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament to the White House Conference on International Cooperation, popularly known as the Wiesner committee, proposed that "nuclear powers commit themselves to refrain from the use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons against nonnuclear ones."

I would endorse this proposal by the Wiesner committee. Indeed, I support many others of the important recommendations made in this extremely thoughtful report and I urge my fellow Senators, and all concerned Americans, to read this report with great care.

In closing, Mr. President, let me say that there are indeed many partial steps which we can and should and must take to help halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The resolution offered on Tuesday by the Senator from Rhode Island, which I was delighted to cosponsor, is one of those steps and I urge its prompt and favorable consideration.

It seems to me that a truly meaningful treaty should be feasible because it would so clearly be in the best interests of everyone who signed—and that is the best assurance of success that any contract can have.

DAVID SQUIRE, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE JOB CORPS

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I was pleased and proud to learn of the recent appointment of my friend, Mr. David Squire, as Deputy Director of the Job Corps. I take this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations to Mr. Squire on his new position and to applaud Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, for his outstanding selection.

A resident of Stamford, Conn., Mr. Squire has sacrificed a prominent position in industry in order to assume this new office. He expressed his reason for doing so in saying that he "wished to make a meaningful contribution to our society by taking on a responsible and challenging position."

The task he is about to undertake will provide him with that opportunity. The significance of the Job Corps, in attempting to aid young people between the ages of 16 and 21 who are unemployed due to their lack of education and suitable skills, cannot be questioned. Through the 84 corps centers, young men and women are able to develop new skills and habits, and to benefit from actual work experience.

A program such as this is vital in our efforts to uphold the principle of equality of opportunity. Its success is dependent upon capable and dedicated leaders.

Mr. David Squire is such a man, bringing to his new assignment a wealth of experience. A graduate of Dartmouth College, where he majored in sociology, Mr. Squire has been associated with Ansonia Mills, first as assistant treasurer and later in the capacity of president and chief executive officer. In 1963 he accepted, on behalf of Ansonia Mills, the President's E award for export excellence. As a member of the United Nations Association, the Connecticut Association for Mental Health, and the Urban Redevelopment Commission, Mr. Squire has an outstanding record of service to his community.

I wish Dave Squire all the best in his new endeavors. I know he will be successful.

PERILS OF A DOLLAR WALL

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the New York Times on January 19.

The story reports the views of Prof. Peter B. Kenen of Columbia University, an authority on international monetary affairs, on the effects on world commerce of the restrictive balance-of-payments measures taken by the administration. His principal point is that, while these measures are steadily eliminating our balance-of-payments deficit, they are also causing a retreat from the objective of a freer and healthier world economy.

This has been the basis of my own opposition to many of the measures proposed by the administration and my support for the early reform of the international monetary system. It has been my view that we are sacrificing a very important long-term goal of American foreign economic policy; namely, the gradual elimination of barriers to trade and capital, for a conflicting short-term objective; namely, the complete elimination of our balance-of-payments deficit.

Professor Kenen believes that the administration is only partially to be blamed for the controls that it imposed. He places most of the blame on the existing international monetary system which, as Professor Kenen says, "is long on discipline and short on credit creation to aid deficit countries" so that it encourages "the use of trade controls, overt or covert, impairing economic efficiency in the world as a whole." This is well borne out by data issued a few days ago by the IMF which indicates that international reserves, which had grown steadily for years prior to 1965, have grown very little in 1965 and may have even stopped growing.

In this same connection, I noted with interest Secretary of Commerce Connor's announcement on Monday that the voluntary balance-of-payments program should be ended by February of next year. Whether or not this announcement means that the administration is coming around to the viewpoint that the continued imposition of these voluntary controls is harmful to the American economy or whether it has come to the realization that these voluntary controls, in the absence of full-scale exchange controls, will decrease in effectiveness, I am not in a position to say.

The fact that we have controls only strengthens the position of those countries who still maintain exchange controls, such as many of the continental European nations.

Now that the United States has demonstrated its ability and willingness to reduce its balance-of-payments deficit, our first and urgent priority should be the reform of the international monetary system and the devising of new mechanisms for the adequate creation of international reserves. Further restrictions by the United States and other developed nations can only lead to more restrictions and the eventual jeopardy of the existing economic order.

I ask unanimous consent to have articles from the New York Times pertaining to my statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 11, 1966]

LAG IN WORLD MONETARY GROWTH IN 1965 INDICATED BY IMF DATA

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, January 10.—The grand total of official monetary reserves in the non-Communist world rose in the third quarter of last year but remained below the level at the end of 1964, the International Monetary Fund reported today.

Total reserves, also known as international liquidity, were estimated at $68.88 billion at

the end of September, compared with $68.37 billion at the end of June and $68.90 billion at the end of 1964.

These reserves are held by nations to finance actual and potential deficits in their international payments. They are composed of gold, dollars and pounds, as well as automatic drawing rights on the IMF.

Of the total of reserves at the end of September, $41.2 billion was in gold and $22.3 billion in dollars and pounds.

International liquidity had grown steadily for years prior to 1965. It now appears certain that the growth rate last year was very small or even zero.

LAG IN TRADE GROWTH

Today's report, contained in the monthly publication International Financial Statistics, was accompanied by a parallel report in the same publication showing a marked slowdown in the growth of world trade last year.

There is no necessary early or direct connection between a slower growth in liquidity and a parallel movement in trade though in the long run a lack of liquidity would almost certainly hamper trade since liquidity represents the wherewithal for conducting world commerce.

Officials have given three main reasons for the failure of international liquidity to rise in 1965.

First, some nations, led by France, cashed in dollars for gold in unusually large amounts. Such transactions reduce U.S. reserves without increasing the reserves of the nation making the conversion.

Second, the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit was smaller than in other recent years. This means fewer dollars were added to other nations' reserves.

Finally, there was an unusually large volume of gold hoarding and speculation, meaning that newly mined gold did not flow into official reserves. In the first three quarters of 1965, this caused entire output of about $1 billion of new gold to flow into private hands.

Today's report on world trade put total exports in the third quarter at an annual rate of $160.2 billion, down from a record $166 billion in the second quarter.

For the first three quarters, global exports were running at an annual rate of $159.6 billion. This was up from the 1964 total of $151.4 billion, but the rise was much less than the $16.6 billion growth from 1963 to 1964.

The report showed a growth of only $1.5 billion, in annual rate, in the exports of the less developed countries, to a rate of $34.7 billion in the first three quarters of 1964. The industrial countries were exporting at a rate of $114.3 billion in the first three quarters, up from $107.4 billion for all of 1964.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1966]

PAYMENTS CURBS MAY END IN 1967—COMMERCE SECRETARY SAYS PRESENT THINKING POINTS TO A CUTOFF NEXT YEAR—2-YEAR DURATION CITED—FURTHER DETAILS ARE GIVEN OF VOLUNTARY PROGRAM FOR COMPANIES THIS YEAR

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, January 17.—Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor said today the present thinking of the Government was that the voluntary balance-of-payments program should be ended by February of next year.

Mr. Connor told a news conference that he could make no definite commitment. But he said that current thinking within the administration put a 2-year duration on the program, which was begun in February of last year.

The news conference was held in connection with the release of further details on the voluntary program for this year as it affects business corporations. The program for banks has already been made public in detail.

The purpose of each is to curb the outflow of dollars abroad and to increase the inflow in order to improve the balance of payments, which has been in deficit since 1958.

MAJOR IMPROVEMENT

Mr. Connor said, "We expect to reach the targets for 1965 established at the outset of the program nearly a year ago." He said the deficit in the balance of payments for 1965 was $1.3 billion or less, marking a major improvement from the $2.8 billion deficit of 1964.

Today's releases included the new worksheets to be used by corporations this year in working out their own balance-of-payments plans and a letter sent by Mr. Connor to 400 companies that were not in the program last year, making a total of 900.

The main new feature in this year's program is a formula setting out both nationwide and individual company ceilings for the outflow of dollars for direct investment abroad.

BASIC FORMULA

The basic formula has already been made public. It permits investments in 1965 and 1966 combined of 90 percent of the total for 1962, 1963, and 1964.

The worksheets and the letter disclosed that companies would get credit against their ceilings for any borrowing they were able to do abroad. Thus, if a concern's ceiling under the formula for this year was a direct investment outlay of $10 million and it was able to borrow $5 million abroad, it could invest $15 million.

The direct investment ceiling covers the combined total of retained earnings abroad and dollars sent out of the United States.

Mr. Connor gave figures today indicating that the outflow of dollars for direct investment last year was probably less than the $3.4 billion estimated earlier. He said it now seemed likely that the outflow would be "closer to $3 billion than to $3.4 billion."

Under the new formula, this would mean a correspondingly smaller reduction in this outflow in 1966 and thus a smaller improvement in the balance of payments than had been counted on. Under the formula, assuming a $3.4-billion outflow in 1965, the outflow in 1966 would be about $2 billion, for an improvement of $1 billion.

Mr. Connor conceded that it now seemed probable that the formula alone would produce an improvement this year of less than $1 billion. But he said the target was still $1 billion because the Government hoped that many companies would invest less than the formula permitted.

The other elements of the voluntary program include expansion of exports, increases in the return flow of earnings on foreign investment, and repatriation of short-term assets held abroad.

Mr. Connor had optimistic reports on all of these elements for last year. He said corporations had repatriated about $500 million of liquid assets last year and probably brought back about $4.3 billion of earnings, compared with $3.7 billion in 1964.

He said exports for the year rose about 4 percent and exports of manufactured goods alone by 5.5 percent.

Overall, the 500 corporations in the program estimated an improvement in their balances of payments totaling $1.3 billion for 1965 over 1964, and Mr. Connor said today this target appears to have been "substantially achieved."

In discussing the ending of the program a year from now, Mr. Connor said the Government recognized that restraint on direct investment, in particular, was against the longer run interest of the Nation and of the balance of payments, because it would ultimately reduce both exports and income from investments.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 19, 1966]

PERILS OF A DOLLAR WALL—U.S. DRIVE TO PAYMENTS DEFICIT HELD OBSTACLE TO FREER WORLD TRADE

(By M. J. Rossant)

The Johnson administration is making slow but steady progress toward its goal of eliminating the chronic payments deficit that is the difference between what the Nation takes in from abroad and what goes out. But its efforts are also causing a retreat from the objective of a freer and healthier world economy.

This is the sobering thesis of Columbia University's Peter B. Kenen, one of the Nation's most scholarly authorities on international monetary affairs.

Professor Kenen raises the specter that the United States may be able to eliminate temporarily its deficit with the rest of the world through a network of controls over trade and capital movements that will be permanently harmful.

Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor's latest report on the balance of payments gives fresh support to Mr. Kenen's thesis.

CONNOR OPTIMISTIC

Like other administration officials, Mr. Connor was true to form in expressing optimism about the payments situation, holding out hope that the so-called voluntary program to cut corporate outflows of dollars for investment abroad would be relaxed or eliminated by 1967.

But ever since the program was first introduced, academic and business experts have predicted that its impact could not be expected to last longer than a year or two. So its demise is inevitable.

If the payments imbalance still is a serious problem in 1967, voluntary restraints probably will be replaced by mandatory controls.

Meanwhile, the voluntary program is being expanded, as well as extended. When the administration began asking for business cooperation, it limited its request to the 400 largest companies. Now, it is enlisting 900, which covers almost every American concern doing business abroad.

This continual expansion in controls is what worries Professor Kenen. He notes that in the last 5 years, Washington has put into effect a variety of restrictions, voluntary and involuntary, that reduce the outflow of dollars mainly by curtailing investment and trade.

The administration may have to add new barriers to its already formidable dollar wall if President Johnson is to make good his pledge to wipe out this balance of payments deficit altogether in the next year.

To be sure, the administration will explain that any new restrictions are strictly temporary, but all of the allegedly temporary controls that have been installed are beginning to take on a very permanent look.

Professor Kenen thinks that the administration is only partly responsible for its increasing reliance on controls. He puts most of the blame on the present international monetary system because, he explains, it "is long on discipline and short on credit creation to aid the deficit countries" so that it encourages "the use of trade controls, overt or covert, impairing economic efficiency in the world as a whole."

But the Columbia economist is against proposals for reforming the monetary system in order to provide payments-deficit nations with automatic credits because such plans would make things too easy.

AIMS OF REFORM

As he sees it, reform must prevent deficit nations from making use of controls. This

calls for generous help from the surplus countries. But Mr. Kenen adds that credits must not be provided indiscriminately.

Instead, he calls on the major nations to determine what national economic policies are universally acceptable or unacceptable. Then credit can be extended or withheld on the basis of these new rules.

This is a tall order and one on which an early agreement is unlikely. But Professor Kenen insists that something must be done—and soon—to check the pushing up of monetary barriers around the world.

The fact is that the trend toward restrictions is becoming a race. Britain has its own sterling wall; the continental European nations, which have been in a payments-surplus position most of the time, still maintain many old controls and are erecting new ones. The United States was behind the pack but it is now making up for lost time.

But even if the administration in the race will end up as deficit, it will not be a winner. Professor Kenen predicts that by employing controls that curb trade and investment, the United States and every other nation in the race will end up as losers.

PUBLIC DOMAIN OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH RESULTS FROM FEDERALLY FINANCED PROJECTS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on July 28, 1965, the Federal Register carried the following notice from the Office of Education:

Material produced as a result of any research activity undertaken with any financial assistance through contract with or project grant from the Office of Education will be placed in the public domain. Materials so released will be available to conventional outlets of the private sector for their use.

In taking this action, the Office of Education was altering its previous policy of allowing researchers working under grants or contracts to copyright the results of their research. The change is based upon the idea that, first, if the public pays for research, it should have free access to the results of that research; and second, that the general welfare is best served through competition rather than monopoly. I wish to commend those in the Office of Education responsible for making this wise decision. In my opinion, it is a forward step both in education and in the protection of the public interest in public investments.

I ask unanimous consent that an article by Walter E. Mylecraine entitled "Public Domain" appearing in the November 1965 issue of American Education be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From American Education magazine, November 1965]

PUBLIC DOMAIN

(By Walter E. Mylecraine)

"Notice is hereby given of the following statement of policy of the Office of Education: 'Material produced as a result of any research activity undertaken with any financial assistance through contract with or project grant from the Office of Education will be placed in the public domain. Materials so released will be available to conventional outlets of the private sector for their use.'—Federal Register, July 28, 1965."

Education is America's largest industry. Last year, we spent about $39 billion on our schools * * * more than we spent for rockets, automobiles, or lipsticks.

But in contrast to many modern industries, which spend up to 10 percent of their gross revenues on research and development, Americans allocate less than one-tenth of 1 percent of their educational expenditures to research. We have courted obsolescence in the past by ignoring the future, and we are already reaping the skimpy harvest of our penny-wise, pound-foolish policy on educational research.

This pattern is changing. Since 1957, the Office of Education has financed 1,800 individual research projects designed to investigate the ways we teach and to improve them. From 1957 to 1965, the U.S. Government, through the Office of Education, invested $85 million on research, and the figure will rise sharply in years to come.

This increased expenditure has led the Office of Education to reexamine its publications policy, and to conclude that Office of Education regulations governing the publication of research financed by public funds were inadequate.

The result of this reappraisal is the statement of policy printed above. Its two sentences, while not examples of English prose at its most exhilarating, are the distillate of more than 2 years of discussion between Office of Education officials and outside legal counsel, representatives of universities and publishing houses, and the heads of other Federal agencies. Understanding the statement's importance requires some appreciation of the magnitude of educational publishing in the United States today and its relation to educational research.

Research emerges from the scholar's study or laboratory in a variety of forms. Some of the new knowledge he develops and refines is published in professional journals addressed to school administrators and teachers.

Much of it, however, takes such commercial forms as textbooks, curriculum guides, tape recordings, films, and even computer programs * * * in short, as tangible items susceptible of mass production and distribution at a profit.

Thus, the university scholar who develops an improved approach to teaching eighth-grade mathematics, tests his ideas, and embodies them in a manuscript may well have an item of interest to a publisher.

The interest of publishers in such educational materials has grown keener in recent years, owing in part to the stream of educational legislation that has flowed from Congress during the past two sessions. The current American concern about the state of our schools has brought about new legislative programs that have sharply increased the demand for new texts and the entire array of modern teaching tools. At the same time, the Federal funds allocated for these programs have sharply increased the purchasing power of the schools.

In consequence, the educational market has become extremely attractive. According to authoritative estimates, American public and private schools spent about $1 billion last year for teaching materials. Educational publishing is big business.

In years past, researchers working under Office of Education grants or contracts were permitted to copyright their research and the educational material stemming from it. In almost every case, however, the project agreement required the researcher to give the Government an irrevocable, royalty-free license to use his work as it chose and to authorize others so to do. As a legal entity, then, the copyright was a frail instrument.

But in practice, the Office of Education rarely exercised its licensing prerogative simply because its stewardship of educational research was a relatively minor responsibility. Thus a copyright, which was legally almost worthless, became in the minds of some researchers and publishers a valuable and binding assertion of private ownership.

No longer. The new public domain policy prohibits the copyrighting of research materials developed under projects financed by the Office of Education.

Before explaining the Office of Education's decision to change its publication policy, it is worth making two points: first, the new policy will not apply to research projects approved before its effective date (July 14, 1965) unless the researcher or his institution agree that it should. Previously funded projects that continue over a period of years and are subject to annual approval will be considered individually by the Office. We believe that in such cases we will be able to reach an agreement acceptable to everyone concerned.

The second point to be made is that the new public domain policy does not absolutely rule out copyrighting in connection with research materials financed by the Office of Education. A publisher can copyright significant revisions of public domain material or additions to it. In such cases, of course, the original research material remains in the public domain, so that the publisher would be wise to indicate which parts of a work have been copyrighted. Similarly, the researcher who subsequently improves materials originally delivered to the Office under the terms of his contract or grant can copyright those improvements.

Our basic reason for changing the policy was our conviction that research produced with public funds should become public property. The benefits incident to expressing this principle in a public domain policy begin with the total elimination of Federal control over research materials. The administrative effect of the policy is to take such materials out of the hands of the Government and turn them over to the public as soon as grants or contract terms have been met. Thus, it is not the Office of Education but the educational marketplace—publishers, superintendents, school purchasing agents, librarians, and the students themselves—that will evaluate these materials and decide how they can best be used.

Even more important, we believe the new policy will improve the quality of research supported by the Office of Education. We believe it will foster in educational research generally a creativity, a cooperation, and a competition that copyrighting can tend to discourage. The public domain policy not only permits a scholar to build on the foundation laid by another, but in fact encourages him to do so. He can retain some sections of a published work in their original form and adapt others.

He can, for example, apply techniques developed by another scholar for the teaching of English or physics to the teaching of foreign languages or biology. This kind of intellectual hitchhiking has always been basic to the advancement of knowledge, and there is no reason why it should not characterize research in education.

None of these statements should be interpreted as criticisms of copyrighting as such. The researcher who invests his own time at his own risk to develop an item of educational material has created a piece of private property just as surely as the man who builds his own home with his own funds. But the researcher working under OE grant or contract is using public funds, and he should no more have a legal monopoly over the fruits of that research than a roadbuilder should own the highway he has built under public contract.

Summing up, we believe the public domain policy not only expresses sound principle but carries with it distinct advantages.

Nevertheless, the policy has its critics. Their basic contention is that the policy will not work, and their reasoning goes more or less like this: No publisher will invest money in a text or other teaching device unless he can protect his investment with a copyright. Why should a publisher set up type, print a volume, and then promote its distribution when any teacher, student, private citizen, or competing publisher can copy the contents with impunity?

This argument seems reasonable enough, but publishers refute it with their own practice. The fact that the Warren report on the assassination of President Kennedy, and Surgeon General Luther Terry's report on smoking and cancer were in the public domain did not deter commercial publishers from reprinting them. For years, the Government Printing Office has issued 40,000 copies of the "Statistical Abstract of the United States" at $3.75 a copy. Recognizing that the abstract is in the public domain, a paperback book publisher recently announced plans to issue an edition at $1.95, and plans a first printing of 125,000 copies. Evidence shows that timely marketing and attractive presentation are worthy substitutes for exclusive ownership in profitable publishing.

Another objection is that public domain subjects the researcher's work to unauthorized borrowing that may harm his reputation. As one scholar observed, "Once material is in the public domain, anyone may modify or tamper with it as he chooses, and an author may see some strange versions of his work."

But surely no scholar would claim ultimate wisdom. The Office of Education not only recognizes that others may adapt to new uses work supported by public funds but in fact hopes they will. The resulting changes may be for the worse as well as for the better. Agreed. * * * But such risk is inherent in all innovation, and American education badly, badly needs innovation.

We do not believe that encouraging revision by others represents a serious threat to a scholar's reputation. If he is quoted accurately and in context, he has no legitimate complaint, for no reputable scholar would knowingly use the work of another without acknowledging the debt. If the author is quoted inaccurately or out of context, he falls prey to the same misuse to which the work of any eminent writer is subject; the names of Charles Darwin and Sigmund Freud, among dozens of others that might be cited, seem to have survived decades of misinterpretation.

In any case, we believe the public domain policy is practical in purpose as well as sound in principle. It has been supported by the press, public officials, and by people in the publishing and academic communities. The American Newspaper Publishers Association and the American Textbook Publishers Institute have praised the policy; so have Members of Congress. An editorial in the Washington Post stated well one of our prime objectives in announcing the policy:

"However interesting research findings may be to theorists, they will have practical effect only as they reach schools and children. They will be put to use more quickly, and more widely, because they will now lie in the public domain."

We need publishers and scholars. We believe that the research we support is a marketable commodity. And we believe that the production and dissemination of research materials under a public domain policy leaves plenty of room for all involved to seek their own varied interests.

The first example of research materials being released under the policy discussed here is project English, a complete series of materials for a senior high school English curriculum, developed by the Curriculum Studies Center of Carnegie Institute of Technology.

The fundamental effect of the new public domain policy is to eliminate a legal monopoly. At the same time, it is calculated to speed the advance of educational research and encourage the operation of free enterprise mechanisms in educational publishing. In announcing a public domain policy, the Office of Education is seeking ways in which to put those mechanisms to work for education and the public interest.

THE SMITHSON BICENTENNIAL

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, in September of last year the Smithsonian Institution celebrated the 200th anniversary of the birth of its founder with an international gathering of scholars, scientists, and representatives of museums from many nations. The celebration began with an academic procession onto the Mall from the historic Smithsonian Building and a significant address by President Johnson on international education. Leonard Carmichael, seventh Secretary of the Smithsonian, addressed the gathering on the subject of James Smithson, whose death in 1829 was followed by the generous bequest which launched the Institution. The Chief Justice of the United States presided as Chancellor of the Institution.

The bicentennial celebration coincided with the first visit to the United States of the International Council of Museums, a distinguished assembly of world museum leaders which promotes continued progress in all aspects of the museum field on a worldwide basis. Thus it seems especially appropriate that in 1965 the Senate passed S. 1310, the National Museum Act now awaiting action in the House, to accentuate Smithsonian programs of cooperation with other museums in this country and elsewhere. The program of the bicentennial celebration was a distinguished one, emphasizing the unity of man's knowledge in a series of stimulating addresses by great scholars: Jerome S. Bruner, "The Perfectibility of Man's Intellect"; Herbert Butterfield, "History as the Organization of Man's Memory"; Sir Kenneth Clark, "Changing Values in the Arts"; Ian McTaggart Cowan, "Environment and Man—the Concept of Conservation"; G. Evelyn Hutchinson, "The Problem of Being a Meter and a Half Long"; Arthur Koestler, "Biology and Mental Evolution—An Exercise in Analogy"; Claude Levi-Strauss, "Anthropology: Its Achievements and Future"; Lewis Mumford, "Technics and the Nature of Man"; J. Robert Oppenheimer, "Physics and Man's Understanding"; Stephen E. Toulmin, "Intellectual Values and the Future"; and Fred L. Whipple, "Knowledge and Understanding of the Physical Universe as Determinants of Man's Progress." I was delighted to learn that the Smithsonian will arrange for the publication of these brilliant papers under the title "Knowledge and Man," an apt allusion of the Institution's mandate "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

Our esteemed colleague, Senator SALTONSTALL, presided at the culminating evening of events as a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithson Medal for outstanding contributions in the fields of science, technology, history, and art was presented to the Royal Society of London by Mr. Robert V. Fleming, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Regents. In a final address before the nearly 2,000 guests from 90 countries, Prof. S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian, restated the basic purposes of museums and of the Institution in the advancement of knowledge. As chairman of the Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution I have found this a most challenging statement on its prospects and purposes. Consequently I ask that the portion of Mr. Ripley's remarks which will appear as his introductory essay to the Smithsonian Bicentennial Papers, "Knowledge and Man," appear in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I wish to add how fortunate I consider both the United States and the Smithsonian Institution to have Dillon Ripley as its Secretary. Mr. Ripley's creative ability, imagination, and flair have all gone to the enlarging of the Smithsonian Institution and through it, of our Nation.

Moreover, the pageantry and success of the 200th anniversary of the birth of James Smithson sprang in great part from the broad thinking of Mr. Ripley.

EXHIBIT 1

MAN AND KNOWLEDGE

(Introductory essay by S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution)

Man's knowledge has doubled in a lifetime. The complexity of the universe, of human history, of man's self-awareness severely tests our comprehension. Since the American people accepted the bequest of James Smithson the Institution bearing his name has been devoted to the advancement of knowledge and its appreciation by the citizen. On the 200th anniversary of his birth a number of the world's leading scholars gathered to appraise man's knowledge. In the papers collected in this volume, they trace certain classic themes which are the foundations of knowledge.

They see man's knowledge as a vast fabric telling us as much about those who have created it as about the objects of their thought. If the extent of this knowledge is the hallmark of our civilization, the use to be made of it may be its crisis. Through understanding how knowledge has progressed and what it tells us of ourselves we may better know how it should be used to advance man's welfare.

The laws of the physical universe are somewhat parallel to those of the world of life and even to those of the realm of the mind. The evaluation not simply of organisms but of galaxies, of cultures, and of individual personalities reveals some similarities. James Smithson enjoined the Institution to make these unities manifest: "the particle and the planet are subject to the same laws, and what is learned of the one will be known of the other." The essays in this volume bespeak a unity of knowledge which provides an avenue to understanding for us all, scientist and layman alike.

We must also understand how knowledge has its origin in experience and the course of thought. The scientist does not simply amass new bits of information like beads of glass on a string. The progress of knowledge depends upon a profound interplay among

the structure of theory, the accumulation of evidence, and intuition. It is tempting always to dress out the same old notions with slight alterations responding to fashion more than fact. But we must avoid becoming fixed in our ideas. The best remedy for sterility of that kind is to seek nature in the fact, to employ all the senses in a direct encounter with the problem. This is one of the principal values of museums.

OBJECTS—A KEY TO UNDERSTANDING

Many interesting problems are associated with the study of objects and the managing of collections. It is paradoxical that most people would rather read about objects than study them directly. In our system of education today we assume that one can be educated only by learning to read at least, if not to write. The use of the eyes, perhaps only on the television screen, becomes all important. The assumption that truth can be learned, second hand, by reading what someone else has written, is all-pervasive. It dominates our thinking. It forms the foundation stone of our system of education. There is obviously a confusion here which becomes glossed over and unrecognized in our educational training. Rules may be printed out and learned by rote, but truth cannot be printed out, and probably not absorbed just by reading, and certainly not learned by rote.

In this pattern, this set of assumptions, the objects are left off, and those institutions which harbor collections of objects, as libraries do books, get left out also. It is a common postulate that a man can be educated to take his place in much of our professional society without ever being in contact with objects in the sense of learning through them or by working with them. Is there something degrading about objects? Does the touching of them and working with them imply something less than what an educated man, above a scholar would do? Does it imply a kind of illiteracy? If there is such an assumption, if someone who touches objects, who works with his hands is considered to be a common laborer, then there is something wrong. In our American way of life we tend to assume that everyone must now go to college in order to be happy, to have equal opportunity, to fit our ideal of the finished, the complete citizen. But if by going to college one grows away from objects, becomes a reader and not a toucher, then there is something wrong, for there are many roads to insight and to the discovery of truths. What is clear is that in the pursuit of knowledge no road should be left unexplored.

Indeed there is a talent in being illiterate. For some people insight and learning derive from the sense of touch. Objects are documents to be read as much as the printed page. Many people and all children need to touch objects, assess their texture, not simply read about them, in order to learn. St. Peter's toe, a dinosaur bone in a museum, a live cow, a piece of sculpture, a stone ax; we have a need for objects. Through them the truth is seeking us out.

EDUCATION—CLUES TO INTEREST

I sometimes think that people shrink from the attempt to learn from objects because one must give a little of oneself to the objects in the process. To study objects is more demanding than to read about them. To use them one must give a little, and how few of us like to do that. It is safer, less obligating merely to read and learn by rote. One can always put the book away and forget about it after the exam. How many social anthropologists or social psychologists of today have ever felt the tools, the axes and the masks about which Malinowski and Boas wrote? Most of our social theory today is based on the written observations of anthropologists of a generation or two ago who worked with primitives, groups of isolated, illiterate yet enormously skilled people beautifully adapted to their way of life, people who had the talent to be illiterate, to work by touch, speech, and hearing to create complex and sophisticated cultures. I suspect that many of the best anthropologists of today have an almost unconscious yearning to touch objects, to hear chants, to savor cultures by not reading about them. They should come and look at the objects and the texts in the collections at least. These exist while many of the cultures that gave them life have vanished from the scene. These can be felt and touched and, if you give a little, they can be made to teach something. There are certainly new truths to be derived from them. They are the testament, the original revelation. Colleges and universities should understand this and should include museum objects as a vital part of higher education. Objects are not an end in themselves to be fondled and cherished, but purely verbal people may come to mistake the representation of reality for reality itself.

The educator of today should recognize museum objects as much more than the static byproducts of past ages. The object may be approached again and again from differing points of view and be made to yield clues to biological or even cultural environments and their formative influences. These evidences may be transposed dynamically into systems which may be models for discerning future trends in environmental change, human ecology, and cultural patterns. The object is a catalyst enabling the museum to perform intellectual synthesis, helping to meet a need, particularly urgent in our time, to translate history into prediction.

Curiously enough scholars do not always wish either to give of themselves, or to search out and grasp the nettle of truth. Many scholars both in science and in the arts and humanities wish to join only the previously initiated few, an already chosen circle. Let a segment of art or a segment of science become fashionable, a discovery be made, and a welter of scholars will run, a veritable gaggle of geese, in search of crumbs of an original truth which can be mulled over, fragmented, and attenuated until they become mere chaff, echoes of a past act of discovery. There are graduate students today who are going into various abstract phases of molecular biology because it is safe, because they can get a job, and possibly a retirement plan, by refining segments of past discoveries, while the vast, unformed, incomprehensible truths of environmental biology elude us for lack of enough people willing to get their hands dirty.

In the field of art, history, and criticism the same can be true. Scholarship for scholarship's sake, too attenuated and refined, provoked Francis Taylor once to say, "The locust has flown away while we have been debating the morphology and iconography of his discarded shell."

It has been said over and over that now that our Federal Government has taken the decision to assault the massive problems of education in this country, it is up to the private foundations, who have in some instances pioneered, charted the way for present-day acceptance of this principle of Federal support, to pioneer anew. How can foundations help in the next stage, the stage that goes beyond providing an opportunity for education for everyone? The horse can be led to water but not made to drink. The equal opportunity is not enough.

People will not become educated unless they are interested, unless they have goals and a purpose, and, above all, interests. If the future for everyone is to include leisure, then objects come again onto the stage, interests, crafts, hobbies. Through the study of objects we can revive dormant skills and unconscious drives and urges that lie submerged in people as in what I have called the talent to be illiterate.

Furthermore we can study how best to interest people in things through programs and research in museums. Objects properly displayed and explained bring the visitor back time after time. Beyond this the visitor may enroll in classes to work behind the scenes with the materials themselves. We can study that elusive subliminal threshold of interest, of how to be interested in anything at all. For this the Smithsonian hopes to join hands with imaginative and pioneering foundations.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

If the Smithsonian Institution has a motto, aside from the enigmatic and Sibylline "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," it should be the pursuit of the unfashionable by the unconventional. This motto would not be unique. It should be shared by some of our greatest organizations devoted to basic research, the Rockefeller University and the Carnegie Institution to take two illustrious names also associated with original philanthropy. But in its history the Smithsonian has always tried to do only what for various reasons, other organizations or agencies were not doing, and to husband its resources of manpower toward the accomplishment of abstract and original study.

Let us hope that the venerableness of this institution does not require us to accept Brancusi's suggestive statement that "when we are no longer younger, we are already dead." To function we must not become set or rigid, but always receptive to new possibilities. To be creative in the arts or the sciences we must retain the direct apprehension of the environment, the external world. As Dubos has said, to retain this perception is the "surest approach to a true enlargement of human life." Let this indeed be our mission.

TRUTH IN LENDING

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I have just received from the House of Representatives of the State of Colorado their memorial asking the Congress of the United States to enact truth-in-lending.

This is a heartening development and I congratulate Representative Gerald Kopel, of Denver, and his associates and colleagues for their interest in this question of great importance to American consumers.

This is strong evidence of the growing support for congressional action on my truth-in-lending bill, S. 2275. President Johnson has called for the enactment of truth-in-lending legislation this year, and I think there is strong public support for his request. I ask unanimous consent that the covering letter from Representative Kopel and House Memorial No. 1003 of the Colorado House of Representatives be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and memorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Denver, Colo., January 13, 1966.

Hon. PAUL DOUGLAS,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The House of Representatives of the State of Colorado has this day passed unanimously a memorial to Congress requesting the enactment by Congress of truth-in-lending legislation. Its sponsorship constitutes 40 of the 65 elected members of our body.

It is our hope that, at long last, this will be the year when Congress will favorably pass this necessary bill restoring to consumers the right to make responsible decisions

in borrowing money, based upon full disclosure of interest rates.

Very truly yours,

GERALD KOPEL.

HOUSE MEMORIAL 1003

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact truth-in-lending legislation

Whereas short-term consumer debt in the United States is more than $83 billion; and

Whereas the total consumer and business debt in the United States of $819 billion is 2½ times greater than the Federal debt; and

Whereas the total interest paid by consumers just on short-term consumer debt is as large as the total interest paid out by taxpayers on the entire Federal debt of the United States; and

Whereas the price of credit is little understood by the consumer; and

Whereas the consumer can make no real comparison in the cost of credit unless he is able to translate credit charges into a uniform statement of true annual interest rates; and

Whereas since 1960, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS has sought enactment of a truth-in-lending bill which would require that charges incident to the extension of credit be stated at a true annual interest rate on the outstanding balance of the obligations; and

Whereas the Department of Defense of the United States, in a directive on personal commercial affairs, has required all lending institutions dealing with servicemen to provide full disclosure through truth in lending; and

Whereas the truth-in-lending bill, S. 2275, will aid the ethical and efficient lender or credit extender who wishes to be honest and accurate in disclosing the cost of credit but who can do so only at the peril of losing customers to competitors who would continue to disclose deceptively low credit prices; and

Whereas such legislation is essential to the maintenance of a competitive free enterprise system and would in no way interfere with the buyer-seller relationship: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 45th General Assembly of the State of Colorado: That this house of representatives hereby petitions the Members of the Congress of the United States to propose and enact legislation in the Congress for truth in lending; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, and Members of the Congress from the State of Colorado.

ALLEN DINES,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

EVELYN T. DAVIDSON,
Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN LATIN AMERICA

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the crisis in the Dominican Republic has highlighted once again the lack of understanding of Communist plans for expansion in the Western Hemisphere—a lack of which has already resulted in the transformation of Cuba into a base for hemispheric subversion.

Although the Communists are most explicit in stating their aims, and in launching programs to achieve them, many observers fail to believe that the Communists mean what they say, and many more are unaware of what these stated policies are.

In the winter issue of the Yale Review Dr. Josef Kalvoda has written a well-documented analytical article entitled "Communist Strategy in Latin America." Believing that Dr. Kalvoda has captured the essence of Communist tactics and approaches for the domination of the countries of Latin America, I wish to bring this article to the attention of my colleagues.

The Communist plans for the Western Hemisphere, Dr. Kalvoda points out, are part of the historical approach enunciated by Lenin in 1920 at the Second Congress of the Communist International. This involves attacking the West through its weakest link. Acting on the assumption that revolution in advanced industrial countries is hardly possible, the Communists have decided to concentrate upon the dependent and underdeveloped areas of the world, the weakest links in the free world.

Though Russian and Chinese Communists may disagree about the proper tactical way to bring about a Communist victory, the author believes that they do agree upon fundamentals. He notes that they both "point to the need to capture political power as the first task of any Communist Party operating outside the peace zone of the world socialist system."

In different countries they follow different policies. In Cuba the revolution was nationalistic, middle class, and anti-Batista in its appearance. But in Argentina "it is the proletariat, and not the petty bourgeoisie, that heads all important decisive actions." Dr. Kalvoda states that "Communist exploitation of the Dominican revolt has been obvious to all open-minded people" and he discusses the case of Luis Acosta, the Cuban Communist, who "led the mobs that seized Santo Domingo's radio and television stations."

The Communists, in short, identify themselves with the needs and hopes and dreams of the people. They do not tell the people that what they will get under communism is not land, or peace, or bread, but simply tyranny, exploitation and the total deprivation of human dignity.

The author concludes:

The continuation of our present inaction cannot lead to anything but disaster * * *. The combined political and military threat from Cuba to us and to our Latin American neighbors must be dealt with soon.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be inserted in the RECORD.

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

COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN LATIN AMERICA

(By Josef Kalvoda)

The success of communism in Cuba has been a powerful stimulus to all Communists in this hemisphere, and even a casual reader of newspapers is aware of the increase in their activities throughout Latin America. Their ability to deceive the Catholic Church in Cuba, the Government of the United States, and the majority of this country's mass media during the process of their capture of power in Cuba testifies to the efficiency of their propaganda and the gullibility of their audience, and success has only strengthened their belief in the invincibility of their movement and the inevitability of its victory.

The announced aim of Latin American Communists is first the encirclement of the United States and then the takeover of the whole hemisphere. To accomplish this aim they have adopted the strategy and tactics of revolution originally devised by Lenin and refined by his successors. Lenin's plan of attacking imperialism through its "weakest link," as presented to the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, has been the theoretical foundation of Communist-led revolutions in Latin America, as it has been in Asia and Africa. According to this plan, since the possibility of revolution in advanced industrial countries is very slight, the Communists will have to concentrate on gaining ground and spreading their power in the dependent and underdeveloped areas on this globe, the "weakest links" in the imperial system. And since Latin America, according to the Communists, is the weakest link in the United States' system, it is obviously the first target in this hemisphere.

The technique Lenin outlined for subverting the weakest links is known as "boring from within," that is, capturing control of already existing organizations. Wherever in colonial, former colonial, or semicolonial areas, there are native political movements aimed at political and/or economic emancipation from foreign domination and at internal social revolution, especially if those movements have the support of several classes and social groups, the Communists are to exploit them. They are to identify themselves with the genuine aspirations of the native peoples, advance the already stated aims of the nationalist movements, add to them their minimum program, assume their leadership, and finally capture them completely from the inside. Although communism is internationalist by definition, its supporters in the "weakest link" countries will often have to conceal their true identity, masquerade as nationalist, work with the masses, capture leadership in indigenous movements, and make their followers believe that they, and the program advanced by them, represent the true aspirations of the people.

Lenin's 1920 plan for capturing the weakest links by boring from within was supplemented the following year by a plan for temporary collaboration between the Communists and the local nationalist revolutionaries and leaders of some political parties. This broadened the basis for Communist action by introducing the tactics of the united front—cooperation between the Communist Party and some other leftwing parties. Now, in addition to infiltrating the native nationalistic movements, the local Communist Parties were advised to adopt the tactics of the united front from above (collaboration with the leaders of non-Communist organizations on a temporary basis) and/or the united front from below (appealing to rank-and-file members of such organizations over the heads of their leaders). Lenin realized that the Communists could not win power alone, that they would have to seek the collaboration of sympathizers, fellow travelers, and the so-called innocents if they were to succeed. He knew that Marxist doctrine had so little appeal for the masses that the Communists would have to stimulate nationalism and foment social discontent through broader political coalitions under such names as people's front, united front, or front of national liberation in order to capture political power. In Latin America the united front strategy was tried in the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's with little success, but in the 1950's and 1960's it was revived, with the results we now observe.

While the appeal of nationalism was being used to capture the middle class, social dis-

content was to be cultivated among the peasants, by far the largest segment of the population in dependent and semidependent areas. Lenin had learned in Russia that without the support of the peasantry, or at least its neutralization, the forces of revolution had no chance to succeed.

The theoretical aspects of the Latin American revolution and its fundamental strategy have been worked out by the theoreticians and leaders of the international Communist movement. They may argue among themselves, they may disagree on tactics to be used in specific instances (on what shovel they should use to bury us), but they agree on fundamentals. They all point to the need to capture political power as the first task of any Communist Party operating outside the peace zone of the world socialist system, and to a remarkable extent they agree on how it is to be done. Those who argue that the Russian and Chinese positions are opposed should compare the following two quotations, the first from the "Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" of 1961 and the second from the Chinese "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" of 1963:

"(1) The success of the struggle which the working class wages for the victory of the revolution will depend on how well the working class and its party master the use of all forms of struggle—peaceful and nonpeaceful, parliamentary and extraparliamentary—and how well they are prepared for any swift and sudden replacement of one form of struggle by another form of struggle. * * * But whatever the form in which the transition from capitalism to socialism is effected, that transition can come about only through revolution.

"(2) In order to lead the proletariat and working people in revolution, Marxist-Leninist Parties must master all forms of struggle and be able to substitute one form for another quickly as the conditions of struggle change. The vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle—peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary struggle and mass struggle, etc. It is wrong to refuse to use parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can and should be used."

There is nothing new in these passages; the Marxist-Leninists have always put great emphasis on the need to master all forms of struggle and to change tactics to suit different situations. In Latin America these have ranged from the ostensibly parliamentary tactics of the Chilean Communist Party to the terrorism of the Venezuelan Party. These differences in methods and approaches have stimulated rather than hampered Communist subversion in the Western Hemisphere, as a recent Organization of American States report notes.

In Latin America the "fronts of national liberation" have been advised to exploit such local issues as poverty, the peasants' hunger for land, labor-management frictions, racial strife, and rifts among their opponents. Soviet Pravda of April 12, 1965 ("Latin America in the Struggle for Democracy and Social Progress" by S. Mikhail and A. Shegovsky), advised Latin American comrades in countries ruled by military juntas or caudillos to embrace "the defense of democratic liberties." There "the struggle for the restoration of civil liberties and working people's social rights is assuming enormous importance. It is precisely these forms of action that make it possible to draw into the liberation movement those strata of the population that are still infected with anti-Communist bias and that nurture illusions about U.S. imperialism." Consequently, in the Latin American dictatorships, Communist leaders pose as champions of those very individual rights and civil liberties that they would themselves suppress as bourgeois concepts and practices if they came to power.

The article recommends somewhat different forms of struggle in "such countries as Mexico, Chile, and Argentina, where the activities of Communists and other progressive parties and organizations are legal." There the Marxist-Leninists should attempt to organize broad popular movements by propagandizing for the "extension of democracy" and by advocating social change, economic independence, and an "independent foreign policy line." An "independent foreign policy" will lead to establishing diplomatic relations with Communist-dominated countries, and that will in turn open new avenues for the native Communist Parties. Then diplomatic representatives of Communist countries can supply native parties with funds and advice under the protection of diplomatic immunity. Furthermore, as the article states, establishing diplomatic relations has a powerful propaganda effect, and it points out that when relations were established between Chile and the Soviet Union there were "great repercussions throughout Latin America" which led "many politicians * * * to reexamine their opinions regarding the expansion of contacts with the Socialist countries."

Flexibility of approach is again emphasized by Ernesto Judisi in his article "The Revolutionary Process in Latin America: Some Lessons of the Liberation Movement in Argentina" in the World Marxist Review, February 1965. "Although some features coincide, the revolutionary process in the different countries is developing in diverse forms," Judisi observes. "The Marxist-Leninist parties in the different countries, familiar with the conditions and possibilities, are best qualified to define the ways and means of the revolutionary struggle in their countries." Though the Communist victory in Cuba "opened new revolutionary vistas to the countries of Latin America," it would be unwise to try to repeat exactly the same methods in some other country. In Cuba the revolution was nationalistic (middle class) and anti-Batista in its appearance, but in Argentina "it is the proletariat, and not the petty bourgeoisie, that heads all important and decisive actions." And yet he warns against "the error of idealizing the working class," though the national bourgeoisie "should act as an ally of the proletariat in the struggle, and not vice versa."

"Creative Marxism manifests itself in an increasing variety of ways and forms, without seeing any one of them as an absolute," Judisi argues; what is unchanging in the revolutionary goal—the defeat of "United States imperialism on the continent." The revolutionaries must rely "on the forces which are most progressive and which carry the most weight at the given moment and in the given circumstances"; they must work with the forces "actually available at the moment." In Argentina the party has expressed its program in the slogan: "For mass action to win power." A mass "unity movement" of the working class, spearheaded by the Communists, is to be organized against the "alliance of the reactionary military and civil forces." Slogans of "working class unity" are expected to take in some of the members and leaders (on the "middle-level") of the Socialist, Peronist, and Christian Democratic parties. Since the army is "rent by group rivalries" and is in "a process of political and ideological differentiation," the Communist leaders must try to divide their enemies and unite their friends among the military. The "different forms" of unity to be pursued, depending on the concrete situation, include "broad democratic unity," "a national liberation front," and "unity of the left." The leaders of the party decide, at any given time, what particular form of "unity" is to be pursued in order to achieve maximum possible gains.

In spite of their emphasis on flexibility, Communist writers on Latin America often tell their readers that the Marxist-Leninist professionals in this hemisphere must follow "the Cuban way to revolution." That way can be briefly summarized. In the 1950's an elite of professional revolutionaries was trained at various institutions in Mexico, in the Soviet Union, and, most important, at the Graduate School of Latin American Studies in Prague. There they were indoctrinated in Communist ideology and mastered the Marxist-Leninist techniques of guerrilla and psychological warfare. They learned how to manipulate the peasants and bourgeoisie through slogans and catchwords and libel of their enemies, how to disguise their Communist affiliations, and how to handle firearms, drugs, and poison. Although they maintained close connections with the international Communist movement (the revolution was largely financed from the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City), the revolutionaries for some time denied that they were Communists, and thereby deceived much of the public in Cuba and elsewhere. In the United States, for example, most newspapers reported favorably on Castro's guerrilla activities and on his new government when he first came to power early in 1959, and a well-known politician hailed Castro as a liberator in "the best Simon Bolivar tradition."

The revolutionaries denied that they had any plan to establish a Communist regime, to imitate the Soviet Union, or to collectivize agriculture; on the contrary they approved of private initiative and small businessmen. All that they wanted to accomplish was an end to their country's dependence on foreign capital and to its domination by "big business and large landowners." In all this they were simply following the steps of the approved strategy for a Communist revolution: first, the domination of a nationalist front by the Communist Party, operating either openly or in disguise; then, a period of "national liberation" marked by purely temporary cooperation with non-Communist groups; and finally, avowed communism. The tactics change, but the objective remains the same.

Hugo Barrios Klee, a prominent Guatemalan Communist, discussed the specific meaning of the "Cuban way to socialism" in the March 1964 issue of the World Marxist Review under the title "The Revolutionary Situation and the Liberation Struggle of the People of Guatemala." He hails the Cuban revolution as a turning point in the history of Latin America, not only because its success has demonstrated the existence of a revolutionary potential there that had often been doubted, but also because it has actually advanced the revolutionary situation in the Western Hemisphere. Cuba has become a political and military stronghold from which Communist subversion and guerrilla activities are directed and financed, and Latin America is now one of the main fronts of the struggle against the United States. All Latin American revolutionaries must learn from the Cuban experience, but "loyalty to the spirit of the Cuban revolution does not mean mechanically copying its experience. Taking the Cuban way does not necessarily mean following the exact pattern of events in that island." Latin America has changed since 1959, and the non-Communists have learned from the Communist victory in Cuba; "the imperialists * * * are hardly likely to repeat their fatal mistakes of 1956–59. They have intensified their resistance and they are doing everything to consolidate their forces."

To overcome the obstacle represented by the stiffening of the non-Communist resistance, Barrios Klee calls for more maturity, more unity, and greater efficiency in the revolutionary leadership. "Larger masses of people must be drawn into the movement," he argues; it must "enlist the support of those sections which did not play

a big part in the revolutionary struggle in Cuba (for example, progressives in the armed forces)." To take "the Cuban way," he says, now means to "use flexible and diverse forms and methods of struggle."

That the Latin American Communists have learned the lesson of flexibility in tactics was demonstrated in the Dominican revolution of April 1965. The revolt started when Donald Reid Cabral, the Dominican leader, sent his army chief of staff to fire two officers for graft and corruption on April 24. The chief of staff was instead arrested by rebels whose proclaimed goal was to overthrow the triumvirate headed by Reid Cabral and to return Juan Bosch as President of the republic. In planning the revolution the Communists cooperated with other parties, including the Dominican Revolutionary party (on whose ticket former President Juan Bosch had been elected). Air Force Brig. Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin, instead of crushing what was then a small mutiny of some Communist and non-Communist military men, tried to act as a mediator between the rebels and Reid Cabral, whom he advised to resign to avoid bloodshed. While the rebels were pushing for a full-scale civil war, General Wessin offered to set up a military junta with them, if they would agree to holding a free election within 90 days. They refused.

The Communists helped to trigger an "indigenous" revolution and tried to control it. They took advantage of the temporary power vacuum when the main forces of law and order, the army and the police, were divided and thereby nullified. They helped to create chaos by distributing between five and ten thousand guns to civilians, including toughs who organized street mobs, gangs of thieves and juvenile delinquents (the most prominent gangs being the Turbas and the Tigers), to local Communists, and to some from abroad. Now they were able to take over the rebellion completely. The street gangs looted, raped, and killed at their pleasure. A Cuban Communist, Luis Acosta, led the mobs that seized Santo Domingo's radio and television stations at the beginning of the revolt, and radio broadcasts encouraged the liquidation of Cuban refugees in the Dominican Republic. There were mass executions of prisoners, and some members of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, realizing where their cooperation with the Communists had left them, took asylum in the embassies of other Latin American countries. At this stage, when the Communist-led rebels claimed complete victory, the President of the United States responded to the urgent request of Ambassador Bennet, and sent U.S. troops into the Dominican Republic, in order to save the lives of American citizens and others, and to "prevent another Communist state in this hemisphere."

Communist exploitation of the Dominican revolt has been obvious to all open-minded people; however, a small but vocal minority has been sharply critical of the President's action. In order to make even the most skeptical aware of the need to keep the Inter-American peacekeeping force which has replaced the U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic, our Government is planning to issue a white paper which would fully document the danger posed by the uprising to the entire Western Hemisphere. It is hoped that the present (October 1965) interim government in the Dominican Republic will be succeeded by a new one issuing from a free election held under the auspices of the Organization of American States.

In his discussion of the liberation struggle in Guatemala, Barrios Klee emphasizes the need to draw the peasants and the Indians in the Guatemalan mountains into the struggle. He acknowledges that the Indians are backward, without political consciousness, and, like the peasants, under the influence of the church, but he hints at a Communist plan to change all this by the use of terror: when the guerrillas attack the government forces they will make the peasants and Indians support them; if the peasants and Indians refuse, punitive expeditions will be organized against them. In the ensuing struggle they will be caught in the middle; some will be neutralized, others will join the Communists. The plan recalls the activities of Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia during the last 2 years of the Second World War and the terrorism of the Vietcong in South Vietnam. And in fact waves of terrorism have moved already across Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, and Guatemala several times during the past few years.

The lack of mass support among the working classes, peasants, and Indians (to continue Barrios Klee's analysis) is to be compensated for by increased support elsewhere. Some segments of the armed forces can be enlisted in the Communist cause, as recent events in the Dominican Republic demonstrate, and the need for broad alliances with other political parties is reemphasized. (In Guatemala the United Resistance Front is such a coalition, and the Insurrectionary Armed Forces represent its military arm.) Some urban middle-class people who "are petty bourgeois in thinking and in status" can nevertheless, "as the Cuban experience has shown, play an important revolutionary role in Latin America."

That Barrios Klee is correct in assessing the role of the urban middle class is shown by the part they have played in the Communist attempts to seize power in Brazil, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic. The Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) in Venezuela consist largely of middle class students, and even of some extreme rightwing army officers. In Argentina the Communists are wooing the Peronists to join them in a united front against the present government, although, from what is being printed in the World Marxist Review, it would seem that their overtures to the Peronists have not been very successful so far. The strenuous attempt to woo the middle class demonstrates once more that in Latin America, as elsewhere, the Communists do not speak for the working class and peasants, that they do not have any considerable support among them, and that their claim that they are the vanguard of those classes, interested only in improving their economic and social condition, is a myth.

Realizing the weakness of the Communist movement in Latin America, Barrios Klee calls for the exploitation of any rift among its opponents, though he also points out that there may be chances for peaceful transfer of power and ownership of the basic means of production, so that in some countries the revolution may be nonviolent, and cites Chile as a case in point. In other countries the early stages of the revolutionary process can be accomplished peacefully, through the development and use of legal forms of mass struggle. He is probably thinking of British Guiana and the situation as it existed in Brazil before the changes of April 1964. But, in the end, "guerrilla warfare * * * will be the main form of struggle everywhere." However varied the preliminary forms of struggle, when the day arrives, when conditions are ripe, violence must be resorted to. "We believe that these conditions exist in Guatemala," Barrios Klee declares. "Our party therefore supports the guerrilla actions now taking place in the country."

The policy of peaceful coexistence wins Barrios Klee's support because it promotes rifts among the non-Communists; some will take it at its face value and denounce those who do not as warmongers, imperialists, and enemies of peace. So as a result the non-Communist governments will have trouble in devising and following consistent policies vis-a-vis the Communists, making it all the easier for them to switch from one form of struggle to another, to maintain initiative, to get the support of temporary allies, and generally to deceive their opponents.

Since the publication of Barrios Klee's article the Communists have suffered two serious setbacks in Latin America, the first in Brazil early in April 1964, and the second in Chile early in September 1964, when the front supported by the local Communists lost the presidential election, after high hopes of a peaceful takeover had been built up.

Early in 1964 the Secretary General of the Brazilian Communist Party, Luis Carlos Prestes, boasted that the Communist-dominated front in Brazil "has already won"; yet a few months later the front was defeated, and President Joao Goulart and his brother-in-law Leonel Brizola fled to neighboring Uruguay. This setback only convinced the Brazilian Communists that they must analyze their mistakes and learn from them, as the following account by Lucas Romao ("Democratic and National Struggle in Brazil and Its Perspectives") in the World Marxist Review (February 1965) shows:

"The United Front gravely underestimated the strength of its adversary; it was taken for granted that the military forces supporting Goulart far outnumbered those of the conspirators. The masses had not been prepared for the emergency which necessitated the use of all forms of struggle, including armed action. Like the other forces in the United Front, the Communist Party was taken by surprise. We realized that we had underestimated the enemy's strength in claiming that we could foil any plot. This was due, on the one hand, to the illusions we entertained concerning army support for the government. On the other hand, we did not perceive that a political realinement was taking place in the enemy's camp, that he was winning over people associated with the Front.

"The party as a whole, with the leadership in particular, living in illusions, placed too much reliance on the command of the army, in its ability to resist the coup. In point of fact, we failed to understand that victory over the enemy depended largely on mass action throughout the country.

"The program approved by the Fifth Congress of our party in September 1960, and defined more precisely in the documents circulated in preparation for the Sixth Congress (it was postponed in view of the new situation), noted the possibility of the peaceful and non-peaceful path of development of the Brazilian revolution, or armed action being one of the possible forms of the struggle. However, we tend to see the peaceful way as the sole way and consequently, failed to prepare for the eventuality of armed struggle."

The Brazilian Communists, in short, were overconfident; they overestimated their own strength, underestimated the strength of the democratic forces opposed to them, and relied too exclusively on Khrushchev's then-prevalent theory that the revolution could be peaceful. The failure of a gradual and non-violent strategy in Brazil has forced the Communists there and elsewhere to re-evaluate that theory.

The new line of the Brazilian Communist Party was defined in the political notes adopted by the executive committee in October 1964. It holds that the present government of Brazil "has deeply wounded the feelings of the nation, whose anger is mounting." Communists therefore should exploit a wide variety of economic and social problems, ranging from the overproduction of coffee, the rising cost of living, and inflation, to payment of debts to the United States, as well as the differences of opinion and frictions, especially on the election issue, among the present political leaders of the country.

"At the moment," the communique says, the aim is "to set up a national and democratic government. In present conditions this means a struggle to overthrow the dictatorship, to oust those who seized power through a military coup. The main form of the struggle will be determined by the course of events, but irrespective of what this form will be, the overthrow of the dictatorship can be secured only through mass actions by the working people. Our efforts are concentrated on setting up a united front of struggle against the dictatorship, a front which will include all the forces opposed to reaction. The steps already taken in this direction are encouraging."

The plan of action provides for "combining legal with illegal activity," for "working in the various mass organizations," for "struggle in all its forms," and for "correctly combining the different forms, peaceful and nonpeaceful" in order to oust the present government and prepare for a Marxist-Leninist revolution.

In Ecuador the Communists make a similar appeal for "the overthrow of the military dictatorship by joint action of the forces destined to unite in a national-liberation front," and for establishing a "people's government" which would include "Communists, Socialists, and representatives of the mass following of the Liberal Party, the Federation of Popular Forces, etc." (See Ricardo Ortiz Gonzales' "Ecuador: Realities and Prospects," World Marxist Review, March 1965.) This "democratic revolutionary" government in which the "leading role would be played by the alliance of the workers and peasants," must adopt and carry out "the program adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of Ecuador" of which the basic demands are as follows: "democratic agrarian reform; industrialization; strengthening the state sector in the economy; a tax reform removing the bulk of the tax burden from the shoulders of the working people; nationalization of enterprises owned by foreign monopolies as well as of foreign trade; democracy; consistent extension of trade union rights; raising the material and cultural level of the working people; an independent foreign policy; peaceful settlement of the Peru-Ecuador frontier problem; and the establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries, and primarily with the Socialist countries."

Ricardo Ortiz Gonzales pays lip service to a "nonviolent revolution," but he hastens to add that there are serious "limitations on peaceful and legal forms of struggle." Therefore, he asserts, "the decisive role will be played by armed struggle."

A year ago there appeared to be a split among the various Communist parties in Latin America. Some leaned toward the Chinese, others toward the Russians, and for a time dissensions plagued the whole movement. Now the crisis seems to be over for the present. The new theme of all the parties, the theme adopted by the representatives of the revolutionary parties in all the Latin American countries at a conference held at the end of 1964, is "militant unity of Latin American Communists."

The communiqué of the conference, issued on January 19, 1965, calls for "promoting the solidarity movement with Cuba" through restoration of diplomatic and trade relations, ending the economic blockade, and exposure of "the preparations for renewed aggression and the counterrevolutionary activities of CIA agents." The communiqué further calls for "active struggle against the ruling oligarchies and military juntas in many Latin American countries"; for the organization and support, on a continental scale, of solidarity movements with the liberation fronts in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, and Haiti; for the independence of Puerto Rico and British Guiana, the autonomy of Martinique, Guadalupe, and French Guiana, and the like.

To promote the unity of the world Communist movement, the communiqué advocates calling bilateral and multilateral meetings and conferences. It condemns factional activities and insists on immediate discontinuation of public polemics; and it calls for adoption of a "common point of view" expressing the "common ideology, Marxism-Leninism."

The inauguration of a new phase in the Latin American revolution was hailed by Fidel Castro, who predicted new victories and boasted that the guerrillas operating in Colombia, Venezuela, and Guatemala could not be crushed by the armies of those countries. There is a considerable body of evidence that many of the Communist activities in this hemisphere are directed and financed from Havana. In September 1964, Undersecretary of State Thomas C. Mann observed that "between April and August 1960, the Castro regime promoted armed invasions of Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. They all were failures. Then, under the guidance of his Soviet and Chinese Communist masters, Castro's campaign to destroy representative democracy in the hemisphere became more sophisticated and more dangerous. The new tactic was to overthrow free governments by subversion from within, using and expanding on the Communist apparatus which already existed in every country."

On June 11, 1965, Castro's sister, Juanita, described her brother before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee as a man obsessed with a desire to destroy the United States, and detailed what she called "Castro-Communist plans for intervention and aggression in the hemisphere." Earlier, in February 1963, a U.S. Senate Committee published a report entitled "Cuba as a Base for Subversion in America" which discussed at length some of the evidence concerning the role of Cuba in Communist plans for conquest of this hemisphere. The report called attention to the numerous training centers that have been established in Cuba to prepare workers for the "wars of national liberation" in Latin America. In the 1950's most of the professional revolutionaries in Latin America were trained in Prague and the Soviet Union, but in the 1960's Cuba has become a center for training activists of all kinds: leaders, orators, and propagandists; experts in sabotage, espionage, and terrorism in all its forms; specialists in the handling of arms and radio shipment, in guerrilla warfare, etc. Recruitment is carried on preferably among students, teachers.

A TRIBUTE TO SARGENT SHRIVER

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as do many who warmly support the war on poverty, I welcome the news that its outstanding director, Sargent Shriver, will be devoting full time to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In the year and a half that Mr. Shriver has been directing both the Peace Corps and the war on poverty, it has been abundantly clear that his record has been replete with tremendous accomplishments.

In a nation once apathetic to the plight of the invisible poor, today poverty is an issue in every city and hamlet of this Nation. The new hopes and new programs for the betterment of our society have infused the thinking of concerned citizens and leaders everywhere with a new and positive vigor. Most encouraging is that among the most constructive voices are the voices of the poor themselves, already taking their places in the society once closed to them.

It is hard to imagine that any man could have done more to provide leadership for this immense and inspiring effort.

Yet we know that Sargent Shriver will do more. He knows no other measure of effort than the fullest and expects as much from all who serve the Nation.

It is fitting, I believe, that I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Shriver for his brilliant leadership of the Peace Corps and to assure him that we who passed the law that declared war on poverty remain committed to its aims and confident in the leadership he is providing.

OF MOVERS AND IMMOBILISTS: ADDRESS OF WILLIAM L. MARBURY, PRESIDENT, MARYLAND BAR ASSOCIATION

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I should like to bring to the attention of the Senate an address by a distinguished president of the Maryland bar, William L. Marbury, that merits consideration by lawyers everywhere.

William Marbury has long been a leader of his profession in Baltimore and throughout the State of Maryland. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should be the one to remind the organized bar that the law is a profession, and that by virtue of this fact lawyers owe special service to society and its needs.

Too often in recent years lawyers have failed to heed the "basic tenet of their profession that a lawyer is bound never to refuse to represent a litigant or a person charged with crime because his cause is an unpopular one." Too often and in too many communities the bar has failed to grapple effectively with the problem of caring for those who need legal services but who cannot afford to pay for them. Too often the legal profession at best has observed a society in the midst of inexorable change from the sidelines, or at worst has allied itself with the forces of resistance, when instead it should have been helping to direct the forces of ferment into constructive channels.

Mr. Marbury's incisive and persuasive address points out that lawyers can no longer afford to be "immobilists" in an age of dynamic change, but must measure up to their obligation to society by moving with and ahead of the social forces that are characteristic of the day in which we live.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the excellent address of William L. Marbury, delivered before the Maryland State Bar Association on Friday, January 14, 1966.

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

[From the Daily Record (Baltimore), Jan. 15, 1966]

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM L. MARBURY, PRESIDENT, MARYLAND STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, DELIVERED AT THE WINTER MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 14, 1966, AT THE SHERATON-BELVEDERE HOTEL

Forty years ago, the late Joseph C. France, thought by many to be the wisest Maryland lawyer of his generation, opened an address

to this body by remarking that the speaker on such an occasion as this was expected to deliver a sermon. Now, as my children are ready to testify, my qualifications for such a task are very limited. Certainly they are not as good as those of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose lawyer-son complained that his father was forever inculcating virtue in dull terms. Justice Holmes went on to wonder whether if he had a son, he, in his turn, would yield to the temptation to twaddle.

It seems that even among the Olympians the inculcation of virtue has its pitfalls. But Mr. France has pointed out the path of duty in plain terms and whatever the risks, I propose to follow it. Since, then, I must preach a sermon, I have looked around for a text. I have found it in the opening paragraphs of an essay called "A Note on Progress" written by a Jesuit priest, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Here is the passage.

"The conflict dates from the day when one man, flying in the face of appearance, perceived that the forces of nature are no more unalterably fixed in their orbits than the stars themselves, but that their serene arrangement around us depicts the flow of a tremendous tide—the day on which a first voice rang out, crying to mankind peacefully slumbering on the raft of Earth, 'We are moving. We are going forward.' * * *

"It is a pleasant and dramatic spectacle, that of mankind divided to its very depths into two irrevocably opposed camps—one looking toward the horizon and proclaiming with all its new-found faith, 'We are moving', and the other, without shifting its position, obstinately maintaining, 'Nothing changes. We are not moving at all.'

"These latter, the 'immobilists,' though they lack passion (immobility has never inspired anyone with enthusiasm), have commonsense on their side, habit of thought, inertia, pessimism and also, to some extent, morality and religion. Nothing, they argue, appears to have changed since man began to hand down the memory of the past, not the undulations of the earth, or the forms of life, or the genius of man or even his goodness. Thus far practical experimentation has failed to modify the fundamental characteristics of even the most humble plant. Human suffering, vice and war, although they may momentarily abate, recur from age to age with an increasing virulence. Even the striving after progress contributes to the sum of evil; to effect change is to undermine the painfully established traditional order whereby the distress of living creatures was reduced to a minimum. What innovator has not retapped the springs of blood and tears? For the sake of human tranquility, in the name of fact, and in defense of the sacred established order, the immobilists forbid the earth to move. Nothing changes, they say, or can change. The raft must drift purposelessly on a shoreless sea.

"But the other half of mankind, startled by the lookout's cry, has left the huddle where the rest of the crew sit with their heads together telling time-honored tales. Gazing out over the dark sea they study for themselves the lapping of waters along the hull of the craft that bears them, breathe the scents borne to them on the breeze, gaze at the shadows cast from pole to pole by a changeless eternity. And for these all things, while remaining separately the same—the ripple of water, the scent of the air, the lights in the sky—become linked together and acquire a new sense; the fixed and random universe is seen to move.

"No one who has seen this vision can be restrained from guarding and proclaiming it. To testify to my faith in it, and to show reasons, is my purpose here."

Now that is a long text, and you may very well be wondering what possible relevance it can have to any concern of Maryland lawyers. Surely after the able addresses of my immediate predecessors in this office, we need no Galileo to tell us that the law moves. A glance at any weekly summary of important opinions will demonstrate that precedents are falling at a pace which has left the profession not exactly dumbfounded—for there has been no lack of vocal response—but certainly astonished. When Mr. France spoke, it was still possible for a lawyer to think of the law, and particularly of constitutional law, as a more or less fixed body of knowledge, the precise contours of which could be traced from a study of history and of the decided cases. To this generation such an idea is simply quaint.

But as members of the organized bar, our concern is not merely with the law. Granted that everyone recognizes that the law is moving in response to a changing society, the question remains whether the legal profession is moving with it; or are we, like Chardin's immobilists, still sleeping on our raft as it drifts into evermore troubled waters? That the waters are indeed getting pretty rough, stirred as they are by powerful currents and blasts of almost hurricane force, is known to everyone in this room. My purpose today is to consider whether we as a profession are meeting the responsibilities which new social forces have thrust upon us.

But first perhaps I should specify just what I mean by new social forces. That is not easy, since they take many forms, but all of them seem to me to spring from a single source, which may be identified as a drive toward equalization. All over the world inequalities between man and man, and I might add, between men and women, which used to be thought inevitable are now considered to be intolerable. In his recently published book, "The Garden and the Wilderness," Prof. Mark DeWolfe Howe, who holds the Charles Warren Chair in American Legal History at the Harvard Law School, has said that "when the constitutional history of the central decades of this century comes to be written, I feel quite sure that the key to an understanding of its turbulence will be the concept of equality." This seems to me to be a wise observation which has validity well beyond the confines of American constitutional law. Is it not the concept of equality which is responsible for the ferment in Asia and Africa, and which is producing new nations every few months? Is it not the concept of equality which has made elitism a naughty word among professional educators?

Winston Churchill once remarked that the days of his youth were splendid times—for the rich and well born. Some of us can still remember the golden years before World War I when the family of a successful lawyer could live a life which is today quite unattainable even by the very rich. Those days have gone, of course, and while we may suffer from occasional nostalgia, I think that most of us would agree with Sir Winston that the world is better for their passing. Few are those who would now undo the great reforms of the Roosevelt era, and if we may judge by the performance of the most recent Congress, the tremendous tide of equalization is still moving in. The goals of an awakened sense of social responsibility have not yet been met.

One of the most dramatic aspects of this worldwide drive for equality is the fundamental readjustment which is taking place all over this country in the relations between the white majority and the Negro minority. This is a subject which since the earliest days of our Nation has been the concern of lawyers. The basic contradiction between the institution of slavery and the principles announced in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights troubled lawyers from Thomas Jefferson to Abraham Lincoln. Maryland lawyers were among the first to seek a solution. Believing that separation of the races was impossible so long as they lived in the same country, the leaders of the Maryland bar took an important role in organizing the American Colonization Society, whose purpose was to free slaves, and transport them back to Africa. This effort was, on the whole, a failure, although it left a permanent mark in the establishment of the Republic of Liberia. Even more futile and far more drastic in its consequences was the attempt of a Maryland lawyer to lay this problem to rest in the Dred Scott case. The tale has been told with clarity and understanding by our fellow member, Mr. Walker Lewis, in his recently published biography of Chief Justice Taney, which every Maryland lawyer will want to read.

The Emancipation Proclamation, followed shortly thereafter by the end of the Civil War, ushered in a period of reconstruction which a new generation of historians is even now engaged in reappraising. There were those led by Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who believed that the only proper course was to rebuild our society on the premise that—to paraphrase Mr. Justice Harlan's famous remark in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*—our society should be colorblind. Their views did not prevail, and the struggle ended with a compromise which substituted for slavery a system of subordination in which Negroes were obliged to accept the inferior role. There was no real physical separation of the races—indeed this was believed to be entirely impracticable—and Negroes and whites continued to live and work together in intimate daily contact. True, there came to be various forms of segregation for special purposes, mostly as a result of laws passed in the last years of the 19th century, but these discriminations were tokens which symbolized the inferior status of the Negro. Sitting in separate seats in railroad cars, like the universal use of first names in addressing Negroes, regardless of their age or occupation, and a myriad other similar distinctions which were so familiar to us that we tended to be unconscious of them, were all intended to and for years did serve to keep the Negro "in his place."

The researches of historians have now made it clear that under the influence of Booker T. Washington the Negro leadership accepted this compromise very reluctantly and only as a temporary expedient necessary to the transition from slavery to full equality. By the end of World War I the compromise had begun to wear thin, and Adolf Hitler, with his odious persecutions based on racial theories, completely undermined it. Promptly at the end of World War II, the issues which were thought to have been settled when the period of Reconstruction came to an end, were reopened.

Ironically enough, during the same period, largely as the result of the development of transportation by motor vehicle, our great urban centers began to be transformed into inner cities inhabited almost exclusively by Negroes, surrounded by white suburbs. For the first time in our history, physical separation of the races became a reality, and the word "ghetto" has become as familiar to us as it was to the people of Eastern Europe prior to World War II. Whereas before the Negro played a definite, if inferior, role in our society, he has now begun to feel excluded from it altogether except when the policeman or the tax collector or the draft official arrives at his door.

The consequences of this alienation have been analyzed in hundreds of publications ranging from studies by learned sociologists to novels, poems, and plays by writers of varying talents. To the student of the history of Israel, there is little that is novel in this outpouring of words. The feelings of those who find themselves among the alien corn, have not changed very much. What those feelings are, the occurrences in the Watts district of Los Angeles of last summer make all too clear.

That this great movement has had its effect on the law, no one can dispute. I will not bore you with a recital of the extensive changes in substantive and procedural law which are directly traceable to this source. What I am concerned with here is its significance to lawyers as a profession. Let me try to explain what I mean. You would agree, I am sure, that a basic tenet of our profession is that a lawyer is bound never to refuse to represent a litigant or person charged with crime because his cause is an unpopular one. Many of you have taken or at least heard the oath administered to lawyers when they are admitted to practice before the U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland. I often think that if the medical profession has its Hippocratic oath, we, too, can exhibit an equally lofty statement of our professional commitment. You remember what it says:

"You will never reject from any consideration personal to yourself the cause of the defenseless or oppressed."

Do we as a profession live up to what we so nobly profess? In June of 1963, at the suggestion of President Kennedy, a committee of lawyers was organized to protect the civil rights of all citizens. This committee was made up of leaders of the bar from all parts of the Nation, many of whom had been presidents of the American Bar Association or of their State bar associations. Under the direction of that committee a careful study was made to determine whether those involved in cases where civil rights are affected are receiving adequate representation from the legal profession. The answer, unfortunately, was all too clear. The lawyer who is willing to handle a civil rights case is a rare bird indeed.

At the meeting of the American Bar Association held in Miami last August, the chairman of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law announced the opening of a law office in Jackson, Miss., to provide legal representation in civil rights cases. That office has a small permanent staff made up of lawyers from California, New York City, and Washington, D.C. In addition, it has the benefit of the volunteer services of young lawyers with trial experience who are associated with leading law firms throughout the country and who are willing to serve a 1 month hitch in Mississippi.

Now the significant thing about this is that at the Miami meeting the President of the Mississippi Bar Association gave his warm endorsement to this work of the Lawyer's Committee and requested all members of the bar of his State to give these visiting lawyers all possible assistance. The reason for this receptive attitude on the part of the Mississippi bar may be found in a report recently made by the Civil Rights Commission after extensive investigation made by its staff in Mississippi and after considering voluminous testimony given at a public hearing held in that State. Dean Griswold, who was a member of that Commission, summarized that report in the flat statement that "there are no white lawyers in Mississippi who will ordinarily handle a civil rights case." So you see that these young lawyers from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and Washington—and I am happy to be able to add, from Baltimore—are upholding the honor of the profession, which has been sadly tarnished by the failure of the local bar to live up to its responsibilities.

Now, of course, the condition described by Dean Griswold is not confined to the State of Mississippi. There is, for example, the case of the young Harvard Law School student, Fred Wallace, who decided to spend his vacation in Farmville, Va., clerking for the only Negro lawyer in that community. Farmville is in Prince Edward County, which, as you all know, closed its public schools rather than to comply with the mandate of the Supreme Court in *Brown* v. *The Board of Education.* The result was that the Negro children of the county went without schooling for many years, during which their rights were continuously in litigation. As the result, feelings in the community were aroused to a high pitch. One morning the student was sent by his employer to deliver a message to the local judge at the county courthouse. As he approached the judge's chambers a deputy sheriff who did not know him demanded to know what he was doing there. After what appears to have been a display of bad manners on both sides, a physical struggle took place, in the course of which the sheriff's finger was trodden upon and began to bleed. The student was promptly taken into custody and charged with assault with intent to kill.

The dean of the Harvard Law School, believing, not without reason, that the student needed to be represented by a white lawyer of standing in the community, appealed to the head of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights, who, in turn, asked the dean of the Law School of the University of Virginia for suggestions. Dean Ribble recommended that George Allen of Richmond be asked to take the case. Mr. Allen, who was then nearly 80 years of age, is a native of Prince Edward County and is well known at that bar, although his principal reputation has been made in Richmond, where he has gained recognition as the leading plaintiff's lawyer in the State and has been elected to the presidency of the Richmond Bar Association. He agreed to represent the student, but said that he would need the services of a member of the Prince Edward bar as local counsel. He then approached every lawyer at that bar and was turned down by every single one of them, although many of them had been associated with him in civil cases. He promptly filed a motion to transfer the case to the Federal court and gave as one of his principal grounds the fact that no Prince Edward County lawyer could be found who was willing to appear for the defendant. Incidentally, the American College of Trial Lawyers gave its first award for fearless advocacy to George Allen at a meeting held in Miami last August, which was attended by the then president of the American Bar Association, himself a Richmond lawyer.

Let me give you one more illustration. You all remember the libel suit in which the police commissioner of Montgomery, Ala., obtained a verdict of $500,000 against the New York Times, which was later set aside in the Supreme Court of the United States. Perhaps you may have wondered why the Times chose to be represented in the courts of Alabama by a New York lawyer. The answer is that New York counsel attempted unsuccessfully to obtain the services of an Alabama lawyer who was qualified to handle a case of that character. Not one of the leading law firms in that State would handle the case. This is not so surprising when you remember that a well-known Alabama lawyer was subsequently thrown out of one of the most prominent law firms in the State because he agreed to defend an FBI informer in a suit for counsel fees brought for services rendered in a case in which the agent had been indicted and had given evidence against his codefendants charged with the murder of a civil rights worker.

You may say that all these examples have arisen south of the Potomac, but I wonder whether, given a similar state of public feeling, the Maryland lawyer would be willing to pay the penalty which might be exacted from him were he to perform his plain professional duty. I do not remember that reputable members of this bar were anxious to represent persons charged with violations of the Smith Act or other allegedly communistic activities. The truth of the matter is that there are few John Adams' among us. You will recall that he gained an undying reputation for courage by defending the British soldiers who were indicted for murder as the result of the Boston Massacre. Nowadays a Massachusetts lawyer can gain a national reputation for courage simply by representing high-ranking Army officers before a congressional committee.

Here, it seems to me, is an area into which the profession should move. We simply cannot expect the individual lawyer to run the risk of social and professional ostracism which the representation of the unpopular cause sometimes brings, and we should be ashamed to try to cover the situation up by mouthing sanctimonious hypocrisies. I suggest, therefore, that it is the responsibility of each local bar association to take the necessary steps to make competent counsel available in such cases. We can, of course, help by contributing funds and services to volunteer organizations such as the Lawyers' Committee, but it seems to me that what is needed is recognition that this is a responsibility of the organized bar. When cases arise such as that which recently occurred in this State when young William Murray spent a substantial time in jail under a clearly illegal sentence, it should not have been necessary for the president of your association to act on his own initiative in order to make sure that this young man had adequate representation. We are all deeply indebted to Mr. Charles Evans, Mr. Joseph Kaplan, and Mr. Leonard Kerpelman for upholding the honor of the Maryland bar, but would it not have been better if a committee of the bar association had been in existence, charged with responsibility for making legal services available under such circumstances?

Let me turn to another aspect of the subject. One very unpleasant consequence of the increasing alienation of the Negro community is the hostility of a great many decent Negro citizens toward the police. This is a very serious situation which has been recently exacerbated by the destructive tactics of some who hold positions of leadership in the Negro community, aided and abetted, I regret to say, by naive journalists who have only a superficial knowledge of the problem. I do not for a moment suggest that there has not been fault on the side of the police, although it is certain that the charges of police brutality are exaggerated. This whole subject has received patient and sympathetic study by a representative biracial committee which recommended a plan designed to assure the community that charges against the police are not simply swept under the rug. The complaint evaluation board is not and was never intended to be a review board, holding hearings and usurping the disciplinary responsibilities of the police commissioner. Its single responsibility is to evaluate complaints, make sure that they are thoroughly investigated, and to see that charges are brought when they should be brought. That is as far as the board was intended to go and, in my opinion, as far as it can go without impairing the morale of a police force already buffeted by unprecedented problems of law enforcement arising out of the social forces which I have attempted to identify.

Another result of the drive for equalization is the proposal of the Office of Economic Opportunity to contribute to the support of approved plans developed by local organizations for the purpose of making legal services available to the poor. This is not the time or place to evaluate the Great Society or to compare it with its competitors. However, the upheaval in the Baltimore City Bar Association which followed upon the recent approval by the executive committee of that association of a plan for expanding the work of the Legal Aid Bureau with the aid of Federal funds, has focused attention once more on the age-old problem of legal

assistance to the poor. Every lawyer recognizes an obligation to furnish legal services to those who cannot pay for it, but the time has long since gone by when the volunteer service of the individual lawyer can pretend to meet the needs of the poor for legal advice and assistance. We can, of course, contribute to the Community Chest and thus indirectly to the Legal Aid Bureau, but the plain fact is that if every dollar contributed by lawyers to the Community Chest were channeled into the work of the Legal Aid Bureau, it would still not have nearly enough money to fill the need. If we are honest with ourselves, we are bound to admit that lawyers have fallen far behind the medical profession in caring for those who cannot afford to pay for their services. Yet I venture to say that most lawyers welcomed the passage by Congress of the recent program of federally financed medical care. Certainly, very few lawyers would withhold governmental assistance to hospitals caring for the indigent sick. In the words of Chief Judge Markell, to do so would be to return to the "bow and arrow days."

Now I realize that there were at that meeting some who found fault with details of the plan which had been approved by the executive committee and others who felt that it should have been more thoroughly considered and explained before its approval. With them I have no quarrel, but unless I misunderstand the tenor of some of the speeches which were made on that occasion, objections were voiced to the plan which were far more deep seated. Not only was there hostility to the use of tax money for any such purpose, but there was a suggestion that any organization engaged in supplying legal aid to the poor by making available the services of a staff of paid lawyers was in some way violating the canons of professional ethics and destroying the profession. I could not help wondering whether the speakers had ever heard of the legal aid bureau or had any knowledge of what it has been doing for the past 54 years.

But I do not propose here to argue the merits of any particular plan. The president of the Bar Association of Baltimore City has appointed a committee to study that matter, and I am pleased to note that one of its ex officio members is also the chairman of the committee on legal services of this association. What I do suggest is that the time has come for Maryland lawyers to face facts. It is an undeniable fact that there are thousands of men and women in this State who need the services of lawyers in civil matters and who do not get them. Most of them know no lawyers and, indeed, fear them. Their contacts with the law have not been such as to make them think of the lawyer as the protector of the poor and oppressed.

Recently I got a call from a man who used to work as a servant in my mother's household. He had bought a household appliance on the installment plan under a contract which guaranteed service for a specified period. The appliance had proven to be defective, but repeated letters and telephone calls asking that the defects be corrected had been ignored. Finally he had declined to make payment of an installment and sent a letter explaining his reasons. In reply he had received a form letter advising him that unless the payment was made by a specified time, the appliance would be repossessed. I asked one of the young men in my office to look into the matter. He made one telephone call. The next day I got a call from my client telling me that the appliance had been fixed and expressing his profound gratitude. I replied that I had done very little—just had one of my associates put in a telephone call. "Mr. Marbury," he replied, "It all depends on who does the calling."

That man knew a lawyer to whom he could turn for help. There are thousands like him who do not and who, in like circumstances, would simply have suffered the loss of the payments which had been made on the appliance. I do not doubt that there are dozens of such occurrences every day throughout this State. Each one is a bit of social dynamite, ready to explode at the first spark. Do we not, as a profession, owe a duty to grapple effectively with this problem? Or shall we continue to sit with our heads together, telling time-honored tales about our glorious profession and its readiness to serve the poor?

You will have noted that I have said nothing about the representation of the indigent charged with crime. Frankly, I think that subject has not lacked for discussion. One trouble is that we do not yet fully understand the rules of the game. There is still a heated controversy as to when counsel must be supplied to persons who are taken into custody by the police. Law journals are filled with polemics on this subject, and the interchange of letters between the Attorney General of the United States and the Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia has become notorious. No doubt in time the full scope of the Gideon and Escobedo cases will be determined and the profession will by necessity have to devise methods for discharging the responsibilities which will automatically fall upon the bar. In the meantime, let us take care that vested interests are not established which it will be difficult to eliminate. All history teaches us that the dispensation of patronage is a corrupting force which should as far as possible be removed from the hands of those who should be above politics. It is a cause of genuine concern that our judges now have the responsibility for dispensing such large sums in the way of compensation to compel appointed to represent indigent defendants in criminal cases. Here again it seems to me that the profession should be moving to devise adequate methods for coping with a new situation. We have made a beginning in that direction, but much remains to be done.

There is one aspect of equality which all admit should be the special concern of lawyers. The phrase "equal justice under law" expresses the highest aspiration of our profession. It is trite to say that to be equal, justice must be speedy. Everyone knows that the financially weak litigant is obviously the greater sufferer from the law's proverbial delays. It is now 60 years since a young Nebraska lawyer named Roscoe Pound startled the members of the American Bar Association by delivering an address entitled "The Principal Causes for the Public Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice." One of the striking points which he made was that in England and Wales 95 judges seemed able to handle with expedition and in a manner which set a standard for the rest of the world, all the civil litigation, both at the nisi prius and appellate level, generated by a nation of 32 million people. I cannot help wondering what Dean Pound would think if he could be told that in Maryland, in 1966, 69 judges are getting far behind in the attempt to handle the litigation of a community of roughly 3½ million people. Not more than one-third of the time of our judges is devoted to criminal cases, and to offset this it must be remembered that the English courts handled bankruptcy, admiralty, and probate matters, as well as much other civil litigation which under our system lands in the Federal courts. So the comparison is pretty devastating.

You all know what the trouble is. Our judicial system is based on geographical divisions which make no sense today; the best available men are too often not appointed to the bench; we continue to admit to our bar men and women who have not had the necessary preparation in order to enable them to assume the responsibilities of a member of our profession, many of them graduates of schools which are not even accredited; we do not afford practicing lawyers the opportunities for continuing legal education which they need to keep abreast of a constantly changing legal system; we have failed to make full use of tested methods of expediting the disposition of cases, such as the pretrial conference; our criminal law is a patchwork full of pitfalls for the unwary.

I could go on with this dreary rehearsal, but you have heard it all before. Indeed, it is only fair to say that lawyers as a profession and, in particular, Maryland lawyers, are struggling with these problems. The committee on judicial administration of this association has begun the task of modernizing our judicial system. Our committee on judicial selection is striving to improve the method by which our judges are chosen. Our committee on legal education is trying to raise the standards for admission to the bar and to eliminate the law schools which are not accredited. Our committee on continuing legal education is trying to make available to lawyers throughout the State the opportunity to keep abreast of developments in the law. I might add that we have an active section on criminal law which is taking an important part in a general revision of our criminal statutes which has been undertaken by the Governor's committee headed by former Chief Judge Brune. Furthermore, your board of governors has recently approved the appointment of a committee representing not only this association but also each of the county bar associations who will, it is hoped, render active assistance to the Governor's commission on a constitutional convention.

In these respects, at least, we are moving forward, although, we must admit, not as rapidly or as effectively as might be hoped. The truth of the matter is that until the Maryland Bar Association speaks with the voice of the entire profession, we shall not do what we could and should be doing even in this specialized field of our own expertise. But that is another story, about which you will be hearing a good deal during the coming months from a committee on unifying the bar, whose members have just been appointed by the board of governors.

You will think, perhaps, that I am asking too much of the organized bar to expect it to cope with all of these problems. I should point out to you, however, that the young lawyers who are now coming to the bar seem far more eager than their elders to undertake these tasks. Apparently our law schools are inculcating in their students a greater sense of social responsibility than was common a generation or more ago. These young men and women, taking them by and large, are anxious to come to grips with the vexing problems which I have attempted to present to you today. We, their elders, can, of course, surrender the task into their hands, but I suggest that our leadership is still needed, or else for what have we lived so long?

GENERAL REEVES DISCUSSES THE STATE OF ALASKA'S DEFENSES

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, last Monday Lt. Gen. Raymond J. Reeves, commander in chief of the Alaskan command, gave an important address at the weekly meeting of the Anchorage Chamber of Commerce. In it he outlined the present status and posture of the Alaskan command and its relation to global events.

As one who has long been concerned that Alaska defenses be kept adequate, which for many years they were not, General Reeves' analysis of the present

situation is of interest to all who realize the importance of Alaska to our national defense.

It is still true, despite changing fashion of weaponry, and the growing importance of missiles, that Alaska's strategic importance to the United States is undiminished. Fronting as it does on the Arctic, both an airways and submarine seaways of growing importance in our time; lying as Alaska does within naked eye's view of Soviet Siberia, it is no less true today than it was when 31 years ago Billy Mitchell uttered his great wisdom that:

Alaska is the most important place in the world for aircraft, and he who holds Alaska, holds the world.

General Reeves' estimate is that Alaska defenses have not been substantially diminished despite the recent withdrawal of the 317th Fighter Squadron—against which Senator BARTLETT and I felt obligated to protest—but are being kept up to full adequacy.

I ask unanimous consent that General Reeves' speech be included at the close of my remarks.

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

ADDRESS BY LT. GEN. RAYMOND J. REEVES, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, ALASKA, AT MEETING OF ANCHORAGE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, JANUARY 17, 1966

Since my assignment, 2½ years ago as commander in chief, Alaska, I have had one of the most challenging and, to me, one of the most rewarding assignments in the Armed Forces. It is a vital and interesting position, for not only is it a joint command, where all services are welded into a unified force which forms the first line of defense for North America from a potential attack over the Arctic, but also, because it is located in a new State, still challenging to all newcomers. My purpose today is to discuss the current world situation, some of the recent changes in our Armed Forces, including those in Alaska, and lastly, to give you some of my thoughts as to the future posture of the military in the 49th State.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties now being experienced within the Communist camp, as long as political and economic instability continue to exist in so many countries around the world, both the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Communists will find many low-cost opportunities to carry on their assault on freedom and to spread the subversive Communist doctrine. This, despite a most significant development—the public airing of the dispute between the rulers of the Soviet Union and Communist China. It is now quite clear that we are witnessing more than a disagreement on methods and strategy in opposing a free world. The bitterness with which the dispute has been waged has already led to almost total cessation of economic cooperation and has split the worldwide Communist movement. This dispute between the Soviet Union and Communist China is not over the ultimate objective, but rather, how it is to be achieved and who is to control the worldwide Communist movement. Nevertheless, both the Soviet Union and Communist China have shown that they are as eager as ever to create difficulties for the free world, whenever and wherever they can do so safely. Expansionism is so deeply engrained in Communist doctrine that it would be naive for us to expect any Communist leadership to repudiate it. Thus, we can expect, in spite of their differences, continued pressure from the Communist camp.

Limitation of this expansionism during the past few years is due in large measure, I believe, to the systematic buildup since 1961 in our own military strength, both for general and for limited war. Some examples of this buildup are:

1. Emplacement of over 850 land based intercontinental ballistic missiles plus deployment of over 450 Polaris missiles on Polaris submarines.

2. A 300-percent increase in nuclear warheads, with a 200-percent increase in total available megatonnage.

3. A 100-percent increase in airlift capability with a 600-percent increase programed by 1970.

4. A 50-percent increase in tactical fighter squadrons.

5. An 800-percent increase in special forces.

6. A 45-percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.

Not only has our strategic retaliatory force maintained its predominance vis-a-vis the Communist bloc, namely the capability of destroying the target systems of both the Soviet Union and Communist China, even if we were to absorb an initial surprise attack, but also, our capability to respond to a wide variety of less serious situations has improved markedly.

With this picture in mind, let us look at some of the changes and developments in our Armed Forces. As you know, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara recently announced details on 149 actions to consolidate, reduce, or discontinue Department of Defense activities in the United States and overseas. When completed, these actions will produce annual savings of $410 million and reduce personnel by 53,000 without decreasing military effectiveness or limiting our current and future activities in southeast Asia.

These actions produce a great deal of publicity, especially in those areas where entire installations are closed. Unfortunately, many people get the impression that we are decreasing our national defense posture. Actually, these consolidations and base closures are taking place while the capability of our Armed Forces is being altered and improved so as to be increasingly responsive to the situation in Vietnam while at the same time maintaining our worldwide strategic posture. For example, the basic bomber force of the Strategic Air Command is being adjusted while maintaining the required strategic nuclear capability. This is being accomplished by phasing out of the inventory all B–47's, the older models of the B–52 bombers and all B–58 bombers—well after our strategic nuclear capability of intercontinental ballistic missiles and Polaris missiles has been increased to offset the phasedown of bombers. In this connection, there are no plans to eliminate bombers completely from the strategic forces. Secretary McNamara recently announced plans to build a new force of bombers to take the place of those being phased out of our strategic bomber force. The new bomber, to be known as the FB–111, will have twice the speed and a comparable range to the early model B–52. The FB–111 will be a modified version of the F–111, a tactical fighter bomber now being developed for both the Air Force and the Navy. Authorization for the $1.75 billion program will be sought from Congress as part of the Defense Department's request early in 1966 in order to attain an operational capability in 1968. At the same time, the strength of the Army is being increased by 1 division, making a total of 17, plus activating 3 brigades, a large number of helicopter companies and other supporting units. This will increase the Army's strength by about 235,000.

Some 30,000 additional military personnel are being provided for the Marine Corps to augument existing units such as helicopter squadrons, and communication, engineer, and military police battalions.

The increased tempo of attack carrier operations and the intensified coastal patrol off Vietnam require a small increase in the number of active ships in the Navy, as well as an increase in the manning of the ships deployed to that area. Therefore, some 36,500 additional personnel are being added to the Navy.

Additional bombing sorties, and more tactical fighter and troop carrier squadrons will be supported with an increase in Air Force strength of about 40,000.

These technological adjustments and force increases will provide a better balanced posture by expanding the variety of military options available to our policy makers. We have to be able to deal rapidly and effectively with threats to our security, not only at the level of all-out war, but also at levels of limited war and guerrilla action. We must be prepared for contingencies involving conventional or nuclear weapons or both.

I would like now to summarize for you the changes which have or will take place in the Alaskan Command. Some of these changes are the result of technological changes and are generally long-range in character. Others are more directly related to the situation in South Vietnam, and therefore, are more temporary in nature. In each case, I shall try to give you a feel for the impact on the Alaskan Command as well as any follow-on changes which may result.

As announced in the Department of Defense consolidation and reduction program, the 317th Fighter Squadron at Elmendorf Air Force Base is programed to be deactivated by July 1, 1967. The program also will return the land of the inactive Naval installations at Attu and Dutch Harbor to the State of Alaska. I am sure you are as proud of the record of the 317th as we are. It is the only unit which has twice won the coveted Hughes Trophy for outstanding performance. The 317th has F–102 aircraft assigned and has had F–106 aircraft assigned to it from the continental United States.

Prior to the deactivation of the 317th, we plan to receive a more sophisticated weapon system here in Alaska. This capability will be provided by a rotational squadron of F–4C Phantom jet fighters. These advanced multi-capable aircraft will be under my operational command while in Alaska. By rotating these aircraft, the Air Force will benefit greatly through the training of large numbers of aircrews in the Arctic and sub-Arctic environment.

Further, we will still have the two NIKE Hercules battalions of the U.S. Army, Alaska to defend the Anchorage and Fairbanks areas against air attacks.

In addition to the scheduled phaseout of the 317th Fighter Squadron, there are other program changes.

One of these changes involves the F–4C Fighter Squadron which was assigned to the Alaskan Command, on a rotational basis, last September.

Because of the increasing scope of U.S. Air Force worldwide commitments, the 389th Tactical Fighter Squadron of the F–4C Phantom II jets was not replaced immediately after its rotation from Alaska in December. As in the past, Alaskan air defenses will be maintained in the immediate future by the F–102 Delta Darts of the 317th Fighter Interceptor Squadron, augmented by supersonic F–106 Delta Daggers on rotation from the Air Defense Command, and the Army's Nike-Hercules battalions.

Another change involves the Strategic Air Command B–47 unit at Elmendorf. As has been previously announced, all B–47's of SAC will be phased out by July 1, 1966. The SAC unit at Elmendorf is included in that phaseout and it has already redeployed its aircraft. These are actions primarily affecting the Air Force. Current programs for the Army and Navy components in Alaska provide for

a continuation of almost the same overall strength levels we have today.

Alcom is also assisting the effort in Vietnam by supporting the Military Airlift Command (formerly MATS) program of supplying Pacific bases by airlift. As I have previously announced, this program is now underway and will accelerate sharply this year. At present, there are over 30 C–141's, as well as 150 other cargo aircraft utilizing Elmendorf each month en route to and from southeast Asia. By June 1967 there will be more than 810 C–141 landings at Elmendorf each month. The total capability to support military operations in the Pacific area by Alcom, via airlift through Elmendorf Air Force Base, must be assured if we are to retain this very large and important mission. This requires, among other things, a continuous and reliable petroleum resupply system. In our opinion, this can best be accomplished through construction of a pipeline from Whittier to Anchorage.

I think it will be helpful to take a look at some of the economic aspects of the Department of Defense. For over a decade, the Department of Defense has absorbed half of every dollar paid in taxes, and Defense's inventory of real estate and equipment is worth over $150 billion. There are also millions of Americans working for industry in jobs directly related to the needs of national defense and even minor changes in the spending policies of the Department can have profound effects on the whole American economy.

What we will spend for our national security in the fiscal year ending next July exceeds, by several billion, the total sales of the country's 10 largest corporations. I think it is quite clear that this country can afford these tremendous sums, which are the price of national security and that, in fact, we could afford to spend more, if that were judged necessary. Whatever the cost of freedom, we can pay the price, but, this does not justify ineffective defense spending or waste. Some of the changes I have discussed are the result of this continuing emphasis on economy even during the current buildup.

To bring this picture a little closer to home, I would like to review for you some of the economic aspects of the Alaskan Command. We have a very large military investment in Alaska with a total of over $2 billion in just the real property and in-place equipment and supply items necessary to support our forces. One of the most significant features is our average annual expenditure in Alaska. Expenditures on civilian payrolls, supply purchases, and maintenance contracts average $137.5 million annually. Adding the money spent on military payrolls, troop subsistence and new construction, results in the military here spending $290 million a year for its operations—most of which is spent within Alaska and is certainly a significant factor in Alaskan economy. We do not foresee any big change in the overall military investment and annual expenditure in Alaska because from a military point of view, Alaska possesses several outstanding assets:

First, while Alaska is U.S. soil and a State of the Union, nevertheless, it is, strategically speaking, an overseas area. However, since it is a State, we are not subject to the many international restrictions which complicate our operations in other overseas areas. Further, the military force here does not contribute to the gold flow problem as in some overseas areas.

Second, Alaska has a favorable strategic geographical location. This is shown graphically by the increased use by civil airlines of the polar air routes and the increase in activity at Elmendorf resulting from the buildup in southeast Asia. The movement of more military personnel and cargo through Alaska is taking place because the air route distance from the continental United States to southeast Asia, via Elmendorf Air Force Base, is shorter than the air routes from the continental United States to southeast Asia over the mid-Pacific.

Third, the accommodations and training environment in Alaska for additional military forces are in being, and are outstanding. The developed military bases and facilities are ideal for handling and supporting tactical troops. The terrain, the climate, and the availability of the area make Alaska an extremely valuable training area, especially when compared with the problems of securing training areas in the more populated areas of the other States.

In short, I believe Alaska will continue to have substantial military forces stationed here.

Looking into the future, however, we see no great change in our contribution to the Alaskan economy, but we do foresee that our relative importance will decline because this State is just starting to grow. Your future delights us, and we will continue to play our part in your development, as well as in the national defense. In this connection, I would like to depart for a moment from purely military matters, and point out to you what has happened in other areas and how it relates to Alaska.

First, in predicting the future of Alaska, a globe of the earth is more useful than a crystal ball. By looking at a world globe we can see, at a glance, the population centers and we can locate those nations which are economically or politically important. Now, when surface ships were the main or sole source of transportation between these world centers, we know that points along the way grew and prospered.

Hawaii, for example, has prospered for many reasons, but primarily because it became an important crossroad in Pacific surface shipping. Hawaii had the good fortune to be ideally located on some of the main shipping routes. For the same reason, Hawaii has had the distinction of being the aerial crossroad of the South Pacific. The flow of passenger and cargo traffic by aircraft is steadily increasing, and it is already evident that Alaska's role as an intercontinental aerial crossroad is growing. More people are learning what Alaskans have known for a long time—that is—that Alaska lies on the great circle route from the continental United States to the Orient, as well as the transpolar route between Europe and the Orient. The flying weather in Alaska is good—far better than is generally known.

I have reported to you that at Elmendorf Air Force Base we will have, in the years just ahead, a substantial increase in military air traffic through to the Orient. This is a good sign for Alaska's growth. We have here a good location for intercontinental air travel and, I believe, that there is a clear opportunity to profit from Alaska's strategic location.

Speaking further of Alaska's growth potential, I believe tourism will increase at a rate which will astound the average Alaskan. A military transport which is capable of carrying almost 200,000 pounds is now being developed. It is conceivable that a commercial version could carry 500 to 550 passengers and be operating early in the 1970's.

A reduction in air fares could be expected. Commercial air travel is becoming less expensive with the development of more efficient aircraft. Tourism will get another boost from a change in the size of the market or the level of income throughout the world. In the United States, for example, the average family income which stood at $5,900 in 1962 is estimated at over $10,000 by 1975. There is a growing number of healthy, retired persons who make up a sizable portion of the tourist business. They are the most important tourist market. In the United States, for example, corporate retirement funds now total well over $44 billion and are rising sharply from year to year. This is only about one-third of the total of all pension or retirement reserves. There will be a corresponding growth in nontourist travel, that is, those who have a primary purpose other than pleasure of travel itself. Those will be the people who travel about the world on scientific, professional, educational, or governmental business. In 1964, Alaska had an influx of about 75,000 visitors and it has been estimated that by 1975, the annual visitor arrivals in Alaska should be about 450,000 and should be increasing by about 18 percent per year.

Going back to Hawaii, in 1954, there were about 75,000 visitors to Hawaii, or about the same as in Alaska in 1964. This year, 1966, arrivals in Hawaii will exceed 600,000 and in another 10 years, 1,500,000.

This tourism outlook alone should be most encouraging to Alaskans. I would like to point out that we send back to the other States more than 10,000 Alaskan ambassadors each year. These are the Alaskan servicemen who have completed a tour here, and who then go back to cities and homes throughout our country where stories of their experiences here create interest in Alaska. These men, who with their dependents, make up a force of perhaps 30,000 adult spokesmen, can do a great deal to dispel any misconceptions about Alaska. By your interests and actions, you, the people of Alaska, have evolved into an important segment of our Nation, and you are in the mainstream of the national effort, as well as the mainstream of worldwide jet travel. I have no doubt that this evolution will continue and that the future will bring increasing Alaskan support to our national objectives, as well as increasing prosperity to your forward-looking State.

In summary, we don't know what specific changes in weapons and strategy the future will bring, no one knows; I can only assure you that the Department of Defense and the Alaskan Command are committed to providing the best defense possible to meet the current world situation. Neither you nor I want to see unnecessary defense spending. We want the best defensive effort that our tax dollars will buy, and this can be accomplished only by continuing to change the defense posture to keep pace with the changing threat and the advancement of applied scientific and technical knowledge.

Some of these changes will involve reduction or elimination of some military units: others will require addition or strengthening of some military units. There will be more changes in the military programs in Alaska, and we have made classified presentations and recommendations to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, D.C., in line with our future requirements. Whatever changes are required, the Alaskan Command will continue to serve, not only as an important part in the defense of Alaska and North America, but also as friends and supporters of this great State.

WHY NOT WITHOUT FRANCE?

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, Prof. Elliot R. Goodman, of Brown University in Providence, R.I., has established a remarkable record when it comes to knowledge and experience in NATO affairs. He has served as a NATO research fellow and has written a great deal on the subject.

In addition, his services in helping me at NATO parliamentarian meetings that occurred in May and October of this past year were great.

He has written an excellent piece that appeared in the Providence Journal of January 16, 1966, offering various

thoughts on NATO. Since his article contains much wisdom and delineates many of the problems remarkably clear, I thought it might be of interest to my colleagues, and for this reason, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

WHY NOT WITHOUT FRANCE?

(By Elliot R. Goodman)

NATO is in transition.

The forthcoming spring meeting of NATO defense and foreign affairs ministers will presumably consider French proposals for reform of NATO. Reform, as viewed by President de Gaulle the disintegrator, is a euphemism for unscrambling the NATO omelet and reducing the present integrated and highly interdependent defense arrangements to the status of a classical 19th century military alliance.

If, as seems likely, the French will stand alone, what attitude should the other powers assume? Should they do all they can to appease General de Gaulle and therefore water down the effectiveness and credibility of their common commitments? Or should they note with regret French self-isolation, and reaffirm their common commitments?

Beyond that, should they actively plan for the French withdrawal from NATO when it becomes legally permissible in 1969, as General de Gaulle himself has threatened to do in his September 1965 press conference, should his allies not agree to remodel NATO according to his wishes? And could not this new NATO, though weakened by French absence, also mark the beginning of a rejuvenated and modernized structure which could prove to be a greatly strengthened, more effectively integrated entity, once it is freed of the drag of Gaullist obstructionism?

HARD CHOICES SOON

These are the types of alternative policies that are currently being pondered in the chanceries of the NATO nations, since sometime soon hard choices will have to be made. Contingency planning is already well underway in the State Department in the eventuality of a French withdrawal. This is as it should be, since realistically the fate of NATO, and with it the prospect for developing related cooperative arrangements among the advanced industrialized nations of the West, will depend on the character of American leadership. For the past year or more the Johnson administration has assumed an extremely passive attitude toward NATO affairs, but this policy of drift cannot, or at least should not, go on forever.

One element in making the proper decisions is the degree of public awareness of the crucial nature of the decisions involved, and the extent to which the articulate spokesmen who help formulate public opinion can be brought to bear upon these issues. It is in this connection that Dr. Timothy Stanley's searching examination of NATO can be extremely useful. ("NATO in Transition: The Future of the Atlantic Alliance," by Timothy W. Stanley. Praeger $7.50.)

While Stanley is speaking for himself, he nonetheless speaks with considerable authority, since he has long been associated with NATO policy planning in the Department of Defense and is currently working in the Paris NATO headquarters as an aid to U.S. NATO Ambassador Harlan Cleveland.

TRANSITION

The central theme of his book is that NATO should be viewed as living through a transitional stage, moving from the performance of its traditional task of preserving security in the Atlantic area to providing leadership in building a broader world order. In theory, the countries of the West have the capabilities for attacking the seemingly insoluble difficulties in fashioning a viable and stable world order. But this highly desirable objective calls for a political cohesiveness, if not a consensus, which presently does not exist. One might even question the possibility of NATO continuing its traditional security role in the Atlantic area, in the face of the Gaullist critique.

Dr. Stanley points out effectively that the consequences of a Gaullist policy would be a strategic divorce between the United States and Europe, and with it the end of NATO.

The "force de frappe" is not really designed to be used independently to attack Soviet cities, since this would be committing national suicide for France. Therefore, "the problem is one of France claiming to have an 'independent' trigger to the U.S. strategic forces," thereby making "the 'force de frappe' a potential 'detonator' for the overall strike forces of the alliance. Indeed, it is this blackmail potential against the United States which the French tacitly rely upon to compensate for the unilateral ineffectiveness of their national forces in relation to a major nuclear power like the Soviet Union."

A situation of mutual mistrust arises: General de Gaulle feels that vital decisions cannot be left in the hands of the President of the United States, while Washington feels that it might be in the intolerable position of being triggered into war by the "force de frappe."

"There is little doubt," Dr. Stanley continues, "that in a tense situation in which France threatened to employ its strategic nuclear forces independently, the United States would be compelled to disassociate itself—publicly and perhaps dramatically—even from such a close ally as France.

"Thus a vicious cycle could start in which the fact of national nuclear forces in Europe would lead the United States to reconsider the automaticity of its commitment to European defense. In practical terms, this could mean a phaseout of American power from the Continent and a withdrawal not only of nuclear forces, but of the six divisions which we now maintain there.

"That this would be disastrous for Europe as a whole is clear. The result would be a Europe inadequately defended by its own forces, unprotected by the United States, and subject to easy neutralization by the Soviet Union. The key objective of Soviet policy since the war—to drive a wedge between America and Europe—would thus have been achieved in spite of, not because of, its aggressive nature."

UNIFIED STRATEGY

The missile era, Dr. Stanley reasons, quite correctly, demands a unified strategic approach on an intercontinental scale. Even better, wherever possible, the defense of the West should be conceived as a global problem. The author provides a long and coherent account of the current U.S. defense doctrine of a flexible response and corresponding need for a set of centralized nuclear controls. As Dr. Stanley sums up the case: "In the last analysis, the least disadvantageous, and the only remotely rational use of strategic nuclear weapons is in a controlled and limited counterforce context."

The military logic for this doctrine is unimpeachable, but the problem is a political, not a military, one. Defense Secretary McNamara has been criticized frequently, and justly so, for treating the political realities of our European allies as impersonal digits to be fed into computers that decree cost effectiveness and provide the basis for an integrated strategic doctrine. If the United States and Europe were integrated politically, this approach would make sense, but lacking political integration this only incites a feeling of resentment and dependence in Europe, upon which General de Gaulle plays and ends up by creating a "unified" intercontinental strategic doctrine which is rejected in varying degrees in different European countries.

The author is aware of this problem when he says that "solutions must be found which can give France and Europe a reasonable sense of participation in decisions affecting the common destiny of the West." Without such an approach it will surely prove impossible to plan effectively in Atlantic, let alone global, terms. As Prof. David Calleo, of Yale has aptly observed in his recently published "Europe's Future," "The spread of Gaullist resentment in Europe can be contained, the Atlanticists believe, only by making the Alliance more federal, by creating those institutions and practices that will nourish mutual trust and common identity between Europe and its American leader. In short, if the Atlantic Alliance is to last, America's leadership must be less imperial and more federal."

MLF

Dr. Stanley's prescription for dealing Europe in on the joint management of the nuclear power of the Alliance is the famous, and now dead, multilateral force (MLF). The MLF died, in large measure, not because the plan was no good, but because it was not good enough. The effect of the MLF would have been to add in the present U.S. strategic nuclear superiority, while serving as a laboratory in allied nuclear collaboration. But it would not have solved the really crucial problem of allied sharing in political decisionmaking, so long as the United States retained its veto over the use of this force. In effect, the U.S. veto did not give "Europe a reasonable sense of participation in decisions affecting the common destiny of the West," however much it might have seemed to do so when judged from the Pentagon. In Professor Calleo's terms, the MLF was simply too imperial and not sufficiently federal.

It is true that the MLF concept contained a "European clause" which envisaged the abandonment of the U.S. veto under several circumstances, should Europe unite politically. This would have taken some years, under the best of circumstances, since the creation of a single European government able to control nuclear weapons was not likely to emerge overnight. And with Gaullist France injected into the picture, the subject became entirely academic. The "European clause" could not, therefore, be taken as a serious effort to solve the problem of nuclear sharing by abandoning the U.S. veto within the foreseeable future.

There was another possibility of attacking this problem at once, and it is curious and most regretful that neither the Pentagon nor the State Department gave this alternative serious consideration. The Dutch Parliamentarian, A. E. M. Duynstee carefully elaborated a plan in the Defense Committee of the Assembly of Western European Union which provided for the creation of a nuclear executive authority run by weighted majority voting, in which the United States would abandon its veto, but under conditions that would still protect vital American security interests. Here, at least was a formula for sharing nuclear power that could have aroused support among several states interested in joining, unlike the MLF which appealed only to the Germans who, because of their peculiar position, have a special incentive for expanding the scope of their nuclear connections.

MLF WAS A LESSON

The demise of the MLF should be instructive for U.S. policymakers. If our European allies are to be prevented from going their own ways, their sense of participation in decisions affecting the common destiny of the West must be real and not contrived. For the moment the problem of nuclear sharing has been pushed underground but it has

not disappeared. When it reappears let us hope that we may have learned from sad experience and be ready to make genuine offers of nuclear sharing, without which the problem will continue to fester.

Elsewhere in his book Dr. Stanley strongly inclines toward the federal, rather than the imperial, approach. "The alliance," he points out, "is already an entangling one—perhaps a greater source of informal constraints upon U.S. policy than is commonly realized. The possible disadvantages of making NATO a more supranational body (in which the constraints could become more formalized) must be balanced against the potential gains in European sharing of the defense burden, and a greater sense of joint responsibility for the twin tasks of securing the Atlantic area and developing a stable world order."

While the author recognizes the present impracticality of creating a truly supranational Atlantic government with a NATO defense minister with wide powers, he does advocate an American willingness to take the lead in abandoning the sacred principle that NATO is an international rather than a supranational organization, and delegating to alliance officials greater authority in specific areas. These might be narrowly limited, especially at first; but the details are less relevant than the basic act of will involved.

As examples of such more highly integrated ventures, Dr. Stanley suggests commonly financed military forces, such as a highly mobile fire brigade put at the disposal of SACEUR. He also advocates an expansion of common funding of construction, procurement, and research and development programs in which the various NATO countries would subscribe a certain percentage of the defense expenditures to NATO, acting as a judicial personality, capable of awarding contracts based on the overall needs of the alliance.

SHIFT OF DECISION

All this would require a reorganized and strengthened NATO international staff which Stanley also recommends. If our intent to save NATO is to be taken seriously by our European partners, this will require a willingness on our part to make a substantial shift in decisionmaking from the Pentagon to Porte Dauphine (or to wherever the NATO headquarters may be moved, should France withdraw). Without an American will to invigorate the common institutions of the alliance, the rationale for Gaullist separatism will continue to flourish. It is within the capability of this country to use its power constructively, given enlightened leadership and the determination to exercise it. Otherwise Washington will have condemned itself to the frustration of railing at Gaullism in vain.

BEAUTY AND MARVELS SKILLFULLY PORTRAYED IN "THE APPALACHIANS" BY MAURICE BROOKS, WEST VIRGINIA AUTHOR

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, rarely have I had as pleasurable an experience as was afforded me last week by my good friend, Prof. Maurice Brooks, of the Division of Forestry of West Virginia University, when he sent me his newest book, "The Appalachians."

This splendid work is the first in a series to be published by Houghton Mifflin Co., a series with two purposes: to interest North Americans in the wildlife, plants, and geology of their continent, and to recapture the inquiring spirit of the old naturalists. In selecting Maurice Brooks to author the first work in this series, the editors—Roger Tory Peterson and John A. Livingston—and publisher wisely chose a splendid researcher, an articulate reporter, and a true naturalist whose creative imagination, combined with a meticulous respect for fact, has produced a guidebook for those magnificent, stately mountains which rise first in the north in the Gaspé Peninsula of Canada and stretch southwestward into northern Alabama.

While the panoramic sweep of the Appalachian Mountain Range is captured for all readers—those who are fortunate in living in States blessed by these great relics and those who hopefully someday will visit there—I read portions of this account dealing with our own State of West Virginia with delight and longing. The description of Gaudineer Knob—in summer months the home of splendid species of warblers, flying squirrels, butterflies, trees and flowers; in the winter months inhabited by varying hares, and perhaps a panther or two—is particularly pleasing to me, as is the description in chapter 15, "Orchids That Aren't in the Tropics," of a typical West Virginia mountain meadow replete with summer wildflowers.

And when I read the moving story of the community that sent one of its sons to college in Pennsylvania, to prepare him for the ministry, by digging and selling "sang"—known to outlanders as ginseng—it brought back to mind the many happy days of my boyhood when I dug "sang" with my grandfather, Jesse F. Randolph, in Salem, W. Va.

The marvels and richness of the flora and fauna in Cranberry Glades, Canaan Valley, and Kate's Mountain; the unique character of Ice Mountain; the secrets of the Appalachian caverns, like McClung's Cave, are all made vital and enticing as we explore with Maurice Brooks the treasures each one offers. We are told that it is not only Vermont which products some of the finest maple sirup in the East—a fact most West Virginians already know. We read of the merchant in Mount Storm, in our State, who attempted to market West Virginia maple sirup, only to find that the public was not interested, and who subsequently sold it to a firm in St. Johnsbury, Vt., where it was promptly graded and marketed as "Vermont No. 1."

From azaleas to wolves, from the huckleberries of Greenbrier to the salamanders of Cheat Mountain, the author invites our respect and enthusiasm and stimulates our curiosity about the wonders still hidden in the Appalachian system.

The people of the land are treated with respect and fondness in the chapter dealing with the arts and crafts, the hunting and farming carried on in the Appalachian Range. While many of Professor Brooks' episodes are relative to West Virginia, he captures the spirit of all mountaineers early in the book when he tells the story of the Appalachian Trail—one of the proudest, most striking achievements of concerned individual Americans—a product of hard, but loving labor to which we all can point with pride. This trail was hewed through the wilderness, foot by foot, mile by mile, by individual men and women who had as their inspiration a deep and abiding love of the mountains in which they toiled. Today, on many sections of this trail which are not under the care of forest and park employees, the trail is maintained and cared for by private members of the Appalachian Trail Clubs. It is a tribute to our mountaineer heritage of individual responsibility, that "the system works; people come, and the jobs get done."

Maurice Brooks, on the last page of his study, speaks for all of us who, from Vermont to Georgia, know and love our hills, when he writes:

And thus it is with those nurtured in Appalachia—they leave, but they look back, remembering pleasant things. The land has claimed them, and its ties will not be severed.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, I was very pleased this week to receive a copy of a resolution sent to the Congress of the United States by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America.

The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLUTION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas 1966 commemorates the 50th anniversary of the granting of the charter from Congress to the Boy Scouts of America—through the enactment of Public Law 84 duly passed by the House of Representatives on March 7 and the Senate on May 24, and enacted into law on June 15; and

Whereas a report to the Congress has been made each year by the Boy Scouts of America as required by the law; and

Whereas the Boy Scouts of America, the first youth group to receive such a charter, has received encouragement and support of inestimable value: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America, assembled for its 55th annual meeting in Bal Harbour/Miami Beach, Fla., expresses its thanks and appreciation to the Congress of the United States of America and respectfully requests the Congress suitably to recognize the 50th anniversary of the granting of the charter in such way or ways as it may deem appropriate.

We should all be proud of the fine work performed by the Boy Scouts of America. This wonderful organization has performed a great service during the past half-century and I think it is fitting that we recognize this group's great achievements in helping the youth of today to take their proud place among the citizens of tomorrow.

Mr. President, New Hampshire has 5,400 dedicated adults who serve as leaders of the State's 14,000 Boy Scouts. I extend to them my congratulations for a job well done and my best wishes for many more years of service to the State's youth.

WHERE TITOISM WAS TRIED

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, despite the growing abundance of evidence that the Tito government in Yugoslavia is in fact an integral part of the Communist world, discovering its natural allies in Moscow and Peiping rather than in Washington, there exists a stubborn unwillingness to recognize this reality.

As this session begins, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent analysis of the Yugoslav situation by Mr. George Bailey which ap-

peared in the Reporter magazine last summer. This article is as pertinent today as it was when it was written.

Though by the end of fiscal 1963 the United States had supplied Yugoslavia with $2.5 billion in aid, Mr. Bailey points out that this has had no appreciable effect upon Yugoslav foreign policy.

U.S. officials did not take the Belgrade declaration of 1955 at face value, although at this time Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union expressed their agreement on major policy questions.

Belgrade recognized East Germany in 1957 and Tito supported the Soviet Union's resumption of atomic testing in 1961.

Only in 1961, after the bitterly anti-West speech by Tito at the Belgrade Conference of nonalined nations, did Congress finally move to terminate aid, but the program continued until 1963.

Mr. Bailey describes the case of Mihaylo Mihaylov, a lecturer on Russian literature at the Croatian University of Zagreb in Zadar. He visited the Soviet Union, and published an article describing his trip. The Yugoslav Government arrested Mihaylov on charges of slandering a friendly state and violating the press law by sending the manuscript of his banned article to an Italian publisher. He received a sentence of 9 months' imprisonment, indicating to the world that freedom of speech and of the press certainly have no place in Yugoslavia.

Mr. Bailey is of the firm opinion that in any major showdown with communism, Yugoslavia would surely be on the side of its Communist allies. It has never sided with the West on the major issues of conflict, and to imagine that it would do so in the future is wishful thinking.

The article concludes by pointing out that:

> The Titoist experiment has been scarcely a success in the only country where it has been tried out. A proliferation of Titos in other parts of the world is unimaginable today, unless the West expects to subsidize pro-Chinese nonalinement.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

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

WHERE TITOISM WAS TRIED

(By George Bailey)

BELGRADE.—Yugoslavia has six republics, five peoples, four religions, three languages, two alphabets, and a partisan in every pear tree. It harbors a family of South Slav nations united by the fear that their hatred of each other may be exploited by outsiders. The accumulated experience of Ottoman, Habsburg-Hungarian, and finally German occupation begot the fiercest partisan movement of the Second World War. This in turn produced the Yugoslav League of Communists, 80 percent of whose members are former partisans. Today, these aging veterans provide the regime of Marshal Tito with a less vigorous base. The thrust of the external and internal pressures that have sustained Titoism have changed, and the result has been both to lay bare the centrifugal factions and to provoke a tightening of centripetal totalitarian controls in a country often cited for its rebellion against the more rigid forms of communism.

When Stalin, to consolidate the Soviet Empire, tried to take over Yugoslovia, the partisans defied him, thus causing the first split in the Communist bloc and opening Yugoslavia to Western influence on a scale to which no other Communist country has ever been exposed. Two results of the break with Stalin have determined the state of affairs in Yugoslavia ever since. They are the United States Yugloslavia Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950, and the workers' council which was established by law in the same year. The law, which decreed the decentralization of the economy and the creation of semiautonomous self-management committees of workers, was Yugoslavia's way of remaining Communist while producing what was claimed to be an alternative to Stalinism. Its federal structure was determined by ethnic regionalism.

The aid program was all-embracing. It included military assistance and industrial equipment as well as a training program. It also granted most-favored-nation status and qualified Yugoslavia for United States surplus agricultural commodities. By the end of fiscal 1963, $2.5 billion in aid had been supplied to Yugoslavia by the United States Government. For years the Yugoslavs assured the donors that solvency was just around the corner. But Yugoslavia's leaders clearly had no intention of setting the country's finances in order. On the contrary, they projected U.S. aid into the national budget and their long-term planning in order to finance extensive industrialization projects, apparently assuming that year after year the gaping trade deficit would be covered by the allotment.

The attitudes of both countries in this relationship were largely determined by political considerations. The Yugoslavs were determined to demonstrate the effectiveness of their hybrid system; the Americans were willing to subsidize Titoism first as a military counterweight to the Soviets in the Balkans, and later as an ideological alternative to communism at large—a blend of economic self-government and political totalitarianism. The United States courted Yugoslav support in international forums, particularly in the United Nations. And, in fact, the Yugoslav U.N. delegation did approve that organization's involvement in the Korean war. Moreover, the Yugoslavs closed their frontier to the Greek Communist rebels, helping the Western allies to put an end to the Greek civil war. Yugoslavia's signing of the Balkan Pact against aggression with Greece and Turkey in 1954 was further in keeping with the desires of the West.

The United States cherished the hope that its largesse would gradually transform Yugoslav communism into something resembling Western social democracy. There had always been a strong liberal element in the Yugoslav League of Communists and the strengthening of this element as a result of the break with Stalin and the disastrous crop failure of 1950 increased the deceptive nature of the Yugoslav situation. It not only encouraged the liberals to make promises they could not keep but it rendered them the unwitting pawns of the conservative Communists, for it induced U.S. officials to lend credence to the idea of a more democratic Yugoslavia as well as money to Tito's totalitarian regime. The sincerity of liberal assurances to the West only enhanced the effectiveness of the ultimate deception. This was one of the main reasons for the clinging of American officials to their hopes even after Khrushchev and Bulganin went to Belgrade in 1955 to reestablish their relations with Tito.

WHEN THE AID STOPPED

United States officials refused to take at face value the Belgrade Declaration of 1955, in which Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union proclaimed their agreement in the question of disarmament and the banning of atomic weapons, in the cessation of all forms of polemics and other acts tending to sow mistrust among nations, and in "a solution * * * of the German question * * * in the interest of general security * * *." The Belgrade government diligently followed the Soviet line on foreign policy from this time on, including the recognition of East Germany in 1957 and Tito's support of the Soviet Union's resumption of testing in 1961.

In addition to his support of Soviet testing, Tito also singled out East Germany for praise and West Germany for censure as a fascist state 2 weeks after the construction of the Berlin wall. But his greatest service to the Soviet cause was to fit the Marxist formula to the anticolonialist resentments of the nonalined states, some of which proceeded to denounce the Common Market as the economic arm of Western imperialism. It was only when Tito himself—just after the West had advanced $275 million in credits to enable Yugoslavia to implement a foreign currency exchange reform—unequivocally linked Yugoslav policy to the Soviet line in an anti-Western speech at the Belgrade Conference of nonalined nations in 1961, that Congress finally moved to terminate U.S. aid.

When the last of the program was delivered in 1963, Yugoslavia was apparently on its own for the first time in 12 years (substantial Soviet aid, begun in 1956 with glowing promises, by 1962 totaled just $73 million). But it was only "apparently": Yugoslav eligibility for the benefits of Public Law 480, under which U.S. food surpluses were provided to Yugoslavia on long-term credit arrangements (payable in dinars and hence sparing the country's meager foreign currency reserves), was restored at the last moment by the intervention of President Kennedy, who reportedly was impressed by Yugoslavia's resistance to Khrushchev's troika proposal in the United Nations. However, the crucially important most-favored-nation status, enabling Yugoslavia to compete on equal terms for American markets, was suspended.

Assessing the situation after the blow had fallen, Yugoslav economists quickly realized that U.S. aid had not only become an integral part of the economy but also a key element of national economic progress. As such, it had proved a mixed blessing: by creating the illusion of success it had lent impetus to crude experiments, random investments, and dogged persistence in crackpot schemes. For instance, the cult of the decentralized workers' councils and the desire to develop the abjectly poor regions in the south and east of the country resulted in a 12-year splurge of investment in industrial plants in areas remote from sources of raw materials and lacking in transport facilities. This was the origin of the "political factories," as the Yugoslavs call enterprises chronically immune from sensible management, which make up roughly 25 percent of all factories in the country. To subsidize these factories in the south and east, the Government imposed drastic taxes on profitable enterprises, mainly in the industrial centers of Slovenia and Croatia.

This has been the source of bitter recriminations against Belgrade: "Penalties for success; premiums for failure," is the way the Slovenes describe the situation. With only 8.6 percent of the population, Slovenia contributed 37.2 percent of the national budget in 1958. This taxation both stirred up regional antagonism and acted as a deterrent to industrial production. The result is that Yugoslav industry today operates at only 54 percent of capacity.

HANDS IN THE TILL

It was clear that the loss of U.S. aid could be made good only by a sharp increase in production and exports. It was also clear that

a main prerequisite to any substantial increase in production was an increase in consumer buying power as well as in investment capacity of individual enterprises. But Yugoslav leaders found themselves in a special dilemma. The decentralized banking system was an indiscriminate purveyor of subsidies to Government-sponsored enterprises throwing good money after bad into the political factories. Thus the nationwide program was dissipated by a flood of uncoordinated investment at the lowest production levels.

The Government, which had not relinquished the responsibility for financing basic industries and was willing to tolerate imports in excess of plan in order to increase exports, could not resist the sudden pressure for imports. It authorized the Foreign Trade Bank to supply foreign exchange to enterprises against their obligation to increase their exports commensurately. As a result, credits to the enterprises increased in 1964 by 45 percent; total commodity imports, however, rose by only 25 percent. The difference was used by the workers' councils not to finance imports but to increase wages and bonuses of the workers, and the result was that the disposable income of the nonagricultural population rose by 30 percent. This in turn created a consumer demand that far outstripped domestic supply and spurred the country's ambling inflation into a gallop.

HOLES IN THE STAR

The fact that the Government not only tolerated but even encouraged the pocketing of credits designated for imports points up the schizoid nature of the Yugoslav system. It was, nevertheless, a revolt, and one inspired by the fading of the utopian Socialist vision. "We want to enjoy the fruits of our labor right now," the director of one of Belgrade's largest factories told me. "Certainly our children should have a better lot, but we want ours now, too. The spread of apathy in the party itself—particularly among youth—was admitted by Vice President Aleksander Rankovic at the Eighth Party Congress last December: in the last 8 years the percentage of members under 25 years of age has dropped from 23.6 to 13.6. To counter this trend a system of rotation has been introduced to rid the party machinery of partisan deadwood and make way for new men.

The Government's agricultural program has been hardly more successful. Driving past one collective farm recently, I noticed eight bullet holes in the plastic red star fixed over the portal. "Who put those holes there?" I asked a passerby. "Farmers," he answered. "Do farmers have guns?" I asked. "All farmers have guns—somewhere," he said. "Why don't they put up a new star?" "That was a new star 3 months ago."

The rural bulwark of resistance to the regime remains unshaken. Rankovic has emphasized "the anomaly of a party with only 8 percent of its members drawn from the agricultural sector that makes up half the population."

The Yugoslav League of Communists fears the peasants. The bitterest pill the league ever swallowed was the decollectivization of agriculture in 1953. This was part of the alternating decentralization and recentralization that followed the prolonged drought of 1950. The crop failure of that year, however, was not only caused by the lack of rain: the forced collectivization of all farming land in Yugoslavia in the late 1940's had provoked the peasants to the point of armed insurrection. But more telling than the peasants' sporadic violence was their passive resistance which throttled agricultural production and prevented the accumulation of reserves.

The Communists tried to circumvent the resistance of the peasants, mainly by contriving to price them out of existence or to force them into the remaining large collectives.

This surreptitious drive to recollectivize the peasants was backed by an attempt to make the state farms appear to be flourishing. To this end the Government concentrated its agricultural investment programs almost exclusively on the collectives. But the system suffered a severe blow early last year when it was revealed that the largest state farm in the country, the Belye, had declared a loss of about 2 billion dinars, or $2.75 million, at the end of 1963. Shortly thereafter the Government finally abandoned the persuasion program and, in an effort to restructure the entire economy, raised prices paid to producers by 21 percent. The effort came 10 years late and contributed strongly to inflationary tendencies. The resultant increase in crop yields, particularly in corn, was nullified by the increase in rural consumption: in the face of rocketing consumer prices, the farmers cut costs, as always, by eating their own produce.

Yugoslav agricultural imports rose by 34 percent in 1963 to a record $328 million, $121 million of it coming from the United States under Public Law 480. Wheat imports in 1963 nearly doubled the 1962 level, with the United States supplying 85 percent. From 1959 to date Yugoslav agricultural production has stagnated, suffering an average yearly deficit of more than a million tons of wheat, or a quarter of the annual amount required to feed the population. The deficit in wheat alone costs the Yugoslav Government about $64 million a year. The harvest of 1964 was poor and the prospects for this year poorer still.

Beginning in early 1964 the dam of Government price controls slowly collapsed and was swept away. Within the last year the cost-of-living index in Yugoslavia has risen more than 25 percent. Ominously, the sharpest increase took place in food prices: milk went up 25 percent, bread 30 percent. A pound of prime meat now sells in Belgrade for approximately the same price as in a New York supermarket—and this when the average wage of a Serbian industrial worker is about $50 a month at the official rate of exchange. By the end of 1964 the average Yugoslav worker was spending 65 percent of his take-home pay for food.

The combined splurge in agricultural and industrial imports drove the balance-of-trade deficit for 1964 to an alltime high of $429 million, more than twice as high as the 1962 deficit and more than half again as high as that for 1963. About $200 million of this amount was made good by hard-currency profits from the tourist trade, remittances from some 140,000 Yugoslavs working in the West, and various forms of insurance, leaving an actual deficit of $229 million, or almost exactly the average annual deficit over the previous 10 years. Foreign currency reserves are at present just enough to finance 25 days of imports. Moreover, the third devaluation of the dinar in 15 years is now regarded as inevitable. In other words, despite a much larger gross national product, and despite $3.5 billion in western aid, the Yugoslav economy is still hopelessly unbalanced.

DIPLOMACY FOR PROFIT

Much of Yugoslav diplomatic activity in the last year has been taken up in desperate attempts to restructure, reschedule, and otherwise refund the country's long-term debts, many of which fall due this year. Some creditors, such as West Germany, have continued or expanded credits to protect their original investment. Bonn has offered a partial moratorium on the outstanding Yugoslav debt. Likewise, most-favored-nation status was restored by the U.S. Government last year, and the Export-Import Bank has recently agreed to finance two construction projects.

An experienced observer in Belgrade has remarked that Yugoslavia is an underdeveloped country in need of technical assistance in every field except foreign policy. This policy is largely dictated by the importance of appearing to be a going political concern. The attractiveness of the Yugoslav position on the international scene as a combination of fashionable outcast, faithful renegade, and safe ideological trailblazer continues to stand the country in excellent stead despite Tito's costly political forays.

THE MIHAYLOV CASE

In general, the Yugoslav system has been dictated by the necessity of appearing progressively liberal while remaining totalitarian at the core. This requirement forced a refinement of the party control mechanism, a diversion of command channels, and development of parallel organizations such as the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions (to keep the workers' councils in line), and electoral commissions (to police the recently reformed electoral system). The result was a system so elaborate that even the country's leaders became thoroughly confused. In the end, the stresses proved too great; the party split into two openly conflicting factions—"centralists" and "liberals." In this situation—unprecedented in a nominally Communist country—both sides have been obliged to disguise their moves, and the liberal side the more, in order to disguise its weakness. It is in this light that the significance of the Mihaylov case and much else becomes clear.

Early in 1963 a delegation of the Soviet Writers' Union spent 15 days touring the country as the guest of its Yugoslav counterpart. The results of the trip were summed up in the Soviet journal "Voprosi Literaturi" (Questions of Literature) by the critic Valyeri Ozerov, in an article entitled "To The Battle Stations." Ozerov singled out the Yugoslav monthly "Delo" for concerted attack. Much of this article is taken up with a debate between the Soviet guests and the "Delo" editorial staff on the function of literature in society, in which the Delo representatives rejected the Stalinist-Zhdanovist dictum that writers must act as "engineers of the soul." Ozerov branded the Delo group as decadent "modernists" under bourgeois Western influence and accused it of spreading pessimism throughout the Socialist ranks.

In the summer of 1964 Mihaylo Mihaylov, a 30-year-old lecturer on Russian literature in the philosophy department of the Croatian University of Zagreb in Zadar, visited the Soviet Union for a month as part of the cultural exchange program. In its January and February numbers this year, Delo published two long installments of an article by Mihaylov describing his trip. A few days after the appearance of the second installment, the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade lodged a violent protest. But it was not until February 11, when Marshal Tito himself warned of rampant "Djilasism" and chastised a delegation of public prosecutors for not immediately suppressing the magazine, that the Yugoslav Government confiscated the remaining copies. On March 11, Mihaylov was arrested on charges of slandering a friendly state and violating the press law by sending the manuscript of his banned article to an Italian publisher.

Mihaylov was released after a month in investigative custody and his trial was held in the public court of Zadar. He received the comparatively mild sentence of 9 months' imprisonment out of a possible 4 years. He has appealed to the supreme court of Croatia, and there the matter rests.

The entire incident is referred to in Belgrade as "Delo's revenge," and apparently with good reason. "Moscow Summer" was a broadside fired at point-blank range; the anguished response of the Soviets is an indication that it found its mark. Mihaylov mentions the squads of "sobering-up" ambulances, whose sole purpose is to clear the streets of drunks, the danger of being at-

tacked by hooligans at night, the "desperate rudeness" of Muscovites in their dealings with one another ("I beg your pardon, sir, I didn't realize you were a foreigner"), the inevitable comparison of Lenin's mummy to a wax model, indifference toward or active contempt for the school of Socialist realism among Russian intellectuals and the contrasting enthusiasm for modernist art, the high rate of abortions among university students, the universal fear of stool pigeons, and the wild enthusiasm of the students for the works of Kafka.

Mihaylov devotes the bulk of his article to the anti-Stalinist revolt of Soviet writers, citing as the great tragedy of Soviet society the life-and-death struggle of individual talent in which an artist must risk his career and even his physical existence in order to realize an original idea. He emphasizes the high incidence of former concentration-camp inmates among the writers and dwells on the existence and great popularity of an entire genre of concentration-camp literature and song, most of which is bootlegged in handwritten copies and tape recordings.

Mihaylov discusses at length the works and views of some 20 Soviet writers, most of whom he visited. The overwhelming majority are revealed as more or less militant liberals fighting the good fight against state and party controls and specifically against Socialist realism. He exposes Ozerov and his like as nothing more than embattled government functionaries who are themselves increasingly isolated from reality.

A highly accomplished polemicist, Mihaylov possessed all the necessary attributes for the job that Delo assigned him. "Delo's revenge" was the first counterattack in force to be mounted against the Soviet Union by the now institutionalized political opposition in Yugoslavia. Moreover, it was an attempt by the Yugoslav opposition to make common cause with its Russian counterpart against the centralist enemy in both countries. In the third installment of his article, unpublished in Yugoslavia but now available in the West, Mihaylov suggests that Yugoslavia could play a role in leading the Soviet Union into the Western cultural community. It is a project that runs parallel to the prideful avant-garde function of the Yugoslav regime in bringing the Soviet Union to adopt a broad Socialist approach in its foreign policy as an instrument of Communist expansion.

The object of the exercise is to counter the recent series of moves by the Yugoslav regime to aline itself more closely with Soviet policy. Yugoslavia's accession as an associate member of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid—COMECON—last year and the various interparty cultural agreements have made the opposition afraid that the regime seeks to rejoin the Soviet bloc as the only means of reimposing traditional Communist rule and insulating the country against Western influence.

The split in the Yugoslav League of Communists is so great that the centralist machinery of repression could not be set in motion against Mihaylov until Tito himself intervened. The chronicle of recent cultural suppressions is impressive, but it also indicates the degree of opposition activity.

DECENTRALIZING POLITICS

Easily the most important organ of the opposition is the monthly magazine Praxis, published in Zagreb. The "Praxis Group," which is strongly influenced by Western and particularly American sociologists, force-feeds with well directed articles a nationwide discussion involving the roots of Communist theory. It has proclaimed the failure of Marxism to mitigate the alienation of the worker and to provide a system of values to replace the Christian ethic. But the ultimate objective of such liberal periodicals is to undermine the ideological authority of the party-state, and this process is further advanced than is generally appreciated.

The doctrinaire Communists in Yugoslavia now find themselves in somewhat the same position as the liberals. They, too, have been encouraged or driven by desperation to make promises they cannot keep. The triple coincidence of the battles over regional cultural autonomy, the political issue of centralization versus decentralization, and the great economic divide between the "have" and "have-not" Yugoslav republics rendered the split roughly along the traditional ethnic-geographic lines in the League of Communists inevitable and all the more ominous.

The liberals are especially at home in the Government and party offices in the republics of Croatia and Slovenia. Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, has become a kind of anti-Belgrade. The authoritarian stronghold is the Central Committee of the Serbian Communist Party. The doctrinaire Communists have been forced to take support wherever and however they can find it—in the "have-not" republics of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and by pandering to Serbian chauvinism.

In keeping with Serbia's traditional claims of leadership, it is now a foregone conclusion that Tito's successor must be a Serb, Aleksander Rankovic, Vice President since 1963 and former chief of the state security police. Rankovic is obviously being groomed in preference to the party's chief ideolog, the comparatively more liberal Slovene Edvard Kardelj, President of the Parliament. This development prompted the liberals to engineer the adoption of a new statute at the latest party congress providing for the convocation of party conferences in the various republics, as well as at the federal level. In effect, there are already two parties in Yugoslavia. Their emergence as separate organizations has been prevented only by the prestige of Tito and the fact that circumstances have forced the opposition to institutionalize itself by decentralizing the original totalitarian party machine. Yugoslavia is now near the brink of the prewar multiparty morass based on ethnic regional allegiances.

The crescendo of the economic and political crisis has totally discredited Yugoslavia as the pilot model for underdeveloped countries seeking to acquire internal stability while preserving neutrality in the international power struggle. To top it all, the Yugoslav's expertise in foreign affairs has failed them. The sharpening of the Sino-Soviet struggle in the last 3 years has compromised Yugoslavia's position as a prime champion of would-be nonalinement among pro-Communist nations. A comparison of its stances in the Belgrade Conference of 1961 and the Cairo Conference of last fall is revealing. At Belgrade, Yugoslavia posed as the nonalined mediator between the Soviet bloc and Western imperialism; at Cairo it was forced to settle for the role of bridge between the Socialistic bloc (including, of course, the Soviet Union) and the nonalined and neutralist nations. Since then, Indonesia has veered off into the Chinese Communist camp, Cuba has said some highly uncomplimentary things about Yugoslavia, Morocco has alined itself more closely with the West, and Kenya has taken action against Chinese gun-running through its territory. In short, the neutralist nations are falling to one side or the other of the knife edge of China's crusade for wars of national liberation.

For Yugoslav leaders the danger of the Soviet Union's settling its differences with Communist China has been heightened by the ouster of Khrushchev and by the Vietnam crisis. Desperate to avoid a forcing of the issue in Vietnam, Tito has told every foreign statesman he has recently seen that the United States has fatefully misinterpreted the relationship between the Soviet Union and China. "If China goes to war with you over Vietnam," one Yugoslav editor warned us, "the Soviet Union will side with China and so will we." The latter part of this threat is empty. Yugoslavia would not be accepted, for the prerequisite of Soviet-Chinese reconciliation is Soviet renunciation of revisionism and the policy of peaceful coexistence, or pro-Soviet "nonalinement," patented by the Yugoslavs. The Titoist experiment has been scarcely a success in the only country where it has been tried out. A proliferation of Titos in other parts of the world is unimaginable today, unless the West accepts to subsidize pro-Chinese "nonalinement."

TRIBUTE TO SARGENT SHRIVER

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, less than 18 months ago, the President, the Congress, and the American people declared war on poverty. Almost overnight many new programs existed where none had existed before. Today, the burden of 35 million of our citizens trapped in poverty is being lightened.

It would be unfair to all those dedicated men and women in Washington—and to all those citizens across America who have labored long and hard in this war on poverty—to credit one man with the progress to date.

But much of the success thus far in the crusade to eliminate human misery must be attributed to Sargent Shriver.

Four years ago, President Kennedy asked Mr. Shriver to lead another kind of crusade—the Peace Corps. Like the war on poverty, the Peace Corps was hard hit by its critics when it began. Mr. Shriver is fond of pointing out that President Kennedy gave him the job as Peace Corps Director because, if he failed, "it would be easier to fire a relative than a political friend." But Shriver did not fail.

Before the Office of Economic Opportunity was a reality, its critics had doomed it to failure.

A political boondoggle * * * more handouts * * * another make-work program.

These were the mild statements.

Another furor arose when President Johnson asked Mr. Shriver to take on leadership of the poverty program while still guiding the Peace Corps.

The critics said "impossible."

But they had been wrong about the Peace Corps and the war on poverty and they were wrong about the ability of Sargent Shriver.

In the Peace Corps, Shriver simply asked for men and women to volunteer for work all over the world, not for money or glory, not even for comfort or convenience, but only to help others who needed and wanted their help. In the war on poverty, he used the same kind of an appeal, challenging not only individuals, but an entire Nation to look inward at a neglected minority and do something about their condition.

"Eloquent" is almost too fragile a word to apply to this hard-driving man. But the challenges Sargent Shriver has made of us all—challenges to heed the cries of human beings asking for help—whether they came from the jungles of Peru or the hills of Appalachia—were eloquent challenges. And the Nation has responded.

Today, Sargent Shriver has only one task. With all of his skill and dedication applied to the war on poverty I think we can expect that worthy venture to soon reach the same lofty plateau of success and acceptance now enjoyed by the Peace Corps.

UKRAINIANS WILLING TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, January 22 marks the 48th anniversary of a day which is sacred to the more than one million Americans of Ukrainian descent. It should also serve as a reminder to all the rest of our people and to freedom-loving people everywhere of the existence today of a form of imperialism which threatens all mankind. On January 22, 1918, with the Bolshevik armies invading their homeland, a group of Ukrainian patriots courageously proclaimed that centuries of foreign oppression were ended and that the Ukraine was an independent member of the family of nations.

Few battles for independence are won without blood and the creation of a free democratic state in non-Russian eastern Europe cost many Ukrainians their lives. But the freedom gained by the Ukraine was short-lived. The Red army smashed the independence movement in characteristically ruthless fashion and with tactics that can be found in today's crises in southeast Asia.

The same basic Russian technique of civil war, liberation front and guerrilla warfare, combined with Red army force, toppled the Ukrainian nation. Independent Ukraine ceased to exist. The Soviet Russian masters may have thought that the bloodletting and defeat of the Ukrainian Army meant the end of the people's desire for their nation's independence. But they were wrong. And the Russians were equally wrong in assuming that they had crushed the people's willingness to fight and to die for their freedom.

The Communists could not have been more wrong. Under the surface of foreign repression, the passionate desire for liberty from alien and Communist oppression continued. The German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 was the spark which set off the explosion of the people to regain their national freedom. First against the German occupiers and then later against the returning Communist armies the Ukrainian people carried on a long, tenacious, heroic, and desperate guerrilla war.

They had their own army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. It had the formal and complex organization of any modern army. It numbered perhaps 200,000. It fought the enemy until at least 1950, against terrible disadvantages, because it had one great advantage over the invaders—the love and loyalty of the people. This army did not receive aid from the outside world. Rather, it had to rely on its own ingenuity in utilizing weapons and supplies captured from the Soviets and the Germans. Constantly moving among the people, fully aware of the invaders' movements from local patriots, fighting a clever guerrilla war which sometimes included spectacular successes against larger and better armed enemies, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army added a glorious chapter to the epic of its people's struggle for freedom.

Although the Army has been disbanded, we can be sure that many of its members still carry in their hearts an unrelenting opposition to the Communist regime. An alien dictatorship has never been accepted willingly by the Ukrainian people. They have the recent memories of a gallant effort by their fighting men to liberate their land. On this anniversary it would be well for all of us to remember that in this occupied land the spark of freedom still burns, fed by the pride in the thousands of sons who died not so long ago to repel the enemies from east and west.

THE TWO WARS IN VIETNAM

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the issue of January 24, 1966, of the U.S. News & World Report contains an excellent article entitled "The Untold Story of Vietnam War" which could just as easily be entitled the two wars in Vietnam—one that is known and one that is untold.

As summarized, the untold story is the one to be found in the countryside and in Saigon: Expanding terrorism, insecurity, a violent inflation, profiteering, food shortages, dealings with people who eventually will decide whether a viable nation can be put together.

I ask unanimous consent that the article referred to be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

THE UNTOLD STORY OF VIETNAM WAR

There are two wars here in South Vietnam—one widely known, the other virtually ignored.

The widely known war involves bomber strikes, U.S. soldiers, jungle battles, Vietcong battalions.

The untold story is the one to be found in the countryside and in Saigon: Expanding terrorism, insecurity, a violent inflation, profiteering, food shortages, dealings with the people who eventually will decide whether a viable nation can be put together.

In this other war—really the main one—the United States is losing ground.

The situation inside South Vietnam is found to be worse now than before the United States started moving in large numbers of troops last spring.

During the first week of January, Red guerrilla activity reached an all-time high—more than 1,100 "incidents" of sabotage, village raids, kidnapings—twice the rate of a year ago. As the Vietnamese New Year—January 21—approached, the number of Red attacks slackened markedly, but few authorities were convinced that it was permanent.

South Vietnam's normal distribution system has been severely disrupted, with consequent scarcities and high prices.

Food prices up: In the Saigon area, for example, the cost of rice has doubled in 6 months. Prices of chicken, cooking oil and other foods are up even more. It's the same with rents and clothing.

Black marketing is bad and getting out of control in some areas. So are pilferage and profiteering. In big cities the atmosphere seems infected by honky-tonks, get-rich-quick merchants and builders, and a general air of decay.

The $600 million in U.S. economic aid that was poured into the country last year apparently has disappeared.

It boils down to this: While the United States is trying to build up the country's economy and to provide stability, the Communists keep tearing it down.

U.S. and South Vietnamese forces actually hold less territory now than they did a year ago. So-called pacified areas are not safe, and the highly touted American counter-insurgency campaign has not gotten off the ground.

Americans have promised to back the South Vietnamese Government with large-scale aid in the countryside, to convince people they can find a better life by supporting the government.

Much of the time, the United States can't make good on the promise. Sometimes it is because the roads are cut and the Communists won't let help come through.

Even in more secure areas, the program to win the peasantry is a long way from being successful. The logistics bottleneck in Saigon, caused by the U.S. troop buildup and a $400 million military construction program, is almost hopeless.

In many Provinces during the last 8 months, less than 10 percent of the promised American aid has actually been delivered.

Where material has been delivered—steel and cement—you frequently find that local contractors would rather work on lucrative U.S. military projects. Some 100,000 Vietnamese are now working on military projects at wages higher than they could get in village programs.

The Government's image in the countryside—where peasants for hundreds of years have been against all central governments—remains clouded at best.

Widespread corruption—at "almost a comic level," as one Vietnamese puts it—is not only giving the Government a bad name, it is pouring millions of dollars into Communist coffers. One principal supplier for Marine Corps construction projects has been closely associated with the Communists since the days of the French colonialists—and is paying off handsomely to the Reds.

The Communists allow road traffic to pass in many areas only so they can collect "taxes" on the goods. Gasoline to power U.S. helicopters and planes in attacks on Reds in the Mekong River Delta is carried through Communist-controlled areas by transport companies owned by overseas Chinese. The carriers pay the Communists for permission to go through, then charge the Americans, at least indirectly.

Take a look at the First Corps area—the northern part of the Republic of Vietnam—and you see what has been happening. There are five Provinces. The area has been given over to the U.S. Marines. They have put more than a division into the area, moving out from the strategically important airbases at the port of Da Nang and the newly created Chulai base.

However, the internal security is worse than before the Marine forces arrived, in the Province of Quang Nam, just outside Da Nang, and in Quang Tin and Quang Ngai, south of the Marine area. In two Provinces north of Da Nang, also, the situation is deteriorating.

Or take the Fourth Corps area, at the other end of the country. It covers the mouths of the Mekong River that flows out of Cambodia into Vietnam and on to the sea. In the last few months, the Communists have been forced by U.S. airpower, which is extremely effective in the flatland areas where there is little or no cover, to withdraw to their strongholds.

Yet the Reds have stepped up their terrorist assassination of village leaders and Government officials, and have put on a great new display of propaganda.

Reaction to air power: Use of American airpower to combat the growing size of the Communist forces has been—to villagers—the most important military fact of life for the past year. The Communists have taken a tremendous beating from the air. At the same time, these bombings have forced thousands of people to flee their homes and become refugees. At this point, no one is sure how many refugees there are, but certainly in the hundreds of thousands.

In many areas, a villager gets a bitter choice: be forced into labor battalions by the Communists, face assassination if he doesn't cooperate with the Reds, have his sons recruited for the guerrillas, and be bombed by United States and Government planes—or move into Government areas as a destitute person, dependent on the whim of largely inefficient and sometimes corrupt officials for refugee relief.

Massive use of American airpower in the countryside is equated, in the minds of many villagers, with Red terrorism.

A village story: If you want to see how things are going at the village level, travel to Tu Thanh, only 6 miles from the Provincial capital in Quang Ngai Province.

Last May, a battalion of Communist troops swept into the village. They had with them Pham Kinh, a 52-year-old Communist. In 1954, Pham Kinh had withdrawn with 183 other Reds to the north when the Communists turned this area over to the Saigon Government.

Now Pham Kinh was back in his old area as political commissar for the Communist battalion.

The first thing that Pham Kinh did in the village was to arrest seven of the village leaders. Six were shot, and the seventh was buried alive. That was to make certain the villagers knew who was running the show.

Most of the villagers fled into Government-held areas, where they were fed and protected. It took the Government three attempts to liberate the area from the Reds. In the process, 40 percent of the houses in the village were destroyed by United States and South Vietnamese planes attacking Communist positions.

When the Communists withdrew, they took 40 village youths who had remained behind when most villagers fled. The youths will be indoctrinated as guerrilla troops.

Now the village is being rebuilt. Yet, if one of the chief aims of the Government and the United States is to prove that they can do a better job than the Red, then they are failing.

Like the rest of South Vietnam, the area around Tu Thanh is agricultural and needs help with farming. But the U.S. aid mission in Saigon has only 25 staff members dealing with agriculture throughout the nation.

When pigs go hungry: A pig-and-corn program that began in 1962 with lots of U.S. fanfare does not even function in Quang Ngai Province. There is a good reason: You can't import corn to feed pigs when there is barely enough transport to feed the refugees. In this Province, 1 out of every 10 people is homeless.

Only recently did the Province get a public-health nurse from U.S. headquarters to help reorganize the local medical corps.

There are only 900 native physicians in the entire country, and most are in the military. In one neighboring Province, with 300,000 people, there are only 4 physicians, all in the service and meeting civilians' health needs on a part-time basis.

If it were not for millions of U.S.-administered inoculations against smallpox, cholera, plague, and typhoid, the country would be at the edge of a medical disaster.

Life in the cities, for those not on the "gravy train" of profiteering, is grim. Inflation is making it that way. Since the start of 1965, money in circulation in South Vietnam has gone from 27 million piasters to 47 billion.

Inflation is fed not only by the vast U.S. construction program, but by private spending of 190,000 American soldiers. That spending alone runs between $45 and $60 a month per man.

The whole society seems turned upside down. A Saigon bar girl can make 80,000 piasters a month—about $650—compared with Government salaries of $120 for middle-echelon civilian officials or $100 for a major in the South Vietnamese Army.

A Vietnamese college professor tells about meeting his former housemaid while he was on his motor scooter in downtown Saigon. The former housemaid, now the girl friend of an American soldier, drove by in a shiny automobile.

There is talk of bringing in thousands of skilled workers from the outside—the Philippines and South Korea, for example—to take some of the pressure off the labor market and supply the technical help to unclog the ports.

You get some idea of what has happened to the labor market from the fact that a stevedore in Da Nang used to get about 30 cents for a day's work. Now, ricksha boys demand 75 cents from U.S. marines for a 10-minute carriage ride.

All this economic chaos has spurred the large-scale corruption that already existed. Government workers find that their fixed salaries buy only a fraction of what they once did. Shortages of goods make it easy for the seller to ask higher sums than those fixed by law. It is now commonplace to bribe one's way aboard local civilian transport—air or ground.

It is only in the past few weeks and months that the American Embassy and the U.S. military have decided to try to come to grips with some of these nonmilitary problems, in the cities and in the countryside.

A new U.S. program: On January 12, in Washington, U.S. aid officials announced a long-range program for winning the war in the countryside.

The reaction in South Vietnam among many was cynical: "On paper, one more U.S. plan to save the country."

Most veterans who know the situation are convinced that it would take between 6 and 10 years to win the war in Vietnam—and "win the peace."

Yet the intensity of the U.S. peace offensive indicates to most South Vietnamese that the United States is not about to undertake a commitment of 6 to 10 years.

In a country that has seen hundreds of promises by French and Vietnamese officials broken over the past 25 years, there would be great reservations about such a U.S. commitment in any case.

The fact is: The U.S. peace offensive has further shaken Vietnamese confidence. First came U.S. troops, and spirits went up. Now comes talk that sounds to Vietnamese like "peace at any price"—and spirits are down. The U.S. attempt to negotiate is seen here as a sign of irresolution, not determination to stay and fight for a decade.

All this is having a profound effect on the "forgotten war" in the thousands of villages where the fate of the country is likely to be decided.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

AMENDMENT OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MINIMUM WAGE LAW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which is H.R. 8126.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8126) to amend the District of Columbia minimum wage law to provide broader coverage, improved standards of minimum wage and overtime compensation protection, and improved means of enforcement.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Joseph Goldberg, of the Department of Labor, be granted the privilege of the floor during the consideration by the Senate of H.R. 8126, the District of Columbia minimum wage bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as the Senate proceeds to consider the bill and the report of the committee in regard to the District of Columbia minimum wage bill, I wish to make this opening statement in support of the bill and the report of the committee.

The minimum wage and hours bill, H.R. 8126, as amended, would improve the minimum wage and overtime protection coverage for women and minors, and extend coverage to domestic workers and men who have never been covered under District of Columbia minimum wage law. The members of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia believe that H.R. 8126, as amended, is very reasonable, exceedingly modest, and a practical bill. As a matter of fact, Mr. President, I am somewhat embarrassed to be put in a position of advocating a minimum wage and hours bill with a provision for a $1.25-an-hour statutory minimum wage in 1966.

Mr. President, if an employee works 40 hours a week, 52 weeks per year, at $1.25 per hour, as specified in this bill, he would earn a gross annual minimum wage of $2,600. As I said earlier, it somewhat embarrasses me to be advocating a statutory minimum wage floor of $2,600 a year, if the employee should work 40 hours a week for 52 weeks, when the President of the United States several years ago declared that any family with an income under $3,000 a year is classified as a family in the poverty category.

The bill which we are considering today is similar to S. 860 of the 88th Congress which was reported to the Senate

unanimously by the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, and was unanimously approved by the Senate on August 21, 1964.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Health. Education, Welfare, and Safety, I received testimony that clearly demonstrates that H.R. 8126, as amended, is strongly supported by the U.S. Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, the American Federation of Labor–CIO, the Greater Washington Council of Churches, the District of Columbia Citizens Council, District of Columbia Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board, District of Columbia Health and Welfare Council, District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare, District of Columbia Board of Education, District of Columbia Apprenticeship Council, District of Columbia League of Women Voters, Catholic Interracial Council of the National Capital Area, National Association of Social Workers, Democratic Central Committee, Forward-Looking Republicans, Washington Medical Committee for Human Rights, Washington Urban League, Teachers Union of Washington, D.C., and numerous neighborhood and church groups in the Nation's Capital.

There was contained on the ballot in the last Democratic primary in the District of Columbia the following questions:

> Should the Democratic Party continue to advocate the following: That the District minimum wage law be changed to cover all workers and to provide a $1.25 per hour minimum wage? Yes, 72,417; no, 1,537.

The Washington Board of Trade, the Restaurant Association of Metropolitan Washington, and the Hotel Association of Washington, D.C., opposed major provisions of the bill. The committee very carefully studied the statements presented by these three special-interest groups, and concluded that H.R. 8126, as amended, would best serve the public interest and welfare of the entire community, including that segment of the community supposedly represented by these three groups.

H.R. 8126, as amended, increases the minimum wage law's application to 300,000, rather than 87,000 workers, as are covered under the very limited existing law. The overtime pay provisions in the bill would reduce the excessively long hours worked in many business establishments in the District of Columbia. As I said in the Senate last year, a statutory minimum wage floor of $1.25 an hour is inadequate, but that it would help many employees buy a little more and better food, clothing, housing, medical care, and other necessities of life than they are now able to buy. It is the opinion of the committee that wage earners earning less than $1.25 often quit working and go on public assistance if they are eligible, or sometimes enter a life of crime in order to keep their families together. Very often the mother must also work in order to keep the rent paid and a little food on the table and some shoes on her children's feet. This must be done in order to keep the family together, and then at times the family must be farmed out to friends and relatives or the Welfare Department, because the wage earners cannot adequately provide for their children. The committee strongly believes that this is neither right nor in the public interest for employers to force employees to work at unconscionably low wages.

Every time I go to Junior Village and take note of the children that have been sent there, I become more and more dedicated to the cause of adopting a more reasonable minimum wage in the District of Columbia.

The committee received testimony last year that the last census for the District of Columbia revealed that in the midst of unprecedented prosperity in the Nation's Capital, 17.3 percent, or nearly one-fifth of all District of Columbia families, had incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

Mr. President, this is unconscionable. It is the view of the committee that the minimum wage and hours bill is one of the best places to begin a more intensive war on the pockets of abject poverty in the District of Columbia. This Nation and this city are wealthy enough, both spiritually and financially, to eradicate from this city the causes of poverty, crime, and unhealthful living conditions, provided there is the determination to do what the facts indicate needs to be done to make this city the symbol of what can be done in a free society.

President Johnson last week, in his state of the Union message, stated:

> There are men who cry out: We must sacrifice. Let us rather ask them: Whom will they sacrifice? Will them sacrifice the children who seek learning—the sick who need care—the families who dwell in squalor now brightened by the hope of home? Will they sacrifice opportunity for the distressed * * * the hope of our poor?

In answer to the President's question, I would say that there are those in the community—and I know they are a minority indeed—that would sacrifice the working poor—those locked in poverty—for profit. I am pleased to state that there is not a member of our committee who agrees with that point of view.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] will offer some amendments to the bill. I wish to make it perfectly clear that the Senator from Vermont supports a fair minimum wage in the District of Columbia.

As chairman of the subcommittee, I wish publicly to express to the Senator from Vermont and to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] my appreciation for the complete cooperation that they have extended to us at all times as we sought to take this bill through the committee and to the floor.

The differences that developed as to certain parts of the bill that the Senator from Vermont will address himself to later as he presents certain amendments relative thereto, in no way express any opposition to the bill on the part of the Senator from Vermont. The same applies to the amendment that will be offered on behalf of the Senator from Colorado.

These two men join with a unanimous committee in agreement that a minimum wage bill needs to be passed.

I hope that the Senator from Vermont and I can resolve some of the differences by agreement on the floor of the Senate this afternoon. In certain instances we will not find ourselves in agreement, and we will let the will of the Senate work upon our disagreement.

But I do wish to say that although I am not bringing to the Senate this afternoon a bill unanimously supported in all of its details, I am presenting a proposal for improvement in the minimum wage situation in the District of Columbia with respect to which there is unanimous agreement as to its major objective.

There are those who will plead that if certain businesses in this community are required to pay a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour and time and a half for work in excess of a 40-hour work week, those businesses will go broke and will have to move to Maryland or Virginia. It is those employers who are asking the rest of the community, through the Welfare Department, the Police Department, the poverty program, and our schools, to subsidize them through general taxation. I ask these spokesmen, "Where is your conscience?"

There are those in this community who think only in terms of money brought into the city by tourists. I believe that they are missing a great reservoir of potential income by not seeing to it that they pay their employees an adequate wage, so that that money, in turn, may be released many times over in the cash registers on every street in the city. It is the businessmen in the city who will benefit from an increased minimum wage, as much as those citizens now deprived of a decent wage.

I digress to say how well I remember the great opposition to the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, and that at the time that it was first proposed, those who advocated it had to bear the stigma, for a time, of the labels which were attached to us, such as being designated creeping socialists and what not. It is interesting that now we cannot go on the main streets of America and obtain support of any degree of substance from any group of employers advocating a repeal of the Fair Labor Standards Act. For American business has come to recognize that the Fair Labor Standards Act has been one of the great economic stabilizers of our country; and it is recognized that the Fair Labor Standards Act has been one of the great causes for keeping their cash registers ringing. It has been one of the soundest pieces of legislation enacted in our country in our time.

That is true of unemployment compensation insurance legislation as well. Also when we fought for unemployment compensation insurance legislation, there were those who became very emotionally concerned about it. Now business firms recognize that unemployment insurance legislation is another one of the economic stabilizers. One could not find a corporal's guard, among businessmen in most communities, to advocate a repeal of unemployment compensation insurance.

What businessmen should be thinking about is the purchasing power, the year around, of the inhabitants, the people who live in the District of Columbia, not just those who come and go as tourists, but those who are permanent residents as well. It is important to sound business in this city that we maintain a decent standard and level of purchasing power for every permanent resident.

There are many business firms doing business in the Nation's Capital that are presently covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. It is estimated that in 1965 there were approximately 151,500 employees in the District of Columbia covered by Federal minimum wage legislation. It is argued by restaurant and hotel interests that the proposed District of Columbia minimum wage law would make it unprofitable for them to remain in the District of Columbia. I say goodnaturedly and respectfully, but pointedly, that this is so much hogwash, and they know it. They are not fooling me by such absurd arguments, nor did they fool other members of the committee. The restaurants are going to be used by people who need to eat three times a day, with the imposition of a fair minimum wage, and restaurant operators know it. I say to the restaurant operators, "Where do you think they are going to eat? Do you think tens of thousands of people are going to go to Virginia and Maryland each day to eat, because you are required to pay a decent minimum wage, in my judgment an exceedingly low minimum wage, to your employees?"

No. All of us know that the present minimum hourly wage in the District of Columbia has been increased, through cumbersome Wage Board procedures, from time to time for certain women and minors. During the same period of time when these increases have been made, there never have been more hotels and restaurants operating in the Nation's Capital. It has not run them out of business. They are here because there is a need for the services they provide. I am told by the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board that so far as it knows, the District has not lost any business to either Maryland or Virginia because from time to time it has increased the minimum wage for certain women and minors. I believe that the facts put that old scarecrow argument to rest.

I have held the position for many years that no employer has the moral right, and should not be permitted the legal right, to exploit fellow human beings by not paying them a wage which will permit an employee the basic essentials of life and decency. The pending bill involves a moral issue. I have been derided for that position, and it has been charged that I would put businesses out of business with my philosophy. The answer is, I have no doubt about that, they should go out of business, if they cannot pay a decent minimum wage to make it possible for a fellow human being to live in health and decency. They had better go out of business and go to work as employees themselves, and see how they like it.

Many years ago, before I came to the Senate, I brought wrath down upon my head because of a decision I wrote on the War Labor Board, seeking to protect laundry workers. During a 10-day hearing downtown in the Labor Department during the war, I listened to counsel representing the great laundry association of this country try to justify, in 1942, 19 cents an hour for laundry workers. What did he think would be the crowning, devastating argument that would prevent increasing the basic wage for laundry workers? That if we changed that rate, the housewives would take their laundry back into their basements, and put laundries out of business.

In that opinion, I pointed out that if the housewives of America believed that they had a moral right to have the laundry workers of America subsidize them, the sooner the housewives got down into their basements and did their own laundry, the better. I was criticized for that as not being a politic statement.

I have never been known to substitute politic statements for facts, and I considered that an undeniable fact. But the strange part of it is that after we were through awarding a wage for the laundry workers which was at least an attempt to be fair—although I thought it was still too low—we did not receive any subsequent complaints of any laundry on any street in America with a sign on it, "Gone out of business because of the War Labor Board's wage decision."

We will not get any notice as a result of the passage of the bill, which I hope will be passed today and subsequently will be approved by both houses and signed by the President, that any restaurant or hotel will close its doors because of the requirement to pay $1.25 an hour as a minimum wage.

Mr. President, the reason none of them will go out of business is that they are in the Nation's Capital, where services are needed, and are called upon to provide those services for certainly a reasonable profit.

It is also known that many employees are working long hours. The U.S. Department of Labor conducted a survey in 1962 of wage and hour conditions in the District of Columbia of 87,000 workers. The survey showed over 8,500 persons working more than 48 hours a week. The survey also showed that the largest number of these employees were employed in retail trade, restaurants, automobile services, and real estate operators' establishments.

The committee believes that the time and one-half for overtime would reduce the very long hours worked in many business establishments in the District of Columbia, in unskilled occupations in which many unemployed workers in the community could find work. Also, premium pay could be expected to make available more work to those who are involuntarily working part time, of whom there are a considerable number in the Nation's Capital.

In summary, Mr. President, the bill, as amended, provides a statutory minimum wage floor of $1.25 an hour and 1½ times the regular rate for hours worked in excess of a 40-hour workweek, effective 180 days after enactment. This is the same protection provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act. In regard to minimum wage and overtime standards, the bill also provides that an employer shall pay his employees wages at a rate of not less than the highest of the following: First, $1.25 an hour; second, such rate as may, from time to time, be established by section 6(a)(1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended and as it may be amended in the future; or, third, such rate of pay as is or may be established by any applicable wage order issued pursuant to this bill, or preserved by section 2 of this bill. It is the intention of your committee that the wage rate referred to in section 2 above is that provided in subsection (a) of section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act without regard to the effect, if any, of any other subsection of section 6 or any other provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The committee believes that this relationship between the Federal and the District of Columbia statutes should be maintained by law. It is therefore extremely important that the measure not merely adopt the existing $1.25 per hour established at the present time by the Federal legislation, but that it insure that the prescribed District of Columbia minimum wage rate will automatically follow the Federal rate if, and whenever, it may be increased again—as it already has been on several occasions—by the Congress.

In regard to coverage, the bill covers any individual—man, woman, or minor—employed by an employer, with two exceptions applicable to volunteers who render gratuitous services to educational, charitable, nonprofit, or religious organizations and to lay officers of religious organizations. It also excludes employees of the United States and the District of Columbia.

Mr. President, the committee believes that the bill is modest, practical, and reasonable, and urges the Senate to adopt it as it did a similar bill, S. 860, in the 88th Congress.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield for a question or two?

Mr. MORSE. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Vermont for that purpose.

Mr. PROUTY. In section 3(b) the term "regular rate" is used as the basis for computing time and one-half. Nowhere in this bill is that term defined, but the same term is used and defined in section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act as amended. Is it the Senator's understanding that undefined terms used in this bill which are also used in the Fair Labor Standards Act, such as the term "regular rate," shall have substantially the same meaning and be given substantially the same effect as they receive under the Fair Labor Standards Act?

Mr. MORSE. The answer is yes. That is exactly the intention of the drafters of the bill. For legislative history, as the Senator in charge of the bill, let me say that the Senator from Vermont has set forth exactly the meaning of the "regular rate" in the language of the bill, and he has also set forth the intention of the committee that any term

in the bill not specifically defined shall be interpreted and applied as it is defined or used in connection with the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.

Mr. PROUTY. Then I gather it would be the Senator's understanding that regular rate of compensation for purposes of computing overtime compensation rates under the District of Columbia minimum wage bill, H.R. 8126, would basically consist of cash wages paid the employee and in some circumstances might take into account an allowance for board and lodging, but consistent with the practice under the Fair Labor Standards Act, would not include fringe benefits or gratuities?

Mr. MORSE. The answer is "yes." The legislative history will show that the Senator from Vermont has set forth clearly the intent of the Senator in charge of the bill and the meaning of the bill except that gratuities would be included in the regular rate to the extent they are accounted for by the employee to the employer.

Mr. PROUTY. I thank the Senator very much for his clarification.

Mr. President, first, I wish to express my deep appreciation to the Senator from Oregon for his charitable references to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] and myself; the Senator from Oregon has always been extremely cooperative on almost any question. He has been fair in all respects and we are very grateful to him for it.

Mr. President, I can understand how some, who are not thoroughly conversant with the amendments to the bill presently before the Senate might become confused.

At the outset of my remarks on the proposed legislation, I should like to clear up any confusion with respect to my position on the question of the bill as a whole. I do this in response to certain articles published in Washington newspapers which misinterpreted my position.

Mr. President, I do not come to the floor today to do battle against the passage of the District of Columbia minimum wage bill. I come here in the hope that I can make this bill a better bill, a fair, equitable, and more meaningful bill.

As this bill came to us from the House, it was different from the version before us in a number of substantial and material provisions. The House version never wholly attains the broad coverage and powers written into the present language.

The House-passed bill provided for a minimum wage floor of $1.25 per hour by the 3d of September 1967. The Senate bill goes to a floor of $1.25 effective 6 months after enactment.

The House bill provided for a 3-year phase-in period with separate overtime provisions for hotel and restaurant employees. The Senate bill includes them as of the effective date.

The House bill permits the Commissioners to issue wage orders going below the statutory floor in cases where that floor works undue economic hardship on the employer. The Senate version empowers the Commissioners to issue wage orders in excess of the statutory floor, in order to provide employees with wages sufficient to provide adequate maintenance and to protect their health.

The House bill exempts domestic employees in a private home, employees of charitable and eleemosynary institutions, and commissioned salesmen from minimum wage and overtime provisions and car wash employees from overtime alone. The Senate bill contains no comparable exemptions except for auto salesmen under certain situations.

The House bill vested such additional powers as were necessary in the existing Wage Board. The Senate vests the powers in the Commissioners for delegation as they see fit.

Finally, Mr. President, the House bill's statutory floor would remain until further action by Congress on the District of Columbia minimum wage. Under the Senate bill the statutory floor for the District of Columbia minimum wage will always at least equal the national floor.

There are many meritorious provisions and objectives in the House-passed bill. There are many excellent features in the Senate version. When this bill is passed—and it clearly will pass—the differences between the two versions of the bill will have to be ironed out in conference. But, that is not to say that the Senate has no obligation to look closely at the hypotheses upon which the Senate version is founded. That is not to say that this bill is perfect in every respect. That is not to say that the destiny of this proposed legislation should be left entirely to the conferees.

So, Mr. President, I come to the Senate floor to engage in honest efforts to bring forth a meaningful and significant minimum wage bill. I come to the floor, as I have come a number of times before, as a supporter of minimum wage legislation.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the questions which have been raised by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] deserve to be debated on the floor of the Senate and deserve to have the consideration which he proposes to have them given. He is a most valued member of the Subcommittee on Labor, and the legislation deserves careful scrutiny from the point of view of practicality.

One thing I would like to put in focus, which I think is very important, is that the minimum wage bill must be adjusted to conditions in the District of Columbia. The fact that the Senate is tying it to the Federal standard because the District of Columbia happens to be the Federal enclave, and at least that standard should obtain whatever else may happen, does not change the fact that the District of Columbia is one of the very high income areas of the country and is one of the very high living cost areas of the country.

What this proposal really amounts to is a State minimum wage law. I can understand why some State minimum wage laws may provide for less than the Federal standard, but I can also understand why they may provide for more.

So I rise to state that the principle which I have stated is just as applicable as is the principle stated by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], whose opinion I value so highly. I refer to scrutinizing the bill to be sure that injustices and unfairness are not perpetuated and that opportunities for employment are not reduced, which could happen if the minimum wage were fixed so high that people might lose work as a result. Let it be remembered that one does not have to have his car washed every week, or even every month. A car that is dirty can be driven just as easily as a car that is clean. So the bill should be scrutinized to see that it will not have that effect.

I rise to urge that principle as a template to a discussion of the bill.

First, there is a case of tying the District of Columbia to the Federal minimum wage formula, because this is the Federal enclave, and it should not be necessary to pass laws every time with regard to it.

Second, the District of Columbia is not only the Federal enclave, but it has a high income level and is a pretty expensive area in which to live. Therefore, the Senate should accommodate the bill to the localized situation in terms of what it costs people to live and what is a decent standard of living.

Third, we must be careful to pay attention to each amendment, to the questions raised, and to the answers made by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], because we can also cut off employment by being impractical. In many businesses, especially in the service trades—and that includes motels, hotels, and restaurants—if the costs are hiked too much, the city may be deprived of services that the people need, because a person can operate a business only if he makes a profit.

If these principles are taken into consideration, and the amendments which have been suggested are carefully considered by the Senator from Oregon, and, indeed, by every Member, we can come forth with a good bill.

Mr. President, I am a liberal. I would like to support the statement of the Senator from Vermont. I hope what he has proposed will be put to the test. It should not be forgotten that the remarks of the Senator are fundamental to the support that should be had for the bill when it is passed.

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

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I agree with everything the Senator from New York has said. The committee has taken note of the three criteria he has laid own. I respectfully say that we have brought to the Senate a bill which, in my opinion, follows those criteria.

The Senator from New York is correct when he says that what we are doing in effect today is passing a minimum wage bill as a State legislature. Our problem is that we really should not be the ones doing this, but we have to do it because we have not had the wisdom in the past to provide for a home rule government in the District of Columbia so others would be passing this legislation.

We have tried to take into account the point the Senator from New York makes,

that we have to adjust these wages in the light of the particular circumstances that relate to the various conditions in the District of Columbia. There is no better way to do it than the way it has been done. We provide for an ad hoc committee approach. We provide for a wage board. An ad hoc committee is provided for that would enter into an inquiry into a given type of business and decide whether or not there was justified a wage order that would require the payment of a minimum wage above the so-called standard minimum wage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

I was insistent that that be continued, because the experience we have had with respect to women and minors in this area has been successful. There has been little, if any, criticism of the actions of the ad hoc committees and the Wage Board.

The question is also raised whether a minimum wage should be authorized at a figure of more than $1.25 an hour. I want to make very clear to the Senator from New York that $1.25 is the floor. As the Senator from New York has pointed out, Washington, D.C., is a high living cost area. It is also a good business area. Businesses are not suffering in the District of Columbia when we take the economy as a whole into consideration. There is a carryover into all businesses when there is a general high level of prosperity.

With regard to the particular businesses the Senator has mentioned, restaurants, hotels, and motels, I have given a great deal of attention to that question, because we wanted to be absolutely certain that we would be completely fair to restaurants and hotels. I know of no evidence in the record presented to the committee that gives any support to claims that we are unfair to restaurants and motels if we adopt the minimum floor of $1.25 an hour. I have talked with hotel and restaurant operators in many other cities. Their attitude has been that they wished they could have the guaranteed income that such operators get in the District of Columbia, because of the tremendous tourist trade that flows into the city 12 months a year.

I appreciate the Senator's calling attention to the three criteria. All I can say, as floor manager of the bill, is that he has my assurance that the bill fully and carefully follows out the criteria.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator. Of course, the amendments of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] will test that out. I hope the bill will stand up in the debate. But I wanted to call attention to the standards which should be applied, which I hope will be applied, to show not only good faith, but that the proposals of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] should be tested.

Mr. MORSE. I assure the Senator from New York that I will try to arrive at some understanding with the Senator from Vermont on the amendments. I do not believe we shall have any difficulty. He has some rather technical amendments with regard to domestics which I will be glad to discuss with him.

Quite frankly I would not favor the cumbersome procedure that the bill would provide in respect to the keeping of records for domestics. Minimum records have to be kept which are similar to those the housewife has to keep in regard to social security. The housewife has to keep those anyway. She would not be imposed upon to keep a similar record for a domestic.

The Senator might ask why in the world it escaped me. It escaped me, and I do not know why it escaped me.

The Senator from New York knows that no Member of this body would object more than I, now along with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], to a $10,000 fine and 6 months in prison for a housewife.

I did not sufficiently take note of that item in the bill, and I shall agree to strike it.

Mr. JAVITS. Domestic service is a difficult subject throughout the United States. Domestic service is necessary in many families where it is impossible for the housewife to carry on, and it is becoming much more difficult. I believe one of the principal reasons is the fact that people who engage in domestic service do not feel any dignity in the calling.

It may be that there is needed the application precisely of minimum wages, an 8-hour day, and regularization of employment, to bring a nobility to the employee. The employee should be given rights, and not merely money. He should have personal dignity, which would attract more people to domestic work and give much greater satisfaction therefor, although superficially it might seem more costly and troublesome.

I believe this is an important point which, by being tried out here, may very well be somewhat of a laboratory experiment for other States, and perhaps even in a broader context than we are considering here today.

Mr. MORSE. I quite agree with the Senator from New York.

I believe the Senator should know that various representatives from women's organizations appeared before the committee who made the same point, and also that domestics should be brought under the minimum wage program.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MORSE. While I have the attention of the Senator from New York, I might add that 1½ million women in this country work as domestics, so we deal with no small labor force.

Mr. JAVITS. I realize that, and I am sure that the Senator agrees with me as to the great problem in this field in recent years.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] would like me to suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 478

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I call up my amendment (No. 478) to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 38, after line 5, add the following new subsection:

(d) The recordkeeping requirements of section 11, the posting requirement of section 12 and the penalties provided by section 14, shall not apply with respect to the employer of a domestic servant in a private residence.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the pending bill, H.R. 8126 provides minimum wage and overtime compensation protection for domestic employees in a private residence.

This amendment cuts from the bill a grievance encroachment of the governmental eye, ear, nose, and throat into the private home.

Without this amendment, Mr. President, a person who employs a domestic worker in his house or apartment could have to post a minimum wage notice on his dining room door, or wherever space was available.

Without this amendment, Mr. President, a homeowner or apartment dweller with a maid could have to keep a warehouse of extensive, detailed employment records, including the name, address, and occupation of the employee and, if an employee were under the age of 19, his or her date of birth.

Without this amendment, Mr. President, the homeowner or apartment dweller might need a certified public accountant to record the rate of pay, the amount paid each pay period to each employee, the hours worked each day and each workweek by the employee, the amount of board and lodging provided as part of the employment or the fair value of the uniform provided by the employer or required to be furnished by the employee.

Without this amendment, Mr. President, the homeowner could be asked to submit to annual audits and the Commissioners could demand from the homeowner or apartment dweller a sworn statement of such records and information upon forms prescribed or approved by the Commissioners.

Without this amendment, Mr. President, a woman who employs a maid could be required to, and now I quote the language of the bill:

Furnish to each employee at the time of payment of wages an itemized statement showing the date of the wage payment, gross wages paid, deductions from and additions to wages, net wages paid, hours worked during the pay period, and any other information as the Commissioners may prescribe by regulation.

Without this amendment, Mr. President, the employer of a domestic servant will have to make, keep, or preserve these

records for a period of not less than 3 years.

As if all this were not enough, Mr. President, he would have to make and preserve, and again I quote from the bill:

> Such other records or information as the Commissioners shall prescribe by regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or of the regulations or orders issued thereunder.

But, Mr. President, the "piece de resistance," the quintessence of bureaucratic involvement in the day-to-day lives of each resident of the District of Columbia, is the language which appears on page 38 of the bill and permits the Commissioners to knock on the residence door and demand to see or transcribe the required records. I quote the language of the bill:

> Such records shall be open and made available for inspection or transcription by the Commissioners or their authorized representatives at any reasonable time.

Accordingly, Mr. President, I forewarn District of Columbia housewives not to be surprised some morning to find Commissioner Tobriner at the door with his clipboard.

Mr. President, as if these impositions on the patience, good nature, and understanding of the modern housewife were not enough, I would direct your attention to sections 13 and 14 of the bill.

If the housewife does not post the law or the appropriate wage orders in a conspicuous and accessible place in or about the premises, or if that gentle soul who graces our kitchen and brings us our slippers and irons our shirts does not find time during her working day to keep all the records the Commissioners may ask her to keep, and if that sweet thing should say, albeit under her breath, "this is the apotheosis of asininity," she may have made such a willful violation of the act as to entitle her to a $10,000 fine or 6 months in prison.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Do I correctly understand that without this amendment's being adopted every housewife in the District of Cloumbia will have to display the type of poster which I have in my hand, either in her dining room or in her kitchen, and that if she does not do so she will be subject to a $10,000 fine or 6 months in the penitentiary?

Mr. PROUTY. That is my understanding.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I have heard of greed for power on the part of some bureaucrats; but is it not a little ridiculous to require the display of such a poster as this in every home? Will there be different color schemes to match the color of the paint of her kitchen or the decor of her dining room? The color of the poster I have in my hand is green.

Do I correctly understand that this poster must be displayed either in the dining room, where her guests will be served, or in the kitchen if a maid is employed in the kitchen, so that it may be in full view for reading at all times?

Mr. PROUTY. It will have to be displayed in a conspicuous place on the premises. It certainly would create a problem for even the most experienced decorator.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I suggest that that may create a problem for those who try to enforce such a law. When they call on the housewives, present this poster, and attempt to make them hang it in their kitchen.

We have plans for the beautification of America. We have appropriated millions to beautify America. I believe that many housewives might suggest that this would not look good even on the outside of the house. It looks like a billboard.

I wonder how it would look in the White House. It would not go with some of the color schemes. Would this notice have to be posted on a prominent wall in the White House when the President is serving guests?

Mr. PROUTY. If the White House employed covered employees, it would.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I suggest that there be a rollcall to settle this question. This is an attempt by some bureaucrat to go into homes and tell every housewife that he will put her in the penitentiary for 6 months or fine her $10,000 if she does not post one of these notices on a wall, in addition to complying with a system of books and records which not even the Government of the United States keeps for its American taxpayers.

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

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I believe it would be a capital idea if we were to make available to every housewife a fine Rembrandt or a Picasso or some work of art that conforms to the color scheme of the home. Then she can paste this notice on the back of the picture.

Mr. PROUTY. That has not yet been suggested by the Commissioners, but they should certainly explore the suggestion.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It would relate to the cultural projects and the beautification measures.

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

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. The Senator from Illinois has made a very good suggestion. It seems to me that there are many unemployed, self-styled artists who swing paintbrushes around on canvas. They might be put to work designing something of this kind that would be universally acceptable to all decorative schemes in the kitchen or in other parts of the home where something like this would have to be hung.

I think it would be worthy of consideration to pursue that idea.

Mr. PROUTY. I must confess that, as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I should have urged corrective action at the earliest consideration of the bill. I am equally at fault for letting a provision of this nature pass by.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is rather modest. He is not responsible. He should take the credit for calling this matter to our attention. If it had not been for the efforts of the Senator, this provision might have been passed by Congress, and what a predicament we might be in when we go home and tell our wives what had been done. We would get a lesson on lobbying direct from headquarters if we went home and told our wives that they had to put up any such poster as this in their dining rooms or kitchens and keep it on display or be subject to a fine of $10,000 or imprisonment for 6 months in the penitentiary if they did not keep it prominently displayed.

I congratulate the Senator from Vermont for calling this to our attention. I only hope that the bureaucrat who dreamed of this grab for power over the homes of America will talk to his wife before he makes any other similar suggestion. For his sake let us hope he is not married, and he had better hope so.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, as this bill is written, the wife who employs a maid is put to the same standard of posting, recordkeeping, and criminal penalties as the officers of the District of Columbia's largest corporations.

Let us take the housewife off the hook. My amendment, while still requiring her to pay her maid a minimum wage or time and a half for overtime, strikes from the bill all posting, all recordkeeping, and all criminal penalties as they would apply to the employer of domestic employees in a private home.

I urge its adoption.

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

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I congratulate the Senator for calling this to our attention.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a verbatim copy of this order which I believe it will be agreed is a comprehensive compilation of the requirements which probably would come into play under the bill as it now stands, without this amendment.

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

POST AND KEEP POSTED WHERE EMPLOYEES MAY READ—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MINIMUM WAGE AND INDUSTRIAL SAFETY BOARD—MINIMUM WAGE ORDER NO. 9—CLERICAL AND SEMITECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS—EFFECTIVE JULY 24, 1961—(THIS ORDER SUPERSEDES THE ORDER EFFECTIVE JUNE 8, 1954)

To Whom It May Concern Take Notice:

Pursuant to the authority in it vested by the District of Columbia minimum wage law of September 19, 1918 (40 Stat. 960; District of Columbia Code, 1951 edition, sections 36–401 through 422), as amended, the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board of the District of Columbia, after investigation, being of the opinion that a substantial number of women workers in clerical occupations in the District of Columbia and a substantial number of women workers in semitechnical occupations in the District of Columbia are receiving "wages inadequate to supply them with the necessary cost of living to maintain them in health and protect their morals"; and having received recom-

mendations of the conference of representatives of employers and employees in the clerical and in the semitechnical occupations in the District of Columbia, together with representatives of the general public; and a public hearing upon said recommendations having been duly held in the District of Columbia on May 22, 1961; and having inquired into the wages of minors employed in clerical and semitechnical occupations and having determined that the minimum wages and standards hereinafter ordered are suitable for minors, the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board of the District of Columbia does hereby order that—

1. Definitions: As used in this order:

(a) Clerical occupations: The term "clerical occupations" includes general office clerks, stenographers, typists, secretaries, file clerks, mail clerks, bookkeepers, cashiers, tellers, shipping clerks, receiving clerks, information clerks, receptionists, checkers, proofreaders, investigators, examiners, claim adjusters, messengers, office boys and girls, telephone operators, office machine operators, duplicating machine operators, telegraph messengers, telegraphic-typewriter operators, telegraph operators, collection clerks, tracer clerks, ticket agents, baggage agents, vehicle dispatchers, and similar occupations.

(b) Semitechnical occupations: The term "semitechnical occupations" includes:

(1) Practical nurses, nurses aids, house mothers, institutional attendants.

(2) Assistants to (a) physicians; (b) dentists; (c) laboratory technicians; (d) X-ray technicians; (e) personnel counselors; (f) labor relations counselors; (g) public relations counselors; (h) librarians; (i) educators; (j) social workers; (k) writers; (l) research workers; (m) statisticians; (n) editors and other assistants whose work requires similar training, skill, and supervision.

Excluded are clerical or semitechnical occupations covered by other District of Columbia wage orders, as for example, such occupations found in retail trade laundry, and dry cleaning, beauty culture, manufacturing and wholesaling, and hotel restaurant, and allied occupations.

(c) Employees: The term "employee" means any woman, and any person of either sex under 18 years of age, who works in a clerical or a semitechnical occupation, except that an employee whose work is part of the required course of study for credits toward a degree or whose work is required in order to obtain a license or certificate from the District of Columbia Government to engage in the practice of a profession is excluded from this order.

(d) Employer: The term "employer" means any person, firm, or corporation who directly or indirectly controls hours of work, wages, or working conditions of any employee.

(e) Split shift: The term "split shift" means a schedule of daily hours in which the hours worked are not consecutive, except that a schedule in which the time out for each meal does not exceed 1 hour shall not be deemed a "split shift."

(f) Uniform: The term "uniform" means any garment, dress, suit, apron, shirt, collar, cuffs, cap, or headband worn by the employee as a condition of employment. It shall be a presumption that uniforms are worn as a condition of employment if such garments are of a similar design, material, or color, including black and white, or form part of the decorative pattern of the establishment. Clothing customarily used for street wear or other wear away from the place of employment shall not be deemed a "uniform."

(g) Wage: The term "wage" means the unconditional payment in cash or by check, negotiable at par, by an employer to an employee as compensation for working time. Wages are not considered unconditionally paid if the employee pays directly or indirectly to the employer or another person for the employer's benefit the whole or part of the moneys delivered to the employee. In no case shall gratuities be included as part of the wage.

(h) Week: The term "week" means any period of 7 consecutive days.

(i) Working time: The term "working time" means all time the employee is (1) required to be on the employer's premises, on duty, or at a prescribed place; (2) permitted to work; or (3) required to travel in connection with the business of the employer.

2. Minimum wage standards:

No employer shall pay any employee a wage less than the following:

(a) Weekly wage: For each week in which working time is 32 but not more than 40 hours, $42.

(1) Exception for practical nurses, nurses aids, housemothers, and institutional attendants:

Effective July 24, 1961, $40.
Effective July 24, 1962, $41.
Effective July 24, 1963, $42.

(2) The applicable weekly wage may be prorated if the employee requests time off when work is available. The prorated hourly rate for the $40 wage is $1; for the $41 wage, $1.025; and for the $42 wage, $1.05.

(b) Part-time hourly wage: For working time of less than 32 hours per week, $1.20 per hour.

(1) Exception for practical nurses, nurses aids, housemothers, and institutional attendants:

Effective July 24, 1961, $1.10 per hour.
Effective July 24, 1962, $1.15 per hour.
Effective July 24, 1963, $1.20 per hour.

(2) Exception for students under 18 years of age: 90 cents per hour, provided the employer has on file a valid student certificate obtained from the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board.

(3) Exception for students employed by the educational institution they are attending: 90 cents per hour.

(c) Overtime hourly wage: For working time in excess of 40 hours per week, $1.20 per hour.

(d) Wage rate under special license: A special license may be issued by the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board to a woman whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise, authorizing her employment at a rate of pay to be fixed by the Board and stated in the license.

(c) Apprentice wage rate: For a period of not more than 1 year after an employee has been registered under the District of Columbia apprenticeship law, such employee may be paid at a rate not less than 80 percent of the minimum wage established in this order:

3. Regulations to safeguard minimum wage standards:

(a) Minimum daily wage: An employee shall be paid for at least 4 hours at the applicable rate for each day on which the employee reports for work under general or specific instructions but is given no work or is given less than 4 hours of work, provided that such payment does not apply to students employed by the educational institution they are attending and further provided that on days when school is in session, students under 18 years of age may be paid for the hours actually worked.

(b) Additional daily wage: An employee shall be paid $1.10 in addition to the minimum wage for each day during which (1) such employee works a split shift or (2) the total time between the beginning and ending of such employee's working time exceeds 11 hours, provided that such payment does not apply to students employed by the educational institution they are attending.

(c) Uniforms: The employer shall pay the cost of purchase, maintenance, and cleaning of uniforms, except that in lieu of purchasing, maintaining, and cleaning uniforms, the employer may pay 3 cents per hour in addition to the minimum wage.

(d) Travel expenses: In addition to the minimum wage, the employer shall pay the employee for travel expenses incurred by such employee in performance of the business of the employer.

(e) Deductions: No deductions, except those specifically authorized by law or court order or as specified below, shall be made which would bring the wage below the legal minimum without the written consent of the employee and the written approval of the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board.

(1) Meals: Not more than 36 cents for each meal furnished the employee by the employer with the following daily limitations: For 4 or less hours of work, a deduction for not more than one meal; for over 4 hours of work, a deduction for not more than two meals; for an employee who lives at the place of employment, a deduction for not more than three meals.

(2) Lodging: When the employer furnishes lodging to the employee, not more than $5 a week for one person in a single room or not more than $4 a week for each of two persons in a double room; not more than the reasonable value of an apartment as determined by a comparison with the value of similar accommodations in the vicinity of those furnished.

4. Basis of payment: Irrespective of the basis of payment, whether time rate, piece rate, bonus, or commission, no employer shall pay any employee less than the minimum wage.

5. Time of payment: Every employer shall establish a regular periodic payday for each employee and shall pay to each employee on such payday not less than the minimum wage for all working time in the pay period.

6. Records: Every employer shall keep at the place of employment of each employee or at the employer's principal place of business in the District of Columbia an accurate record for each employee containing the following information:

(a) Name in full, address, and occupation.

(b) Date of birth if employee is under 18 years of age.

(c) Total number of hours worked each day and each week.

(d) Daily record of the hours of beginning and stopping work and the hours of beginning and ending the meal recess if the employee works a split shift or is covered by the hours law.

(e) For each pay period, gross wages and net wages, including additions to and deductions from wages.

(f) Regular periodic payday.

(g) Name of day and time of day on which employee's week begins.

Such records shall be kept on file for at least 3 years after the entry of the record and shall be open to inspection by the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board and any of its duly authorized representatives.

7. Posting: Every employer shall keep a copy of this order posted in a conspicuous place where it can be read by all employees.

8. Separability: If any section, sentence, clause, or phrase of this order is for any reason held to be invalid, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portion of the order.

9. Repeal: Minimum Wage Order No. 9 entitled "Clerical and Technical Occupations," effective June 8, 1954, is hereby repealed, except with respect to rights accrued and liabilities incurred under said order prior to

the effective date of this order and except with respect to violations of said order occurring prior to the effective date of this order.

This order becomes effective July 24, 1961.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MINIMUM WAGE AND INDUSTRIAL SAFETY BOARD.

CHARLES W. PUTNAM, *Chairman.*
CLAYTON B. ALDRICH.
RICHARD D. BAILEY.

Attest:

CARRIE L. ALLGOOD, *Executive Secretary.*

MAY 25, 1961.

(Penalties for violation: Any employer who violates any provision of this order is guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment as provided by law. (See District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law of September 19, 1918, 40 Stat. 964; District of Columbia Code, 1951 edition, sec. 36–417.))

(Address inquiries regarding this order to District of Columbia Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board, 499 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C., NAtional 8–6000.)

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. That is something that would have to be posted on the wall of the dining room or kitchen, fine print and all.

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

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I join the Senator, because my wife does not like green, and this would not jibe with the new paint in the kitchen.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, the reason I asked and received unanimous consent to have this order printed in the RECORD is that I am quite sure that if I had asked to have it printed in the Appendix of the daily RECORD the question would have been raised that it exceeds the maximum limit which we can have printed in the Appendix of the daily RECORD. If one were to read the details, I think he would find that it is an extremely long and complicated thing. The only way I could have it printed in the RECORD would be in conjunction with my remarks, because it would exceed the length of material that we are permitted to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The public ought to be aware of that.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I say to my friends the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], the distinguished minority leader, the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], and the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] that I have enjoyed very much their good humor in light of the tragedy that they are seeking to remedy.

I have often said, and I believe that some of them have heard me say it, that the only difference between a mistake that I make and a mistake the other fellow makes is that when I make one it is really a blooper. This is one of those bloopers.

The Senator from Vermont very kindly stated that he is willing to take some of the responsibility. I take it all because I am chairman of the subcommittee; and when a Senator is chairman of a subcommittee and something like this goes through the subcommittee, through hearings, through executive session, and finally comes to a vote, and no one detects it, that is the fault of the chairman, and nobody else.

I take the responsibility. Of course, we all know, inexcusable as a mistake is, how this provision got into the bill. In drafting the bill, the Fair Labor Standards Act was followed. Of course, this is the procedure that is followed in connection with the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act in businesses and industries. No one even thought of it being applied to housewives. Of course, it must come out.

I am going to offer, in a moment, a modification to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont, to which I hope he will agree. However, I say to my friend the Senator from Delaware that I appreciate his concern about Mrs. Johnson in the White House. However, it would not apply to Mrs. Johnson, because the White House is exempt under the bill anyway. The White House and Federal institutions are exempt. I am sure she will appreciate the great concern the Senator has for her. I shall see to it that she is advised that the Senator from Delaware has that concern. This provision ought to be stricken from the bill and we will strike it.

Even if it would apply to housewives, and it certainly should not, it would require, as it did in industry, willful violation. It provides that no person shall be imprisoned under this section except for an offense committed after the conviction of such person for a prior offense.

That is not much comfort, but they would not be put in prison the first time, just as they do not put a businessman or industrialist in prison the first time. It is a sort of probationary period that is allowed him after his first conviction. Of course, we must take this provision out.

Now, may I have the attention of my friend from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] on the language that I have handed to him, for just a moment? If he will turn to page 38 of the bill, between lines 5 and 6, inserting the following language, there will be a new subsection (d):

> The recordkeeping requirements of section 11, the posting requirement of section 12 and the penalties provided by section 14, shall not apply to any employer with respect to any employee of such employer employed as a domestic servant in the private home of such employer; except that with respect to such employee, the employer shall maintain such minimum records as the Commissioners may prescribe by regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or of the regulations or orders issued thereunder.

Now, every housewife keeps those minimum records necessary for social security. All I am seeking here is that the only records she has to keep would be records of that type and the procedure for describing the records, if the Senator will note the language—and I state it to him again—"shall maintain such minimum records as the Commissioners may prescribe by regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or of the regulations or orders issued thereunder."

Mr. PROUTY. If I understand the Senator's suggestion correctly, it would not require a housewife to keep any more records than she does for that employee under the Social Sercurity Act?

Mr. MORSE. Let the manager of the bill make perfectly clear, for the instruction of the Commissioners, that the only intent of this language is that they should not prescribe any record requirement that imposes greater requirements upon the housewife than the housewife now has in connection with keeping social security records and making reports thereon.

Mr. PROUTY. That is a fair approach. I have no objection to it.

Mr. MORSE. I would appreciate very much if the Senator would help me crawl out of the "blooper" in which I find myself, by the acceptance of that amendment to the bill.

Mr. PROUTY. I am happy to assist the Senator in that regard.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is very kind.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Over the years, we have all seen amendments taken to conference and promptly dropped in the waste bin in conference, and a conference report brought back without an amendment which has been pretty generally approved of by the body that sent it over.

While I know the feeling of the Senator from Oregon—he is generally in favor of what the Senator from Vermont is trying to do—I wonder if the Senator from Oregon is willing to state that if the amendment as it is arranged between them at the present time, by some legerdemain of parliamentary procedure, should be thrown out in conference, the Senator from Oregon would oppose the conference report on that basis.

Mr. MORSE. I would if we ever reached that situation, but there is no danger of it, because the House bill does not contain the amendment which we are objecting to; and, therefore, we are willing to go to the House in conference with this language that the Senator from Vermont is willing to accept.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I understand——

Mr. MORSE. The House is not going to make the mistake we made in committee, but if the House came in with any such proposal, of course I would never agree to accepting it.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I have seen some rare instances on conference committees in which one body did not have a particular amendment in its bill as it passed. If such an amendment were put in by the other body, the House or Senate might rush up and say, "We accept the amendment" before it has ever been contested in the committee or anything else, or "we accept the proposal," or "we insist on altering it in some way to reach the purpose this amendment accomplishes."

Mr. MORSE. Let me say to the Senator from Iowa that I believe there is no danger of it at all; but if the House should seek to have the Senate conferees accept any amendment which has the remotest similarity to the language

of the Senate language which we are now dropping; namely, the posting requirement or imprisonment requirement, or a fine or penalty upon the housewife, the floor manager of this bill—and I am sure I speak for all my fellow committee members—would oppose the bill and refuse to bring it to the floor of the Senate.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I thank the Senator. That satisfies me so far as I am concerned.

May I ask one more question, while the Senator is so indulgent?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Is there a provision in the legislation now before us that the District Commissioners or any other authority in the District may raise the minimum wage?

Mr. MORSE. Oh, yes.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Arbitrarily, above the minimum that we established in this bill?

Mr. MORSE. Oh, yes. I have discussed that. That situation has existed for a good many years in the District of Columbia, in connection with the minimum wage law affecting women and children. It is a procedure that exists in some State minimum wage laws.

Let me explain to the Senator the way it works. The Commissioners appoint an ad hoc committee. It is a tripartite committee, consisting of public members, industry members, and labor members. They make a study of the wage situation in a given industry or occupation, and they make recommendations to the Commissioners.

The Commissioners are not bound by their recommendation. Let us take a hypothetical case. Let us assume that the minimum is $1.25. It is found that the minimum wage in that particular industry should be $1.30. The Commissioners are not bound to accept the report of the ad hoc committee.

The practice, I am advised, is that they hold a public hearing, and if they find that under the facts and circumstances of that particular business or industry, the minimum wage should be $1.30 instead of $1.25, they have the authority to raise it to that amount.

They have been doing that in the District for a good many years in regard to the minimum wages with respect to women and minors.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. MORSE. Will the Senator let me send to the desk my proposed language for a modification?

Mr. President, I send to the desk a proposal for a modification of the Prouty amendment, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGOVERN in the chair). The proposed modification will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 38, between lines 5 and 6, insert the following:

(d) The recordkeeping requirements of section 11, the posting requirements of section 12, and the penalties provided by section 14 shall not apply to an employer with respect to any employee of such employer employed as a domestic servant in the private home of such employer; except that with respect to such employee the employer shall maintain such minimum records as the Commissioners may prescribe by regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or of the regulations or orders issued thereunder.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair inquires of the Senator from Vermont whether or not he accepts the modification suggested by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. PROUTY. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

Mr. MORSE. I now yield to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. This may seem to be a joke, but on the other hand I was very serious about the fact that I thought there should be a record vote so there would be no question in the minds of conferees and the House as to where the Senate stood on this particular proposal.

Mr. MORSE. I am all for it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. But I understand now that this was not a part of the House bill.

Mr. MORSE. No; but I have no objection to a yea-and-nay vote, if the Senator wishes it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I——

Mr. MORSE. I told the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] that if some Senator indicated he wanted a record vote, I would cooperate.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The reason I was suggesting a rollcall vote was so that we could go on record in clear terms to anyone concerned that the Senate did not approve of the proposal whereby a housewife could be forced to put up the same set of rules and regulations in her kitchen and dining room, as is required of a businessman, with a provision in the bill that she would be subject to a $10,000 fine or 6 months in the penitentiary for failing to post this ridiculous looking poster in her living quarters.

The amendment of the Senator from Vermont would delete that language. If we can have the assurance of the Senator from Oregon that in the event the bill comes back from the House if by any chance any part of the provision reinstating this language should be incorporated in the bill, he and his conferees will join us in opposing this bill in its entirety in order to defeat that. If so, I would be inclined to go along without taking the time of the Senate for a record vote.

But I do want it clear that if the measure comes back from the conference with any part of this provision which we are deleting here with the Prouty amendment, the Senator from Oregon and the conferees will join us in opposing the entire bill, if necessary, for the purpose of defeating that section.

Otherwise, I believe that we should go on record so that the House will know our position. I am confident that the vote in the Senate would be unanimous in favor of the housewife.

Mr. MORSE. I should like to make clear to the Senator from Delaware that, unthinkable as the thought is, if the House should seek to have the Senate conferees adopt an amendment which would require any posting of a notice in homes throughout the country, to which the Senator from Delaware is referring, or to impose any fine or imprisonment upon housewives for violations, I, as Senator in charge of the bill and a member of the conferees, would certainly oppose any such amendment.

However, I do not wish to have the record brought back to me with the statement that I agreed to no word changes in the amendment. I do not know what word changes might be suggested, but I would oppose any word changes which resulted in placing any such penalty upon the housewife or requiring any such posting. I can give the Senator from Delaware assurance on that score.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is what I wished to know. I am not wedded to the exact language in the amendment but am discussing the principle of having the housewife subject to fines or imprisonment under the measure if she fails to post a notice in her living room or dining room—any such ridiculous poster as would have been mandatory without the amendment. Such a requirement is unthinkable. Certainly with that assurance on the part of the Senator from Oregon—and I know that he means it and that he will also stand back of the principle about which we are speaking—I would not insist that there be a yea-and-nay vote, because I believe we have made it crystal clear as to what the Senate desires and what it would accept if the bill were sent back to us.

Mr. MORSE. If I may have the attention of the Senator from Delaware one moment further, and also my friend the Senator from Vermont, it is clearly understood that the bill does provide the right on the part of the employee to have the Commissioners act to bring suit against an employer—housewife in this case—if the housewife is violating the law.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I am speaking of the provisions being corrected by this particular amendment; and under the circumstances——

Mr. MORSE. Let me make clear that I am in agreement with the Senator from Vermont on the point he has raised and also with the Senator from Delaware on the point he has so ably presented.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is the point I am discussing now, not the other features of the bill. I appreciate the assurance that the Senator from Oregon has given.

With that assurance I will not press for a record vote.

Mr. MORSE. It is all right to have a yea-and-nay vote, but it is not necessary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment (No. 478), as modified, of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the committee amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 477

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 477, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The amendment (No. 477), offered by Mr. PROUTY, is as follows:

On page 22, beginning with line 16, strike all through line 21 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(b) 'Wage' means compensation due to an employee by reason of his employment including allowances for the reasonable cost of board, lodging, or other facilities or services, customarily furnished by the employer to the employees, or allowances for the fair value of gratuities customarily received by employees in any occupation in which gratuities have customarily and usually constituted and have been recognized as part of the remuneration for hiring purposes."

On page 30, beginning with line 23, strike all through the period on line 5, page 31, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(e) The committee report shall include, but shall not be limited to, recommendations for allowances for the reasonable cost of board, lodging, or other facilities or services, customarily furnished by the employer to the employee, or allowances for the fair value of gratuities customarily received by employees in any occupation in which gratuities have customarily and usually constituted and have been recognized as a part of the remuneration for hiring purposes. The committee may make a separate inquiry into and report on any branch of any occupation and may recommend different minimum wages for such branch of employment in the same occupation."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this amendment redefines the term "wage" to include the fair value or reasonable cost of tips, gratuities, board, and lodging.

In H.R. 8126, as it passed the House of Representatives, the term "wage" was defined so as to include the fair value received by the employee in board, lodging, apparel, or other facilities or services customarily furnished by the employer to the employee, as well as the reasonable value of gratuities.

The bill as reported by the Senate District Committee takes an entirely different approach. "Wages" are defined as legal tender received by the employee "including such allowances as may be permitted by any order or regulation, and so forth." The definition is so ambiguous and uncertain as to leave open the question whether the allowances spoken of must be likewise in "legal tender" so as to qualify for inclusion.

Aside from this ambiguity, H.R. 8126, as reported by the Senate District Committee, contains a definition of "wage" which is wholly inconsistent with the approach taken under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Under FLSA "wage" includes the reasonable value of board and lodging. The amendments to FLSA sent up by the administration and now pending in both the House and Senate Labor Committees are designed, in part, to expand the definition of "wage" to include, besides board and lodging, the fair value of tips and gratuities.

H.R. 8126, as it is now before us, ignores the reasoned judgment of the Fair Labor Standards Act, disregards the reasoned judgment of the Department of Labor's recommendations on amending the Fair Labor Standards Act and suggests that somehow tips, gratuities, board, and lodging ought to be kept in mind, but that their inclusion in the computation of "wage" be left wholly to the discretion of the Commissioners.

In all candor and honesty, I cannot recall ever seeing draftsmanship of the type I have seen in this bill relating to tips, gratuities, board, lodging, and the like.

First, the bill's definition of "wage" makes no direct references to these forms of compensation. Buried deep in the bill is a procedure for setting up ad hoc advisory committees to review the minimum wage as it relates to any industry or trade. The committee is to come forward with a report on the need for a minimum wage above the statutory floor for that trade or industry.

The committee's report may include a recommendation for inclusion of tips, board, lodging, and so forth, in the computation of "wage" and, if the committee determines to include such considerations in the computation, it may also recommend a permissive allowance for the dollar amount of such extras to be included in the computation. At this point, even though a trade or industry has, as a major portion of its compensation to the employee, tips, board, lodging, and so forth, the committee is not required to take them into account, the dollar allowance may or may not have a relationship to the fair value received by the employee. Such important judgments are left to the unfettered discretion of the committee.

Now, as if the foregoing gives us little comfort the additional language of the bill is enough to bring on cold chills.

The Commissioners are empowered, under the Senate version of the bill, to issue wage orders going beyond the statutory minimum. In arriving at a new level of minimum wages for a particular business, the Commissioners may—and of course, may not—take into account the recommendations of the ad hoc advisory committee. And, if they do decide to take the committee's report into account, they may decide whether to take into account tips, board, and lodging. If they should decide to take them into account they may determine what permissive allowance to include in the compensation of the "wage."

Again, the inclusion of tips and board and lodging in the computation of wages an employee customarily and usually receives from his employer is left to the unfettered discretion of the Commissioners.

In other words, even though these items may constitute the major form of compensation for an employee, the committee or the Commissioners, or both, may elect to disregard this fact and impose upon the employer a minimum wage totally unrelated to these other means of compensation. The employer would have no recourse.

To this point, I have talked about the computation of the term "wage" as it relates to the issuance of wage orders in excess of the statutory floor. The almost unbelievable feature of this ambiguous compounding of "mays" and "permissive allowances" and unfettered discretionary authority vested in ad hoc committees and the Commissioners is that their pronouncements on the inclusion of tips, board and lodging in the computation of "wage" for subsequent wage orders (keeping in mind that no such pronouncements need be made) are incorporated by reference into the definition of "wage" applicable to the entire act, thereby rendering the definition wholly without meaning and substance.

Mr. President, my amendment would require the Commissioners and the ad hoc committees to take tips, board and lodging into consideration when computing wages for any purpose under the act, be it in determining the statutory floor or subsequent wage orders. Additionally, they would be required to do more than take an arbitrary stab at the value to be allowed. They would be required to give full allowances for the fair value or the reasonable cost of these items.

Mr. President, the restaurant and hotel trades are being brought under the minimum wage law for both male and female employees for the first time by this bill. The impact on this dynamic and significant part of Washington's economy by the enactment of this legislation may be substantial. It is important therefore that these trades, as well as the others in which the employees are compensated in media other than legal tender, be assured that this bill and its subsequent administration will be fairly and equitably applied.

We are asked so much these days not to tie the administrators hands with specific legislative language. We are asked to give them a free rein to do the job as they see fit. We rely so much these days on the divine guidance and benevolence of the administrators of our laws that we may some day find to our embarrassment we no longer run the country.

We ought not sit idly by and leave the fate of a major sector of the District's economy in the hands of the Commissioners or their committees. We ought not permit this gaping loophole in the District of Columbia minimum wage bill to pass unnoticed. We ought not support a provision which would allow the administrators to completely and totally ignore the existence of a major form of employee compensation and ignore it with impunity.

So, Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to follow the course which has already been set by the Fair Labor Standards Act. I ask them to follow the recommendations of the administration that tips, board, and lodging be included in the computation of minimum wages. I ask them to reject a concept which relies wholly on the good graces and good faith of the administrators for its proper application.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the proposals of the Senator from Vermont, if I understand them correctly—and I shall make some suggestions to meet what I think are his criticisms of the bill in its present wording—make three substantive changes.

First, the amendment makes it mandatory for an ad hoc committee to include, in any revised wage order, allowances for board, lodging, other facilities, and tips.

Second, it requires the committee to make an allowance for the "fair value" of tips, instead of "a reasonable allowance," as provided in section 5(e), page 31, lines 1 and 2.

Third, it deletes the requirement that wages must be paid in cash or negotiable check.

The proposal of the Senator from Vermont to make mandatory the inclusion of allowances for board, lodging, other facilities, and tips appears reasonable, and I support it, and I shall offer language that I hope he can accept.

We are advised by the District Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board that, for all practical purposes, they are following this procedure in setting minimum wage rates under the present law. But we must have a guarantee to make it mandatory.

So, to accomplish this, I shall offer an amendment to change the word "may" on page 30, line 23 of the bill, to the word "shall."

Then I shall offer an amendment that will make it clear that they include "reasonable allowances."

When we come to the matter of fair value, I hope the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] will accept the language "reasonable allowance," because of the administrative problems that the language "fair value" would require.

This is what would happen under the administrative procedure: Let us take a chain of restaurants. A hearing is held. The members of the Board go into the question of what the tips average. They decide that the average is 30 or 35 cents an hour, or 45 cents an hour. It is agreed by all concerned that that will be computed as a part of the wage of the employee.

If the requirements of "fair value" are followed, there will be serious administrative problems.

As the Senator knows, a waitress takes a tip and puts it into her apron pocket. Others take their tips and deposit them somewhere else on their persons. One has to rely on the report of the employees as to how much they received. It creates much friction and often leads to bad employee-employer relationships. So a procedure on the value of tips has been worked out. They have worked out a "reasonable allowance" on the basis of what their understanding of the amount of tips seems to be.

So far as paying in check or cash is concerned, that is very important to an employer from the standpoint of having an accurate accounting record for tax purposes as well as for meeting the requirements of paying the minimum wage.

I shall read the suggested amendments to the Senator from Vermont for resolving the problem, which I thank him for raising. I propose the following:

On page 30, line 23, strike out "may" and insert "shall".

On page 30, line 24, strike out "permissible" and insert "reasonable".

On page 32, line 1, strike out "may" and insert "shall".

On page 32, line 2, strike out "and classifications as are referred to in section 5(e)" and insert in lieu thereof "as are referred to in section 5(e) and recommended in the report".

On page 33, line 19, beginning with the semicolon, strike out all through "allowance" on line 20 and insert in lieu thereof a semicolon and "and shall include reasonable allowances".

On page 33, line 21, immediately after the semicolon, insert "reasonable".

I offer those changes. I think they will comply with the major objections of the Senator from Vermont and leave the bill in a much more workable form.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I accept this language as a modification of my amendments. I think it is a reasonable approach.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator.

I request that the Senator's amendments be modified in accordance with the language I have just sent to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised that the suggestion of the Senator from Oregon would be handled better if the Senator from Vermont would withdraw the original amendments and offer the new amendments as suggested by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. PROUTY. I withdraw my amendment numbered 477 and offer the amendment suggested by the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment is open to further amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], I send to the desk an amendment to the committee amendment and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to state the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

On page 29, beginning with line 1, strike out all through line 24 on page 32.

On page 22, line 21, strike out ", 5, 6, or 7" and insert in lieu thereof "or 5".

On page 25, line 20, beginning with "not", strike out all through "section" on line 21 and insert in lieu thereof "of $1.25 an hour or at such rate as may, from time to time, be established by section 6(a)(1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(a)(1)), whichever is the greater,".

On page 26, line 11, strike out "7" and insert "5".

On page 26, line 20, beginning with the comma, strike out all through the comma on line 21.

On page 26, line 23, beginning with "the", strike out all through "and" on line 24 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "provisions setting the minimum wage at a rate of $1.25 an hour or at such rate as may, from time to time, be established by section 6(a)(1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, whichever is the greater, and the overtime provisions as prescribed in subsection".

On page 27, line 1, strike out "7" and insert "5".

On page 33, line 2, strike out "7" and insert "5".

On page 34, line 12, strike out "8" and insert "6".

On page 36, line 9, strike out "SEC. 9." and insert "SEC. 7.".

On page 37, line 2, strike out "10" and insert "8".

On page 38, line 7, strike out "11" and insert "9".

On page 39, line 8, strike out "12" and insert "10".

On page 39, line 18, strike out "13" and insert "11".

On page 39, line 24, strike out "11" and insert "9".

On page 39, line 25, strike out "12" and insert "10".

On page 40, line 1, strike out "7" and insert "5".

On page 40, line 22, strike out "12" and insert "10".

On page 40, line 24, strike out "14" and insert "12".

On page 40, line 25, strike out "13" and insert "11".

On page 41, line 10, strike out "15" and insert "13".

On page 43, line 5, strike out "16" and insert "14".

On page 43, line 14, strike out "17" and insert "15".

On page 43, line 21, strike out "18" and insert "16".

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] was unable to be present today because of a speaking engagement in Colorado which could not be canceled at the last minute.

I have a statement which has been prepared by him which I have not had an opportunity to read. I shall read it in his behalf. I am sympathetic with the principles of his amendment and I intend to support it. I am unable to say whether I will find myself in agreement with everything in the statement.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DOMINICK

I wish to express the strongest possible objection to action taken by the Department of Labor this week concerning the legislation now under consideration on the District of Columbia. The Labor Department has apparently notified the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon who is managing the

District of Columbia minimum wage bill that they, the Department of Labor, refuse to consider my amendment to H.R. 8126.

My amendment would eliminate the power of the District of Columbia Commissioners to arbitrarily raise the minimum wage above the statutory limitations proposed by H.R. 8126. It would not affect that portion of the bill which would permit automatic escalation of the District of Columbia minimum wage to the level set by any increase in the Fair Labor Standards Act, nor would it affect any existing wage orders.

The issue at stake here is much larger than the substance of the amendment or of the pending legislation itself for the unamended bill already enables the District government to fulfill functions normally reserved for Congress. It is, therefore, not a question of whether or not Congress is willing to relinquish part of its authority to the District Commissioners of its own volition. The substance of the unamended bill clearly indicates that it is willing to do so. It is rather a question of whether Congress is even going to consider amending the bill or whether it is going to be dictated to by a department of the executive branch. Who in the world are the people in the Labor Department to tell us we cannot consider an amendment to a piece of pending legislation? By what authority do they pass down a take-it-or-leave-it dictum? I, for one, refuse to accept such an order which has no basis in law and which is contrary to normal legislative procedures.

We are faced here with an arrogance of power manifested within the executive branch which is not only contrary to accepted cooperative procedures between the executive and legislative branches of government, but is in direct conflict with the constitutionally assigned responsibilities of the Congress.

The District of Columbia is still, at this point in time, a Federal city chartered, structured, financed, and governed under the auspices of the U.S. Congress. It is not, and I repeat not, an agency or ward of the Department of Labor or of any other department of the executive branch.

The Constitution of the United States is quite explicit on the status of the Federal city. The Founding Fathers, recognizing that the District of Columbia was the focal point of our national governmental structure and also recognizing that it would be dependent upon taxes levied from citizens all across the land, wisely decreed that final governing authority should remain in the most representative branch of our Government, the House and Senate. Obviously, it would have been impossible for these molders of our Nation to envision the dynamic changes which have taken place within our society. They did, however, fully realize that the Congress would be a weather vane of national attitudes and should, therefore, have the power to adjust the Federal city's status accordingly.

In recent years Congress has been attempting to tread judiciously along the fine line between the wishes of the local inhabitants of the Federal city and those who must support it in large measure across the land. This has been no easy task and the pressure for revamping of the city's governing structure has grown greater each year. Thus, it appears quite likely that in the not-too-distant future there will be instituted some form of home rule for the Federal city to more effectively meet the complex problems of a modern metropolis. This is as it should be and is as the Founding Fathers would have wished, for the decision of whether to grant home rule rests in the hands of Congress. The determination of what characteristics a home-rule charter should have also rests in the hands of the legislative branch.

The fact of the matter is, however, that home rule in not yet a reality, nor have the Members of Congress relinquished their constitutional responsibility to determine how the District of Columbia will be governed. While many of us, including myself, voted in favor of home rule during the last session, we did not wish these votes to be misconstrued by the executive branch into a blank check endorsement of executive fiats. Nor do we intend that any such votes in the future should fall into that category. The Department of Labor's attitude in this matter is uncalled for, unjustified, and unconstitutional. The Department's arrogance in attempting to dictate to the Congress on what they will or will not accept is outrageous and should not be tolerated.

Had the Department of Labor or any other affected segment of the executive branch indicated a willingness to reach a rational solution within the scope of their legal authority, they would have met with little dissent from Congress. Had the Department of Labor been willing to accept the perfectly reasonable compromise offered by Congress whereby all existing orders could remain in effect until superseded by further legislation, there would have been no resistance from the Congress. Had the Department of Labor proven by its actions that its sole interest was the well-being of the citizens of the District of Columbia rather than the delegation of illegal powers to itself, who among us could object?

However, the Department of Labor has not shown a willingness to be rational or reasonable in this matter, nor have they adopted an attitude clearly designed to promote either good government in the Federal city or proper relations with Congress. They have instead adopted as arrogant and as arbitrary an attitude as any ever taken by a branch of our National Government.

The Department of Labor's attitude in this matter exceeds the disdain for public good it has shown in the ill-fated bracero program and the ill-advised program to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. They have flaunted their arrogance in the face of Congress and dared us to try and stop them. They have completely ignored congressional constitutional prerogatives in this situation and have usurped powers never granted to them.

I would remind Senators that this is not the first time such power-grasping actions have taken place within a department or agency of the executive branch of our Government. Nor will it be the last time such power grabs are attempted unless we act to stop them dead in their tracks now.

Each of us has a deep responsibility to the people of this Nation to uphold the Constitution. We have all sworn to this in our oath of office. We have an equally deep responsibility to remain constantly alert for acts, wherever they occur, which disturb the delicate balance of powers in our Federal Government. This balance of powers has, as much as any other single factor, been responsible for the stability of our Government and the growth of our Nation. To relinquish these responsibilities to the faceless bureaucracy of a Federal department which is almost beyond the reach and wrath of the American citizenry would be a betrayal of our solemn oaths and the trust vested in each of us by our constituents.

For these reasons, I urge the Senate to act now and without equivocation to prevent further growth of the executive authority at the expense of the Legislature. The power-hungry, irresponsible persons within the Department of Labor who have defied the Constitution and the Congress must not be allowed to continue on such a course. They may be unresponsive to the wishes of the people but they must not be untouchable by the representatives of the people, the U.S. Congress.

Mr. President, again I wish to make it clear that the statement I have just read was prepared by the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK]. On his behalf, I have read the statement and have offered his amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to speak about the substantive facts that are involved in the amendment which my good friend from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] has offered.

I say most respectfully that the Department of Labor is not at all in issue in regard to the section of the bill which the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] wishes to change. I can say as chairman of the subcommittee that the Department of Labor has never sought to dictate to the committee what legislation we should pass. The chairman of the committee and other members of the committee, as well, and also the staff of the committee, have sought information from the Department of Labor. We have, on our own, asked the Department of Labor to advise us what their practices are in other jurisdictions in relation to various aspects and sections of the bill.

Mr. Goldberg, from the Department of Labor, who sits beside me on the floor of the Senate as a technical adviser, and is here at the request of the committee, sat with the subcommittee during our consideration of the bill. As Senators know, I always refer to my handling of a bill as a seminar, and I call upon the executive departments of the Government that have jurisdiction over the general subject of such bills to send up a few "graduate students" to participate in the seminar with me. Mr. Goldberg has been one of our very best "graduate students," to use my academic analogy. He has been exceedingly helpful to us. He has received assignments from the chairman and other members of the committee. He has supplied us with certain factual information that we have used in fulfilling our legislative responsibilities in bringing before the Senate the final draft of a given piece of proposed legislation.

I wish to say for Mr. Goldberg's benefit that it is my testimony that he has never sought to tell the committee the kind of legislation it should or should not propose.

I have advised with officials in the Department of Labor from time to time in regard to minimum wage legislation as it concerns practices that exist in other States, and I shall refer to some of those practices momentarily. We shall have before us in due course of time, as the Presiding Officer [Mr. MCGOVERN] knows, some proposed changes in the Fair Labor Standards Act. I have spoken with officials in the Department of Labor from time to time with regard to them.

I was approached several days ago by the Senator from Colorado in regard to this amendment.

I told him I would look into it. He presented it to me. It seemed to have a good deal of merit. I did look into it. The amendment was not a justifiable amendment. I explained to him that I had obtained from the committee staff and from the Department of Labor certain factual material that caused me to

oppose the amendment. I wanted him to know that.

I did say that I had told my friend, the Senator from Vermont, that the Senator from Colorado told me he could not be present today, and that I would assure him that his amendment would be presented, that I would present it if no one else did. Of course as was the most appropriate thing to do, he asked the Senator from Vermont, his colleague on the minority side of the committee, to present the amendment.

I told the Senator from Colorado that if it came to a rollcall vote, I would be willing to give him a live pair as a matter of courtesy, although I am opposed to his amendment. I hope that the Senate will not agree to his amendment.

There is no question about the sincerity of the Senator from Colorado, but certainly in fairness to the Department of Labor, to the District Commissioners, and to the Minimum Wage Board in the District of Columbia, from whom we have obtained certain factual information which I have presented, I want to say as the chairman of the subcommittee, and as manager of the bill, that we have received no dictation from anyone. We have received the advice that we have asked for. We have received advice in response to our inquiries for advice.

I want to go to the merits of the substantive issue raised by the Senator from Colorado. Mr. President, for a good many years in the District of Columbia in connection with our minimum wage bill relating to women and minors, we have had, as I said in the discussion of an earlier amendment today, the authority vested in the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board to raise the minimum wage above the minimum wage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

If we should adopt the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, what we might be doing is to lower the wages already authorized by the Wage Board, and ad hoc committees for 40,000 employees out of a total of 87,000 employees covered by the minimum wage law for women and for minors.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. It certainly is not the intention or effect of this amendment to accomplish that purpose. How does the Senator reach that conclusion?

Mr. MORSE. If we were to agree to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, which amendment provides that the wage cannot go above the minimum of the Fair Labor Standards Act—and there is already a provision in the existing minimum wage law in the District of Columbia as it affects women and children—we would in effect be adopting a principle that could say to these 40,000 people for whom wages higher than the minimum have already been provided that they should not receive those wages.

These proposed increases are not very high—$1.30, or $1.35. The building service industry in particular is involved. We also have, for part-time employees, a part-time rate of $1.40.

I do not believe that we should adopt here this afternoon a policy for the District of Columbia that is at variance with the practice that has prevailed in relation to the setting of wages for women and minors for a long time. Furthermore, I do not understand the argument of my good friend the Senator from Colorado, concerning what home rule has to do with the issue before us.

Certainly Congress under the Constitution has the responsibility to govern the District of Columbia. How do we do it? We do it by a considerable amount of delegation of authority. We have a Board of Commissioners. We have authorized the Commissioners to provide for the ad hoc committees. They are not acting in violation of any of their authority. That is the present governmental structure of the District.

I cannot reach any other conclusion. The amendment of the Senator from Colorado would mean that we are not going to permit that procedure in the future in respect to the employees who would come under the jurisdiction of the minimum wage bill that we hope to pass this afternoon.

Mr. President, we are not doing something in the District of Columbia that is not done elsewhere. For example, Alaska, Massachusetts, and California follow the procedure that we are proposing in this bill. The States of Arizona, California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Utah, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kansas, and Louisiana provide in their legislation for the establishment of wage boards, which is the practice, as I say, that is followed in the District of Columbia.

Mr. President, we must protect the procedure that is provided. We have our tripartite ad hoc committees which have to recommend to the District Commissioners. The Commissioners do not have to accept the recommendations.

I explained earlier in the debate that the District Commissioners may hold a public hearing to look into the facts.

We would be taking a step backward if we were to agree to the proposed amendment of the Senator from Colorado this afternoon by categorically saying, "You cannot have a wage imposed under your Wage Board procedure in the District of Columbia above the minimum of the Federal act."

That, in my judgment, is an attempt to place a restriction upon the administrators that we have placed in authority in the District of Columbia to assist us in governing this District.

I do not see any relationship between the continuation of that practice and the observations of my friend in regard to home rule.

If we had home rule, there would be little doubt that the District government itself would continue the Wage Board approach.

I hope the amendment will be defeated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] on behalf of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I should like to call to the attention of my friend the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon, that page 12 of the committee report, referring to section 2 of the bill, reads:

> No amendments made by it shall affect any provision of law or any regulation or order which prior to the effective date of the bill prescribes additional or more favorable standards relating to minimum wages, maximum hours, overtime compensation, or other working conditions.

The amendment does not disturb any past orders or orders required to be made by this bill. It would bar orders which exceed the District of Columbia statutory floor or national floor, whichever is higher. Undoubtedly the national floor will go up very shortly. It seems to me that the Senator is in error when he suggests that some wages would actually be reduced by the amendment. That is not correct.

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

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is correct; it could not reduce existing wages. But what it does do is prevent Wage Boards from continuing their present work of giving consideration to increasing some wages in order to bring them up to par, to wage increases that they have already ordered; and I believe that would be an unfair discrimination against those employees.

The question which should be met by the Senator from Colorado, through his spokesmen here this afternoon as well as the Senator from Vermont in his own right, is whether or not the procedures for the Wage Board policy in the District of Columbia are working any injustice, whether there is any need for changing them. What is wrong with them?

So long as we have the safeguards that our present procedure provides, we should not this afternoon say, in effect, "We are going to stop the further operation of the Wage Boards in the District of Columbia."

That would be the effect of the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this amendment would remove from the pending bill those sections empowering the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to issue wage orders which exceed the statutory floor.

By the terms of H.R. 8126 the Commissioners may issue wage orders not limited in amount. It is technically possible under this bill to provide by administrative decree minimum wages of $2.00, $5.00 or $10.00 an hour.

The hearing record on this bill does not fully disclose what other States or jurisdictions authorize the establishment of minimum wage levels by administrative decree which exceed the statutory floor. Historically minimum wage determinations have fallen within the legislative domain, and for good reason. The legislative body is obligated by its nature to take into account all of the arguments, reasons and persuasions put

forward by all interested citizens. An administrative determination of minimum wage levels is not inherently so broadly responsive to the community needs and interests.

If it is unorthodox to vest broad wage setting powers in the Board of Commissioners, it borders on the irresponsible to vest in them such powers without the benefit of legislative guidelines and limitations.

The Department of Labor and the Board of Commissioners maintain that complete and unfettered discretion should be vested in the administrator so as to leave him free to make just and sagacious determinations But, behind these lofty objectives is the plain and simple fact that these procedures are intended to bypass the Congress. The language of this bill is an outright invasion of the legislative domain. Adoption of this language in the bill will entirely eliminate the Congressional role in minimum wage determinations for the District of Columbia.

Is that what the Senate wants?

Senator DOMINICK's amendment is opposed by the Department of Labor. I understand the Department is lobbying against it. Is the District of Columbia, without representation in the House or Senate, subject only to the Department's whim and fancy? Is the Department of Labor asking the Senate to enact for the District of Columbia a provision it would not dare suggest for enactment in the 50 States?

Analogously, is Secretary Wirtz firmly convinced that his agency ought to have the power to set Federal minimum wage rates by fiat? If he is, I urge him to come forward during this session of Congress with such a proposal.

Is the administration asking enactment of a law for the District of Columbia which it would find inappropriate for any other jurisdiction?

The Department of Labor, in its fact sheet 4–A on State minimum wage laws, points out that since 1939 States enacting minimum wage legislation have followed the statutory floor pattern of the Federal act. This interesting booklet also points out that in no instance in a State having both a statutory floor and wage order powers has a wage order been issued which exceeds the statutory floor. Two States with wage order powers alone have elected to exceed the Federal wage floor. They are the industrialized and populous California and New Jersey.

Now the Department of Labor recommends an abrupt and total departure from the practices in the other States in the Union. It suggests that the District of Columbia should not only tie its minimum wage floor to the Fair Labor Standards Act, it also should be encouraged to issue wage orders in excess of that floor. The Department of Labor attempts to foist on the District what is practiced nowhere else in the United States.

I ask my colleagues to do no less for the District than they would do for their own constituents. I ask them to reject this concept so alien to the Federal theory and practice of minimum wage determination.

On the subject of the District's lack of self-government, I feel compelled to raise these additional considerations.

If home rule is adopted, in whom will these new powers be vested? Will the city council set the minimum wage rate? Or, under some theory of the administration's home rule bill, would this power be vested in the mayor?

If under the administration's home rule bill the power would vest in the city council two questions arise: What experience, background, or affinity would this brandnew city council have for the intricate and complicated affairs relating to wage determinations?

Not knowing the character or caliber of the men who will run the city government, I am reluctant to create at this time new and unheard of powers in the field of minimum wage determination and vest them in a governmental form which may soon give way to untried leadership.

Looking at this problem from another vantage point, Mr. President, does the Department of Labor want to impose a minimum wage law which would be binding on the new city government under home rule? If the Department's suggestions are as meritorious as they protest they are, then the people of the District of Columbia ought to have the opportunity to decide, after the establishment of home rule, whether or not they want the Department of Labor to cram their wage theories down the throats of the residents of the District. I feel certain that the city fathers under home rule would overwhelmingly reject dictation of local matters by a wholly Federal agency.

If this is a matter appropriate to the affairs of the District of Columbia, let us leave it to local determination.

While I am concerned over the quality of leadership in a new local government, I would prefer to let that government evolve its own legislative theories on minimum wage than vest in it broad, mandatory, and limitless powers.

In conclusion, Mr. President, my colleague's amendment merits your consideration and approval.

It will uphold the traditions and sound foundations of established minimum wage doctrines.

It will prevent the Department of Labor from using the District as a guinea pig for experiments it would not dare attempt on a national basis.

It will prevent disturbance of the delicate balance now maintained on the question of home rule.

It will prevent the vesting of autonomous minimum wage authority in a government not responsible to the people.

It will prevent prejudgment of matters which should be left to the determination of a local government under home rule.

And, most importantly, Mr. President, Senator DOMINICK's amendment prohibits the unwarranted and unthinkable disposal of important legislative function to the unresponsive hands of disinterested administrations.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to reply briefly to my friend from Vermont.

First. The Department of Labor is not at issue in this amendment. The question of the Department of Labor dictating anything to the Congress of the United States is not in issue, any more than the Department of Labor is at issue in the 15 States which have wage board procedures, any more than the Department of Labor is at issue in Alaska or Massachusetts or California, in regard to the wage orders that they have issued which go above the minimum.

My second point is that there has been a minimum wage law in the District of Columbia since 1918. The procedure which the Senator from Colorado is now discussing so strenuously has prevailed in the District of Columbia since 1918, with regard to the minimum wage law which has regulated the wages for women and minors. Has that been an encroachment on the powers of the Congress since 1918?

The residue power already exists, and always remains with the Congress. If any abuses develop in connection with the administrative practices of those whom we place in charge of the District government to administer the affairs of this city, we can enact whatever legislation is necessary to repeal or modify our proposals.

Mr. President, as my third point, I wish to stress the fact that the discussion by the Senator from Vermont on behalf of the Senator from Colorado of the national minimum wage figure is, of course, based upon a decision reached concerning the composite economy of the various sections of the country which include rural areas and industrial areas. The reason why so many States have found it desirable to have available the use of a wage board—such as the one in the District of Columbia, which acts on the basis of an ad hoc tripartite committee—is that in some industrial areas such as San Francisco, for example, and some of the highly industrialized areas of Massachusetts, the cost of living is much higher than it is in the rural areas of those States. Thus, they provide in those States, under State laws—and the Senate today is acting, really, in one sense, as a State legislature, or a city council, for the District of Columbia—for wage boards which can take into consideration whatever facts can be presented to a tripartite board which would justify a wage somewhat higher than the so-called national scale.

That is not the act of the Department of Labor. That is the act of the States. They have found that this procedure should be available. As I had said earlier, which was reiterated by my good friend the Senator from Vermont, there are very few instances in which wage boards have raised the wage above the national figure. I pointed out that in the District of Columbia it has been raised to $1.30 in one case, $1.35 in another, and for part-time workers the rate has been figured on a base of $1.40.

In Alaska, there are some instances in which it went to $1.75. Those who know the great differences in the cost of living as between Alaska and the mainland can understand why that might have occurred.

In Massachusetts, the minimum wage is $1.30. In California, in one instance, it is $1.30. That is wage orders only. We are not dealing here with giving a wild, arbitrary discretion to officials in the District of Columbia, because we sit in this Chamber to check them. But I believe it would be very unfair for the Senate to adopt an amendment this afternoon which would say to the Wage Board and to the District Commissioners that in the future we are not going to allow them to consider the same problems they have already considered on behalf of 40,000 out of a total of 87,000 persons already covered by the minimum wage law in the District of Columbia.

I believe that the procedure is fair, and I believe that it is necessary. I believe that it should be continued, and I hope that the amendment of the Senator from Colorado will be defeated.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. All that needs to be said on this question has been said. I should like to have a live quorum and ask for a yea-and-nay vote on behalf of the Senator from Colorado, and to speak for 2 or 3 minutes to reiterate what his amendment is all about; if the Senator from Oregon is agreeable, we can proceed along those lines.

Mr. MORSE. I am willing to have a live quorum call.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon withhold that request for a moment, so that I may inquire of him whether I correctly understood him to say that under the national minimum wage legislation, provision is now made in the law to provide that the States of the Union, after appropriate hearings before some State-established wage board, may raise the minimum wage?

Mr. MORSE. No; not in the national law. What I have said is that the States of California and Massachusetts have enacted State legislation which provides for the setting up of wage boards whereby, on the recommendation of wage boards which follow the procedures, the minimum wages may be raised in a given State above the national figure. At least 15 other States have wage boards with certain procedures available; but, as I have said, wage orders have not as yet been issued setting wages above the national minimum.

Mr. KUCHEL. In the District of Columbia, under the Federal law which applies to the District of Columbia, has the Board of District Commissioners adopted wage orders to increase the national minimum wage in certain instances?

Mr. MORSE. Let me explain that. We have to be careful in the use of the word "Federal." Of course, it is Federal legislation because it is enacted by Congress.

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MORSE. But it is not the fair labor standards legislation.

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MORSE. Because that covers the Nation as a whole. Since 1918, there has been a minimum wage law in the District of Columbia relating to women and minors. Under the procedures of that law, the wage board procedure has been adopted. The Commissioners will appoint an ad hoc tripartite committee, representing workers, employers, and the public, and they will study the situation and bring in a recommendation to the Commissioners. They may recommend that the wage for that particular industry should be X cents above the Federal minimum wage. Now they have issued such orders in the District of Columbia covering 40,000 of the 87,000 employees who would come under the District Minimum Wage Act for women and minors.

The Dominick amendment would merely provide that in the District of Columbia we cannot henceforth go above the Fair Labor Standards Act figure.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask that it be a live quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 6 Leg.]

Aiken	Hartke	Mundt
Anderson	Hayden	Murphy
Bartlett	Hickenlooper	Muskie
Bayh	Hill	Pastore
Bennett	Holland	Pearson
Bible	Hruska	Pell
Brewster	Jackson	Prouty
Byrd, Va.	Javits	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Robertson
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Russell, Ga.
Case	Kennedy, Mass.	Saltonstall
Church	Kuchel	Simpson
Clark	Long, Mo.	Smith
Cotton	Mansfield	Stennis
Dirksen	McCarthy	Talmadge
Douglas	McClellan	Thurmond
Eastland	McGovern	Tower
Ellender	McIntyre	Tydings
Ervin	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Fong	Mondale	Williams, Del.
Gore	Monroney	Yarborough
Gruening	Montoya	Young, N. Dak.
Harris	Morse	Young, Ohio
Hart	Moss	

Mr. BREWSTER. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BOGGS], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] are absent on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). A quorum is present.

Mr. PROUTY obtained the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield to permit me to make an announcement?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator from Vermont will speak for 2 or 3 minutes in explanation of the amendment. I shall speak for a couple of minutes in opposition to the amendment. The vote on the amendment will then take place, unless other Senators wish to speak. Immediately after the vote on the amendment, so far as the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from Oregon are concerned, we shall be ready to vote on the bill.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, for the benefit of Senators who were unable to be in the Chamber earlier, the amendment was proposed by the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], who is unable to be present today. I have offered the amendment in his behalf.

The amendment would eliminate those sections of the bill empowering the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to arbitrarily raise the minimum wage above the statutory limitations proposed by H.R. 8126. The amendment would not affect that portion of the bill which ties the District of Columbia minimum wage to the level of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Nor would it affect any existing wage orders or wage orders required to be made by this bill.

The bill provides unlimited authority for the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to establish minimum wages. The Senator from Colorado—and I share his sentiments—feels that there should be a limitation. He proposes to retain only the statutory limits otherwise provided in the bill.

Business interests in the District of Columbia face severe competition in Maryland and Virginia, where wages are generally lower and there are no minimum wage laws.

Within the last 5 years, 2,000 business enterprises have left the District. This means that there are fewer jobs in the District, fewer business enterprises to pay taxes.

It is the responsibility of Congress, until home rule becomes a reality, to keep this city a viable, economic unit.

I hope that the amendment of the Senator from Colorado to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute will be agreed to.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I oppose the amendment. I wish to make a very

quick passing remark concerning the statistics which my friend the Senator from Vermont just gave us in respect to businesses leaving the District.

Not a single case was cited in our hearings of any business leaving the District because of wages paid in the District of Columbia.

What the amendment purports to do is to do away with the wage board procedure that exists in at least 15 States, and a wage board procedure that exists with the approval of Congress since 1918 in respect to the minimum wage law of the District regulating the wages of women and minors.

There happens to be 87,000 employees in the District of Columbia, and Wage Board orders have been issued since 1918 covering these employees. However, these minimum wage increases have been slight, but the procedure exists also in at least 15 States. I name them: Arizona, California, Colorado—the State of the Senator who offers the amendment, and the Colorado Minimum Wage Board has issued a number of wage orders—the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Utah, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kansas, and Louisiana.

Alaska, Massachusetts, and California also have, by statute, authority to go above the Federal rate. Let me point out how the procedure operates in the District of Columbia.

The District Commissioners, who are our agents—we have not given home rule to the District, but we have provided for this form of government—can appoint ad hoc, tripartite committees composed of industry, labor, and the public. The committee can investigate a particular industry and find that because of the high cost of living in the District of Columbia—and it is a high cost area—the minimum wage for that particular industry should be a certain number of cents above the national limit. The highest figure in the District to date has been $1.35, except for part-time workers in the service trades. They are part-time workers and their rate is to be figured at $1.40 an hour.

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

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, is there any limit whatever as to the amount to which the District Commissioners, acting on the recommendations of the Wage Board, can raise the minimum wage?

Mr. MORSE. The only limitation is the limitation of experience. There is no figure limitation. However, I shall come to the judicial review procedure in a moment. The judicial review procedure is an effective limitation. Those who argue that they might go "hog wild" and lay down some unreasonable proposal overlook the judicial review section of the bill which I shall cite.

There is no experience in any of the States in which wage boards have operated of any abuse of any discretionary authority on the part of a wage board.

Mr. ERVIN. But, apart from that, the sky would be the limit.

Mr. MORSE. Of course, the sky would be the limit until the Congress of the United States, which has the checking power, repealed the act, if Congress wanted to do it.

Mr. ERVIN. I have one other question.

Mr. MORSE. Let me take the judicial review section, because this is my answer. Section 8 reads:

> Any person aggrieved by an order of the Commissioners issued under this Act may obtain a review of such order in the District of Columbia Court of Appeals by filing in such court, within sixty days after the issuance of such order, a written petition praying that the order of the Commissioners be modified or set aside in whole or in part.

The interesting thing is that there apparently have been no appeals. The orders have been found to be reasonable. However, there is an established procedure. The most effective appeal, however, is that Congress has complete authority to govern the District of Columbia.

Mr. ERVIN. Does the language of the bill provide a limit that the court can set in fixing the increase in the minimum wage in the event it finds it to be unreasonable?

Mr. MORSE. No. The review by the court shall be limited to questions of law, and findings of fact by the Commissioners when supported by substantial evidence.

Mr. ERVIN. If the Minimum Wage Board made a recommendation and the District Commissioners accepted it, they could raise the minimum wage to $5, $10, $50, $100, or $1,000 an hour.

Mr. MORSE. There has been no upward limit in the District of Columbia law since 1918. There has not been the slightest abuse of practice on the part of the District Minimum Wage Board.

I think we can take judicial notice that it will lean over backward to see to it that it does not follow a course of action which might cause it to be charged with using arbitrary discretion or abuse of power on its part.

Mr. ERVIN. If the Board has the power already, what is the necessity of passing that provision of the bill

Mr. MORSE. This broadens the coverage, not only with respect to women and minors, but also with respect to men. The bill increases the coverage so that approximately 300,000 workers would be covered in the District of Columbia.

The Senator from Vermont earlier read from a statement by the Senator from Colorado to the effect that there is a standard minimum wage at the Federal level. However, that takes into account the economic conditions across the country, which includes rural as well as industrial areas. However, in some areas there is a high industrial population and a high cost of living.

Alaska and Massachusetts are good examples of that. The record is without any evidence to show that at any time the power has been abused. It happens to be an authority that ought to exist in wage boards to protect against the injustices that can sometimes creep in as a result of a wage that is fixed too low to meet cost-of-living problems.

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

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. May I ask to what extent the bill covers Federal employees?

Mr. MORSE. It does not cover Federal employees.

Mr. ELLENDER. It covers only residents of the District of Columbia?

Mr. MORSE. Yes. I pointed that out in my earlier statement. It does not cover District of Columbia employees or Federal employees.

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

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. I personally have no qualms about voting against the amendment. I cannot understand that the District of Columbia Commissioners would be so arbitrary, especially when they are not subject to being elected, as to institute floors on minimum wages which would drive business out of the community. I cannot imagine how that could happen.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I urge the Senate to reject the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] on behalf of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK]. If he were present and voting he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. BREWSTER. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Con-

necticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Hawaii would vote "nay" and the Senator from Arizona would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from New York would vote "nay" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana would vote "nay" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE] is paired with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay" and the Senator from Iowa would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] is paired with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT]. If present and voting, the Senator from West Virginia would vote "nay" and the Senator from Colorado would vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BOGGS], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] are absent on official business.

The pair of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] has been previously announced.

On this vote, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] is paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH]. If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado would vote "yea" and the Senator from West Virginia would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea" and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE]. If present and voting, the Senator from Iowa would vote "yea" and the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea" and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] is paired with the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "yea" and the Senator from Hawaii would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 28, nays 42, as follows:

[No. 7 Leg.]

YEAS—28

Bennett	Hickenlooper	Prouty
Byrd, Va.	Hill	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, W. Va.	Holland	Simpson
Carlson	Hruska	Stennis
Cotton	Jordan, N.C.	Thurmond
Dirksen	Jordan, Idaho	Tower
Eastland	McClellan	Williams, Del.
Ellender	Mundt	Young, N. Dak
Ervin	Murphy	
Fong	Pearson	

NAYS—42

Aiken	Hartke	Morse
Anderson	Hayden	Moss
Bartlett	Jackson	Muskie
Bayh	Javits	Pastore
Bible	Kennedy, Mass.	Pell
Brewster	Kuchel	Proxmire
Case	Long, Mo.	Robertson
Church	McCarthy	Saltonstall
Clark	McGovern	Smith
Douglas	McIntyre	Talmadge
Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Gruening	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Harris	Monroney	Yarborough
Hart	Montoya	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—30

Allott	Fulbright	Morton
Bass	Inouye	Nelson
Boggs	Kennedy, N.Y.	Neuberger
Burdick	Lausche	Randolph
Cannon	Long, La.	Ribicoff
Cooper	Magnuson	Russell, S.C.
Curtis	Mansfield	Scott
Dodd	McGee	Smathers
Dominick	McNamara	Sparkman
Fannin	Miller	Symington

So the amendment offered by Mr. PROUTY to the committee amendment, on behalf of Mr. DOMINICK, was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute is open to further amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that in the engrossment of the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute to the bill (H.R. 8126), the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to make all necessary technical and clerical changes and corrections, including corrections of designations of sections, subsections, and cross-references.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the third reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the committee amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], I would like to read a statement, prepared by him, relating to the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement of Mr. KENNEDY of New York is as follows:

I rise in support of S. 19, which provides long-needed amendments to the District of Columbia's minimum wage law.

Present law gives minimum wage coverage to only 85,000 workers in the District. This bill would extend protection to some 300,000 more, as well as raise the level of the minimum to $1.25.

I think that it is a disgrace that we in Congress did not enact this legislation long ago. We are finally enacting a $1.25 minimum when that minimum has become obsolete—at that rate of pay a man would make only $2,600 a year, $400 below the poverty level.

It is obvious that at rates of pay below this minimum, a man could support a family only in the lowest miserable squalor.

There has been much comment, of late, about the disintegration of the Negro family—about a rise in families headed by women. But if wages are far below the poverty level, a man may have no alternative but to leave his family, for at present aid to dependent children rates, a man earning $1 an hour can double his family's monthly income by living apart from his wife and children.

This is not an argument for lowering ADC payments, for those payments are already at a bare subsistence level. It is an argument for increasing the minimum wage—to $1.25 in the District now, and to a minimum of $1.50 in the entire Nation this session.

It is time that we do this much, and I hope the Senate will enact this bill today.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as Senator in charge of the bill, I urge the Senate to pass the bill for the reasons I have heretofore set forth.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BREWSTER. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Virginia Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] would each vote yea.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BOGGS], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], are absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BOGGS], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 10, as follows:

[No. 8 Leg.]

YEAS—60

Aiken	Hartke	Moss
Anderson	Hayden	Mundt
Bartlett	Hickenlooper	Murphy
Bayh	Holland	Muskie
Bible	Jackson	Pastore
Brewster	Javits	Pearson
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Pell
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Prouty
Case	Kennedy, Mass.	Proxmire
Church	Kuchel	Saltonstall
Clark	Long, Mo.	Smith
Cotton	Mansfield	Symington
Dirksen	McCarthy	Talmadge
Douglas	McGovern	Thurmond
Ervin	McIntyre	Tydings
Fong	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Gore	Mondale	Williams, Del.
Gruening	Monroney	Yarborough
Harris	Montoya	Young, N. Dak.
Hart	Morse	Young, Ohio

NAYS—10

Bennett	Hruska	Stennis
Eastland	McClellan	Tower
Ellender	Robertson	
Hill	Simpson	

NOT VOTING—30

Allott	Fannin	Morton
Bass	Fulbright	Nelson
Boggs	Inouye	Neuberger
Burdick	Kennedy, N.Y.	Randolph
Byrd, Va.	Lausche	Ribicoff
Cannon	Long, La.	Russell, S.C.
Cooper	Magnuson	Russell, Ga.
Curtis	McGee	Scott
Dodd	McNamara	Smathers
Dominick	Miller	Sparkman

So the bill (H.R. 8126) was passed.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. BIBLE, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. PROUTY, and Mr. DOMINICK conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to commend the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] for the exemplary manner in which he directed the District of Columbia minimum wage bill through the Senate today. His keen understanding of the measure's provisions, his brilliant explanations of its provisions and his usual clear and concise manner once again demonstrated the validity of his reputation as an astute parliamentarian and brilliant floor manager of legislation.

The people of the District of Columbia are fortunate to have an advocate of his ability and devotion. In like manner, great praise and credit should go to all members of the District of Columbia Committee, especially to the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], who so ably assisted in the expeditious handling of the bill on the floor today. Both he and the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] are owed a debt of thanks of the Senate as a whole for their cooperation and assistance in expediting the passage of this measure.

I hope that this cooperative experience will serve as a template for future action on other measures to be considered during this session.

PROJECT HOPE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, nearly four centuries ago, that great poetic heart, William Shakespeare, wrote, "The miserable have no other medicine, but only hope."

Never have the Bard's words been more true than today. This very day, a group of dedicated Americans are literally bringing hope to millions in Central America.

I say literally, because these Americans are a part of Project Hope. Over 100 doctors, nurses, and technologists from all over the United States begin a 10-month mission today, January 19, in Nicaragua.

They came aboard the hospital ship SS *Hope*. And they will teach their medical counterparts on a people-to-people basis how they can better take care of their ill and maimed.

For many of these magnificent men and women in white the journey will be a repetition of previous voyages, because the great white ship has brought hope to five other countries on three continents.

The docking of the SS *Hope* in the port city of Corinto today marks the initial visit of the floating medical center to the Central American Republics.

In previous voyages the good ship *Hope* has been to Peru and Ecuador in South America, as well as to Indonesia and South Vietnam in Asia, and to Guinea in Africa.

Now the talents of outstanding men and women in U.S. medicine will be put to work in Nicaragua, on a private, personal foundation.

It is this nongovernmental foundation from which Hope has built its unprecedented accomplishments and international good will. While treating and training thousands, it has touched millions.

Thus, Hope is legend on three continents.

The people of Kupang on the remote island of Timor in Indonesia, for instance, judge time by two dates. They say, "Before the Japanese invasion," and "Since the *Hope* came."

Guinea's President, Sekou Toure, sums up the effect of Hope in Africa with these words:

> The stay of the *Hope* has left a profound impression of friendliness and cooperation between the American and Guinean peoples.

But perhaps Hope's success is best described by our own Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate. He was moved to comment on the extraordinary impact the doctors and nurses of Project Hope had on the people of Trujillo, which before their arrival had been the nucleus of pro-Castro and anti-American feeling in Peru.

Chaplain Harris said of the change that came over these impoverished people, who traveled 45,000 strong for miles to bid farewell to their beloved "Hopies":

> Here is an inspiring example of the spirit of the rejected conqueror riding into a modern city in spite of the revilings of the crowd and fulfilling the test of the final judgment as forecast by the Christ of Palm Sunday and Easter—"I was sick and ye came unto me; I was hungry and ye gave me to eat."

Now *Hope* begins anew the fifth chapter in its historic log. After two yearlong journeys to South America and separate trips to Asia and Africa, the vessel is in Central America. And it is welcome there.

As Nicaragua's eminent Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington, D.C., said when the ship departed American shores for those of his country:

> I shall always be grateful to Dr. William B. Walsh for bringing about what we are celebrating here today. The ship *Hope* sails out to my country as one enormous heart. My praise is for America, which gives such an example as the *Hope* to my country.

All Americans should be grateful to Dr. Walsh, who created Hope, and to the superb medical staff of the SS *Hope*, who devote parts of their lives to helping the less fortunate in developing nations.

And like my colleagues on the Foreign Relations Committee, I "look with favor upon the provision of another hospital ship" for Hope, so that this fine organi-

zation can double its good work in the world.

Indeed, I look to the day when peace in southeast Asia may relinquish one of our demothballed hospital ships so that it can be loaned to Project Hope for its humanitarian endeavors.

In the countries SS *Hope* has visited, the miserable frequently have had no other medicine but hope—and in some cases not even that. But now, thanks to Project Hope, they have that and more. They have a medical corps trained in the latest medical skills, who in time will spread that knowledge throughout their countries, and that knowledge will enable them to give themselves healthier, more meaningful lives.

According to Alexander Pope; "Hope springs eternal in the human breast." As Hope today begins in Nicaragua, may Hope thrive, eternal in the world.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, while the opportunity presents itself, I should like to ask the distinguished majority leader, after we complete action on three other bills on the calendar, which I understand will be called up and which came from the Finance Committee, what the order of business will be for the remainder of the day and what the distinguished majority leader has in mind for the rest of the week, if he can tell us.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am delighted to answer the question raised by the distinguished minority leader. When the three bills from the Finance Committee are disposed of, that will end the business for the day, although there is a very important speech to be made by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN], and perhaps other Senators will speak. But it is the intention, with the approval of the minority leader, to go over until Monday, and then on Monday, at the termination of the morning business, to take up the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION OF CERTAIN NONPROFIT CORPORATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS OPERATED TO PROVIDE RESERVE FUNDS FOR DOMESTIC BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, at the request of the leadership, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 919, H.R. 327.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 327) to amend section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt from taxation certain nonprofit corporations and associations operated to provide reserve funds for domestic building and loan associations, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the bill now before us, H.R. 327, has two important provisions. The first amends present law with respect to the tax exemption provided for certain nonprofit associations which provide reserve funds for domestic savings and loan associations. The amendment broadens the exemption now contained in the law to include organizations which are similar in all essential respects to those now exempt but which do not meet one of the technical requirements of the present statute. The bill also amends present law to confine the exemption for all such organizations, both those now exempt and those that would be exempt under this bill, to income which is substantially related to the purpose or function that is the basis for their tax exemption.

HISTORY OF PRESENT LAW

Under present law, corporations or associations which provide services for domestic building and loan associations, cooperative banks, and mutual savings banks are exempt from tax if they meet certain requirements. They must be organized and operated for mutual purposes, have no capital stock, and have been organized before September 1, 1957. Such organizations exist in several States to provide services to a group of building and loan associations or similar institutions. The services they provide include extending loans to associations which are short of liquid assets and providing insurance of shares or deposits in such banks. Present law requires that, to be exempt, organizations of the type described must both provide funds for and insure shares or deposits in member institutions.

Prior to September 1, 1951, organizations of this type were exempt from tax under the provisions of the general exemption which then applied to mutual savings banks and building and loan associations. While the Revenue Act of 1951 removed the exemption for mutual savings banks and building and loan associations, it continued the exemption for nonprofit organizations of the type considered under this bill if they were organized before September 1, 1951. In 1959, the law was amended to change the required date of organization from September 1, 1951, to September 1, 1957. This amendment was designed to include a particular organization which would not otherwise have been eligible for the exemption.

THE NEW YORK STATE SAVINGS AND LOAN BANK

Another such organization, the New York State Savings and Loan Bank was initially exempt from tax by virtue of a ruling issued by the Internal Revenue Service in 1952. In December 1961, however, the Internal Revenue Service notified the bank that it intended to revoke the 1952 ruling. This action of the Service was based on the fact that the bank, while it does provide reserves for its members, does not also insure their shares and deposits. The bank meets all the other tests for exemption provided in the law.

Revocation of the exemption was delayed while the organization tried to obtain an amendment to the banking laws of New York State which would enable it to provide such insurance services. New York State law authorized the bank to administer an insurance fund only if 100 or more savings and loan associations—two-thirds of those now in existence—in the State were included. While State law was amended to eliminate this requirement, so many State savings and loan associations already have insurance that it is not feasible for the bank to establsh an insurance program. Furthermore, New York State law limits the role of the bank to that of trustee for an insurance fund and it is not clear that such a role would satisfy the technical requirements of present Federal law. The 1952 ruling was therefore finally revoked for 1962 and subsequent years.

ACTION OF THE COMMITTEE

It is the opinion of your committee that an organization which meets all the other requirements for tax exemption laid down by the law should not be precluded from tax-exempt status merely because it does not provide insurance of the shares and deposits of its members. As the situation of the New York State Savings and Loan Bank illustrates, failure to provide such services may be due to factors beyond the control of the organization. Your committee's bill, therefore, amends present law to add a new subparagraph to the existing provision, section 501(c)(14) of the Code. This new subparagraph exempts from tax nonprofit corporations and associations organized before September 1, 1957, which are operated for mutual purposes to provide reserve funds for domestic building and loan associations, cooperative banks, or mutual savings banks. The exemption is only available, however, if 85 percent or more of the organization's income is attributable to providing reserve funds for member associations or to investments. The latter requirement will not apply to those organizations which qualify for tax exemption under present law.

Your committee knows of only one organization which will be exempt under the new subparagraph—the New York State Savings and Loan Bank. It feels, however, that any other organizations which meet the requirements of the subparagraph should also be exempt from tax.

TAX ON UNRELATED BUSINESS INCOME

Your committee believes that as far as the organizations described are concerned, including both those previously tax exempt and those which will be exempt under the terms of this bill, only the income connected with either the provision of reserve funds or the insurance of shares and deposits should be tax exempt. Therefore, the bill contains a provision which defines as unrelated business income subject to tax any income derived by any such organization from activities which are not substantially related to the purpose which forms the basis for their tax exemption.

Thus, for example, if such an organization provides data processing services for its members, the income from this activity will be subject to tax.

EFFECTIVE DATE

The exemption provided in your committee's bill will apply to taxable years ending on or after the date of enactment. The unrelated business income provisions will apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment. The provisions of the bill are expected to have a negligible effect on revenue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 327) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

AMENDMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IMMUNITIES ACT

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of H.R. 8210.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 8210) to amend the International Organizations Immunities Act with respect to the European Space Research Organization.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an explanation of the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

H.R. 8210 authorizes the President to extend tax and tariff exemption (and other immunities) to the European Space Research Organization (and its foreign employees) just as such exemptions and immunities may be extended to a public international organization in which the United States participates.

Under present law, the President is authorized to extend tax and tariff exemption to a public international organization of which the United States is a member, and which is organized pursuant to a treaty or an act of Congress. Employees of such organizations who are foreign citizens or nationals similarly may be extended tax and tariff exemption and other immunities. These exemptions and immunities are provided for under the International Organizations Immunities Act. However, the benefits of this act are not available if the United States is not a member of the international organization.

The European Space Research Organization is a cooperative organization sponsored by 11 European nations: Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. It was established to provide for, and to promote, collaboration among European stations in space research and technology, exclusively for peaceful purposes. The United States is not a member of this organization, and, thus, under existing law, the President may not designate the European Space Research Organization as a public international organization.

The ESRO is seeking to build a tracking station in Fairbanks, Alaska, for use in its space research program. If the ESRO is recognized as an international organization for purposes of the International Organizations Immunities Act, it would be treated as though it were a foreign government entitled to bring into the United States such materials and equipment as are necessary for the construction of a tracking station without the payment of duties. Among other things, the baggage and effects of its personnel and their families would be exempt from duties and taxes imposed by reason of importation if the articles are imported in connection with their arrival in the United States.

The taxes for which exemption may be provided under the International Organizations Immunities Act include income taxes, social security, unemployment, and withholding taxes, and excise taxes.

It is understood that other nations generally afford analogous treatment to the United States in conjunction with tracking stations constructed abroad by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in connection with our Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo programs. H.R. 8210 represents a concession to the foreign countries for the treatment that our Government seeks and obtains from them when it wants to build a tracking station abroad.

Organizations which presently are designated as "international organizations" for purposes of exemptions and immunities include the Caribbean Organization, Coffee Study Group, Food and Agriculture Organization, Great Lakes Fishery Commission, Inter-American Defense Board, Inter-American Development Bank, Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Inter-American Statistical Institute, Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, Intergovernmental Maritime Consultive Organization, International Atomic Energy Agency, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Civil Aviation Organization, International Cotton Advisory Committee, International Finance Corporation, International Hydrographic Bureau, International Joint Commission—United States and Canada, International Labor Organization, International Monetary Fund, International Pacific Halibut Commission, International Telecommunication Union, International Wheat Advisory Committee (International Wheat Council), Organization of American States (including Pan American Union), Pan American Health Organization, South Pacific Commission, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Universal Postal Union, World Health Organization, and World Meteorological Organization.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment.

If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

COMPUTATION OF RETIRED PAY OF JUDGES OF THE TAX COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 921, H.R. 8445.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 8445) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 and the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to change the method of computing the retired pay of judges of the Tax Court of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an explanation of the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

Under present law the retired pay of a judge of the Tax Court is based on the salary payable to him as a judge "at the time he ceases to be a judge."

Under H.R. 8445, the retired pay of Tax Court judges is to be computed on the basis of the salary of the office, that is, in a manner similar to that presently provided for judges of other Federal tribunals.

Under present law a judge of the Tax Court may retire after 24 years of service and thereafter receive as retired pay the equivalent of "the salary payable to him as judge at the time he ceases to be a judge." He may retire voluntarily after 18 years of service, but if he retires before completing 24 years of service his retired pay will be that proportion of "the salary payable to him as judge at the time he ceases to be a judge" as is the proportion of years served to 24, e.g., if he has served for 18 years he will receive 18/24 of such salary. A judge of the Tax Court must retire at age 70 with 10 years of service (or at such time as the 10-year service requirement is fulfilled after attaining age of 70). No judge upon retirement can receive retired pay which is less than one-half of the rate (12/24's) of such judge's salary.

Unless precluded by illness or disability, all retired Tax Court judges are subject to recall to active duty by the Chief Judge for a minimum period of 90 days each year and may be recalled for longer periods with their consent. Any retired judge of the Tax Court who should fail to perform the judicial duties required of him on recall would forfeit entirely his retired pay for the year in which such failure occurs. In order to insure the availability of retired judges for recall, the retired judges of the Tax Court are prohibited from accepting any other Federal office or employment or from engaging in the practice of law or accounting in the field of Federal taxation. If they should do so they would forever lose their rights to retirement pay. No such limitation is provided with respect to judges of the Federal District Courts.

Judges of the U.S. District Courts, the Court of Claims, Court of Customs and Patent Appeals and the Customs Court, may retire from regular active service after 15 years of service upon attaining the age of 65 and after 10 years of service upon attaining the age of 70. Their retired pay is the full amount of "the salary of the office." They may be recalled for such judicial service as they are "willing to undertake." There is no loss of retired pay should a judge refuse further service.

A recent review of the average years of service of retired judges of the Tax Court

prior to their retirement indicated such service to be over 25 years, while the average of the years of service prior to their retirement of 24 U.S. District Court judges who retired over a recent 3-year period showed an average of 19 years. At the present time, of the seven living retired judges of the Tax Court, six judges are serving on recall on a full-time basis and one judge is precluded by disability from further service.

The calculation of retired pay for judges by reference to "the salary payable to him as judge at the time he ceases to be a judge" is a characteristic of retired pay to Federal judges who are appointed to office for short terms, who are not subject to recall after retirement or resignation, and who are not precluded from engaging in any activity they choose after retirement or resignation. Examples are judges of the District Courts of Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, whose terms of office are for only 8 years, who are not subject to recall for any judicial duties after their retirement, and who are not precluded from engaging in any activity they choose, such as the practice of law after their retirement or resignation. The difference between these judges and the judges of the Tax Court is evident.

The Committee felt that the longer terms of service required from judges of the Tax Court before they are eligible for retirement rights and the more stringent obligations imposed on them by law to perform judicial service on recall during the rest of their lives call for a calculation of their retirement payments in a manner similar to that of retired judges of the U.S. District Courts, the Court of Claims and the Customs Court, i.e., by referring to "the salary of the office" rather than to "the salary payable to at the time he ceases to be a judge."

The provisions of the bill would be effective with respect to retired pay accruing on or after the first day of the first calendar month which begins after the date of enactment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be offered, the question is on the third reading of the bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I regret that I cannot support the pending bill. I realize that it applies to only a small number of individuals; nevertheless, if we pass the bill we shall be establishing a precedent which may some day come back to give us a great deal of trouble.

Under present law a judge may retire after 24 years of service and receive his full retired pay equal to the salary at the time he retires. If he is retired, for example, after 18 years of service he receives eighteen twenty-fourths of that salary; and so forth.

Mr. President, the pending bill is geared not to the salary the judge receives on the day he retires but to the salary of his office at any future date. For example, if a judge retired 10 years ago or 5 years ago and he received a salary of $22,500, he is now living on a pension based on that $22,500 salary. Since that time the salary of this office has been raised to $30,000. On the other hand there are some who retired years ago when a judge's salary was $10,000. Today they are all eligible for a $10,000 pension.

Under this bill their pensions would be increased 300 percent, or to the equivalent of the present salary.

Under this bill prior retirees would automatically have their pensions raised to the equivalent of this year's salary, which is $30,000 a year.

On the other hand, suppose a judge who after having qualified for 24 years retires this year at the $30,000 salary. If in the years to come the salary for the office is raised to $35,000, he would have his pension raised to $35,000, and it would be raised every time the salary was raised.

The bill would set up an entirely different formula from what it is now in the retirement system. The civil service retirement system is already in a very dangerous financial situation in that it is not actuarially sound—far from it, Mr. President—and Congress will some day have to meet this situation; otherwise we shall find that the fund is bankrupt.

Although the bill would apply to only a few individuals, it would set a precedent and there would be the possibility that we would have to extend the same principle to others. Such a step no doubt would completely bankrupt the retirement fund as well as the taxpayers.

I do not believe the bill should be passed, and I wish the RECORD to show that I am not supporting this proposal.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I did not oppose the bill in the Committee on Finance yesterday when it was reported, nor do I now oppose it. But I believe the Senator from Delaware made a very frank statement on a problem that this Congress has to meet, and I believe it will have to be met in the near future.

Last fall the President appointed what I would call a blue ribbon committee, composed of industrial leaders, Government leaders, and labor leaders, to study the entire retirement system and the evidence of increased liabilities that have been building up for payment in future years. That committee should report within the next week. I had thought the report would be available this week.

When the report is forthcoming, the Congress will be not only warned, but notified of a problem that we must meet. I did not oppose it. I am concerned about increasing retirement benefits without regard for the entire fund.

I commend the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] for having made the statement that I think should have been made.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I associate myself with the remarks that have been made by the able and distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS].

It seems to me that we must be very careful with regard to the retirement system in the future, because I understand that today the civil service retirement system is $40 billion in debt.

Considering the large amounts by which we are going into debt each year, it strikes me that in order to protect the employees of the Government who render long and faithful service and to prevent their retirement from being jeopardized, steps should be taken to place the retirement system on a sound basis.

In the bill it appears that a departure is being made and that new precedents might be established. This might be a dangerous step to take.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 8445) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO AGREEMENTS FOR COOPERATION WITH INDONESIA, SPAIN, AND SWITZERLAND

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I wish to inform the Senate that pursuant to section 123 (c) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the Atomic Energy Commission has submitted to the Joint Committee proposed amendments to the agreements for cooperation with the Governments of Indonesia, Spain, and Switzerland concerning peaceful uses of atomic energy. The proposed amendment to the Spanish agreement was received by the Joint Committee on December 1, 1965, and the proposed amendments to the Indonesian and Swiss agreements were received on January 12, 1966.

The proposed amendment to the Indonesian agreement, which expired on September 20, 1965, would extend the life of the agreement for 5 years. This would be a research-type agreement concerning peaceful use of atomic energy, providing for such matters as exchange of information, lease of enriched uranium as fuel for research reactors, and the sale of relatively small quantities of fissionable materials for use in defined research projects. The agreement would provide for safeguards to assure that materials and facilities subject to the agreement are used only for peaceful purposes, and that arrangements be made for assumption of safeguards responsibilities by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The amendments to the Spanish and Swiss agreements would, among other things, provide for long-term supply of fuel for these nations' nuclear power programs, and also that arrangements be made for assumption of safeguards responsibilities by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Section 123 c. of the act requires that these proposed amendments lie before the Joint Committee for a period of 30 days while Congress is in session before becoming effective. It is the general practice of the Joint Committee to publish proposed civilian agreements for cooperation in the RECORD and to hold public hearings thereon.

In keeping with this practice, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the text of the proposed amendments to the agreements for cooperation with Indonesia, Spain,

and Switzerland, together with supporting correspondence.

There being no objection, the correspondence and amendments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
BOARD OF CONTRACT APPEALS,
Washington, D.C., January 12, 1966.

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States.

DEAR CHET: Pursuant to section 123c of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, there are submitted with this letter:

(a) An executed "Amendment to Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Civil Uses of Atomic Energy";

(b) A copy of a letter from the Commission to the President recommending approval of the amendment; and

(c) A copy of a letter from the President to the Commission containing his determination that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and approving the amendment and authorizing its execution.

The proposed amendment, which has been negotiated by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of State pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, would extend the life of the agreement for a period of 5 years. In addition, the proposed amendment would provide that arrangements be made for the International Atomic Energy Agency to assume responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under the agreement.

The amendment will enter into force when the two Governments have exchanged written notifications that their respective statutory and constitutional requirements have been fulfilled.

As you know, this agreement expired on September 20, 1965, and the Department of State received on that date a formal note from the Government of Indonesia recognizing the continuing effect of the safeguards provisions of the agreement for cooperation over any materials, equipment or devices transferred under the agreement pending the coming into force of the amendment extending the agreement.

The agreement with Indonesia is a standard research type agreement providing for such things as exchange of information, the lease of enriched uranium for use as fuel for research reactors, and the sale of research quantities of special nuclear materials for use in defined research projects related to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The standard safeguard provisions contained in similar research type bilateral agreements are included in the Indonesian bilateral agreement.

United States assistance to Indonesia under the agreement for cooperation has taken the form of the provision of generally available unclassified information in the peaceful uses of atomic energy for medicine, agriculture, biology, the training of a few Indonesian scientists in peaceful uses, the export of a 250-kilowatt Triga research reactor, the necessary fuel therefor, and a grant of $350,000 to cover a portion of the reactor cost.

We do not anticipate any need to increase the limits on the amounts of material which may be transferred to Indonesia during the life of the agreement as extended by this amendment.

Cordially,

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman.

Enclosures:

1. Amendment to Agreement for Cooperation with the Republic of Indonesia.
2. Letter from the Commission to the President.
3. Letter from the President to the Commission.

AMENDMENT TO AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA CONCERNING CIVIL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia,

Desiring to amend the Agreement for Cooperation between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy, signed at Washington on June 8, 1960 (hereinafter referred to as the "Agreement for Cooperation");

Agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

Article X of the Agreement for Cooperation is amended to read as follows:

"1. The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, recognizing the desirability of making use of the facilities and services of the International Atomic Energy Agency, agree that the Agency will be promptly requested to assume responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under this Agreement for Cooperation. It is agreed that the necessary arrangements will be effected without modification of this Agreement, through an agreement to be concluded between the Parties and the Agency which may include provisions for suspension of the safeguard rights accorded the Commission by Article VIII, paragraph 3, of this Agreement during the time and to the extent that the Agency's safeguards apply to such materials and facilities.

"2. In the event the Parties do not reach a mutually satisfactory agreement on the terms of the trilateral arrangement envisaged in paragraph 1 of this Article, either Party may by notification terminate this Agreement. In the event of termination by either Party, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia shall, at the request of the Government of the United States of America, return to the Government of the United States of America all special nuclear material received pursuant to this Agreement and in its possession or in the possession of persons under its jurisdiction. The Government of the United States of America will compensate the Government of the Republic of Indonesia for such returned material at the Commission's schedule of prices then in effect domestically."

ARTICLE II

The first sentence of paragraph 1 of Article XI of the Agreement for Cooperation is amended by deleting the phrase "five years" and substituting in lieu thereof the phrase "ten years".

ARTICLE III

This Amendment shall enter into force on the date on which each Government shall have received from the other Government written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements for the entry into force of such Amendment and shall remain in force for the period of the Agreement for Cooperation, as hereby amended.

In witness whereof, the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Amendment.

Done at Washington, in duplicate, this twelfth day of January, 1966.

For the Government of the United States of America:

WILLIAM P. BUNDY,
Assistant Secretary, Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

For the Government of the Republic of Indonesia:

LAMBERTUS N. PALAR,
Ambassador,
Embassy of Indonesia.

Certified to be a true copy:

RICHARD V. WILLIT,
Division of International Affairs,
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., September 23, 1965.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The Atomic Energy Commission recommends that you approve the enclosed proposed amendment to Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy, determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and authorize its execution. The Department of State supports the Commission recommendation.

The proposed amendment, which has been negotiated by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of State pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, would extend the life of the agreement for a period of 5 years. In addition, the proposed amendment would provide that arrangements be made for the International Atomic Energy Agency to assume responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under the agreement. In every other respect, there is no proposed change in the basic agreement.

Following your determination, approval, and authorization, the proposed amendment will be formally executed by appropriate authorities of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. In compliance with section 123c of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the proposed amendment will then be placed before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Respectfully yours,

GERALD F. TAPE,
Acting Chairman.

Enclosure: Proposed amendment to the Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 1, 1966.

Hon. GLENN T. SEABORG,
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission,
Washington.

DEAR DR. SEABORG: In accordance with section 123a of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the Atomic Energy Commission has submitted to me by letter of September 23, 1965, a proposed amendment to Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Civil Uses of Atomic Energy, and has recommended that I approve the proposed amendment, determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and authorize its execution.

Pursuant to provisions of section 123b of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and upon the recommendation of the Atomic Energy Commission, I hereby:

(a) Approve the proposed amendment and determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security of the United States of America.

(b) Authorize the execution of the proposed amendment on behalf of the Government of the United States of America by appropriate authorities of the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., December 1, 1965.

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States.

DEAR CHET: Pursuant to section 123c of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, there are submitted with this letter:

(a) An executed amendment to the agreement for Cooperation Concerning the Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain.

(b) A copy of the letter from the Commission to the President recommending approval of the amendment.

(c) A copy of the letter from the President to the Commission containing his determination that performance of the amendment will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and approving the amendment and authorizing its execution.

The amendment, which has been negotiated by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of State pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, would extend and modify the agreement between the United States of America and the Government of Spain which was signed at Washington on August 16, 1957.

As we reported to the Joint Committee on June 4, 1964, the Government of Spain has for some time been desirous of receiving a general assurance from the United States concerning the availability of enriched uranium on a long-term basis for the Spanish nuclear power program. Accordingly, the amendment extends the term of the United States-Spanish agreement from 1968 to 1988. Consistent with the private ownership legislation, production or enrichment services could be provided after December 31, 1968, and would be subject to such terms and conditions as are established by the Commission. In addition, the amendment increases the quantities of enriched uranium that can be transferred to Spain to cover the estimated long-term enriched fuel requirements of three Spanish nuclear power projects as well as the miscellaneous requirements of the Spanish research and development program. The net amount of enriched uranium that could be transferred to Spain under the fuel article has been raised from 500 kilograms to 8,500 kilograms of U^{235}. The three principal projects that will be covered by this increased amount are the 153 MWe Zorita or UEM power station, the 30MWe DON prototype power reactor and the 300–400 MWe NUCLENOR power station.

Under the present agreement the Commission may, at its discretion, make available a portion of special nuclear material to be supplied as material enriched up to 90 percent for use in a materials testing reactor. The amendment broadens this provision in keeping with the approach the Commission generally follows in its new power agreements and permits the Commission, upon request and at its discretion, to transfer material containing more than 20 percent in the isotope U^{235} when there is a technical or economic justification for such transfer.

Article II of the amendment provides for removal of the limitation on the amounts of materials, including special nuclear material, that may be transferred to Spain for defined research applications (other than for fueling reactors and reactor experiments), and permits such materials to be made available on an "as may be agreed" basis when such material is not commercially available. A similar provision is incorporated in several of our other agreements.

Under article IIIA and article IV, enriched uranium and other materials could be transferred (including loaned, subject to required governmental authorization) for defined research applications, including research reactors, materials testing reactors, reactor experiments, and reactor prototypes. The inclusion of the provision of loan is designed to reflect the cooperative arrangement the Commission is currently negotiating with Spain, as a part of which the initial enriched uranium and heavy water requirements for the Spanish heavy water, organic cooled reactor prototype (DON) would be loaned to Spain over a period of 5 years.

Article VI of the amendment provides that the International Atomic Energy Agency will assume the responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under the agreement for cooperation at least 6 months prior to the startup of the Spanish Zorita power reactor or by December 31, 1966, whichever date is earlier. This transfer of responsibility would be accomplished without further modification to the agreement by means of a trilateral agreement to be negotiated among the United States, Spain, and the IAEA.

The amendment will enter into force on the day on which each Government shall have received from the other Government written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements for the entry into force of this amendment.

Cordially,

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman.

Enclosures:

1. Amendment to agreement for cooperation with the Government of Spain.
2. Letter from the Commission to the President.
3. Letter from the President to the Commission.

AMENDMENT TO AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN CONCERNING CIVIL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain,

Desiring to amend the Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy, signed at Washington on August 16, 1957 (hereinafter referred to as the "Agreement for Cooperation");

Agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

Article II, paragraph B, of the Agreement for Cooperation is hereby amended by deleting the words "ten years" and substituting in lieu thereof the words "thirty years".

ARTICLE II

Article VI, paragraph A, of the Agreement for Cooperation is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Materials of interest in connection with defined research applications, including special nuclear materials (other than special nuclear materials to be used in the fueling of reactors and reactor experiments), source materials, by-product materials, other radioisotopes and stable isotopes may be sold or otherwise transferred in such quantities and under such terms and conditions as may be agreed when such materials are not available commercially."

ARTICLE III

Article VIII of the Agreement for Cooperation is hereby amended to read as follows:

"A. During the period of this Agreement, the United States Commission will transfer to the Government of Spain, under such terms and conditions as the Parties may agree, uranium enriched in the isotope U^{235} for use in the fueling of defined research applications, including research reactors, materials testing reactors, reactor experiments and reactor prototypes as the Commission may agree to upon request of the Government of Spain, it being understood that the material will be delivered in accordance with contracts which set forth the agreed delivery schedules and other terms and conditions of supply.

"B. In addition, the Commission will sell to the Government of Spain all of Spain's requirements for enriched uranium for the power reactor program described in Appendix A, it being understood that the material will be delivered in accordance with contracts which set forth the agreed delivery schedules and other terms and conditions of supply.

"C. The Commission is also prepared, to such extent and under such conditions as may be established by the Commission, to enter into contracts to provide after December 31, 1968, for the production and enrichment in facilities owned by the Commission of special nuclear material for the account of the Government of Spain for the uses specified in paragraphs A and B above.

"D. The net amount of enriched uranium transferred from the United States to the Government of Spain under paragraphs A, B, and C of this Article during the period of this Agreement for Cooperation shall not exceed 8500 kilograms of U^{235}.

This net amount shall be the difference between:

(1) The quantity of U^{235} contained in enriched uranium transferred to the Government of Spain pursuant to said paragraphs A, B, and C, and

(2) The quantity of U^{235} contained in an equal quantity of uranium of normal isotopic assay, less the difference between:

(3) The aggregate of the quantities of U^{235} contained in recoverable uranium of U.S. origin either transferred to the United States of America or to any other nation or group of nations with the approval of the Government of the United States of America pursuant to this Agreement, and

(4) The quantity of U^{235} contained in an equal quantity of uranium of normal isotopic assay, except that if the difference between (3) and (4) is negative, it will not be considered.

"E. It is agreed that, should the total quantity of enriched uranium which the Commission has agreed to provide under this and other Agreements for Cooperation reach the maximum quantity of enriched uranium which the Commission has available for such purposes, and should the Government of Spain not have executed contracts for the net amount of enriched uranium specified in paragraph D of this Article, the Commission may request, upon appropriate notice, that the Government of Spain execute contracts for all or any part of such enriched uranium as is not then under contract. It is understood that, should the Government of Spain not execute contracts in accordance with a request by the Commission hereunder, the Commission shall be relieved of all obligations to the Government of Spain with respect to the enriched uranium for which contracts have been so requested.

"F. The enriched uranium supplied hereunder may contain up to twenty per cent (20%) in the isotope U^{235}. The United States Commission, however, may make available a portion of the enriched uranium supplied hereunder as material containing more than 20% in the isotope U^{235} when there is a technical or economic justification for such a transfer.

"G. It is understood, unless otherwise agreed, that in order to assure the availability of the entire quantity of enriched uranium allocated hereunder for a particular reactor project described in Appendix A, it will be necessary for the construction of the project to be initiated in accordance with the schedule set forth in Appendix A and for the Government of Spain to execute a contract for that quantity in time to allow for the Commission to provide the material for the first fuel loading. It is also understood that if the Government of Spain desired to contract for less than the entire quantity of enriched uranium allocated for a particular project or terminates the supply contract after execution, the remaining quantity allocated for that project shall cease to be available and the maximum quantity of enriched uranium provided for in paragraph D of this Article shall be reduced accordingly, unless otherwise agreed.

"H. Within the limitations contained in paragraph D of this Article, the quantity of uranium enriched in the isotope U–235 transferred by the Commission under this Article and in the custody of the Government of Spain for the fueling of reactors or reactor experiments shall not at any time be in excess of the quantity thereof necessary for the loading of such reactors or reactor experiments, plus such additional quantity as, in the opinion of the Parties, is necessary for the efficient and continuous operation of such reactors or reactor experiments.

"I. It is agreed that when any special nuclear material received from the United States of America requires reprocessing, such reprocessing shall be performed at the discretion of the Commission in either Commission facilities or facilities acceptable to the Commission, on terms and conditions to be later agreed; and it is understood, except as may be otherwise agreed, that the form and content of any irradiated fuel elements shall not be altered after their removal from the reactor prior to delivery to the Commission or the facilities acceptable to the Commission for reprocessing.

"J. With respect to any special nuclear material not owned by the Government of the United States of America produced in reactors fueled with materials obtained from the United States of America which is in excess of the need of the Government of Spain for such materials in its program for the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the Government of the United States of America shall have and is hereby granted (a) a first option to purchase such material at prices then prevailing in the United States of America for special nuclear material produced in reactors which are fueled pursuant to the terms of an agreement for cooperation with the Government of the United States of America, and (b) the right to approve the transfer of such material to any other nation or a group of nations in the event the option to purchase is not exercised.

"K. Special nuclear material produced, as a result of irradiation processes, in any part of fuel leased hereunder shall be for the account of the Government of Spain and after reprocessing as provided in paragraph I of this Article shall be returned to the Government of Spain at which time title to such material shall be transferred to that Government, unless the Government of the United States of America shall exercise the option, which is hereby granted, to retain, with appropriate credit to the Government of Spain, any such special nuclear material which is in excess of the needs of Spain for such material in its program for the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

"L. Some atomic energy materials which the Government of Spain may request the Commission to provide in accordance with this Agreement are harmful to persons and property unless handled and used carefully. After delivery of such materials to the Government of Spain, the Government of Spain shall bear all responsibility, insofar as the Government of the United States of America is concerned, for the safe handling and use of such materials. With respect to any special nuclear materials or fuel elements which the Commission may, pursuant to this Agreement, lease to the Government of Spain or to any private individual or private organization under its jurisdiction, the Government of Spain shall indemnify and save harmless the Government of the United States of America against any and all liability (including third party liability) for any cause whatsoever arising out of the production or fabrication, the ownership, the lease, and the possession and use of such special nuclear materials or fuel elements after delivery by the Commission to the Government of Spain or to any authorized private individual or private organization under its jurisdiction."

ARTICLE IV

Article IX of the Agreement for Cooperation is hereby amended by deleting the words "lease, or sale and purchase," and substituting in lieu thereof the words "sale, lease, or, subject to required governmental authorizations, loan,".

ARTICLE V

Article X, paragraph B.3., of the Agreement for Cooperation is hereby amended by deleting the phrase "paragraph F(b)" and substituting in lieu thereof the phrase "paragraph J(b)".

ARTICLE VI

Article XII of the Agreement for Cooperation is hereby amended to read as follows:

"A. The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain, recognizing the desirability of making use of the facilities and services of the International Atomic Energy Agency as soon as practicable, agree that the Agency will be requested to assume responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under this Agreement for Cooperation so that this responsibility will be assumed by the Agency at least six months prior to the startup of the Zorita nuclear power station described in Appendix A or by December 31, 1966, whichever date is earlier. It is contemplated that the necessary arrangements will be effected without modification of this Agreement, through an Agreement to be negotiated between the Parties and the Agency which may include provisions for suspension of the safeguard rights accorded the Commission by Article X, paragraph B, of this Agreement during the time and to the extent that the Agency's safeguards apply to such materials and facilities.

"B. In the event the Parties do not reach a mutually satisfactory agreement on the terms of the trilateral arrangement envisaged in Paragraph A of this Article, either Party may, by notification, terminate this Agreement. Before either Party takes steps to terminate, the Parties will carefully consider the economic effect of any such termination. Neither Party will invoke its termination rights until the other Party has been given sufficient advance notice to permit arrangements by the Government of Spain, if it is the other Party, for an alternative source of power and to permit adjustment by the Government of the United States of America, if it is the other Party, of production schedules. In the event of termination by either Party, the Government of Spain shall, at the request of the Government of the United States of America, return to the Government of the United States of America all special nuclear materials received pursuant to this Agreement and in its possession or in the possession of persons under its jurisdiction. The Government of the United States of America will compensate the Government of Spain for such returned material at the current Commission's schedule of prices then in effect domestically."

ARTICLE VII

This Amendment shall enter into force on the date on which each Government shall have received from the other Government written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements for the entry into force of such Amendment and shall remain in force for the period of the Agreement for Cooperation, as hereby amended.

In witness whereof, the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this amendment.

Done at Washington, in duplicate, in the English and Spanish languages, both texts being equally authentic, this 29th day of November, 1965.

For the Government of the United States of America:

JOHN M. LEDDY,
Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State.

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

For the Government of Spain:

MERRY DEL VAL,
Spanish Ambassador to the United States.

Certified to be a true copy:

WILLIAM L. YEOMANS,
Chief, European Branch, Division of International Affairs, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

APPENDIX A

Spanish enriched uranium power reactor program

Reactors (1)	Start of construction (2)	Total kilograms U^{235} required [1] (3)
A. DON, 30 megawatts electric	1965	366
B. Zorita, 153 megawatts electric	1964	2,934
C. Nuclenor, 300 megawatts electric	1966	4,930
Total		8,230

[1] As calculated in art. VIII.D. of the Agreement for Cooperation, as amended.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., June 9, 1965.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The Atomic Energy Commission recommends that you approve the enclosed proposed "Amendment to Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain Concerning the Civil Uses of Atomic Energy," determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and authorize its execution. The Department of State supports the Commission's recommendation.

The proposed amendment, which has been negotiated by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of State pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, would extend and modify the agreement between the United States of America and the Government of Spain which was signed at Washington on August 16, 1957. The principal objective of the amendment is to provide fuel for the planned Spanish nuclear power program of a long-term basis.

Article I of the amendment would extend the expiration date of the agreement from 1968 to 1988.

Article II would permit materials of interest in connection with defined research applications, including special nuclear materials (other than special nuclear materials for fueling reactors and reactor experiments) to be made available on an "as may be agreed" basis when such material is not commercially available. A similar provision has been incorporated in several of our other agreements.

Under article IIIA and article IV, enriched uranium and other materials could be transferred (including loaned, subject to required governmental authorization) for defined research applications, including research reactors, materials testing reactors, reactor experiments, and reactor prototypes. The inclusion of the flexibility permitting loan is designed to reflect a proposed cooperative arrangement the Commission is now negotiating with Spain under which the initial enriched uranium and heavy water requirements for a proposed Spanish reactor prototype (the DON reactor) would be loaned to Spain for a 5-year period. The new language to be inserted in the agreement covering the possibility of a loan of materials is permissive and not obligatory in nature and it is understood that the actual conclusion of a loan arrangement with Spain will be contingent upon a final decision on the part of Spain to proceed with the project, the development of a suitable detailed exchange arrangement covering U.S. participation, and the receipt of the requisite congressional authorization.

Article III of the amendment would also permit the sale of enriched uranium to meet all of Spain's requirements for enriched uranium for the power reactor program described in the agreement. In addition, consistent with a recent change in the Atomic Energy Act, production or enrichment services would be provided after December 31, 1968, and would be subject to such terms and conditions as may be established by the Commission.

Under article III of the amendment, the quantities of enriched uranium that could be transferred to the Government of Spain to cover the estimated long-term enriched uranium fuel requirements of Spain would be increased to a maximum amount of 8,500 kilograms of U^{235}.

Further, article III would allow the Atomic Energy Commission, at its discretion, to make available to Spain uranium enriched to more than 20 percent in the isotope U^{235} when there is a technical or economic justification for such a transfer. This provision has been incorporated in our agreements with several other countries.

In keeping with the U.S. policy on safeguards, article VI would provide that the International Atomic Energy Agency will assume the responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under the agreement for cooperation at least 6 months prior to the startup of the Spanish Zorita power reactor or by December 31, 1966, whichever date is earlier. This transfer of responsibility would be accomplished without further modification to the agreement by means of a trilateral agreement to be negotiated among the United States, Spain and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Following your determination, approval, and authorization, the proposed amendment will be formally executed by appropriate authorities of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain. In compliance with section 123c of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the proposed amendment, together with your approval and determination, will then be submitted to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Respectfully yours,

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman.

Enclosure: Amendment to the Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 24, 1965.

Hon. GLENN T. SEABORG,
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission,
Washington.

DEAR DR. SEABORG: In accordance with section 123(a) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the Atomic Energy Commission has submitted to me a proposed "Amendment to the Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Spain" and has recommended that I approve the proposed amendment, determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and authorize its execution.

Pursuant to the provisions of 123(b) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and upon the recommendation of the Atomic Energy Commission, I hereby:

(a) Approve the proposed amendment, and determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security of the United States of America;

(b) Authorize the execution of the proposed amendment on behalf of the Government of the United States of America by appropriate authorities of the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., January 12, 1966.

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States.

DEAR CHET: Pursuant to section 123(c) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, there are submitted with this letter:

(a) An executed "Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy";

(b) A copy of the letter from the Commission to the President recommending approval of the agreement; and

(c) A copy of a letter from the President to the Commission containing his determination that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and approving the agreement and authorizing its execution.

The agreement, which has been negotiated by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of State pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, would supersede the "Agreement for Cooperation of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland," signed at Washington on June 21, 1956, and amended on April 24, 1959, and June 11, 1960. As we reported to the Joint Committee on July 14, 1965, the 1955 research agreement with Switzerland was allowed to expire since cooperation could be continued under the 1956 power agreement.

The Government of Switzerland has been desirous for some time of receiving from the Commission a general assurance regarding the availability of enriched fuel for their long-term nuclear energy program. Accordingly, the agreement would have a duration of 30 years and would provide for the transfer of an increased quantity of U^{235} to meet the needs of both the long-term program and of miscellaneous research and development projects.

Article VI of the new agreement implements the provisions of the private ownership legislation by providing a framework within which private persons in the two countries may be parties to transfers of special nuclear material. While the precise means by which these private transactions would be carried out have not yet been developed, the Commission retains the right to insure that they are made in accordance with applicable laws, regulations, policies and license requirements of the United States. Proposed regulations for licensing the export of special nuclear material have been published for comment. Materials transferred under article VI would be part of the total quantity of material available under the agreement.

Article VII would, consistent with the private ownership legislation, permit the Commission to perform uranium enrichment services after December 31, 1968, for the account of the Government of Switzerland. In addition, the net amount of U^{235} which could be transferred to Switzerland is increased to 30,000 kilograms, and uranium enriched to more than 20 percent in the isotope U^{235} could be made available when there is a technical or economic justification for such a transfer. In keeping with stated Commission policy, article VII also includes language which assures the comparability of domestic and foreign prices for enriched uranium and services performed, as well as of the advance notice required for delivery.

Article IX contains the peaceful uses guarantees of the Government of Switzerland and the Government of the United States. The U.S. guarantee would extend to equipment and devices transferred to the Government of the United States, to special nuclear material produced in U.S.-fueled reactors which is in excess of Switzerland's needs and which the United States decides to purchase, and to special nuclear material produced in U.S.-leased fuel which the United States elects to retain after reprocessing, or alternatively, to equivalent amounts of such purchased or retained material.

Article XI provides that the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland will promptly request the International Atomic Energy Agency to assume responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under the agreement. This transfer of responsibility to the agency would be accomplished without amendment to the agreement by means of a trilateral agreement to be negotiated by the United States, Switzerland, and the IAEA.

The agreement will enter into force on the day on which each Government shall have received from the other Government written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements for the entry into force of the agreement.

Cordially,

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman.

Enclosures:

1. Agreement for Cooperation with the Government of Switzerland (3).
2. Letter from the Commission to the President (3).
3. Letter from the President to the Commission (3).

AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SWITZERLAND CONCERNING CIVIL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Whereas the Government of the United States of America and the Government of

Switzerland signed an "Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland" on June 21, 1956, which was amended by the Agreement signed on April 24, 1959, and the Agreement signed on June 11, 1960; and

Whereas the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland desire to pursue a research and development program looking toward the realization of peaceful and humanitarian uses of atomic energy, including the design, construction, and operation of power-producing reactors and research reactors, and the exchange of information relating to the development of other peaceful uses of atomic energy; and

Whereas the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland are desirous of entering into this Agreement to cooperate with each other to attain the above objectives; and

Whereas the Parties desire this Agreement to supersede the "Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland", signed on June 21, 1956, as amended;

The Parties agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

A. The "Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland", signed on June 21, 1956, as amended, is superseded on the date this Agreement enters into force.

B. This Agreement shall enter into force on the date on which each Government shall have received from the other Government written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements for the entry into force of such Agreement and shall remain in force for a period of thirty (30) years.

ARTICLE II

A. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, the availability of personnel and material, and the applicable laws, regulations, and license requirements in force in their respective countries, the Parties shall cooperate with each other in the achievement of the uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

B. Restricted Data shall not be communicated under this Agreement and no materials or equipment and devices shall be transferred, and no services shall be furnished, under this Agreement, if the transfer of any such materials or equipment and devices or the furnishing of any such services involves the communication of Restricted Data.

C. This Agreement shall not require the exchange of any information which the Parties are not permitted to communicate because the information is privately owned or has been received from another Government.

ARTICLE III

A. Subject to the provisions of Article II, the Parties shall exchange unclassified information with respect to the application of atomic energy to peaceful uses and the problems of health and safety connected therewith. The exchange of information provided for in this Article shall be accomplished through various means available, including reports, conferences, and visits to facilities, and shall include information in the following fields:

(1) Development, design, construction, operation, and use of research, materials testing, experimental, demonstration power, and power reactors;

(2) Health and safety problems related to the operation and use of the types of reactors listed in subparagraph (1) above; and

(3) The use of radioactive isotopes and radiation in physical and biological research, medical therapy, agriculture, and industry.

B. Agreed classification, patent, and security policies and practices shall continue to be maintained with respect to all classified information (including any inventions or discoveries employing such information), materials, equipment, and devices which have been exchanged under the superseded Agreement. The Parties intend to consult with each other to review the extent to which the agreed classification, patent, and security policies and practices referred to above continue to be appropriate and applicable.

ARTICLE IV

A. Materials of interest in connection with the subjects of agreed exchange of information, as provided in Article III and subject to the provisions of Article II, including source materials, special nuclear materials, by-product materials, other radioisotopes, and stable isotopes, may be transferred for defined applications other than fueling reactors and reactor experiments in such quantities and under such terms and conditions as may be agreed when such materials are not commercially available.

B. Subject to the provisions of Article II and under such terms and conditions as may be agreed, specialized research facilities and reactor materials testing facilities of the Parties shall be made available for mutual use consistent with the limits of space, facilities, and personnel conveniently available when such facilities are not commercially available.

C. With respect to the subjects of agreed exchange of information as provided in Article III and subject to the provisions of Article II, equipment and devices may be transferred from one Party to the other under such terms and conditions as may be agreed. It is recognized that such transfers will be subject to limitations which may arise from shortages of supplies or other circumstances existing at the time.

ARTICLE V

The application or use of any information (including design drawings and specifications) and any material, equipment, and devices, exchanged or transferred between the Parties under this Agreement, shall be the responsibility of the Party receiving it, and the other Party does not warrant the accuracy or completeness of such information and does not warrant the suitability of such information, material, equipment, and devices for any particular use or application.

ARTICLE VI

It is contemplated that, as provided in this Article, authorized private individuals and private organizations as well as governmental bodies in either the United States of America or Switzerland may deal directly with authorized private individuals and private organizations as well as governmental bodies in the other country. Accordingly, in connection with the subjects of agreed exchange of information as provided in Article III, it is understood that either Party and authorized persons under its jurisdiction may make arrangements to transfer and export materials, including special nuclear material, and equipment and devices to, and perform services for, the other Party and authorized persons under its jurisdiction. Such arrangements shall be subject to:

(1) the limitations in Article II; and

(2) applicable laws, regulations, policies, and license requirements of the Parties.

ARTICLE VII

A. During the period of this Agreement, the United States Commission will transfer to the Government of Switzerland, under such terms and conditions as the Parties may agree, uranium enriched in the isotope U^{235} for use in the fueling of defined research applications, including research reactors, materials testing reactors, reactor experiments, and reactor prototypes, as the Commission may agree to upon request of the Government of Switzerland.

B. In addition, the United States Commission is prepared to sell to the Government of Switzerland all of Switzerland's requirements for uranium enriched in the isotope U^{235} for use in the power reactor program described in the Appendix to this Agreement, which Appendix, subject to the quantity limitation established in paragraph E of this Article, may be amended from time to time by mutual consent without modification of this Agreement.

C. The United States Commission is also prepared, to such extent and under such conditions as it may establish, to enter into contracts to provide after December 31, 1968, for the production or enrichment, or both, in facilities owned by the Commission of special nuclear material for the account of the Government of Switzerland for the uses specified in paragraphs A and B above.

D. With respect to transfers of uranium enriched in the isotope U^{235} provided for in paragraphs A, B, and C of this Article, it is understood that:

(1) contracts specifying quantities, enrichments, delivery schedules, and other terms and conditions of supply or service will be executed on a timely basis between the United States Commission and the Government of Switzerland; and

(2) prices for uranium enriched in the isotope U^{235} sold or for services performed and the advance notice required for delivery will be those in effect for users in the United States. The United States Commission may agree to supply enriched uranium or perform enrichment services upon shorter notice, subject to assessment of such surcharge to the usual base price as the United States Commission may consider reasonable to cover abnormal production costs incurred by the United States Commission by reason of such shorter notice.

E. The adjusted net quantity of U^{235} in enriched uranium transferred from the United States of America to the Government of Switzerland under paragraphs A, B, and C of this Article during the period of this Agreement for Cooperation shall not exceed 30,000 kilograms. The following method of computation shall be used in calculating transfers, within the ceiling quantity of 30,000 kilograms of U^{235}, made pursuant to said paragraphs A, B, and C of this Article:

From:

(1) The quantity of U^{235} contained in enriched uranium transferred to the Government of Switzerland pursuant to said paragraphs A, B, and C, minus

(2) The quantity of U^{235} contained in an equal quantity of uranium of normal isotopic assay.

Subtract:

(3) The aggregate of the quantities of U^{235} contained in recoverable uranium of U.S. origin either transferred to the United States of America or to any other nation or group of nations with the approval of the Government of the United States of America pursuant to this Agreement, minus

(4) The quantity of U^{235} contained in an equal quantity of uranium of normal isotopic assay.

F. It is agreed that, should the total quantity of enriched uranium which the United States Commission has agreed to provide pursuant to this and other Agreements for Cooperation reach the maximum quantity of enriched uranium which the Commission has available for such purposes, and should the Government of Switzerland not have executed contracts covering the adjusted net quantity specified in paragraph E of this Article, the Commission may request, upon appropriate notice, that the Government of Switzerland execute contracts for all or any part of such enriched uranium as is not then

under contract. It is understood that, should the Government of Switzerland not execute a contract in accordance with a request by the Commission hereunder, the Commission shall be relieved of all obligations to the Government of Switzerland with respect to the enriched uranium for which contracts have been so requested.

G. The enriched uranium supplied hereunder may contain up to twenty percent (20%) in the isotope U^{235}. The United States Commission, however, may make available a portion of the enriched uranium supplied hereunder as material containing more than 20% in the isotope U^{235} when there is a technical or economic justification for such a transfer.

H. It is understood, unless otherwise agreed, that in order to assure the availability of the entire quantity of enriched uranium allocated hereunder for a particular reactor project described in the Appendix, it will be necessary for the construction of the project to be initiated in accordance with the schedule set forth in the Appendix and for the Government of Switzerland to execute a contract for that quantity in time to allow for the United States Commission to provide the material for the first fuel loading. It is also understood that if the Government of Switzerland desires to contract for less than the entire quantity of enriched uranium allocated for a particular project or terminates the supply contract after execution, the remaining quantity allocated for that project shall cease to be available and the maximum adjusted net quantity of U^{235} provided for in paragraph E of this Article shall be reduced accordingly, unless otherwise agreed.

I. Within the limitations contained in paragraph E of this Article, the quantity of uranium enriched in the isotope U^{235} transferred by the United States Commission under this Article and in the custody of the Government of Switzerland for the fueling of reactors or reactor experiments shall not at any time be in excess of the quantity thereof necessary for the loading of such reactors or reactor experiments, plus such additional quantity as, in the opinion of the Parties, is necessary for the efficient and continuous operation of such reactors or reactor experiments.

J. It is agreed that when any special nuclear material received from the United States of America requires reprocessing, such reprocessing shall be performed at the discretion of the Commission in either Commission facilities or facilities acceptable to the Commission, on terms and conditions to be later agreed; and it is understood, except as may be otherwise agreed, that the form and content of any irradiated fuel elements shall not be altered after their removal from the reactor prior to delivery to the Commission or the facilities acceptable to the Commission for reprocessing.

K. With respect to any special nuclear material not owned by the Government of the United States of America produced in reactors fueled with materials obtained from the United States of America which is in excess of the need of the Government of Switzerland for such materials in its program for the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the Government of the United States of America shall have, and is hereby granted, (a) a first option to purchase such material at prices then prevailing in the United States of America for special nuclear material produced in reactors which are fueled pursuant to the terms of an agreement for cooperation with the Government of the United States of America, and (b) the right to approve the transfer of such material to any other nation or a group of nations in the event the option to purchase is not exercised.

L. Special nuclear material produced, as a result of irradiation processes, in any part of the fuel leased hereunder shall be for the account of the Government of Switzerland, and, after reprocessing as provided in paragraph J of this Article, shall be returned to the Government of Switzerland, at which time title to such material shall be transferred to that Government, unless the Government of the United States of America shall exercise the option, which is hereby granted, to retain, with a credit to the Government of Switzerland based on the prices in the United States of America referred to in paragraph K of this Article, any such special nuclear material which is in excess of the needs of Switzerland for such material in its program for the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

M. Some atomic energy materials which the Government of Switzerland may request the Commission to provide in accordance with this Agreement, or which have been provided to the Government of Switzerland under the superseded Agreement, are harmful to persons and property unless handled and used carefully. After delivery of such materials to the Government of Switzerland, the Government of Switzerland shall bear all responsibility, insofar as the Government of the United States of America is concerned, for the safe handling and use of such materials. With respect to any special nuclear materials or fuel elements which the Commission may lease pursuant to this Agreement, or may have leased pursuant to the superseded Agreement, to the Government of Switzerland or to any private individual or private organization under its jurisdiction duly authorized to this effect, the Government of Switzerland shall indemnify and save harmless the Government of the United States of America against any and all liability (including third party liability) for any cause whatsoever arising out of the production or fabrication, the ownership, the lease, and the possession and use of such special nuclear materials or fuel elements after delivery by the Commission to the Government of Switzerland or to any authorized private individual or private organization under its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE VIII

As may be necessary and as may be mutually agreed in connection with the subjects of agreed exchange of information as provided in Article III, and subject to the limitations set forth in Article II, and under such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed, specific arrangements may be made from time to time between the Parties for the lease or sale of quantities of material, including heavy water and natural uranium, but not including special nuclear materials, greater than those required for research when such materials are not commercially available.

ARTICLE IX

A. The Government of Switzerland guarantees that:

(1) Safeguards provided in Article X shall be maintained.

(2) No material, including equipment and devices, transferred to the Government of Switzerland or authorized persons under its jurisdiction by purchase or otherwise pursuant to this Agreement or the superseded Agreement, and no special nuclear material produced through the use of such material, equipment and devices, including any such special nuclear material held under the superseded Agreement, will be used for atomic weapons, or for research on or development of atomic weapons, or for any other military purpose.

(3) No material, including equipment and devices, transferred to the Government of Switzerland or authorized persons under its jurisdiction pursuant to this Agreement or the superseded Agreement, and no special nuclear material produced through the use of such material, equipment, or devices, including any such special nuclear material held under the superseded Agreement, will be transferred to unauthorized persons or beyond the jurisdiction of the Government of Switzerland, except as the United States Commission may agree to such a transfer to another nation or group of nations, and then only if, in the opinion of the United States Commission, the transfer of the material is within the scope of an agreement for cooperation between the Government of the United States of America and the other nation or group of nations.

B. The Government of the United States of America guarantees that no equipment or devices transferred from the Government of Switzerland to the Government of the United States of America or authorized persons under its jurisdiction pursuant to this Agreement or the superseded Agreement, no material purchased by the Government of the United States of America pursuant to paragraph K of Article VII of this Agreement, and no material retained by the Government of the United States of America pursuant to paragraph L of Article VII of this Agreement, or an equivalent amount of material of the same type as such purchased or retained material substituted therefor, will be used for atomic weapons, or for research on or development of atomic weapons, or for any other military purpose.

ARTICLE X

A. The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland emphasize their common interest in assuring that any material, equipment, or device made available to the Government of Switzerland pursuant to this Agreement or the superseded Agreement shall be used solely for civil purposes.

B. Except to the extent that the safeguards provided for in this Agreement are supplanted, by agreement of the Parties as provided in Article XI, by safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Government of the United States of America, notwithstanding any other provisions of this Agreement, shall have the following rights:

(1) With the objective of assuring design and operation for civil purposes and permitting effective application of safeguards, to review the design of any

(a) reactor and

(b) other equipment and devices, the design of which the United States Commission determines to be relevant to the effective application of safeguards, which are to be made available to the Government of Switzerland or any person under its jurisdiction, or which are to use, fabricate, or process any of the following materials so made available: source material, special nuclear material, moderator material, or other material designated by the United States Commission;

(2) With respect to any source or special nuclear material made available to the Government of Switzerland or any person under its jurisdiction by the Government of the United States of America or any person under its jurisdiction and any source or special nuclear material utilized in, recovered from, or produced as a result of the use of any of the following materials, equipment, or devices so made available:

(a) source material, special nuclear material, moderator material, or other material designated by the United States Commission,

(b) reactors,

(c) any other equipment or device designated by the United States Commission as an item to be made available on the conditions that the provisions of this subparagraph B (2) will apply.

(i) to require the maintenance and production of operating records and to request and receive reports for the purpose of assisting in ensuring accountability for such materials; and

(ii) to require that any such material in the custody of the Government of Switzerland or any person under its jurisdiction be subject to all of the safeguards provided for in this Article and the guaranties set forth in Article IX;

(3) To require the deposit in storage facilities designated by the United States Commission of any of the special nuclear material referred to in subparagraph B (2) of this Article which is not currently utilized for civil purposes in Switzerland and which is not purchased or retained by the Government of the United States of America pursuant to Article VII of this Agreement, transferred pursuant to Article VII, paragraph K (b), or otherwise disposed of pursuant to an arrangement mutually acceptable to the Parties;

(4) To designate, after consultation with the Government of Switzerland, personnel who, accompanied, if either Party so requests, by personnel designated by the Government of Switzerland, shall have access in Switzerland to all places and data necessary to account for the source and special nuclear materials which are subject to subparagraph B(2) of this Article, to determine whether there is compliance with this Agreement, and to make such independent measurements as may be deemed necessary;

(5) In the event of non-compliance with the provisions of this Article or the guaranties set forth in Article IX and the failure of the Government of Switzerland to carry out the provisions of this Article within a reasonable time, to suspend or terminate this Agreement and to require the return of any materials, equipment, and devices referred to in subparagraph B(2) of this Article;

(6) To consult with the Government of Switzerland in the matter of health and safety.

C. The Government of Switzerland undertakes to facilitate the application of the safeguards provided for in this Article.

ARTICLE XI

A. The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland, recognizing the desirability of making use of the facilities and services of the International Atomic Energy Agency, agree that the Agency will be promptly requested to assume responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under this Agreement. It is contemplated that the necessary arrangements will be effected without modification of this Agreement through an agreement to be negotiated between the Parties and the Agency which may include provisions for suspension of the safeguard rights accorded to the United States Commission by Article X of this Agreement, during the time and to the extent that the Agency's safeguards apply to such materials and facilities.

B. In the event the Parties do not reach a mutually satisfactory agreement on the terms of the trilateral arrangement envisaged in paragraph A of this Article, either Party may, by notification, terminate this Agreement. Before either Party takes steps to terminate this Agreement, the Parties will carefully consider the economic effects of any such termination. Neither Party will invoke its termination rights until the other Party has been given sufficient advance notice to permit arrangements by the Government of Switzerland, if it is the other Party, for an alternative source of power and to permit adjustment by the Government of the United States of America, if it is the other Party, of production schedules. In the event of termination by either Party, the Government of Switzerland shall, at the request of the Government of the United States of America, return to the Government of the United States of America all special nuclear material received pursuant to this Agreement and still in its possession or in the possession of persons under its jurisdiction. The Government of the United States of America will compensate the Government of Switzerland for sold material so returned at the United States Commission's schedule of prices then in effect domestically.

ARTICLE XII

The rights and obligations of the Parties provided for under this Agreement shall extend to cooperative activities initiated under the superseded Agreement, including, but not limited to, material, equipment, devices, and information transferred thereunder, to the extent applicable.

ARTICLE XIII

For the purposes of this Agreement:

A. "United States Commission" or "Commission" means the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

B. "Parties" means the Government of the United States of America, including the United States Commission on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, and the Government of Switzerland, including the Office of the Federal Delegate for Atomic Energy Questions on behalf of the Government of Switzerland. "Party" means one of the above "Parties".

C. "Atomic weapon" means any device utilizing atomic energy, exclusive of the means for transporting or propelling the device (where such means is a separable and divisible part of the device), the principal purpose of which is for use as, or for development of, a weapon, a weapon prototype, or a weapon test device.

D. "Byproduct material" means any radioactive material (except special nuclear material) yielded in or made radioactive by exposure to the radiation incident to the process of producing or utilizing special nuclear material.

E. "Equipment and devices" and "equipment or device" means any instrument, apparatus, or facility and includes any facility, except an atomic weapon, capable of making use of or producing special nuclear material, and component parts thereof.

F. "Person" means any individual, corporation, partnership, firm, association, trust, estate, public or private institution, group, government agency, or government corporation but does not include the Parties to this Agreement.

G. "Reactor" means an apparatus, other than an atomic weapon, in which a self-supporting fission chain reaction is maintained by utilizing uranium, plutonium, or thorium, or any combination of uranium, plutonium, or thorium.

H. "Restricted Data" means all data concerning (1) design, manufacture, or utilization of atomic weapons; (2) the production of special nuclear material in the production of energy, but shall not include data declassified or removed from the category of Restricted Data by the appropriate authority.

I. "Source material" means (1) uranium, thorium, or any other material which is determined by the United States Commission or the Government of Switzerland to be source material; or (2) ores containing one or more of the foregoing materials, in such concentration as the United States Commission or the Government of Switzerland may determine from time to time.

J. "Special nuclear material" means (1) plutonium, uranium enriched in the isotope 233 or in the isotope 235, and any other material which the United States Commission or the Government of Switzerland determines to be special nuclear material; or (2) any material artificially enriched by any of the foregoing.

K. "Superseded Agreement" means the Agreement signed by the Parties on June 21, 1956, as amended by the Agreement signed on April 24, 1959, and the Agreement signed on June 11, 1960.

L. "Safeguards" means a system of controls designed to assure that any materials, equipment, or devices committed to the peaceful uses of atomic energy are not used to further any military purpose.

In witness whereof, the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Agreement.

Done at Washington in duplicate, in the English and French languages, both equally authentic, this 30th day of December 1965.

For the Government of the United States of America:

WALTER J. STOESSEL,
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Department of State.

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

For the Government of Switzerland:

ALFRED ZEHNDER,
Ambassador of Switzerland, Embassy of Switzerland.

Certified to be a true copy:

WILLIAM L. YEOMANS,
Chief, European Branch, Division of International Affairs, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

APPENDIX

Swiss enriched uranium power reactor program

Reactors (1)	Start of construction (2)	Total kilograms U^{235} required [1] (3)
A. NOK, 350 megawatts electric, PWR (Beznau)	1965	7,560
B. Atom-Electra, 600 megawatts electric (Electrowatt)	1966	9,220
C. 100 megawatts electric	1967	970
D. Bernese, 300 megawatts electric (Muhleberg I)	1967	6,058
E. Bernese, 300 megawatts electric (Muhleberg II)	1970	5,160
Total		28,968

[1] As calculated in art. VII, par. E, of the Agreement or Cooperation.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., October 29, 1965.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with section 123(a) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the Atomic Energy Commission recommends that you approve the enclosed proposed "Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy," determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and authorize its execution. The Department of State supports the Commission's recommendation.

The proposed agreement, which has been negotiated by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of State pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, would supersede the "Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland," signed at Washington on June 21, 1956, as amended. The Agreement for Cooperation signed in 1955 covering a limited program of research was allowed to expire on July 17, 1965, inasmuch as the cooperative activities initiated under that agreement had been brought under the provisions of the existing power agreement.

The primary reasons for entering into a new agreement are (a) to provide the framework for assuring the long-term supply of enriched fuel required for the projected Swiss nuclear power program and (b) to im-

plement provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which were added by recent amendments, permitting the performance of uranium enrichment services by the Commission and the private ownership of special nuclear material.

The proposed agreement, which would have a term of 30 years, would provide for the conduct of activities on an unclassified basis, in contrast to the existing agreement which permits the exchange of classified information.

Article VI of the new agreement would reflect the recent changes in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 permitting private ownership of special nuclear material by enabling private parties in the United States and Switzerland to be parties to arrangements for the transfer of special nuclear material. Previously, such transactions were confined to governments. Arrangements made directly between private parties under the proposed article VI would be undertaken pursuant to applicable laws, regulations, policies, and license requirements of the United States and Swiss Governments.

Article VII of the proposed agreement would permit the sale of enriched uranium required for the long-term Swiss power reactor program described in the appendix to the agreement and would increase the maximum quantity of U^{235} that could be transferred to Switzerland from the present limit of 500 kilograms to 30,000 kilograms.

Article VII would also permit the Commission to perform uranium enrichment services after December 31, 1968, for the account of the Government of Switzerland under terms and conditions which the Commission may establish. In addition, the Commission would be able, at its discretion, to make available to the Government of Switzerland uranium enriched to more than 20 percent in the isoptope U^{235} when there is an economic or technical justification for such a transfer.

In keeping with stated Commission policy, article VII also includes language which assures the comparability of domestic and foreign prices for enriched uranium and services performed, as well as of the advance notice required for delivery.

Article IX would continue in effect the U.S. guarantee that no equipment or device transferred to the Government of the United States will be used for military purposes. The U.S. guarantee would also extend to (a) special nuclear material produced in U.S.-fueled reactors which is in excess of Switzerland's needs and which the United States decides to purchase, and (b) special nuclear material produced in U.S.-leased fuel which the United States elects to retain after reprocessing, or, alternatively, to equivalent amounts of such purchased or retained material.

In keeping with U.S. policy to arrive at explicit understandings with countries with which we have cooperative agreements as to the transfer of safeguards to the International Atomic Energy Agency, article XI of the proposed agreement provides that the Agency will be promptly requested to assume responsibility for applying safeguards to materials and facilities subject to safeguards under the agreement.

Following your determination, approval, and authorization, the proposed agreement will be formally executed by appropriate authorities of the Governments of the United States and Switzerland. In compliance with section 123(c) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the proposed agreement will then be placed before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Respectfully yours,

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman.

(Enclosure: Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland.)

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., December 2, 1965.

Hon. GLENN T. SEABORG,
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SEABORG: In accordance with section 123(a) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the Atomic Energy Commission has submitted to me by a letter of October 29, 1965, a proposed "Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Switzerland Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy," and has recommended that I approve the proposed agreement, determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and authorize its execution.

Pursuant to the provisions of section 123 (b) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and upon the recommendation of the Atomic Energy Commission, I hereby (a) approve the proposed agreement and determine that its performance will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security of the United States of America; and (b) authorize the execution of the proposed agreement on behalf of the Government of the United States of America by appropriate authorities of the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

Mr. GORE. I am also scheduling a public hearing by the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation concerning these amendments, beginning on January 27, 1966.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection it is so ordered.

A PLEA FOR PATIENCE AND COURAGE IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, those of us in positions of public trust are now involved in what may be the most fateful decision-making period of our lives. The war in Vietnam will either begin to move this year toward a peaceful resolution—however slow and uncertain the road—or it will degenerate into a deepening morass that may claim the lives of our sons and the sons of Asia for years to come. A major war on the Asian mainland could exhaust America's blood and treasure for all our days and in the end create conditions of bitterness and despair that would curse us for a generation. I believe that preventing that war is the most urgent task of statesmanship of the next 10 or more years.

The sober report of Senator MANSFIELD, the distinguished majority leader, and our colleagues who traveled with him in Asia this fall, concludes:

The situation, as it now appears, offers only the very slim prospect of a just settlement by negotiations or the alternative prospect of a continuance of the conflict in the direction of a general war on the Asian mainland.

Those observations state my own impressions better than I could after a visit to Vietnam in late November and early December. The Mansfield report is a document which every American policy planner, every Member of Congress, and every concerned American citizen should read and ponder carefully. The Senator from Montana, who has no peer in the Senate as an authority on southeast Asia, and his distinguished colleagues including the highly respected senior Republican of the Senate, Senator AIKEN, of Vermont, have performed a great service to the Nation and to the peace of the world. Their report may prove to be one of the most significant documents in recent years in that it has given our country a clearer view of the hard and dangerous realities that now face us in Vietnam.

I am deeply grateful to President Johnson, who carries the heaviest burden of us all, that he has stopped the bombing of North Vietnam in spite of the objections of some of his advisers. The more we can reduce the scope of this struggle and confine it to the local trouble in Saigon, where it began, the less danger there will be of losing our young men in an inconclusive and widening war.

I am deeply grateful, too, for the President's vigorous efforts in recent days to find a diplomatic breakthrough to an honorable settlement of the war. We need now to exercise great patience and courage during the President's current efforts for peace. We have been patient for five years with those who offered a military solution to the problem. Now let us be equally persistent and equally patient in the effort to find a peaceful solution. Each time our Vietnam policymakers have offered a new formula for winning the war they have been proved wrong. Yet, we have not only been patient with these strategists; we have permitted them to launch new and larger ventures. Many Members of the Congress, even those with deep apprehension about our growing involvement in the Vietnam struggle, have kept silent or have restrained their dissent rather than risk weakening the various strategies we have tried on the battlefield. Now the time has come to exercise the same patience and perseverance in the search for a peaceful settlement. Just as we have tried a wide range of military efforts, and experiments of various kinds, we now need to try a full range of diplomatic and political efforts to end the war. Patience is cheaper than blood, and an honorable peace is better than the length of the daily body count. Prime Minister Shastri's last recorded words, spoken to his defense minister, were: "We must fight for peace bravely as we fought in war." That is an appropriate admonition to all nations.

So let us not be too quick to launch the bombing attacks again. I think it is clear that we have nothing to gain and much to lose by resuming the bombing of North Vietnam. First of all, these

attacks have been largely ineffective militarily. They were designed to stop the flow of North Vietnamese soldiers into South Vietnam, but as Secretary McNamara observed recently, after returning from a trip to Vietnam, there are now several times as many North Vietnamese in the south as when we started the bombing last February. Furthermore, we have suffered a heavy loss of skilled pilots and costly airplanes in the bombing effort. The advocates of resuming the bombing look at the losses on the other side, but they do not consider the losses on our side. Our losses have been excessive in terms of the limited damage to the enemy's military capability. In one instance reported to me, we lost three highly trained pilots and three expensive bombers trying unsuccessfully to knock out a little bridge of secondary military importance. As a former bomber pilot who has asked many questions of some of our thoughtful military tacticians, I see little or no military advantage in resuming the bombing of North Vietnam. Quite the contrary, the record indicates that North Vietnam responds to the bombings by sending more forces southward. In other words the bombing missions in the north may result in the death of more American soldiers in the south.

Nor is there any compelling diplomatic or political reason for resuming the bombings. They have not put Hanoi in a more favorable mood to negotiate. The lessons of recent history are that bombing attacks infuriate and unite a people behind their government in rigid resistance to the attackers. To produce a climate favorable for discussion, which is now the announced top priority of our Government, both sides need time for the clash of battle, the hatreds, and tensions to cool down. That process cannot be enhanced by resuming the bombing raids on the bridges and buildings that the people of North Vietnam have built at such sacrifice in recent years.

Furthermore, President Johnson with imagination and vision has sent his top diplomats around the world and around this city to the various embassies, urging many other governments to use their good offices in persuading the Government of North Vietnam to enter discussions with us looking toward a settlement of the war. Friendly governments in eastern Europe, such as Yugoslavia and many other countries have at our request agreed to assist in the search for a peaceful settlement. These concerned governments which have placed their confidence in us have urged for months that we halt the bombing. Now they need time—perhaps many months—to convince Hanoi that a satisfactory settlement can be achieved with the United States, and with other interested governments and groups which are involved in the struggle. If we were to resume bombings now or in the near future, I tremble to think of the staggering blow this would be to our presently favorable position with the many governments whose help we have asked in the search for peace.

I sometimes think that one of the great, unrecognized costs of this crisis is that we have neglected our relationships with other major countries that are important to the long-range security of our country and peace of the world.

A front-page story in today's New York Times reports:

> The Governments of Britain, France and Japan, all allies of the United States, and the Communist governments of Europe as well as the governments of a number of nonalined nations are said to be pleading for several more weeks or even months of restraint. More time is needed for diplomatic maneuver, they maintain, and for a better assessment of North Vietnam's interest in tempering if not settling the conflict.

Mr. President, these countries are being bitterly chided by Red China who is telling them that the bombing pause is just a lull before we hit even harder. Let us not play into the hands of the Chinese Communists and undercut our friends by resuming the bombing as China insists we are about to do.

It would seem to me that we should also exercise caution in the conduct of the war in the south. I frankly was puzzled by our recent offensive in the delta involving 8,000 American soldiers. Why is it necessary to engage in such large offensive operations during this intensive search for a peaceful settlement? I hope there will be no more such engagements undertaken by us unless the other side forces the issue. We are advised by the President and by others that it has been several weeks since any North Vietnamese forces have engaged our troops in battle and that Vietcong initiated incidents have been reduced during the bombing pause. Why, then should we needlessly risk the death of our own soldiers in major offensive campaigns when our diplomats are trying to reach an end to the war? Would it not be more realistic and sensible to defend our present position and hold the line while the peace efforts are underway rather than to launch new operations that can only lead to loss of life and perhaps complicate the search for a settlement? Now would seem the time to escalate the peace offensive and deescalate the killing. As Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, one of the wisest Members of the Senate and in our country, put it in a thoughtful statement recently:

> Negotiation, not escalation, should be the dominant theme of our activity now.

Let me make my own position clear. I have never agreed with the foreign policy assumptions that first took us into southeast Asia in an active combat role. Nor do I accept those assumptions now. Southeast Asia is outside the perimeter of our vital interests. Furthermore, it is an area convulsed by nationalistic revolutionary movements aimed at ineffective and sometimes corrupt local regimes. We identify with such regimes and against popular revolutionary movements at our peril. We have no commitment or interest in southeast Asia that justifies the sacrifice of American troops on the scale necessary to win a military decision.

In 1954 when the French were on the verge of military disaster in Vietnam, there were those who urged that American troops be sent in an effort to turn the tide. That move was blocked in considerable part because of the sound advice of our then Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Matthew Ridgway, whose warnings made sense to another experienced general, President Dwight Eisenhower. In his book, "Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway," published in 1956, General Ridgway wrote:

> When the day comes for me to face my Maker and account for my actions, the thing I would be most humbly proud of was the fact that I fought against, and perhaps contributed to preventing the carrying out of some harebrained tactical schemes which would have cost the lives of thousands of men. To that list of tragic accidents that fortunately never happened I would add the Indochina intervention.

In hearings before the Armed Services Committee and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate in May 1951, the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur—a man of vast military experience in Asia, confirmed an earlier statement he had made on NBC when he asserted: "Anybody who commits the land power of the United States on the continent of Asia ought to have his head examined."

At the same hearing, one of our wisest and ablest generals of World War II, Gen. Omar Bradley, said:

> I would hate very much to see us involved in a land war in Asia. I think we would be fighting a wrong war at the wrong place and against a wrong enemy.

I agree with General Ridgway, General MacArthur, General Bradley—and, more recently, with General James Gavin—and others that the United States should never commit our manpower to a major war on the Asian mainland except in the event of a direct attack on the United States such as occurred at Pearl Harbor some 25 years ago.

Anyone who believes that it is easy for a Western power to win a war against Asia's limitless manpower, its dense jungles, and its vast terrain should read the testimony of our generals in full when they were being interrogated for the record. If those warnings do not suffice, let those who advocate a bigger war, and who are in a hurry to resume the bombing and step up the war, ponder the careful language of Senator MANSFIELD and his colleagues:

> If present trends continue, there is no assurance as to what ultimate increase in American military commitment will be required before the conflict is terminated. For the fact is that under present terms of reference and as the war has evolved, the question is not one of applying increased U.S. pressure to a defined military situation, but rather of pressing against a military situation which is, in effect, open ended.

Mr. President, those are sober words. They are not overly emotional. I believe that the "open ended" situation to which the Mansfield report refers is the pathway to Armageddon and the loss of our national strength in a war without end.

So I oppose any further extension of this highly dangerous war.

Furthermore, I believe the President is right in making certain modifications in our previous diplomatic position so that we can better clear the path to a conference with the other side. I said recently

in an NBC televised interview that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to negotiate an end to this war without recognizing the primary interest of the South Vietnamese rebel leaders in both the negotiations and the postwar provisional government. This, I think, has been a major barrier to negotiations. If one studies the two proposed negotiating positions of Hanoi and Washington, it becomes clear that one sticking point centers on the question of whether or not the National Liberation Front of the Vietcong shall play a role in the negotiations and in the postwar settlement. At a time when this group is in control of two-thirds of the terrain and from one-third to one-half of the people of Vietnam, it is unrealistic to think that they can be left out of the negotiating efforts or the post-war settlement. Such an approach would have been paralleled in our early history if King George III had expressed a willingness to negotiate with our French ally while ignoring George Washington and his rebel Americans.

As to what specific part the Vietcong rebels should play in the postwar provisional government of South Vietnam, that is a matter to be decided at the conference table and eventually to be decided by free elections on the part of the people of Vietnam. I am encouraged by recent reports that our Government has indicated a new willingness to recognize these political realities.

We need to pursue the search for peace in Vietnam in a variety of ways until the war is ended. If we can afford to experiment for long years with costly techniques of destruction, we ought to have the self-discipline to devote at least the balance of this year to the search for peace before we consider any extension of the war. Each time our strategists have mistakenly predicted that the war would be won if we just tried one more technique or expansion, we have simply redoubled the military prescription. And now Senator MANSFIELD and his colleagues report, after all the sacrifice, that the military lines are about the same at the end of 1965 as they were at the end of 1964.

We have gone, almost without realizing what was happening, from a seemingly harmless offer of economic assistance some 12 years ago, offers by President Eisenhower, to the point where we now have almost one-fourth of a million American men on land and immediately offshore on naval units engaged in combat roles.

We have been bombing South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Laos, and now, folly of follies, there are those who are urging that we ought to bomb Cambodia and the cities of North Vietnam and perhaps even China.

But each extension of the war has only resulted in more troops from the other side. So let those who talk of easy solutions through more soldiers and more bombs and more guns recognize that their past advice has only taken more of our soldiers to their deaths. In one breath these strategists deplore that American boys are coming home in wooden boxes. But in the next breath they offer a so-called victory formula that might send 100,000 young Americans home in boxes. They say to the President, let us not talk of ending this war until we have destroyed the enemy, until we have won a victory.

Do they know what that means? Have they counted the cost? Do they know that may involve sending a million American boys to the jungles of Asia to pursue an elusive rebel force that is everywhere and yet nowhere—a rebel force that defeated the cream of the French Army, a force of half a million men? Do they know that we are confronted by dedicated guerrilla fighters so intermingled with the civilian populace that to kill the guerrillas would involve slaughtering men, women, and children by the tens of thousands whose support we need?

A veteran reporter of the New York Times, Jack Languth, after spending more than a year traveling with our forces in South Vietnam and viewing the operations at first hand, came to the conclusion that we might be able to win a military victory of sorts. However, he said that to do it we would have to kill at least two or three innocent men, women, and children who are on our side for every Vietcong guerrilla we were able to destroy.

Mr. President, I suggest that that is a price that is not worthy of the interest involved.

A year ago when some of us took the Senate floor to warn against the deepening U.S. involvement in that self-defeating war and to urge that our country express its willingness to negotiate an honorable settlement, we were accused on this floor of running up a white flag and deserting our President. But as I said then, those gentlemen who talk of total victory will not be the ones who give their lives in that so-called victory. It will be our sons and the sons of other nations. Nor will those gentlemen who call for total victory necessarily stand with the President. Some of them will try to turn this dangerous venture that they urge on the President into a political gain for themselves and political destruction for the President and his administration.

That is what they did when the Korean involvement turned sour 15 years ago, and that is what they would try to do with Vietnam.

In June of 1950, President Truman ordered American troops to Korea to turn back the Communist invaders from North Korea. That mission had a limited purpose—to repel the aggressors and reestablish the legitimacy of the 38th parallel. In a few months' time, with a moderate loss of life, our troops drove the invader back to his side of the demarcation line. But then the momentum of the war took charge and the administration nervously approved sending our troops far into North Korea to try for a total victory over the enemy. Then came the great tragedy of the Korean war. As our troops approached the Chinese border, Peiping ordered its forces into the war a million strong—in spite of General MacArthur's intelligence reports that this would not happen. The Korean war then took on a bloody dimension that eventually cost us 50,000 American casualties and billions of dollars. In the end, after months of bloodshed, we finally settled on a cease-fire at the 38th parallel, which we could have had at a fraction of the cost in lives and treasure many long months earlier had we not seen fit to escalate the war.

So I hope and pray that the President will continue the bombing pause in North Vietnam indefinitely, that he will confine our military action in South Vietnam so that we lose the least possible number of those brave American men I visited in Vietnam last month—that he will go all out not for a so-called victory which only means that the jungles of Asia will be drenched with American blood—but rather that he will continue to expand and diversify and strengthen the quest for a peaceful settlement.

On July 27 of last year, I took the Senate floor to describe what I believed to be the realities then facing us in Vietnam. Because I believe that analysis is equally valid today, I quote a few of my earlier remarks as follows:

> We are talking here, however, of a major war involving thousands of American casualties, the expenditure of billions of dollars, vast bloodshed and destruction for the Vietnamese people, and an uncertain outcome. There are other possible side results of such a war that may be even more serious in the long run than the war itself, including:
>
> (1) the worsening of relations between the world's two major nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and the United States;
>
> (2) the strengthening of the most belligerent leadership elements in the Communist world and the weakening of the moderate forces;
>
> (3) the growing conviction in Asia, whether justified or not, that the United States is a militaristic power with a low regard for the lives of Asiatics and an excessive concern over other people's ideologies and political struggles; and
>
> (4) the derailment of efforts toward world peace and the improvement of life in the developing countries, to say nothing of its impact on our own hopes, for a better society.

The questions now before us, I said on July 27, are:

> (1) Do we continue to accelerate the struggle toward a major war? (2) Do we call it off and withdraw our forces? or (3) Do we consolidate our present position, keep our casualties at a minimum, and hold out indefinitely for a negotiated settlement?
>
> I strongly recommend the third course. I urge that we stop the bombing attacks in both North and South Vietnam. Bombing is largely ineffective in a guerrilla war and more often than not kills the wrong people. We should also stop the jungle land skirmishes which subject our soldiers to ambush. Instead, let us consolidate our troops in a holding action in the cities and well-defended enclaves along the coast. We can hold the cities and the coastal enclaves with few casualties and with little likelihood that the Vietcong will attack frontally. Such a plan would provide a haven for anti-Communist, pro-Government citizens including the religious groups, and would demonstrate that we are not going to be pushed out.
>
> Furthermore, it is based on the realities of the present political and military map of Vietnam. While we are in control of the cities and the coast, the guerrillas control most of the rural and village areas. To dislodge them would be to destroy in the process thousands of the innocent civilians we are trying to save.

And I might add, whose support will decide in the long run the outcome of this struggle.

A policy of restricting our military efforts in Vietnam to a holding action in the cities and the coastal enclaves will avoid this kind of self-defeating jungle warfare. We can supply, feed, and defend, the urban and coastal areas with a modest effort and minimum loss of life. This is a strategy that calls primarily for restraint and patience until such time as the Vietcong get it through their heads that we will not be pushed out. I have been critical of our unilateral Vietnam involvement, and I think the original commitment and its acceleration was a mistake. But we made the commitment, and I would be prepared to support the kind of holding action outlined above until we can reach an acceptable settlement of the struggle.

That ends the remarks that I made on the Senate floor last July.

Mr. President, that approach to our present involvement in Vietnam has recently been recommended in convincing terms by former Gen. James M. Gavin, in a communication for the current issue of Harper's magazine. I hope all of our policymakers will read that thoughtful communication by one of our most able former generals.

Since I made the foregoing remarks last July, our pilots have flown thousands of bombing sorties. Let me say here parenthetically that we have never sent any better men into combat than those pilots and our other men now fighting in Vietnam. We have sent another 125,000 troops into combat—a thousand of them giving their lives and another 5,000 being maimed or wounded since last summer. The Vietnamese people, caught in the crossfire between the two sides, have been ground to death by the thousands in recent months.

These developments have only served to strengthen my conviction of months ago that we must find a way to end this war. I believe that involves continuing the bombing pause. I believe it involves consolidating the line militarily, while pushing in every possible way for a peaceful settlement. I know that is going to be difficult, painful, and may not produce an entirely happy outcome. But the alternative, as the Mansfield report makes perfectly clear, is a larger and bloodier war, which I think is sheer madness.

During my tour of Vietnam I visited, among other installations, a large American airbase. At one point the driver made a mistaken turn, and we found our car blocked by a large flatbed truck. As I remember, there were several other trucks waiting to pull into the road behind it. As we sat there, I noticed that the truck carried a long row of silent coffins, each one bearing the address in the United States of a fallen soldier: a sergeant from Oklahoma, a captain from Minnesota, a marine corporal from Tennessee, a major from Connecticut, with all those different names that make up the United States—Scandanavian, Irish, German, Czech.

I sat there momentarily looking at those coffins glistening silently in the sun, and I thought what a tragic waste of young life and laughter and love. The day before I visited a hopelessly overcrowded civilian hospital in Da Nang with all its torn victims of the war—children with their legs and arms torn from their bodies by the bombing attacks; old men, mothers and infants, blasted and burned by napalm jelly, some mutilated almost beyond recognition—all of them watching us silently, without a murmur and without a sound, as we moved around from bed to bed in that overcrowded hospital.

I wondered then, as I did while we waited before that truck carrying the bodies of American soldiers, have I done my part as a Senator to prevent this from happening? Have I spoken out honestly and courageously enough? What more can I do as a citizen and as a Senator to help move mankind toward a better solution of our differences than this?

The last time I was so deeply moved by the tragedy of senseless violence was when I stood in Arlington Cemetery in November of 1963 and saw a gallant young President laid to rest. Recall his words:

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

In what I personally regard as his greatest speech, the American University speech of June 10, 1963, which opened the way for the nuclear test ban treaty, he cited that ancient Biblical promise, "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." I believe we share his resolution that "We shall do our part to build a world of peace where the weak are safe and the strong are just. We are not helpless before that task or hopeless of its success. Confident and unafraid," he said, "we labor on—not toward a strategy of annihilation but toward a strategy of peace."

That, I believe, is the deepest desire of our great President, Lyndon Johnson, of Vice President HUMPHREY whose every instinct reaches out for peace, and of Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara, with whom I happen to disagree on some of their recommendations, but who have for years sacrificed every ounce of their energy of mind and body to their country for what they believed was the national interest. That is the desire, too, of Ambassador Goldberg and Averell Harriman and our other leaders. The cause of peace is the most urgent heartthrob of every American mother and father. It is the wistful hope of our young men—of their wives and girl friends. I believe it is the most profound longing of a war-weary world.

Our President said in his superb state of the Union address a few days ago: "I will try to end this battle and return our sons to their desires."

I have the faith to believe that however difficult the task, President Johnson has the will and the capacity to achieve this purpose, and achieving it, to win that high place in history—that blessing of immortality reserved for those who make peace among men and nations.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. McGOVERN. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I congratulate the Senator from South Dakota on a brilliant, carefully logical, and, to my way of thinking, irrefutable approach to the difficult problem which confronts us in Vietnam.

This is a speech which is not only beautifully organized from a logical and persuasive point of view, but it is also an eloquent speech, with a clear understanding of the human values involved in the useless and largely unnecessary slaughter which is presently going on in Vietnam.

I congratulate the Senator. I wish I had the ability to write a similar analysis of our problems today and to suggest an equally cogent and reasonable solution.

Let me say to the Senator that he need have no fear that he has not done his part as a Senator to keep these tragic events from continuing to happen. He certainly has spoken out, honestly and courageously. I would hope that every one of his 99 colleagues would read his speech and ask themselves the same question I asked myself as the Senator was speaking: Have I done my part as a Senator to keep this slaughter from continuing? Have I spoke out honestly and courageously enough? Do I believe in this war to total victory in the jungles of southeast Asia, and, if so, why?

I certainly feel, as does the Senator, that it would be a tragic mistake to start the bombing of North Vietnam again, until such time as it is clear beyond peradventure that there is no reasonable hope we can end this useless, tragic slaughter either by moving the war from the battlefield to the negotiating table, or, in the alternative, to a mutual but unilateral de-escalation as a result of which the shooting will slowly but surely stop, as it did in Malaya some years ago, the Senator will recall.

If the Senator will permit me, I should like to make a few comments and then ask him to observe whether he would agree with them or not.

I have seen in the newspapers that of some 2,600 villages in South Vietnam, the South Vietnamese Government, and ourselves control a mere 700. I have seen maps—as I am sure the Senator has, too—which show the minimal amount of real estate which is still, 24 hours a day, under the control of the South Vietnamese Army or of the American Army

I have seen three little enclaves which are held by our side in the middle of the country, in the northern part of South Vietnam, enclaves which to my untutored gaze—although I served in World War II for 4 years—are potential Dienbienphus.

I do not believe that we control all of the coastline. I believe the maps show that we control only the major portion. I was told by two members of the Mansfield committee the other day—and I am sure there is nothing secret about this—that when the senatorial airplane took off from the Saigon airport to leave the country, the Vietcong had to be chased

off the runway with napalm bombs. I have been told that the Vietcong are within 3 miles of the perimeter of Saigon, that most of the food that the people of Saigon eat has already had a tax levied upon it by the Vietcong, that the highways could be cut and interdicted at any time, and that 80 percent of the members serving in the Vietcong army were born and brought up in South Vietnam, although they may have temporarily gone to the north and then come back.

I have been told that access to the city of Saigon from the sea by water is a channel only one ship wide, that there are 35 ships awaiting to be unloaded in that harbor, that only one ship can get in at a time, that in darkness the waterway could be cut, in all likelihood, by sinking one or two junks across it any time the Vietcong wish to do so, that the huge oil supplies necessary for the use of our Air Force and the South Vietnamese Air Force are in constant jeopardy from sabotage and attack, being located, as they are, in the area of Saigon, and that the only reason the Vietcong do not render Saigon untenable is that we have not bombed Hanoi, that actually one capital city stands as hostage for the other.

I wonder whether the Senator from South Dakota has similar information, and what comments he may care to make on what I have just said.

Mr. McGOVERN. Before I comment on the Senator's questions, which are certainly pertinent and go to the heart of some of the realities we face, I thank him for the kind words he just spoke about my remarks on the Senate floor this afternoon. As he knows, we have been in agreement on this issue, for the most part, for many months. I have felt that the Senator from Pennsylvania has spoken out as clearly, as forcefully, and as courageously on this issue, and, perhaps more important, as accurately, as any Member of the Senate. So to have his statement here in the RECORD reinforcing what I have tried to say makes me all the more confident of my position. I am very grateful to him.

With regard to the points he has made respecting the military situation that faces us in Vietnam, I do not feel in a position to comment with any great technical knowledge about that, but I do agree with the Senator that it is a very discouraging prospect. I do not think our own military people in South Vietnam are under any illusions about what they are up against. We have highly competent military officers in Vietnam. They have made clear, from General Westmoreland on down, a military victory would require an enormous increase in American forces.

The French military effort ended with a disastrous defeat at Dien Bien Phu some 12 years ago in spite of the fact that they had committed a land force of something over 400,000 men. That is twice the number we have now committed to this conflict.

So I do not blame our military people for asking for reinforcements. I think they realize, as the Senator from Pennsylvania does, that they are up against a dangerous situation.

I do question the policy assumptions that have led us into this situation in Vietnam and the military mission we have asked our forces to undertake.

Mr. CLARK. I share the Senator's concern. I would hope the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, the President of the United States, would redefine for us our diplomatic and military policies in Vietnam, and just what our military and diplomatic objectives are.

I am as concerned as is the Senator from South Dakota at the escalation of the war and having our American boys hunting through elephant grass to look for the elusive Vietcong. As Walter Lippmann said some time ago, what we are doing there is very much like trying to punch water. As soon as one pulls out his arm, the water comes back, and often spills over him.

The policy which the Senator from South Dakota has advocated is to fight a defensive war at our strongpoints—I would hope with our backs to the sea—while we proceed in an honorable way to try to persuade the Communists and others in South Vietnam who are not Communists—and there are many of those—that we are not going to leave until there is an honorable peace that will include free elections by the people of South Vietnam to select those they want to govern them.

What concerns me is what appears to be a tug of war between various highly located persons in the executive and administrative arms of our Government. For example, I read this in the newspapers. I did not acquire this information through access to any classified document. It was stated that General Westmoreland and Ambassador Lodge are really opposed to negotiating at this point because they believe the military situation is too unfortunate from our point of view to enable us to get a satisfactory settlement.

The map to which I referred gives graphic evidence that the question involved is how many Americans we are prepared to have killed in order to improve the military situation. I for one do not want a single American killed to reclaim useless jungle land in South Vietnam.

Although I expressed it more explosively than did the Senator from South Dakota, I wonder if he would comment on my statement.

Mr. McGOVERN. I think the Senator's point is well taken. If we had some assurance that after prodigious military effort on our part we would have created conditions that would permit democracy to flourish in South Vietnam, perhaps some argument could be made that the effort would be worthwhile. We have no such assurance. What we do have is some indication that the more we try to attack the Vietcong forces by military means, the more we terrorize and destroy the civilian population with which they are intermingled.

One of the reporters who has been over there for some time and who has been watching our efforts to destroy the Vietcong forces in the villages and jungles has suggested that the attacks we are making would make more sense if we were fighting an enemy rather than an ally. What he meant was that when we bomb a village or area controlled by the Vietcong guerrillas, or when we shell those areas or spray them with machinegun bullets, or destroy their crops we are destroying and alienating the civilian population, whose aid we will need if we are to attain our objective.

Mr. CLARK. And to continue these tactics makes the result almost inevitable that we will lose any election which we may prearrange.

Mr. McGOVERN. That is my own judgment. I have tried to read the history of what happened when the French were involved against the Vietcong from 1945 to about 1954. A number of people who have written about that struggle have said that one of the most frequently used tactics of the Vietcong—which were then called the Vietminh—was to put up a flag in a village friendly to the French Government, or to take a pot shot at a French airplane. The French would then bomb that village or area—thereby losing the support of the people, and another area would go to the Communist side. It seems to me there is a danger of our falling into the same trap.

Mr. CLARK. One factor which no amount of acceleration of the war or increase in American aid is going to change is that it is impossible to tell foe from friend. They all look exactly alike. A friend of mine, a Pennsylvanian, a great statesman, an eminent politician, said that it was like things were during the troubles over the Irish Republic. One Irishman looked exactly like another. During the day they would say, "Three cheers for Great Britain," and as soon as dark fell, they would go out and shoot the British troops. It is difficult to distinguish friend from foe. While the clothes and the climate and the location are different, there is an analogy to any guerrilla warfare where forces try to do things that the people do not want them to do.

I will ask the Senator to comment on two more points.

First. I was under the view until recently that this was not our war, but that it was a war which involved the people of South Vietnam; but that it had been our policy to send them technical assistance and support. My recollection is that at the end of 1963 we had 10,000 men there. The next year it increased to 34,000, and we now have some 200,000 there. The President has sent to us an appropriation request to enable him to increase the number of our military forces by more than 100,000, with the implication that some of these additional forces will also go to Vietnam.

I wonder whether the Senator from South Dakota agrees with my view that there should be a full debate in some depth on the floor of the Senate before we agree to the requested appropriation. Certainly we should not be parties to a unanimous consent which would enable the request to be rushed through in 5 hours, as the request for $700 million was rushed through last year.

I would hope that the Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations Committee would ask searching questions of

Secretary of Defense McNamara and the Joint Chiefs of Staff as to what they plan to do with the money. Are they committed to escalate the war or not?

I do not wish to put the Senator from South Dakota in an invidious position, nor do I desire to indicate that I shall vote against the request.

Does the Senator believe that the time has come for debate with respect to the Vietnamese policy?

Mr. McGOVERN. I welcome the opportunity to comment on that question. The Senator is not putting me on the spot.

I believe that one of the unfortunate aspects of our South Vietnam involvement is that there has been so little searching and thoughtful debate either in committee or on the floor of the Senate.

As I indicated in my remarks earlier, we did not make any commitment originally to fight a war on behalf of South Vietnam or anyone else. What President Eisenhower said in October 1954, when he made the first American offer of assistance to South Vietnam, was that we would make available a modest amount of economic aid, provided the government in Saigon would carry out some desperately needed political and social reforms. Those reforms were never carried out. We were absolved at that point, with respect to the offers of economic assistance.

We maintained for the next 10 years, that this was not our war; that this was basically a struggle to be resolved by the people of South Vietnam.

President Kennedy said in a press conference in September 1963, a few months before he was killed, that in the final analysis this was their war; that they were the ones who must win or lose it. He said that we can send men there as advisers and offer a certain amount of equipment, but we cannot win a war for freedom for other people. This is a struggle they have to win for themselves.

I believe that it is disastrous from the standpoint of our own interests and the interests of the people of South Vietnam for us to try to impose a military and political solution in that part of the world from the outside.

I agree with the Senator from Pennsylvania in his hope that one day elections can be held, hopefully under international supervision. I do not believe that it necessarily follows that the elections would go against our interests.

I do not know what the outcome would be. But if arrangements could be made for honest elections under international supervision, we ought to abide by the result, even though we do not like the government that might emerge.

We found in Eastern and Central Europe, that when a country like Yugoslavia took on a Communist government, the world did not come to an end.

If we did not have problems with other countries any more serious than the problems we have with Yugoslavia, we could celebrate with joy. It is not fatal to American security when an election does not come out as I would like to see it come out. We can continue to exert influence in various ways as we have in Eastern Europe and even in our relations with the Soviet Union.

Mr. CLARK. I congratulate my friend from South Dakota for the fine address he made. I associate myself with his recommendations.

I hope that our beloved friend, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and the President, who I understand announced this afternoon that bombing would resume at the end of the new year holiday, will take a hard look at the recommendations of Omar Bradley, Ridgway, MacArthur, and Gavin and have second thoughts as to the desirability of accelerating this war.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. McGOVERN. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my NBC interview with Sander Vanocur of January 5, 1966; a press release of that date; and a New York Times article, written by E. W. Kenworthy, published on January 6, 1966, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN

Mr. MERRILL MUELLER. Congress reassembles next week, and it's expected that sometime in the next 2 months there will be a debate on our future course in Vietnam. Since Congress adjourned last fall, many legislators went to Vietnam for a firsthand look at the war, its causes and its effects. Their voices will be heard when the debate takes place.

One Senator who has been over there, GEORGE MCGOVERN, Democrat, of South Dakota, is in our Washington studio this morning with "Today Show" Correspondent Sander Vanocur. Sandy?

Mr. SANDER VANOCUR. Thank you, Merrill. Senator MCGOVERN, what is the future for the United States in Vietnam, after you've been there and taken a look for yourself?

Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN. Well, Sandy, I think the best we can hope for is a negotiated settlement. I don't see how either the other side or our side can score a decisive military victory. We have a truly superb group of military men fighting in Vietnam. I don't think this country has ever assembled a more capable, better trained, more dedicated or more ably led group of fighting forces than the men that we have in Vietnam, but they're up against enormous and, I think, overwhelming odds, because of the terrain of that country, because most of natural advantages are with the Vietcong; they're so elusive, they're so intermingled with the civilian population, which supposedly we're trying to win over to our side, that if we were to destroy the Vietcong, we'd have to destroy a large part of the civilian population in the process.

So it seems to me that the most practical goal that we can hope for is to hold the line, and then press very hard, which I think we're now doing, for some kind of a peaceful settlement.

Mr. VANOCUR. Well, Senator, as a former distinguished bomber pilot in World War II, one of your objectives was to talk to the bomber pilots in Vietnam. Did you get any impression that the bombings had done what they were supposed to do when they were started last winter?

Senator MCGOVERN. Well, I'm not sure that I know what all the objectives of the bombing policy have been. If those attacks were designed to stop the flow of manpower from North Vietnam into South Vietnam, they've failed, because we have many more men from the North fighting on behalf of the Vietcong in the South today than we did when the bombing attacks started last February. If the bombing was designed to encourage North Vietnam to come to the negotiating table, I'm not sure that that has been achieved; it may be that it had just the opposite effect, that it tended to produce a more rigid situation than what might otherwise have been the case.

But what disturbs me most of all is that no matter how careful our pilots are about the bombing attacks—and these are truly superb pilots—in a situation like this, you're bound to kill many innocent civilians. I'm talking now, not about the bombing in the north, but in the south, where supposedly the people or at least a large percentage of them are on our side. I was told that we exercise great caution in bombing villages and hamlets, but nevertheless, while I was there, in visiting the civilian hospitals in South Vietnam, I found them crowded with bombing victims, with little children with their legs, arms blown off; men, women and children with their faces and their bodies horribly burned and scarred with napalm bombs; those things, it seems to me, are inevitable in bombing attacks of this kind.

Mr. VANOCUR. But Senator, how can you possibly come to negotiations now, given the present attitude of the north and the National Liberation Front?

Senator MCGOVERN. Well, I think it's going to be difficult to get the other side to the conference table, but I don't think the differences that have been spelled out, either by them or by our leaders, are insurmountable. Now, as I understand it, both sides have given some rather strong indications that the terms of the original Geneva settlement, going back to 1954, are for the most part acceptable. We may have some difference of opinion as to how those Geneva terms should be interpreted. My understanding is that the other side is saying that there must not only be an eventual troop withdrawal, which we have accepted on principle; there also must be a coalition government formed in South Vietnam on a provisional basis until elections can be held, and that the Vietcong, or the National Liberation Front, would have to be a part of any such coalition government.

I think those are negotiable terms. We don't have to accept everything that has been proposed by the other side, but at least I think we could go into the conference room willing to discuss a settlement, pretty much along the lines of the original Geneva accord.

Mr. VANOCUR. But sir, the four points of Pham Van Dong, of April 8, the North Vietnamese premier, said on the third point that they had to accept the program of the National Liberation Front. Now, are you suggesting that we have to accept the National Liberation Front's program, or a coalition government?

Senator MCGOVERN. Well, as Secretary Rusk has said, their position is somewhat ambiguous. It's not entirely clear just what they mean by the program of the National Liberation Front, and of course, that's the purpose of negotiations, to clear up the ambiguities and the uncertainties in the positions offered by the two sides. For my own part, I don't see how we can hope, realistically, to exclude the National Liberation Front entirely from the postwar settlement. After all, whether we like it or not—and of course we don't like it—they control probably two-thirds of the terrain in South Vietnam, and they control somewhere between a third and perhaps as much as a half of the people, and so a force of that kind is going to have to be given consideration, both in the negotiations and in the eventual settlement.

Mr. VANOCUR. Well, what are you going to do about people like Premier Ky in South Vietnam, who now seem to want to fight on to the end?

Senator McGOVERN. Well, I think that's one of the principal flaws, perhaps the basic flaw in our current negotiating effort and in previous efforts, is that those efforts have excluded the two primary antagonists in this struggle, and that's General Ky's government in Saigon and the National Liberation Front, the Vietcong guerrillas, the Vietcong rebels, whatever you want to call them.

Now, this war began in South Vietnam as a struggle between the government which we were backing in Saigon and another group of South Vietnamese that have formed under the National Liberation Front, which does not accept the government that we've been supporting. It was basically a civil and local conflict. So, I think we could greatly improve the chances for success in our current negotiating efforts, if those efforts included General Ky, or whoever happens to be in power in Saigon when negotiations get under way, and the National Liberation Front.

For us to insist that we can't have any dealings with the Vietcong, with the so-called National Liberation Front, would have its parallel, it seems to me, if 200 years ago, King George had said to the American Revolutionists or to George Washington, we'll talk to the French but we're not going to talk to Washington and the American rebels. Sooner or later, these two primary contestants to this struggle have to be brought into the negotiations.

Mr. VANOCUR. Well, Senator, if the present peace offensive does not bear public results, would you be in favor of resuming the bombings and taking the offensive again once more in the field?

Senator McGOVERN. No; I would not. I don't think it's in our interest to renew the bombing attacks or to spread this war in any way. I think we may have reached a situation of stalemate, whereby neither side can score a decisive victory. I've been trying to think of some analogy to the military and political situation that confronts us there, and the other day I—it occurred to me that it's very much like putting a bumblebee in a cage with an elephant. We have the power of the elephant—we have the air power, we have naval power, we have great power on the ground, great firepower, and we're not going to be pushed out of Vietnam; I don't see any way by which the other side can push us out militarily. But by the same token, they're in the role of the bumblebee. They can continue to harass and to sting and to draw blood, but they can't push us out. If we could catch them—if we could find them, and bring that firepower to bear on the Vietcong guerrillas, we could quickly stamp them out, but it doesn't seem that that's about to happen.

Well, I hope we'll take advantage of what I think is approaching, a stalemate, not to spread the war, not to start bombing North Vietnam or bombing Cambodia or bombing other countries in the area, but try to localize this struggle and hold it down to the battleground in South Vietnam, and I think the President was very wise in the bombing pause; I hope it'll be more than just a very brief pause.

Mr. VANOCUR. Senator, one last question. If this does not work out the way you would like it to, and more money is asked by the administration to support a wider war, what is going to be your position in the U.S. Senate?

Senator McGOVERN. Well, I'm not sure how I'll respond to that. I think as long as we have forces committed to Vietnam, we have to see that they're well equipped and that they have the resources that they need, but that's a decision I'll have to face up to when we're confronted with it.

Mr. VANOCUR. Thank you very, very much Senator GEORGE McGOVERN, Democrat, of South Dakota, who was out in Vietnam in November and early December, and who will be one of the voices heard in the forthcoming debate on Vietnam in the Congress.

Mr. MUELLER. Thank you, Senator, and thank you, Sander Vanocur, Today's Washington correspondent.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 6, 1966]

A VIETCONG PLACE AT PARLEY URGED—McGOVERN WANTS SAIGON AT PEACE TALKS ALSO

(By E. W. Kenworthy)

WASHINGTON, January 5.—Senator GEORGE McGOVERN said today the "basic weakness" in U.S. efforts to negotiate a Vietnam settlement was the exclusion of the primary antagonists—the South Vietnamese Government and the rebel National Liberation Front.

The South Dakota Democrat, who recently returned from a week in South Vietnam, said:

"This war began as a local conflict in South Vietnam and that is still the primary battleground, no matter how many major powers feel called upon to gamble their national honor on Premier Nguyen Cao Ky of South Vietnam or Ho Chi Minh, President of North Vietnam."

Since the fundamental issue in the war is the political question which group will exercise power in South Vietnam, Senator McGOVERN said in a statement, "the negotiations ought to be primarily between the two competing groups in South Vietnam."

SENATOR CHURCH AGREES

Mr. McGOVERN's views are shared by several Senators who have been critical of the escalation of the war.

One of these, Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, said in an interview that Senator McGOVERN's proposal "makes sense."

"The United States can back Saigon at the negotiating table as Hanoi can back the Vietcong," Mr. CHURCH said, "but neither the American Government nor the Government of North Vietnam can end a revolution in South Vietnam without the participation and consent of those who engaged in it."

President Johnson has said that "the Vietcong would not have difficulty being represented (in negotiations) and having their views represented."

Presumably he meant by this that representatives of the National Liberation Front, of which the Vietcong is the military arm, could be included in North Vietnam's delegation.

The United States has refused to deal directly with the National Liberation Front, to assure it a place in a future South Vietnamese Government or to recognize its military hold on roughly one-third of South Vietnam.

One of North Vietnam's conditions for peace is that the Liberation Front have a role in any new government before elections are held in South Vietnam. Washington finds this condition unacceptable.

As for Premier Ky, he has set his face against any negotiations.

MOVE TO END IMPASSE URGED

Senator McGOVERN sought today to cut through all these entrenched positions by asking all the parties to face up to the realities of the situation.

"It makes no sense at all," he said in a statement, "for us to try to bomb North Vietnam into negotiations or to talk them into negotiations unless our South Vietnamese allies and the rebel forces in South Vietnam are ready to negotiate a settlement."

"The most logical way for the South Vietnamese Government leaders to assist in ending the war would be to explore the possible basis for a settlement with their fellow Vietnamese in the National Liberation Front."

The Liberation Front leaders, he said, are "determined proud men," who could be expected not to let Moscow, Peiping, or Hanoi do their negotiating for them. On the other hand, he said, they could not be expected to accept a settlement that did not give them "a proportionate share in the postwar government."

Senator McGOVERN had previously urged a halt to U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and a negotiated settlement of the war. His statement today indicated that the pause in the bombing and efforts to start negotiations had not convinced him that the United States was doing enough to obtain peace.

Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, Democrat, of Maine, who accompanied Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, the Democratic leader of the Senate, on a globe-circling trip that included Vietnam, did not agree with Mr. McGOVERN's recommendations. Reached by telephone, he said he doubted whether the National Liberation Front was independent of North Vietnamese control.

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, and chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said in an interview that the pause in the air bombing of North Vietnam had gone on too long.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH DAKOTA

(NOTE.—Senator GEORGE McGOVERN, a member of the Committees on Agriculture and Interior and former Director of the U.S. food for peace program (1961–62) visited Vietnam in early December.)

A basic weakness in the current efforts to negotiate a settlement of the Vietnamese war is that those efforts seem to have excluded the two primary antagonists in the struggle—the South Vietnamese Government in Saigon and the National Liberation Front of the Vietcong rebel forces.

I appreciate President Johnson's great desire to end the war. But the chances of negotiations taking place could be greatly improved if the two principal contestants were involved in the negotiating effort.

The fundamental issue at stake in this war is a local political question as to which group will come to power in South Vietnam. I doubt that an issue of that kind will be resolved by military forces from the outside.

But negotiations should include the two competing groups in South Vietnam—the Vietcong National Liberation Front and General Ky or whoever happens to be in power in Saigon when the negotiations begin.

It makes no sense at all for us to try to bomb North Vietnam into negotiations or to talk them into negotiations unless our South Vietnamese ally and the rebel forces in South Vietnam are ready to negotiate a settlement.

It is disturbing that while President Johnson has been trying to get negotiations started, General Ky, our South Vietnamese ally, has expressed his opposition to negotiations.

The most logical way for the South Vietnamese Government leaders to assist in ending the war would be to explore the possible basis for a settlement with their fellow Vietnamese in the National Liberation Front.

This war began as a local conflict in South Vietnam and that is still the primary battleground no matter how many major powers feel called upon to gamble their national honor on General Ky or Uncle Ho.

It will be difficult, if not impossible, to end the war without discussions with the Vietcong rebel leaders as well as Hanoi and Saigon.

The rebels control two-thirds of South Vietnam and their leadership front embraces a broad cross section including many non-Communists. They cannot be expected to permit Moscow, Peiping, Hanoi or anyone else to do their negotiating for them.

Nor can they be expected to accept any settlement that does not give them a reasonable opportunity to share in the postwar government—a government which ultimately

should be determined by the Vietnamese people in an honorably supervised election.

Refusing to negotiate with the rebel front would have its parallel if King George III had expressed a willingness to negotiate with France while refusing to talk with George Washington and his rebel forces.

The most realistic way to achieve a settlement between Saigon and the local rebel forces, is for the outside powers to begin reducing their involvement on a reciprocal basis so that the struggle can be confined to a local rather than a global struggle.

President Johnson took a long stride toward localizing the war when he stopped the bombing of North Vietnam. Let us hope that our commanders will not be so foolish as to extend the bombing to Cambodia or other countries. I believe that the Russians and the Chinese, while giving some assistance to Hanoi, have limited their interference in the struggle because, no matter how beligerently they talk, they know it is no more in their interest than in ours to blow this local issue into a global war. The major powers ought to search for every possible way of confining the struggle to South Vietnam. There is no issue there that can possibly be of enough importance to justify a major war between the great powers.

Indeed, for the United States and the other major powers to waste their resources and their young men in a global slaughter over who is to be in charge in Saigon would be to create the conditions of chaos out of which could come a hundred Vietnam tragedies to curse our children for all their days.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, the Chair appoints the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF] to read Washington's Farewell Address on February 22 next. It is the understanding of the Chair that the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF] will be the only man who has read this famous address in both the House and the Senate.

PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE WITH MEXICO

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair announces the appointment of the following Senators to attend the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary meetings to be held February 9 through 16, 1966, at Washington, Philadelphia, and San Francisco: Senators MANSFIELD, GRUENING, METCALF, NELSON, MONTOYA, KUCHEL, FANNIN, and MURPHY.

These Senators will serve along with Senator SPARKMAN, who is the chairman of the delegation, and Senators MORSE, GORE, and AIKEN. The last four mentioned Senators will serve for the full Congress.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon, on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 50 minutes) the Senate adjourned, under the previous order, until Monday, January 24, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 20, 1966:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

William Gorham, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION

Paul Kaplowitz, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the U.S. Tariff Commission for the term expiring June 16, 1967.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., used this verse of Scripture: *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me; give me understanding that I may learn Thy commandments.*

Eternal God, who art the help and hope in the thought and work of our days, be Thou our joy and consolation as we bring to Thee the nameless needs of our minds and hearts.

Keep us strong and steadfast as we bow in weakness, in sorrow, in temptation, in depression of soul and open to us the word of truth and break to us the bread of life.

Grant that in following Thee we may find the highest wisdom, the deepest delight, the sum of the duty and discipline of life, the ideal of its dedication, however complete and compelling its demands may be.

May the witness and testimony which we give to life be one of lofty faith, heroic character, and fruitful service and all for Thy glory in Christ's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 767. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim National Ski Week.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 30. An act to provide for participation of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1446. An act to reserve certain public lands for a National Wild Rivers System, to provide a procedure for adding additional public lands and other lands to the system, and for other purposes.

FOUR-YEAR TERM FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, there is a clear and pressing need for an amendment to the Constitution extending the terms of Members of the House of Representatives from 2 to 4 years.

It is true that the original purpose of limiting the term of Representatives to 2 years was to keep them close to the people and assure responsiveness to the people's will. It was felt that if a Representative failed to measure up to what was expected of him, 2 years in office were enough.

The 2-year limitation, however, cuts both ways, and on balance I think that today it does far more harm than good.

As we all know from our own experience, it takes time for the House to be reorganized at the beginning of a session. It takes time for even a highly qualified freshman Member to learn the ropes if he is to contribute to the work of Congress and the needs of his constituents. Yet, whether he is new or a veteran, every Congressman must immediately begin giving extended thought and time to his next campaign. And he must be prepared to spend a considerable amount of time at home, even during a legislative session.

Such conditions are scarcely conducive for a Member to do his best work on matters before the Congress.

When the Nation was founded, economic and social conditions were relatively uncomplicated. Today, legislation requires careful study and a high degree of skill in drafting legislation, writing reports, and conducting hearings. In an age marked by continuing crisis, 2 years is barely time enough to learn the job. The time has come to extend the term of Representatives to 4 years.

It is my opinion, also, that, if any elections are to be eliminated, it should be the off-year elections. The election of a President and the Members of the House for a concurrent term of 4 years, as President Johnson proposes, will help to insure that the mandate of the people is carried out by the new administration.

I urge the adoption of this amendment in the form suggested by the President.

AIRLIFT OF MAIL FOR U.S. PERSONNEL OVERSEAS

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House

for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, several members of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee visited the European area during November and December last year, and one of the main purposes of our visit was to obtain on-site information concerning the operation of the U.S. Armed Forces postal service. The delegation was unanimous in its belief that legislative action should be scheduled immediately on legislation authorizing the airlift of priority mail to U.S. personnel stationed overseas.

I have today introduced legislation to carry out this recommendation. I will press for immediate consideration of this legislation before our committee.

The primary purpose of this legislation is to provide transportation by air of certain types of mail between the United States and Armed Forces post offices overseas.

The first section amends section 4169 (a) of title 39, United States Code, to remove the requirement that mail from a serviceman in a combat area, which is sent at no cost to the sender, be sent as "airmail." Airmail classification requires a higher rate of transportation than would be required under the proposed new authorization to transport all letter mail by air. This change would remove the requirement that the mail be transported by air inside the continental United States.

Section 2 rewrites paragraph (5) of 39 U.S.C. 4303(d), to provide new authority for transportation by air between the United States and the overseas military post offices when the mail is classified as: First, first-class letter mail; second, second-class publications having current news value; and third, fourth-class parcels not exceeding 5 pounds in weight and 60 inches in length and girth combined.

This legislation applies to any individual, military or civilian, receiving or sending mail at an Armed Forces post office overseas. The regular rate of postage for surface transportation will be required in all cases.

FOUR-YEAR TERM FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, when our Founding Fathers wrote our Constitution, they provided that Members of the House of Representatives would be elected directly by the people. In article I, section 3, of the Constitution they provided that the Members of the U.S. Senate would be elected by the legislatures of the several States, the theory being that the Senators would be the representatives of the States and that the Representatives would be the direct representatives of the people. In 1912 the 17th amendment to the Constitution was adopted, which destroyed the theory and philosophy of our Founding Fathers by providing that the U.S. Senators would be elected by direct vote of the people.

So, with this change of philosophy, it seems to me that the recommendation of the President that the House and the Senate submit to the States a constitutional amendment providing for 4-year terms for Members of the House of Representatives is long overdue. I support a constitutional amendment, therefore, fixing the term of the Members of the House of Representatives at 4 years. This amendment is long overdue. The fact that it is overdue is well indicated by the results of the polls which have been taken throughout the Nation by responsible poll-taking organizations. So, as we receive this recommendation from the President, I think that we should all consider it seriously. In my considered judgment the increase of the term of Members of the House of Representatives to 4 years would have the effect of meeting the public will. It would have the effect of increasing the efficiency of Congress and, as the President well said, would no doubt attract many to seek this high position who do not find themselves willing to do so because of the inconvenience and the expense of the regular 2-year campaigns.

Mr. Speaker, I am not one who is inclined toward changing our Constitution as readily as some of my friends may be. But in this case I believe it would meet the best interests of our society and our Nation. It would make the House of Representatives a more effective body in its service to the people.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK BILL INTRODUCED

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter on the Asian Bank bill introduced today.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced the Asian Development Bank Act. On Tuesday of this week the President of the United States sent up a message on this most vital piece of legislation. It is vital that the United States participate in this endeavor, as we have participated in the creation and active support of such similar institutions as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Inter-American Development Bank. The creation of the Asian Development Bank can probably do more to create peace and promote rapid economic development in Asia than any other single action.

Recently, members of your House Banking and Currency Committee had the privilege and honor, at the request of the President of the United States, to participate in the signing of the charter of the Asian Development Bank at Manila. Prior to this time your House Banking and Currency Committee had been advised and consulted with by those in the administration charged with the responsibility of exploring the structure and functioning of this proposed bank and the determination as to whether or not the United States would participate.

The structure of this proposed institution resembles both the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, with which we are all familiar. These two institutions have done much to assist the developing nations achieve high levels of economic productivity. In addition, these institutions have done much to promote free democratic institutions in the developing nations. It is certainly anticipated that the same will be true of the Asian Development Bank.

I shall not at this time discuss all of the details of the proposal. Much of the background is contained in the U.S. Treasury Department's special report on the proposed Asian Bank, which I insert following my remarks.

Your House Banking and Currency Committee will begin hearings on this proposal immediately. I am sure that all Members of the House of Representatives, and the other body, will recognize the necessity and importance of this institution and speedily enact the legislation required for the United States to participate in this Bank.

U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT SPECIAL REPORT ON THE PROPOSED ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, JANUARY 1966

I. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION

This special report strongly recommends that the United States promptly accept membership in the proposed Asian Development Bank. Early congressional action in the 1966 session is required if the United States is to play its proper role in the formation of the Bank this year. The Bank springs from Asian needs and desires. It is enthusiastically supported by the Asian nations themselves, and has received pledges of financial support from a broad range of non-Asian countries as well.

The Bank is to have an authorized capital of $1 billion; its membership will number 30 or more countries including many capital-contributing developed countries as well as the developing countries of Asia. The Bank will make sound loans on conventional terms similar to World Bank loans. The U.S. subscription of $200 million will be equaled by that of Japan; the combined subscriptions of the other developed countries far exceed our own. The U.S. subscription should have a minimal effect on our balance of payments.

The Bank will be Asian in character and multilateral in form. Its operations will benefit both short- and long-range policy objectives of the United States. As a nucleus around which Asian cooperation can grow, the Bank can promote closer ties within the region which the United States has long sought; as a financial vehicle, the Bank can spread the burden of foreign assistance more broadly, serving as a channel for special funds which other donor countries may provide on special terms to meet special needs of the region; and, in its day-to-day operations the Bank can complement and thereby make more effective the extensive U.S. bilateral programs in the Asian region. U.S.

membership is, therefore, fully in our national interest. Establishment of the Asian Bank is a vital element in current efforts to offer the peoples of Asia a reason to hope for a better future and for an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of peaceful economic progress. It points toward those works of peace which are the true need of Asia and the center of the purpose and hope of the United States, there and everywhere.

II. BACKGROUND

A. History and origin of the proposal: In a broad sense, the concept underlying the Asian Development Bank goes back at least to the early postwar years, when the idea of a public international institution supported cooperatively by its member nations and designed to speed growth in developing areas found its embodiment in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). In the ensuing dozen years, the idea of institutionalized multilateral cooperation in development financing was broadened with the establishment of two specialized affiliates of the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association. In 1959, multilateral cooperation in the field of development finance was adapted and applied at the regional level through the establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank, the first such institution to have as its particular field of action a major geographic area. By 1964, a second regional bank, the African Development Bank, had come into being in order to help with the developmental problems of that major region. The Asian Bank would take its place along with the latter two institutions, as a regional development bank for a great continental land mass of the developing world.

In addition to the general evolution of the institutions of financial cooperation, several encouraging areas of regional cooperation were taking root at the same time among the Asian countries. Since 1947, the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) has provided a forum for discussions and analysis of the economic problems and outlook for the broad area stretching from Iran to the Pacific Islands. The technical scope of ECAFE's concerns has broadened progressively, and its initiatives are increasingly resulting in specific cooperative actions being undertaken by the nations involved. Similarly, the activities of the nations cooperating under the Colombo plan have, since 1950, contributed substantially to the spirit of regional cooperation. As one feature under the Colombo plan technical assistance for key growth projects is made available not only from sources outside the region but from one regional country to another as well.

The more specific and immediate antecedents of the Asian Development Bank date from late 1963, when an ECAFE Expert Group on Regional Economic Cooperation first formally proposed the establishment of a regional bank for Asia. This proposal was quickly endorsed by ministers representing Asian nations at the ECAFE Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Cooperation in Manila in December 1963. During 1964, detailed technical investigations were made by a working group of experts and a comprehensive report was made available to governments at the end of that year. In March 1965, the 21st session of ECAFE, meeting in Wellington, unanimously agreed to further efforts toward realization of the Bank project. It was agreed that a Consultative Committee drawn from nine Asian nations would meet to review the principal issues involved. The Consultative Committee held its first meeting in June in Bangkok. Mr. Eugene Black—the President's Advisor on Southeast Asian Development and former President of the World Bank—was invited to consult with the Committee. In July and August, members of the Committee visited capitals, including Washington, in order to gain the benefit of views from each of the governments interested in the establishment of the Bank. The Consultative Committee then met again in August in Bangkok to draw up a preliminary charter for the institution.

The decisive event insuring that the proposal would have major support from outside the Asian region was President Johnson's announcement in April 1965, that the United States would be prepared to become a member of a properly conceived Asian Bank.

The main negotiations on the charter of the Bank took place at the meeting of the Preparatory Committee on the Asian Development Bank in Bangkok, Thailand, October 21–November 1, 1965. The U.S. delegation was headed by Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Merlyn N. Trued.

In its final form, the agreement establishing the Asian Development Bank was signed at Manila at a conference of plenipotentiaries held December 2–4, 1965. The agreement was signed on behalf of the United States by Eugene R. Black, Advisor to the President on Southeast Asia Economic and Social Development, and Joseph W. Barr, Under Secretary of the Treasury, head and alternate head, respectively, of a U.S. delegation which included Members of both Houses of Congress.

B. Need for an Asian institution: The proposal for an Asian Development Bank arose as an Asian initiative, and the Bank will be a predominantly Asian institution in location, in finance, and in management.

President Johnson summarized the advantages of establishing an Asian Development Bank in the following terms:

"I regard the organization of this great new institution as one of the most hopeful events of our times because the Asian Development Bank has been put together by Asians, and because they themselves are contributing the greater part of its capital and will direct its lending for development in Asia.

"But, most of all, it is an important and hopeful event, because the Asian Development Bank will bring so many of Asia's diverse peoples, who so long have gone their ways alone, together in a cooperative effort for peaceful development and human betterment in Asia."

The Asian Bank can, as could no institution either with extra-regional concerns or of subregional size, accomplish the following objectives:

Bring an explicitly Asian viewpoint to bear on the problems of complementary growth in the region.

Satisfy the widespread desire among countries of the region for an institution attuned specifically to meeting Asian economic needs.

Point toward that peaceful cooperation in Asia which is the region's most pressing need.

Offer an institution with its own tangible and constructive purpose to serve as a nucleus around which broader forms of economic and possibly political cooperation could grow. Asia as a whole enjoys no history of common political institutions comparable to the Organization of American States in Latin America. The political infrastructure must be built out of positive acts of economic cooperation such as the Bank would provide in its daily operations.

Elicit significant amounts of capital from the Asian countries themselves for use elsewhere in the Asian region, with a concomitant assumption of the responsibility for sound fiscal operations.

Stimulate a flow of public and private capital into Asia from outside the region.

Provide an administrative channel through which governments interested in national and regional development in Asia as a whole, or in specific subregions of Asia, could make potentially large sums available for special purposes or on special terms. A major contribution to southeast Asian development by the United States and other capital-providing countries, for instance, could be administered by the Bank, giving an appropriate Asian imprint to the funds thus provided.

C. Relationship to U.S. programs in Asia: The proposed Asian Development Bank can play a key role in the overall U.S. economic assistance strategy for Asia at the same time it is fulfilling the need of the Asians themselves for new cooperative institutions. In much the same manner, the Inter-American Development Bank is already serving successfully as a major vehicle through which U.S. funds are made available to support long-range development goals of the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

Substantial U.S. bilateral development assistance in the form of loans and grants to Asian countries is now extended to many of the developing countries eligible for membership in the Asian Development Bank. A large proportion of this assistance is concentrated in a relatively few major program countries. The Asian Bank will not have the subscribed resources to replace any significant portion of current U.S. programs, nor is there reason to expect that its pattern of financing will necessarily reflect the same country emphasis as U.S. programs now have. Nevertheless, the Bank can be expected to complement U.S. programs in a number of important ways: through lending in conjunction with the United States and other donors for projects too large for any single donor to finance; through furnishing technical assistance which will improve the effectiveness with which U.S. and other external assistance is utilized; through financing of surveys and assistance in project formulation which will provide the Agency for International Development and other bilateral lenders with a better basis for assistance decisions; through eliciting contributions to its own capital; and through serving as a coordinating mechanism for numerous bilateral programs in particular countries. In addition to contributing to greater effectiveness of aid, these functions would help to spread the aid burden more widely.

The creation of a regional development bank by and for the Asian nations is particularly important in relation to the $1 billion program of expanded U.S. economic and social development assistance in southeast Asia announced by President Johnson in his speech at Johns Hopkins University on April 7, 1965. The President's design calls for a great international cooperative effort that would lift the hopes and spirits of the peoples of Asia by offering a promising alternative to the destruction of wars and the oppression of adverse economic circumstances.

The Asian Bank, with its authority to administer special funds made available over and above subscribed capital by member or nonmember donor nations, is well suited to serve as a channel for the President's southeast Asia program. Special funds handled in this manner through the Bank could, by agreement with the donor, be lent on concessional repayment terms appropriate to the country or project concerned. The extent to which the United States makes funds available to the Bank for administration would depend first, of course, on congressional approval of the necessary resources, but also on the indications from other donor countries of their intention to do likewise. Subject to these two conditions, U.S. representatives have already indicated U.S. willingness to consider a substantial contribution to a Southeast Asia Regional Development Fund. The earlier a sound, strong Asian Development Bank can be brought

into being, the earlier plans can move forward for the Bank to receive and utilize such special fund contributions.

III. THE PROPOSED BANK

The form and functions of the proposed Asian Development Bank are laid down in its articles of agreement. These articles were negotiated at the meeting of the Preparatory Committee on the Asian Development Bank in Bangkok, Thailand, October 21–November 1, 1965. Along with two annexes subsequently completed and agreed at the Manila meeting, the articles form the body of the Agreement Establishing the Asian Development Bank. This agreement was signed by representatives of governments at a conference of plenipotentiaries in Manila, Philippines, December 2–4, 1965, subject to approval by legislatures. In broad outline and in many details, the articles themselves and the institution to be established under their authority follow the outstandingly successful pattern set by the World Bank.

A. Financial structure: The financial resources of the Bank consist of its paid-in capital, special funds, and funds it may raise in the future through borrowing in private capital markets. The Bank would also add to its resources through its earnings.

1. Authorized paid-in and callable capital: The authorized capital stock of the Bank is $1 billion, divided into 100,000 shares of $10,000 each. The Board of Governors of the Bank by a special majority vote may increase the authorized capital. Of the $1 billion authorized capital, $650 million is available for subscription by the Asian regional members, while the remaining $350 million is reserved for subscription by nonregional member countries.

Half of the authorized capital consists of paid-in shares and half consists of callable shares; the subscription of each member country to the capital stock of the Bank will consist of equal parts of paid-in and of callable shares.

Payment for subscriptions to the Bank's paid-in capital stock is to be in five equal installments of 20 percent each. If a country deposits its instrument of ratification before the agreement enters into force, then its first installment payment is due within 30 days after the entry into force. If a country deposits its instrument of ratification after the agreement has already entered into force, then its first installment payment is due on or before the date of deposit. The second and subsequent installments fall due at annual intervals after the date of entry into force of the agreement.

Not all of a member's subscription to paid-in capital is to be paid in cash at the outset. The articles require the Bank to accept non-interest-bearing demand notes or similar obligations in lieu of 50 percent of any installment on paid-in capital, provided the Bank does not need the cash for its operations.

Callable capital stock amounting to one-half a country's total subscription would be subscribed at the time of the first installment on paid-in capital. The function of the callable capital in the Asian Development Bank is the same as that of the callable capital in the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, i.e., to provide a backing against which the Bank would be able in the future to sell bonds in the capital markets of the world. Payments would be made on callable capital only if at some future time it became necessary to call these shares in order to make good on borrowings by the Bank or on guarantees it had issued. Such calls must be ratable on all such shares.

2. Special funds: The Bank's articles (arts. 19–20) provide that the Bank may establish special funds by earmarking up to 10 percent of its paid-in capital for that purpose, and by accepting resources—outside the subscribed capital stock—from member governments or other sources for administration by the Bank. Special funds derived from such earmarking of a portion of the Bank's resources may be used to guarantee or make loans of high developmental priority, with longer maturities, longer deferred commencement of repayment and lower interest rates than ordinary bank loans.

Special funds received from members may be used as flexibly as the agreement between the Bank and the member permits, so long as the purpose is consistent with the purpose of the Bank.

3. Borrowed funds: The Bank's subscribed funds may be supplemented by borrowings in the name of the Bank in member countries or elsewhere (e.g., Switzerland) against the backing of its callable capital. No borrowing may take place in the territory of a member or in the currency of a member, however, without the prior approval of that member. The Bank may also add to its lendable resources by selling portions of loans from its portfolio, with or without its own guarantee, provided again that the prior approval of the member in whose territory the securities are sold is obtained.

B. Administrative aspects: The Articles of Agreement of the Asian Development Bank established it as a regional international organization with full juridical personality. The Bank's members would be national states and their territories, and its structure would consist of a Board of Governors, a Board of Directors, and a management consisting of international civil servants.

1. Membership: The Bank is open to membership by members and associate members of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and by other regional countries and nonregional developed countries which are members of the United Nations or of any of its specialized agencies. Thus, Communist China, North Korea, and North Vietnam are not eligible for membership.

Countries eligible for membership as charter members are listed in annex A to the articles. Any of those countries that have failed to sign by January 31, 1966, and countries not mentioned in annex A desiring to become members can only be admitted after the Bank is organized. Admission to membership then will require an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the total number of Governors representing not less than three-fourths of the total voting power. The subscription of a new member would be fixed by the Governors at the time of admission.

2. Board of Governors: The senior policy-making body of the Bank is to be its Board of Governors, consisting of one Governor and one alternate for each member. Governors would nomally be ministers of finance or central bank heads; the Board of Governors would normally meet annually and conduct its other business by mail. The fundamental powers of the Bank—including the power to admit new members, to change the authorized capital stock, to elect Directors and choose a President, and to amend the articles are reserved exclusively to the Governors.

3. Board of Directors: The day-to-day supervision of the general operations of the Bank rests with the Board of Directors. The Board is to consist of 10 Directors, 7 to represent the Asian regional countries and 3 to represent nonregional members. Each Director may appoint an alternate to act in his absence. The size of its subscription entitles the United States to elect its own Director from the three allocated to the nonregional countries.

Directors are elected for 2-year terms in accordance with procedures shown in annex B of the articles, and may be reelected. With regard to the three Directors for nonregional members, annex B provides that the third Director shall be elected when nonregional subscriptions total $345 million. It is hoped that this provision will be fulfilled at an early date. Article 30(1)(ii) provides that, after 2 years, the size and composition of the Board of Directors shall be reviewed by the Board of Governors. The reason for this subsection is the desire of the smaller developing countries for representation on the Board by the creation of one or more regional directorships. Any such change, however, would require approval by a majority of the total number of Governors having at least two-thirds of the total voting power. Moreover, a change in the number of Directors would not affect the number of votes cast by the United States or other countries, since voting strength is related to size of subscription.

The Board of Directors would pass on all loan or guarantee applications, oversee financial operations and approve the Bank's budget. Unlike the Governors, the Directors would meet at frequent intervals as demanded by the pace of the Bank's operations.

4. Voting: Like the other multilateral development financing institutions of which the United States is a member, the Asian Development Bank embodies the broad principle that voting strength is related to size of subscription. In recognition of the strong opinion among the Asian nations that a large proportion of total votes should be distributed equally among members without reference to size of subscription, it was agreed during negotiations leading up to the charter that 20 percent of total votes—so-called basic votes—would be distributed equally among the members and the remainder would be proportional to subscriptions.

On the basis of full subscription of the $1 billion authorized capital, the U.S. share of total voting strength would be approximately 16 percent. Ordinary voting in both the Board of Governors and the Board of Directors would be by a majority of the votes cast. On specified major matters, however, the articles require qualified majorities of two-thirds or three-fourths of total votes.

5. Management: The principal executive officer of the Bank is to be its President, who will be responsible for the organization of the Bank's staff and who will, under the supervision of the Board of Directors, conduct the Bank's current business. The President will be an Asian national, who will be elected by the Board of Governors, probably at the inaugural meeting. The President serves as Chairman of the Board of Directors, but would not vote except in the case of an even division.

The President will serve for a renewable 5-year term and will be assisted by one or more Vice Presidents, whom the Directors would appoint on the basis of the President's recommendation. In keeping with the Asian character of the Bank, the bulk of its staff is expected to come from the Asian countries themselves. The articles (art. 36) on the one hand prohibit the President, Vice President, and staff of the Bank from either interfering in the political affairs of members or taking noneconomic considerations into account in their decisions, and on the other hand, prohibit member countries from attempting to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

6. Privileges and immunities: The articles of the charter relating to status, immunities, exemptions, and privileges (arts. 48–58) are similar to those embodied in the charters of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. With respect to salaries or emoluments paid by the Bank to Directors, alternates, officers, or employees, including experts performing missions for the Bank, the charter provides that such payments to the nationals of a member may be taxed by that member only upon deposit of a declaration by it at the time of ratification that it intends to do so. It is intended that the United States would deposit such a declaration with its instrument of acceptance.

7. Site of the Bank: The site of the Bank is to be at Manila, Philippines, where the Philippine Government has indicated it will provide an appropriate building. The choice of Manila as site of the Bank was made by the Asian nations themselves just prior to the conference of plenipotentiaries in early December 1965. The United States maintained an attitude of strict neutrality throughout the discussion of the site question.

C. Operations: All of the lending and financial operations of the Bank are aimed at fulfilling the purposes set forth in article 1 of its charter; i.e., to foster economic growth and cooperation in the Asian region and to contribute to the acceleration of the process of economic development of the developing member countries in the region, collectively and individually.

The principal functions of the Bank toward fulfilling its purposes are (1) the promotion of public and private development capital inflow to the region and (2) the use of resources available to it for development financing in the region. In the latter connection, the Bank is to give priority to regional and subregional as well as national projects that will promote harmonious regional growth, and is to keep especially in mind the needs of smaller or less-developed countries in the region.

In addition to these direct financing activities, the Bank is expected to assist in the coordination of development policies so as to enhance complementary trade and other relations in the region and in development planning and project formulation. The Bank would cooperate with other international and national institutions in order to stimulate a maximum flow of funds to the region.

The Bank's lending operations are divided into two major categories: ordinary operations and special operations. Resources used for each category are entirely separate and distinct, and must be separately accounted for. Ordinary capital resources may not be charged with any losses or liabilities arising from special operations.

1. Ordinary lending and guarantee operation: The Bank's hard loan operations will normally take the form of direct loans from capital funds or funds borrowed in private markets, on terms similar to those of World Bank loans to developing countries. World Bank loans are presently made on terms of 5½ percent with maturities normally up to 25 to 30 years. The Bank's articles also confer authority to guarantee loans made by others and, at a future time to be decided, to invest in equity capital of entities or enterprises.

Ordinary loans would normally cover the foreign exchange costs of specific projects. In special cases, the Bank may provide financing for a reasonable portion of the local costs involved. In addition to its direct loans for particular projects, the Bank could lend to national development banks which would sublend for smaller projects. No loan could be made in a country if the government of the country objects. The guarantee of the government is not required if the loan is not to the government itself. The Bank may, however, if it deems it desirable, require such a guarantee. The Bank must pay due regard to the ability of the borrower to find financing elsewhere on reasonable terms before it approves a loan.

The articles do not specify any particular types of development projects for emphasis in the Bank's ordinary lending operations. Loans may be expected for the usual infrastructure projects such as roads, ports, power and the like, for agricultural projects such as irrigation systems and agricultural credit institutions, and for private enterprise activities in manufacturing and service industries. While specific loan terms are not prescribed, the Bank is required in its first 5 years of operation to charge a commission on its ordinary loans of 1 percent, the proceeds of which must be held in a special liquid reserve to meet possible future liabilities of the Bank. Such a special reserve was a feature of the charters of both the World Bank and the Inter-American Bank.

2. Special lending operations: Loans made from special funds earmarked from the Bank's own capital must be of high developmental priority and must conform to the same general operating guidelines as ordinary loans. Such funds shall be provided on a revolving fund basis and may be extended with longer maturities, longer grace periods and lower interest rates than those established for ordinary operations. Loans made with special funds given to the Bank for administration by donor nations may be for any purpose and on any terms not inconsistent with the overall purpose of the Bank.

3. Borrowing by the Bank: It is not expected that the Bank will be in a position in its early years to obtain funds in significant amounts from private capital markets. Accordingly, the Bank will rely for its initial period of operations on its subscribed capital. When the Bank does commence borrowing, the articles require it to follow the principle of spreading its borrowing equitably among the various financial markets, thus avoiding undue concentration on any one financial center. As already noted, no borrowing may take place in any member country or in any member's currency without prior approval by that member.

4. Procurement: Article 14(ix) of the charter prescribes the basic rule that the Bank's subscribed resources—whether for ordinary lending or special lending—be used only for procurement in any member country of goods and services produced in member countries. Thus no industrial country can expect to enjoy the benefits of Bank-financed procurement from its suppliers without making a contribution to the Bank's resources in the form of capital subscriptions. In special circumstances, as in the case where a nonmember country, e.g., Switzerland (which is not a member of the World Bank but is eligible to provide goods and services for World Bank-financed projects) permits the Asian Development Bank to raise a significant amount of capital in its markets, the Directors may allow procurement for a particular loan to take place in that nonmember country, or the goods of that nonmember country to be purchased in a member country. Such permission by the Directors could only be given, however, by a special majority of two-thirds of total votes.

5. Currency provisions: All member countries, developed and developing alike, are required to make at least 50 percent of their subscriptions available in convertible currencies, and no member may make restrictions on the use by the Bank or its payees of this portion of its paid-in subscription. A developing country may restrict the other 50 percent of its subscription, which is payable in national currency, to payments for goods and services which it produces and which will be used in its territories. A developed country, on the other hand, is required to make the second 50 percent of its subscription, also payable in national currency which in most cases would already be convertible, available on the same restriction-free basis as the first 50 percent. In short, developed country subscriptions may be thought of as generally convertible. (Among the regional members, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand are considered developed; all of the nonregional members are likewise considered developed.)

Article 24(2)(ii) permits a developed country in the Asian region, if its exports of industrial products are not a substantial portion of total exports and it is therefore not in a position to compete effectively for Bank-financed business, to restrict the 50 percent portion paid in national currency—which therefore would normally have to be convertible—to purchase of national goods. Any country wishing to exercise this option must do so at the time it deposits its instrument of acceptance, and the continuation of the restriction is subject to periodic review by and consultation with the Bank. A country opting to restrict its subscription in this fashion would, however, be required to finance such national goods out of the portion of the subscription that would otherwise remain in cost-free non-interest-bearing notes. Only Australia and New Zealand will be in a position to take advantage of this provision of the articles.

The currency of each member is always freely available to the Bank to meet administrative expenditures in the country. Currency made available to the Bank for administration as a special fund, however, may be restricted in any manner specified in the relevant special fund agreement.

In the event of depreciation or appreciation of a member's currency, the member must pay to or may receive from the Bank a payment sufficient to maintain the original foreign exchange value of the Bank's holdings of the currency, other than holdings derived from borrowings or administered special funds.

D. Entry into force and interim arrangements: The entry into force of the agreement establishing the Asian Development Bank will take place after a two-stage procedure consisting of (a) signature and (b) ratification or acceptance. The United States and 21 other nations signed the agreement at Manila, and the remaining nations listed in annex A may do so until January 31, 1966. Signature, however, is an ad referendum act by an executive power, requiring in most governments—including the United States—approval by the legislative power. Ratification or acceptance by a signatory takes place by deposit of an instrument of ratification or acceptance with the depository (the Secretary General of the United Nations) after any necessary legislative approval has been obtained. Instruments of ratification must be deposited not later than September 30, 1966. The articles of agreement make no provision for extension of this deadline. A signatory which has deposited its instrument of ratification becomes a member on the date of deposit or the date the agreement enters into force, whichever occurs later.

The agreement enters into force when 15 signatories having subscriptions or at least $650 million have deposited their instruments of ratification or acceptance. In order to insure broad support for the Bank within the Asian region, the articles require that not less than 10 of the necessary 15 signatories be regional members. The inaugural meeting of the Board of Governors, the election of the Board of Directors, the formal organization of the Bank management and the fixing of the date for commencement of operations would promptly follow entry into force of the agreement.

Since the subscription of the United States is to be $200 million and total anticipated subscriptions are in excess of $950 million, it is clear that unless the United States moves forward rapidly with the deposit of its instrument of acceptance, the agreement may enter into force prior to deposit by the United States. Although the United States could still become a charter member by subsequently depositing its instrument prior to the September 30, 1966, deadline, failure to participate in the inaugural meeting of Governors and its important work of organizing the Bank would both damage the idea of the United States as a supporter of the Bank and impair the ability of the United States to play an appropriate role in the important early period when the Bank's operating policies and procedures will be developed. Accordingly, legislation permitting final ac-

ceptance of the agreement by the United States should be obtained as early as possible in the spring of 1966.

In order to facilitate the early establishment of the Bank on a fully operational basis, the conference of plenipotentiaries established a 14-nation Committee on Preparatory Arrangements, 12 members of which are Asian countries and the remaining 2 (United States and Germany) are nonregional. This steering committee will supervise the operations of a small staff whose principal tasks will be to prepare for the Bank's inaugural meeting, make preliminary plans for acquiring and training staff, initiate arrangements for facilities and services at the Bank's permanent headquarters and otherwise promote an efficient commencement of Bank activities.

IV. U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE PROPOSED BANK

As was the case with existing international financial institutions, U.S. participation in the Asian Development Bank will be pursuant to specific authorizing legislation to be passed by both Houses of Congress. Appropriations will be sought in the years required. U.S. representation in the Bank will likewise follow the general pattern established for existing institutions.

A. U.S. subscription: The U.S. subscription to the capital stock of the Bank is $200 million. The United States and Japan, each with subscriptions of $200 million, are the largest subscribers of capital. The subscriptions of the nations whose pledges for joining the Bank were indicated at the Manila meeting are shown below in table 1. The U.S. subscription represents 21.3 percent of such total subscriptions including the developing countries and 33.1 percent of the subscriptions of the developed countries alone.

Table 2 compares the paid-in portion of the U.S. subscription in the Asian Development Bank with U.S. paid-in subscriptions to the other international development financial institutions both as a percentage of total capital and as a percentage of the subscriptions of the advanced countries. The U.S. share in the Asian Bank represents a lesser relative burden on the United States than does the U.S. share in the institutions established earlier.

TABLE 1.—*Subscriptions to Asian Development Bank capital stock (based on pledges as of Dec. 4, 1965, as shown in annex A of Articles of Agreement)*

Country	Millions of dollars	Percent of total subscriptions	Percent of developed country subscriptions	Percent of regional country subscriptions
Regional:				
Afghanistan	3.36	0.4		0.5
Australia	85.00	9.1	14.1	13.2
Cambodia	3.00	.3		.5
Ceylon	8.52	.9		1.3
Republic of China	16.00	1.7		2.5
India	93.00	9.9		14.5
Iran	60.00	6.4		9.3
Japan	200.00	21.3	33.1	31.1
Korea	30.00	3.2		4.7
Laos	.42			
Malaysia	20.00	2.1		3.1
Nepal	2.16	.2		.3
New Zealand	22.56	2.4	3.7	3.5
Pakistan	32.00	3.4		5.0
Philippines	35.00	3.7		5.5
Vietnam	7.00	.7		1.1
Singapore	4.00	.4		.6
Thailand	20.00	2.1		3.1
Western Samoa	.06			
Subtotal	642.08	68.8	50.9	100.0
Nonregional:				
Belgium	5.00	.5	.8	
Canada	25.00	2.7	4.1	
Denmark	5.00	.5	.8	
Germany, Federal Republic of	30.00	3.2	5.0	
Italy	10.00	1.1	1.7	
Netherlands	11.00	1.2	1.8	
United Kingdom	10.00	1.1	1.7	
United States	200.00	21.3	33.1	
Subtotal	296.00	31.6	49.0	
Grand total	938.08	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE.—Totals may not add due to rounding.

TABLE 2.—*U.S. subscription in Asian Development Bank compared with subscriptions in other international development finance institutions* [1]

[Dollars in millions]

	IBRD	IDA	IFC	IDB (ordinary capital)	ADB [1]
Total paid-in subscriptions of all members	$2,166.3	$995.7	$99.0	$850.0	$938.08
Total paid-in subscriptions of developed country members	$1,580.1	$751.3	$81.1		$603.56
U.S. paid-in subscription	$635.0	$320.3	$35.2	$350.0	$220.0
U.S. paid-in subscription as percent of subscriptions of all members	29.3	32.1	35.6	41.2	21.3
U.S. paid-in subscription as percent of paid-in subscriptions of developed country members	40.2	42.6	43.4		33.1

[1] Based on pledges as of Dec. 4, 1965, as shown in annex A of Articles of Agreement.

B. Form and timing of payments: As indicated in chapter III, section A of this report, half of a country's subscription is to be paid in five installments and the other half is to remain callable.

For the United States therefore, only $100 million is scheduled to be paid in, and $100 million will remain callable. Five payments, of $20 million each are due on the paid-in portion, the first at the outset and the remaining four at approximately annual intervals thereafter. Further, of the amounts to be paid in only one-half—amounting to $10 million per installment or $50 million in the aggregate—need be paid in cash. The remaining $10 million of each installment—aggregating $50 million in all—may be made in promissory notes or other obligations. For this portion, the United States will issue irrevocable letters of credit to the Bank which will not be drawn on until cash is actually required by the Bank. The letter of credit technique has already been adopted in connection with our participation in the International Monetary Fund, the International Development Association, and the Inter-American Bank.

The U.S. callable capital subscription of $100 million must be made at the time of the first paid-in installment. This $100 million subscription represents only a contingent liability on the part of the United States. Similar callable subscriptions by the United States in the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have been on the books for 20 years with little prospect of being called. With prudent management in the Asian Development Bank, there is no reason to expect that its callable capital need be drawn on.

Table 3 summarizes, by fiscal year, the subscription obligations undertaken by the United States in joining the Bank. The first payments would be required during the spring of 1966, and accordingly a supplemental appropriation will be necessary in fiscal year 1966. Regular appropriations will then be sought in each of the fiscal years 1967–70 inclusive.

C. Legislative aspects: A draft Asian Development Bank Act is being submitted by the President for consideration by the Congress early in the 1966 session. The principal provisions of the draft legislation are those authorizing the acceptance of membership in the Bank by the President and the appropriation and payment of the U.S. subscription. In addition, the draft legislation provides for the appointment by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, of the U.S. Governor, Alternate Governor, and Director. The draft legislation further provides, inter alia, for periodic reports to the Congress on the policies and operations of the Bank, for reference to the Congress of any change in the Bank's articles and for such amendments to other legislation as are necessary and appropriate to facilitate the sale of the Bank's obligations in the United States at such future time as that may become feasible and desirable.

TABLE 3.—*Appropriations required for U.S. subscription obligations in Asian Development Bank*

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Paid-in capital		Callable (no payment required)	Total
	In cash	In letters of credit		
1966	10	10	100	120
1967	10	10		20
1968	10	10		20
1969	10	10		20
1970	10	10		20
Total	50	50	100	200

V. PARTICULAR QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

A. U.S. participation in the Bank in relation to the U.S. balance of payments: The need to achieve and maintain equilibrium in the U.S. balance of payments remains an urgent one. The initial impact on the U.S. balance of payments of the U.S. subscription to the Asian Bank, however, will be minimal at most, and the longer range probability is for no net balance-of-payments cost.

As described earlier in this report, the structure of required subscription payments

to the Bank is such that the cash portion of our $200 million subscription—the only portion which enters the balance-of-payments accounts at the time of payment—amounts to only 5 percent of the total, or $10 million, in the first year. In view of the substantial advantages accruing from the successful establishment of the Bank, this level of balance-of-payments cost, even if fully realized, would be entirely justified. There is reason to believe, however, that some or all of even the minimal short-term balance-of-payments effects will be offset. Moreover, dollars held by the Bank do not represent a potential claim on gold.

Over a somewhat longer term the prospects are favorable that there will be no net balance-of-payments cost to the United States. Procurement by the Bank will be limited to member countries and the Bank will mainly finance capital goods imports of which the United States is a major international supplier. Further, the group of countries in which the bulk of Bank financing will likely take place includes many in which the United States enjoys a strong competitive position. The U.S. share of the convertible currency resources of the proposed Bank is about one-fourth, whereas the factors just enumerated offer the possibility that U.S. procurement could come close to or even exceed this proportion of total Bank-financed procurement with its convertible resources. Any U.S. funds supplied to the Bank as special funds over and above our capital subscriptions could, in accordance with the articles of agreement, be explicitly tied to U.S. procurement.

B. U.S. voting rights: The United States will enjoy sufficient voting strength in the Asian Bank to insure itself of a permanent seat on the Board of Directors and hence a continuing important voice in the Bank's affairs. It is characteristic of the international financial institutions that formal voting issues are extremely infrequent, and agreement is usually reached on the basis of consensus, taking into account the essential interests of the institution and the member nations concerned.

Table 4 shows the approximate voting strength in the Board of Governors (on which the voting power of Directors is based) computed on the basis of memberships and subscriptions known as of December 4, 1965. Since the U.S. share of paid-in capital is substantially lower in the Asian Bank than in the other international financial institutions, U.S. voting power is correspondingly lower than in such institutions. As a minority shareholder, the United States cannot expect to exercise a veto by itself. Our percentage of total votes in the Asian Bank further reflects the fact that 20 percent of total votes are distributed among the members without regard to size or subscription, while the remaining 80 percent are weighted proportionately to subscriptions. The nonweighted votes represent a substantially higher proportion of total votes than in other institutions.

Notwithstanding the differences in the voting arrangements between the Asian Bank and other institutions, the basic form and purpose of the Asian Bank is so similar to the other institutions that no significant difference in its basic policy framework or in the soundness with which it is operated need be anticipated. The Asian nations have given ample evidence—particularly through their subscriptions totaling $642 million—of their intention to have a Bank that would command the highest respect in financial circles. There is every reason for confidence that a capable and prudent management will be selected, and that the Board of Directors will endorse policies that will give the Bank the stature its sponsors seek. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that U.S. interests and those of the developed countries as a group will be adequately protected in the operations of the Bank.

TABLE 4.—*Voting strength in Asian Development Bank* [1]

Country	Subscription amount	Proportionate votes	Basic votes	Total votes	Percent of total
	Millions				
Regional:					
Afghanistan	$3.36	336	869	1,205	1.03
Australia	85.00	8,500	869	9,369	7.99
Cambodia	3.00	300	869	1,169	.99
Ceylon	8.52	852	869	1,721	1.47
China	16.00	1,600	869	2,469	2.11
India	93.00	9,300	869	10,169	8.67
Iran	60.00	6,000	869	6,869	5.86
Japan	200.00	20,000	869	20,869	17.79
Korea	30.00	3,000	869	3,869	3.29
Laos	.42	42	869	911	.78
Malaysia	20.00	2,000	869	2,869	2.45
Nepal	2.16	216	869	1,085	.93
New Zealand	22.56	2,256	869	3,125	2.66
Pakistan	32.00	3,200	869	4,069	3.47
Philippines	35.00	3,500	869	4,369	3.73
Singapore	4.00	400	869	1,269	1.08
Thailand	20.00	2,000	869	2,869	2.45
Vietnam	7.00	700	869	1,569	1.34
Western Samoa	.06	6	869	875	.75
Total regional	642.08	64,208	16,511	80,719	68.84
Nonregional:					
Belgium	5.00	500	869	1,369	1.17
Canada	25.00	2,500	869	3,369	2.87
Denmark	5.00	500	869	1,369	1.17
Germany	30.00	3,000	869	3,869	3.29
Italy	10.00	1,000	869	1,869	1.59
Netherlands	11.00	1,100	869	1,969	1.68
United Kingdom	10.00	1,000	869	1,869	1.59
United States	200.00	20,000	869	20,869	17.79
Total nonregional	296.00	29,600	6,952	36,552	31.15
Grand total	938.08	93,808	23,463	117,271	100.00

[1] Based on pledges as of Dec. 4, 1965, as shown in annex A of Articles of Agreement.

NOTE.—Totals may not add due to rounding.

C. Consistency of Bank's operations with legislative guidelines on U.S. foreign aid program: The policies and operations of the existing international financial institutions of which the United States is a member have been fully consistent with the legislative guidelines laid down for the bilateral aid program of the United States. Inasmuch as the Asian Bank is to be a new institution, it is not possible to evaluate it in this regard on the basis of experience. It is possible to say, however, that the new Bank gives every promise of following the same satisfactory policies that have characterized the existing financial institutions. The Bank's articles call for it to promote private as well as public investment for developmental purposes, to give priority to projects that contribute most effectively to regional economic growth, to cooperate with international and national entities concerned with the investment of development funds in the region, to pay due regard to the prospects of repayment, to ensure that financing is used for the purposes intended, and to be guided by sound banking principles.

D. Membership of the Soviet Union: In his April 1965 speech at Johns Hopkins University, President Johnson specifically welcomed participation by the Soviet Union in an expanded program of southeast Asian development. As far as can presently be determined, however, the Soviet Union does not now intend to become a member of the Asian Development Bank, despite attendance by its representatives at the Bangkok Conference. The Soviet Union has indicated that it may be interested in exploring other ways of cooperating with the Bank.

VI. CONCLUSION

The establishment of an Asian Development Bank along the lines described in this report would be a hopeful and important event in the long and troubled history of the Asian region. Such a bank could contribute greatly to a new spirit of cooperation among the nations of that area. The proposed Bank would have a capital of $1 billion and enjoy broad membership among the countries of the region as well as widespread support among capital-exporting countries. The Bank could not only provide needed new capital of its own but also administer funds made available to it by developed countries on special terms and for special purposes, as for example a portion of the President's southeast Asian multilateral program for economic and social development.

The U.S. participation in the capital subscription in the Bank would be $200 million, of which only one-half would have to be paid in, and that half would be spread over five annual installments. The benefits to U.S. political and economic objectives in Asia would be substantial, especially in comparison with the costs involved. The advantages of U.S. participation in such international lending institutions as the World Bank, its affiliates, and the Inter-American Bank have been amply demonstrated over the last two decades. Prompt action by the United States to join the Asian Development Bank would be in United States short and long-term interest. Early enactment of legislation to make membership in the Bank possible is therefore strongly recommended.

LARRY O'BRIEN, "MAN OF ACTION"

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, when Larry O'Brien assumed office several months ago, he brought with him the reputation as a man of action. This well-earned reputation was justified recently when he announced a sweeping plan for the mechanization and modernization of the Post Office. As a member of the House Post Office Committee, I applaud Larry's leadership.

The initial phase of the program scheduled for immediate implementation involves the installation of the most modern mail-handling equipment in 109 post offices which handle approximately 60 percent of the Nation's mail. The total mechanization program being accelerated by Mr. O'Brien will cost about $65 million between now and June 30.

High speed letter sorters and machines geared to read ZIP code addresses at speeds of 36,000 per hour are among the equipment to be installed. Orders have been placed for 4,000 additional mailsters and 100 new self-service post offices.

Other hardware to be installed in this accelerated mechanization program are facing and cancelling machines, edger-stackers, huge automatic sack sorting machines, parcel post systems designed to sort packages at very high speeds, machines capable of removing odd-shaped items such as motel keys from the mail stream, and closed-circuit televisions to pinpoint problem areas in the mechanized mail-handling systems.

It has been brought to my attention that five of these new mechanized aids will be installed in the Los Angeles Post Office, including the closed-circuit television system.

It must be emphasized that this mechanization program is not intended to offer an alternative to manpower, but to assist employees in doing their job better.

It is very gratifying to me as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee to witness the new Postmaster General enacting programs that will provide our post office employees with the necessary tools to handle the huge and ever-growing mail volume.

I salute Larry O'Brien for a job well begun.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS ON ASIA

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to announce that beginning next Tuesday, January 25, the Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific of the Committee on Foreign Affairs will conduct a series of hearings relating to Asia.

In the course of these hearings, the subcommittee will receive testimony from various experts on economic, political, military, and other conditions which prevail on that continent.

In addition, the subcommittee will seek information and expert opinions about developments which may be anticipated in these conditions—and about U.S. relations with that area of the world.

The holding of the hearings on Asia is consistent with our subcommittee's policy of keeping informed about developments in the area under its jurisdiction—and in making such information available to the Congress.

During the first week of our hearings, the subcommittee will receive testimony from 12 distinguished experts. Their names will be entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at an appropriate time. The public hearings will be held in room 2172, Rayburn Building, the main hearing room of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

FOUR-YEAR TERM

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, today President Johnson sent to the Congress a proposed constitutional amendment to extend the term of office in the House of Representatives to 4 years. It also provides for House Members to be elected concurrently with the President.

I believe this is a sound and long-overdue reform. And I believe it merits prompt and favorable action.

Those of us now serving in the House of Representatives know only too well how seriously the existing 2-year term operates to interfere with the proper administration of Government business.

I need not elaborate on the cost and effort that go into election campaigns every second year: the time diverted from the important work to be done here in Washington; the strain and fatigue; the disruption of home and family life; the waste of experienced manpower in turning qualified men out of office before they have had a fair chance to be of useful service.

But we here in Washington are not the only ones aware of these self-defeating factors. As recent polls demonstrate, the voters are fully alert to them too—and have indicated a preference for a 4-year term.

It seems to me that we have in the President's proposal one of the major keys to effective government, and I am proud to announce my support of it.

LET HIM WARM HIS CHAIR

Mr. SELDEN. 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 Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, since Lyndon Johnson became President of the United States, the extremely important post of Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs has changed hands three times. Both Thomas Mann and his successor, Jack Hood Vaughn, performed extremely well in the short period of time they headed the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. The newly appointed Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Lincoln Gordon, has done a fine job as our Ambassador to Brazil and should be well qualified for the new post he expects to take over in February.

In an editorial appearing in the January 19, 1966, issue of the Washington Daily News, which follows, it was pointed out that three Assistant Secretaries for Latin America in the past 2 years is "needlessly risky." I concur with this conclusion, and I, too, trust that "if Ambassador Gordon proves himself as capable as we hope," he will be allowed to remain on the job considerably longer than his predecessors.

The editorial follows:

LET HIM WARM HIS CHAIR

Ambassador Lincoln Gordon seems a good selection for the all-important post of Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs since Jack Hood Vaughn had to give up that post which he was filling so superbly. (President Johnson has named Mr. Vaughn Director of the Peace Corps and promoted U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Gordon to succeed him.)

Mr. Gordon demonstrated in Brazil that he is an able exponent of the hard line Latin policies identified with President Johnson and Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann. And his elevation means there will be no change in these policies. Nor should there be. Among other things, the Johnson-Mann policy means that we don't sever relations or throw up our hands in horror because a new Latin government might not be as democratic as we would like.

As Ambassador, Mr. Gordon demonstrated thorough knowledge of Latin problems and how to deal with them. An economist and former Harvard business professor, he knew what help Brazil needed and what Brazil herself needed to do to pull out of her economic slump. His recommendations helped that giant South American country make impressive strides in the past year.

But what disturbs us in the picture of our dealings with our hemisphere neighbors is the speed with which our Government has been changing the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs—the top man in formulating and carrying out policy in this most important sphere of foreign relations.

We've had five Assistant Secretaries for Latin America in the past 4 years—and three in the last 2 alone.

This is preposterous. And needlessly risky.

If Ambassador Gordon proves himself as capable as we hope, let's leave him on the job long enough to follow through with what predecessors Mann and Vaughn got underway.

FOUR-YEAR TERM

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the applause which greeted the President's recommendation that the country adopt a 4-year term for Representatives in Congress was eloquent testimony to the popularity of such a measure among the Members.

I need hardly remind you that today every Member of Congress is virtually swamped by an avalanche of work which seems to increase with every session. Legislative life grows more formidable, complex and technical each day.

I believe that we should always be slow to tinker with the Constitution. But adherence to the 2-year term for Representatives, at this time of our history, is definitely a disservice to the people. It prevents Congress from acting with full efficiency and effectiveness. It tends to concentrate much of the thinking and energy of Representatives on their own reelection, and it constitutes a drain on the time that they would far prefer to devote to legislative affairs. The short term also deprives new Members in the House of a fair opportunity to demonstrate their legislative ability and achievement before going before the people for a verdict. Frequent election campaigns, furthermore, are too costly for persons of moderate circumstances to undertake.

A 4-year term, on the other hand, would not only promote efficiency, but also would help to remove many roadblocks to cooperation between the Members of the House of Representatives and the President in advancing programs required for this age of unprecedented danger. The President's proposal merits our full support.

FOUR-YEAR TERM

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, without doubt, public interest calls upon us to support a 4-year term for Representatives.

The average Member in the House today represents slightly over 400,000 persons; in the First Congress he represented about 45,000. In the 88th Congress, there were over 15,000 bills introduced; in the first session, fewer than 150. Comparable differences exist in every aspect of the legislative process.

With the tremendous growth and development of our country, the problems presented to a Member in Congress are not only infinitely greater in volume, but also are far more diverse and complex than they were more than 185 years ago.

A 2-year term is wholly inadequate for the Congressmen trying to cope with these problems.

In addition, the 2-year term causes great inconvenience to individuals who have families, and whose children are of school age. Representatives hesitate to move a family and interrupt attendance of their children at school when they face the uncertainty of elections every other year. This in turn creates pressures on him to return home for long weekends, legislative calendars are often adjusted for the benefit of such Members, and the progress of legislation frequently suffers delay.

Of the various 4-year proposals before us, I favor the one proposed by the President, providing that the election of Representatives shall coincide with the presidential term. Experience has shown that the off-year elections frequently interfere with action on the President's programs. When the people elect a President, they give him and his administration their mandate for the future conduct of the national government. That mandate is more likely to be carried out when a House of Representatives is elected at the same time as the President—and elected for 4 years.

ERNEST PETINAUD

Mr. BURKE. 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. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I thought I would call to the attention of the Members of the House today the birthday of a great American, our headwaiter, Ernest Petinaud. It was my good fortune to meet this wonderful person back 7 years ago when I first came to the Congress. I believe every Member of the House will agree with me that he is one of the most gracious persons in the Nation's Capital. His concern for the plight of his fellow man makes him a great man.

Ernest Petinaud is an untiring and faithful worker no matter how late the hour or how long the day. He is always ready at the House restaurant to greet the Members of Congress and their guests with a friendly smile and a cheery word.

Mr. Speaker, we in the Nation's Capital are very fortunate indeed to have the excellence of service, the quality of performance and the warmth of his personality.

This is Ernest Petinaud's 61st birthday, but I know that Ernest will always remain young at heart.

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

Mr. BURKE. I am happy to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted that the gentleman from Massachusetts has taken this time to call to the attention of the House the birthday of one of our real favorite employees of the legislative branch.

Ernest Petinaud's sartorial splendor is exceeded only by his perfect patience and pleasing personality. I know of no one who is employed by the legislative branch who regards the Members of Congress with higher esteem or treats them with greater courtesy.

So it is nice that our colleague is taking this time to call to the attention of the Members of the House the 61st birthday of Ernest Petinaud, and I join with my colleagues in these felicitations to this splendid and devoted employee of the legislative branch.

Mr. BURKE. I thank my good friend and colleague from Massachusetts.

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

Mr. BURKE. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I should like to join with the gentleman in his tribute to Ernest Petinaud, and to say that 2 years ago I had the good fortune to have him in my delegation, and he made a better ambassador than about 90 percent of the delegation.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURKE. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I join Congressman JAMES BURKE in offering congratuations to Ernest Petinaud, headwaiter in the House restaurant, on his 61st birthday. He is a wonderful man, a credit to the House of Representatives. I have my breakfast there daily. It is great to start the day meeting a man so pleasant, so joyful, and so kind. He beams with personality and makes the day a brighter one for whomever meets him. The Members of the House can well be proud of Ernest Petinaud.

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. YOUNGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Ernest Petinaud on the occasion of his 61st birthday. "Ernie," as he is known to all of us, certainly typifies the ideal employee in the friendly manner with which he always greets us and the efficient manner in which he conducts the activities of which he is in charge. We are certainly fortunate in having as an employee of the House a man of his qualities.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues who have joined the many friends of Ernest Petinaud, of the House restaurant, in wishing Ernest a happy birthday.

Ernest is a remarkable man, possessed of wit, tact, perception, and generosity. He has given the House of Representatives great service, and I hope will continue to do so for many, many years.

Ernest's abilities and talent have contributed much to this House. A born diplomat, he presides daily with uninterrupted dignity over the Members' dining room.

Ernest Petinaud's attention and consideration of each Member of the House have earned him the respect of many

friends. I extend to him best wishes for the coming year, and for many years of continued health and success.

HOW ARE MEN CALLED INTO THE SERVICE?

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I think the appropriate committees of the House need to look into the matter of calling young men into the service. I just received a letter from a father, and I wish to read it to the House of Representatives:

MARGATE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL,
Margate, Fla., January 17, 1966.

Representative PAUL G. ROGERS,
Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My son is 5 feet 7 inches tall and weighs 150 pounds. He suffered a cartilage and ligament injury to his knee while playing football. He also had a broken bone in his foot that causes a slight limp after a strain has been placed on it. In college he had a bone chipped in his arm that has caused pain at different times. This was discovered while he was in the service. His nose has been broken three times and he suffers chronic bronchial infections.

With the 1st Cavalry in Vietnam, he fought in the battle at An Khe and Pleiku. He was in hand-to-hand combat at Plei Me and the Ia Drang Valley. At the present time he is on another search-and-destroy mission near the Cambodian border.

In order to understand the fairness and impartiality of the Selective Service Board, I would like to know why there is no menial duty that can be given to physical weaklings such as Joe Namath, of the New York Jets' professional football team so the physical giants such as my son can be freed to fight our country's battles.

To me and I expect most people who can think, issuing a physical deferrment to a professional football player is the most asinine action of the year. I would like an explanation of this.

Sincerely,

E. H. CARNEY,
Principal.

I join with this father in asking that the appropriate committee of this Congress help to find such answers.

IN SUPPORT OF THEIR COUNTRY

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with my intent to speak of patriotic Americans and their efforts in support of their country, I want, today, to tell the story of Mr. Paul Stewart, of Columbus, Ga., and of Vietnam Mail Call.

This dedicated American has just been chosen Man of the Year by the South Columbus Merchants Association, and in this regard, I received a letter from the association's president, Mr. James L. Thomas, which included a letter from Gen. Harry W. O. Kinnard of the 1st Cavalry Division—Airmobile. I feel, Mr. Speaker, that these letters tell far better than I could the story of this courageous man—in support of his country:

SOUTH COLUMBUS MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION,
Columbus, Ga.

Hon. "BO" CALLAWAY,
Representative from Georgia,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to ask you to please bring to the attention of the House of Representatives the outstanding efforts of a fine Georgian and American, E. Paul Stewart, 2517 Dawson Street, Columbus, Ga., in behalf of our men in Vietnam and our country's defense effort.

He has given his time and energy to the most worthwhile project, Vietnam Mail Call full time since he singlehandedly started the project in July of 1965. He has conducted the project at a substantial sacrifice to his family and to himself, often working 16 to 18 hours a day. He has said he will discontinue the program when our boys are home with their loved ones and the people of South Vietnam are free.

Paul has typewritten over 900 letters to newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, personalities, colleges, schools, etc. throughout the United States and many friendly countries around the world pleading support for our protective forces in South Vietnam. He mailed over 500 printed news releases to the news media around the United States and to friends of the United States around the world.

Paul's letters and news releases inspired hundreds of organizations, colleges, schools, clubs, and thousands of individuals throughout the Nation to start similar support projects to back our men in Vietnam and our country's defense effort. Paul and Vietnam Mail Call have been praised by privates to generals in Vietnam. Many editorials have been written praising the project.

The idea of the project is to flood our men in Vietnam with morale-building friendly letters of support and encouragement to offset the protests and demonstrations by a few misguided souls in this country who have received notice from the press far in excess of their importance. The letters, Christmas greetings, and gift packages let our men know freedom-loving Americans all over America and our friends around the world do appreciate the sacrifices they and their families are making in defense of freedom, and that we do back them 100 percent.

HON. "BO" CALLAWAY: To say Vietnam Mail Call is a success is the understatement of the year. Paul and his daughter, Mary Ellen, have sorted, stamped forwarding addresses on over 50,000 support letters and remailed them to our boys in Vietnam. VNMC shipped several thousand gift packages to U.S. troops in Vietnam. Paul is now going after the 100,000 mark in support letters.

Paul has not received 1 cent nor does he expect any money for his long hours of work on this project month after month.

I do hope you will bring this to the attention of the House. So many times people who work the hardest for our community and country never receive the thanks they deserve.

Best wishes in all your plans for the future.

Sincerely,

JAMES L. THOMAS,
President.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
HEADQUARTERS 1ST CAVALRY DIVISION (AIRMOBILE),
APO San Francisco, Calif., January 5, 1966.

Mr. JAMES THOMAS,
South Columbus Merchants Association,
2080 Cussota Road,
Columbus, Ga.

DEAR MR. THOMAS: I take this opportunity and means to recommend Mr. Paul Stewart to be South Carolina Man of the Year. Lt. Col. John Rilovick (retired) has written me indicating that he has already nominated Paul for this honor. Since I am a near neighbor to South Columbus, I wish to express my position on this matter.

You well know that Paul was the founder and chief proponent of Vietnam Mail Call. This program has been an unqualified success and as such brought a touch of Christmas to the soldiers here in Vietnam. Even greater than the Christmas aspect, it indicated to all of us that we are being supported by the folks at home; this is important to soldiers away from their country. Unfortunately the spectacular type incidents such as demonstrations receive lurid publicity which can only be offset by great efforts and multitudes of good deeds. From my vantage point it appears that Paul has been a great contributor in this regard, and as such should receive some sort of public recognition from the people of South Columbus.

I thank you in advance for whatever consideration you may give to this matter. Best personal regards to all the friends at home.

Sincerely,

H. W. O. KINNARD,
Major General, USA, Commanding.

MINIMUM WAGES AND PUERTO RICO

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, while the poor are being told that the war on poverty will provide them jobs, are these jobs to be snatched away from their hungry reach by another minimum-wage bill?

In the light of the threatening economic clouds which developed during the congressional races the Nation braces itself against the minimum-wage hurricane which the President promised in his state of the Union message.

The little island of Puerto Rico seems to be in the eye of this particular storm. With one-fourth the per capita income of New York has Puerto Rico pirated away too many industries from the mainland. On the other hand, will Puerto Rico be exempt from the rigors, the constrictions of a national uniform minimum wage in order that it continue to be the economic playground of special interests?

The hearing before the House committee on the subject of Puerto Rican minimum wages was strangely limited—almost hush-hush. A Senate subcommittee journeyed to the island 3 weeks ago to further explore Puerto Rico and minimum wages. I am told that only 1 Senator out of 15 appeared: the liberal press has observed its customary

silence. Leon Keyserling, the liberal writer, made a 3-month study of Puerto Rican minimum wages which is unavailable for public examination.

Since Governor Rockefeller of the State of New York vetoed a $1.50 an hour minimum wage—for the wealthiest State in the Nation—stating that he did not wish to place New York at a disadvantage with other States—what is this administration planning for or against Puerto Rico in the way of minimum wages? Before Pandora's 1966 minimum-wage box is opened, I urge a closer study by the House committee on Puerto Rico and minimum wages.

LENGTH OF TERM OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, today we have received the message of the President of the United States concerning his proposal for a 4-year term for Members of the House of Representatives.

I have been interested to hear the variety of brief speeches today supporting this proposal by Members of this body.

The various proposals apart from the 2-year term include a 4-year term with Members to be elected in presidential election years, a 4-year term with Members to be elected in nonpresidential election years, a 4-year term with half of the Members running for election in presidential election years and half of them running in nonpresidential election years.

All these proposals have been criticized: some as being too short, some as being too long, some as creating a House that would be too responsive to the executive, or that would be too unresponsive to the executive.

Last year I testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, recommending its consideration of a proposal which I believe is free of the various drawbacks inherent in the proposals which I have described.

Basically, the program I suggested would phase Members of the House into a 6-year election cycle, just as Members of the Senate are today, but Members of the House would run first for a 2-year term, and then for a 4-year term, then again for a 2-year term, on an alternating basis. In this way they would run twice every 6 years, rather than three times, as they do now. This would mean that Members of the House would run both during presidential election years and nonpresidential years over a period of time. Thus, this approach would avoid, I believe, the criticisms that the House would become too responsive or too unresponsive, depending upon when the 4-year term might be scheduled.

I personally see some serious drawbacks in the President's proposal for a 4-year term. I hope that the appropriate committees of the House will give careful thought to all the approaches, including the one I have outlined and on which I testified before the joint committee last year.

PROTECTION OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN LABOR DISPUTES

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, the recent New York City transit strike has clearly demonstrated the need to reform existing laws to protect the public interest in serious labor disputes.

It is imperative that we give the President new and necessary powers to cover not only national emergency strikes, but also labor controversies which involve State or municipal employees engaged in transportation, transmission, or communication; or which imperil the health or safety of any substantial part of the population or territory of our Nation.

Today I am introducing legislation which would accomplish these aims. My distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from New York, Mr. JAVITS, is sponsoring a similar bill in the other body.

The legislation we propose, Mr. Speaker, would amend the Taft-Hartley Act and the Railway Labor Act to protect the public in a wide variety of controversies, from transit strikes to steel crises to rail work-rules disputes. The legislation would:

First. Authorize the President to appoint a board of inquiry to make public recommendations for a settlement based on fact-finding.

Second. Authorize the President to order a 30-day freeze, during which the parties would be under a duty to bargain upon the recommendations, although neither party would be required to accept the recommendations.

Third. Authorize the President to seek appointment by a Federal court of a special receiver to operate the struck facilities to the extent which, in the opinion of the court, is necessary to protect the public health and safety.

Fourth. Extend coverage of the emergency labor disputes provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, including these new provisions as well as the existing 80-day cooling-off provisions, to controversies which, though they may not affect an entire industry nor imperil the health or safety of the Nation as a whole, do affect interstate commerce and do imperil the health or safety of a substantial part of the population or territory of the Nation, and cover employees of a State or political subdivision if they are engaged in transportation, transmission, or communication.

This legislation, Mr. Speaker, would require a factfinding board and subsequent bargaining within a period of 30 days. During this time public opinion would have a chance to assert itself. The proposal does not involve compulsory arbitration—the negotiations would be voluntary and carried out by the parties themselves.

The record over the past few years is clear: existing machinery is inadequate. We have witnessed a severe transit strike in the largest city of our country, a steel crisis last fall, and a rail crisis in 1963—all of which had to be resolved on an ad hoc basis and not within an established procedure.

I am happy the President recognized the need for reform in his state of the Union message, and it is my hope that the distinguished chairman of the House Special Subcommittee on Labor, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON], will hold prompt hearings on this important legislation.

LOOPHOLE IN EXISTING ANTIBOYCOTT PROCEDURES

Mr. HALPERN. 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 New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I have been informed that the American President Lines has reinstated its previously scheduled visit to the Israeli port of Haifa for the cruise ship SS *President Roosevelt*, which reportedly had cancelled this scheduled stopover in acquiescence to the Arab boycott.

All governments involved evidently helped to make this possible. The announcement was carried in this morning's New York Times.

I do want to point out that this experience vividly illuminates a glaring loophole in existing antiboycott procedures, as administered by the Department of Commerce. I have written to the Secretary, urging that the Department study present rules and regulations with a view toward strengthening and broadening their effect, so that this lamentable table of events may be avoided in the future.

The Secretary has assured me that he is currently examining antiboycott provisions in line with my suggested improvements.

This recent acquiescence to foreign boycott pressure is deplorable, and it raises the question whether the United States has formulated realistic procedures aimed at preventing interference at the source.

The fresh reappraisal of the Commerce Department should shed some light on the matter. We must continue to keep a sharp eye on events of this nature and if need be, alter existing regulations to remove any ambiguity or subservience afflicting the American response.

THE COSTLY CONSONANT "T"

Mr. MICHEL. 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 Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, just a single consonant—the letter "T"—is going to cost the American taxpayer at least a billion dollars over the next 2 years.

The trouble began when the administration planned to set up a separate Government Department of Transportation, Housing, and Urban Growth. Then somebody pointed out that the new Department would have to be known as THUG—Thug for short. Well, that would not do.

So then they put it up to the computer and the computer came back with a new title, the Department of Transportation, Housing and Urban Development. More trouble for the administration. In Washington gobbledygook, that would work out as THUD—Thud for short—and that would suggest another administration flop. Surgery was called for. Cut off that deadly first letter "T" and you would come up with HUD, so that is the way it is. And that is why we are going to be saddled with an entirely new Department of Transportation, to take care of that extra letter "T."

While we are changing names maybe it would be in order for the administration to retitle the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Under current directives, this agency ought clearly to be called the Department of Public Health, Education, and Welfare—PHEW—or Phew for what it has become under the Johnson administration.

FOUR-YEAR TERM FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly that the President has sent a request that we change the term of our membership in the House to 4 years, with the election occurring at the same time as the presidential election. I think that would be a very disturbing action on our part. I would go along with the 4-year term, but, in my opinion, the election should be every 2 years, with half of the Members of the House elected every 2 years and a third of the Senate. I think one of the stabilizing influences that has supported this Government is the fact that the people can go to the election booth every 2 years and vote for a percentage of the House and Senate. If we change that, then I think we will lose one of the most stabilizing influences we have had for perpetuating this Government.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise as a result of the President's message recommending an extension of the term of Members of the House of Representatives of the Congress to 4 years, perhaps so that most all of them would eventually become "coattail riders," as many did in the election of 1964. I for one resent very much the executive branch interceding with affairs of the House which governs its own rules and prerogatives, according to the Constitution. Further, I care not one whit about what political pollsters think, if they poll among uninformed people.

I rise today, Mr. Speaker, primarily to say that I noticed no lack of opponents for congressional seats, nor any Members of Congress who did not know full well before they ran for a 2-year term, the emoluments as well as the responsibilities of this high and privileged office. I think we are in trouble with the Senate also, as to concurrence at this point.

I particularly resent the intrusion upon the prerogatives and jurisdiction of the Committee on the Organization—and Reorganization—of Congress which has been serving now for over a year and is the second in 60 years, and which we will ask be continued under Senate Concurrent Resolution 69 forthwith at considerable expense. It has not had a chance to express itself on this very vital matter after hearing testimony from political scientists, fellow Congressmen, and Members of the Senate and members of the executive branch of the Government, and so forth.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would like to warn this body in considering any change whatsoever of the constitutional dictates of our Founding Fathers that we are dealing with very basic essentials that have made this Nation great as far as the principle of separation of powers is concerned, the power by the executive if not indeed the judicial branch of the Government, and even the very basic consideration of majority rule. I think we should ponder, be pensive, perceive, and exercise slow but prudent judgment before we jump on any gravy train to change the time of election or period of service of Members of the House of Representatives. If indeed the Constitution is to remain in effect wherein trade, tariff, taxes, and levies must originate in this body, the body of the people's personal representatives—whom they have a right to turn out to pasture at any time in any 2-year period that they so desire—we must preserve this tenet and constitutional principle.

IS OUR NATO COMMITMENT REALLY AUTOMATIC?

Mr. FINDLEY. 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. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] as presented yesterday—RECORD, page 567—to this body, concerned statements I had made on Monday and Tuesday relative to a recently published exchange of correspondence between President Johnson and the Prime Minister of Turkey in 1964.

The gentleman from Ohio has on many occasions and over a period of years demonstrated his concern for Atlantic unity, and I admire him for the energy he devotes to the NATO Parliamentarians' Conferences each year. I am sure his comments of yesterday were made from a sincere desire to clear up facts, and that is my one and only purpose in replying to them.

The President's effort in June 1964 to discourage what appeared to be an unwise military intervention by an ally is certainly laudable.

My criticism of the President's hitherto secret letter to the Prime Minister of Turkey was limited entirely to the sentence in which he qualified the automatic character of the U.S. commitment to defend Turkey in the case of Soviet attack. The President's letter included this unfortunate statement:

> I hope you will understand that your NATO allies have not had a chance to consider whether they have an obligation to protect Turkey against the Soviet Union if Turkey takes a step which results in Soviet intervention without the full consent and understanding of its NATO allies.

In my opinion, this sentence should have been omitted from the President's letter. With it omitted, the letter would have retained—in my view—adequate strength to deal with the Cyprus crisis and it would not have qualified in any way the automatic character of our commitment to defend Turkey against Soviet attack.

With the sentence included, however, it obviously caused the Turkish Government concern and raised the question of credibility of our treaty commitments elsewhere.

In replying to President Johnson, the Turkish Prime Minister wrote:

> Our understanding is that the North Atlantic Treaty imposes upon all member states the obligation to come forthwith to the assistance of any member victim of aggression. The only point left to the discretion of the member states is the nature and the scale of this assistance.
>
> If NATO members should start discussing the right and wrong of the situation of their fellow-member victim of a Soviet aggression—the very foundations of the alliance would be shaken.

Until the President's letter became public, it was universally assumed that the North Atlantic Treaty obligated each signatory automatically to assist each and all others in the event of attack. Indeed, the treaty was explicit on this point. The President's letter, however, suggested that the act of assistance would not be necessarily automatic but might depend on other circumstances, that is, what Turkey did in regard to Cyprus.

If the President deemed it necessary to make some reference to the NATO commitment, he could have put it in

terms which would have left intact its automatic character.

Treaty commitments are based completely on faith between governments. The one we have made with our NATO allies is supremely important to all parties, and especially to Turkey, a nation literally in the shadow of the Soviet Union.

Since the affair news reports indicate that U.S.-Turkish relations have been chilly and Turkey has been quietly trying to improve its relations with the Soviet Union.

MEANS SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR DELIVERY OF GIFTS TO SERVICE PERSONNEL IN VIETNAM

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, during the last week I had at least six inquiries directed to my office from organizations who are desirous of sending gifts to our boys in Vietnam. For example, the Arthur D. Little Co., the office located in my area, its employees collected and bought over $750 worth of gifts. They now find it is going to cost $52 to send these gifts to the boys in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, in Charlestown, the VFW has also collected numerous gifts for our service personnel in Vietnam but they find it is going to cost an estimated $45 to send these gifts to our boys.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me it would be well to encourage these organizations, both civic and charitable, who desire to help build the morale of our boys overseas by sending them gifts and to work out some way whereby we can make available the franking privilege so that these organizations will not have to pay the postage.

Mr. Speaker, I have today written to the Postmaster General, the Honorable Lawrence O'Brien, asking him to look into this matter.

SARGENT SHRIVER TO DEVOTE MORE TIME AND ENERGY TO DIRECTION OF THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, for the poor of this Nation no news could be more welcome than the President's recent announcement that Sargent Shriver will be able to devote even more of his time and energy to the direction of the war on poverty.

Mr. Shriver's stewardship of the Peace Corps and the war on poverty has been an inspiring example of devotion to public service—a devotion prompted neither by necessity nor ambition but springing from an intense consciousness of a citizen's responsibility in a free society.

Not only has Sargent Shriver found for himself the supreme satisfactions of action in the service of his country, but he has inspired others with his enthusiasm and energy and with his unique vision, which unites high purpose with high adventure. He has brought many talented people into Government service, and thousands of the young people of this generation have found a channel for their best hopes in the organizations he has headed. This Nation is already richer from what he has accomplished to date.

Mr. Speaker, no one in this body need be told of Mr. Shriver's quickness of mind, apparently inexhaustible energy, or attention to detail. Nor can it be said that any agency is more responsive to the will of the Congress than those directed by Sargent Shriver.

It was the intention of Congress that the injustice of poverty be banished and Sargent Shriver now addresses himself fully to that task.

Mr. Speaker, for those who wanly hope that this war can be carried on quietly and politely, with little disturbance of the status quo, with the least possible inconvenience to the conscience, Mr. Shriver's new schedule offers little solace. The war on poverty will now be carried on with greater intensity. For it is not the nature of this man to hold back.

Yet, no one need fear the outcome, for under Sargent Shriver we can rest assured that the war on poverty will be directed with the full understanding and respect of American freedoms and institutions. Few feel more deeply than he the vital importance of preserving those freedoms and institutions and none is more dedicated to assuring that they become the rights of all American citizens.

ERNEST PETINAUD, A VALUED HOUSE EMPLOYEE

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the friends of our very delightful headwaiter in the House dining room, Mr. Ernest Petinaud, in extending to him on this, his 61st birthday, our great desire that he live for a long, long time and to wish for him many, many happy returns on this, his birthday.

As the Members know, Ernest is one of the most charming and delightful people that we have on Capitol Hill, and I am glad to recognize him on this, his birthday.

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

Mr. LANDRUM. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM] in paying felicitations to Ernest Petinaud on his 61st birthday and to wish him many, many more birthdays.

PROGRAM FOR THE BALANCE OF THE WEEK AND FOR THE WEEK OF JANUARY 24

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to inquire of the distinguished majority leader of the program for the balance of this week and any possible program for next week.

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

Mr. LAIRD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, we have no further business for this week. So far as I know at the present time we will have no legislative business next week. There will be some messages sent up from the White House. However, we do not want to foreclose the possibility of business. We may have amendments to bills that come back from the other body. However, if the gentleman will bear with us, we would like to reserve the opportunity of announcing a further program, if necessary.

Mr. LAIRD. I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY NEXT

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

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

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH BUSINESS IN ORDER UNDER THE CALENDAR WEDNESDAY RULE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with next week.

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

There was no objection.

FOUR-YEAR TERM FOR HOUSE MEMBERS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 364)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying

papers, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In 1816 Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> Some men ascribe to the men of a preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. * * * I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. . . . But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind.

I believe that in the interest of progress and sound modern government—and to nourish and strengthen our creative federal system—we must amend our Constitution, to provide a 4-year term of office for Members of the House of Representatives.

I believe that for the same reasons we must also eliminate those defects in the electoral college system which make possible the frustration of the people's will in the election of their President and Vice President.

FOUR-YEAR TERM FOR HOUSE MEMBERS

I

Debate over the length of the House term is not new. It began in the Constitutional Convention, where those who thought annual elections were essential to freedom clashed with others, such as Madison, who held that 3 years were required "in a Government so extensive, for Members to form any knowledge of the various interests of the States to which they did not belong," and that without such knowledge "their trust could not be usefully discharged." Madison's thoughts are ruefully familiar to Members of the House today: he was certain that a 1-year term would be "almost consumed in preparing for and traveling to and from the seat of national business," and that even with a 2-year term none of the Representatives "who wished to be reelected would remain at the seat of Government."

Between the advocates of a 1-year term—those who, bearing in mind recent English experience, feared the despotism of a government unchecked by the popular will—and those who saw a tenure of 3 years as necessary for wise administration, a compromise of 2 years was reached.

Thus there was little magic in the number 2, even in the year of its adoption. I am convinced there is even less magic today, and that the question of tenure should be reexamined in the light of our needs in the 20th century.

II

The authors of the Federalist Papers said about the House of Representatives:

> As it is essential to liberty that the Government in general should have a common interest with the people; so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration should have an immediate dependence on, and an intimate sympathy with the people. Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependency and sympathy can be effectually secured. But what particular degree of frequency may be absolutely necessary for the purpose, does not appear to be susceptible of any precise calculation; and must depend on a variety of circumstances with which it may be connected.

The circumstances with which the 2-year term is presently connected are—

The accelerating volume of legislation on which Members are required to pass. In the first Congress, 142 bills were introduced, resulting in 108 public laws. In the 88th Congress, 15,299 bills were introduced, of which 666 were enacted into public law.

The increasingly complex problems that generate this flood of legislation, requiring Members to be familiar with an immense range of fact and opinion. It is no longer sufficient to develop solutions for an agricultural nation with few foreign responsibilities; now a man or woman chosen to represent his people in the House of Representatives must understand the consequence of our spiraling population growth, of urbanization, of the new scientific revolution, of our welfare and education requirements, and of our responsibilities as the world's most powerful democracy.

Longer sessions of Congress, made necessary by the burden of legislation and outstanding public issues. In less turbulent times, Members of Congress might conduct the public business with dispatch during election years, and spend the summer and autumn campaigning in their districts. Congress adjourned in April of 1904, June of 1906, May of 1908, and June of 1910. But increasing workloads have substantially extended the sessions. Thus it was in August of 1958 that Congress concluded its work, in September of 1960, October of 1962, and again in October of 1964. The competitive pressures imposed by the 2-year term, when the incumbent must remain in Washington into the fall to attend the public business, reduce his capacity to do either task—campaigning or legislating—with the complete attention his conscience and the public interest demand.

The increasing costs of campaigning that biennially impose heavy burdens on those who represent vigorously contested districts, and that magnify the influence of large contributors, pressure groups, and special interest lobbyists.

It may be said that every elected official confronts similar circumstances in the 1960's. Yet it can be said of none that his power for the public good or ill is both so great as the Congressman's, and so sharply pressed in time.

For this public servant—part judge and author of laws, part leader of his people, part mediator between the executive branch and those he represents—is scarcely permitted to take his seat in the historic Hall of the House, when he must begin once more to make his case to his constituency.

The Congressman's effectiveness as a legislator is reduced by this.

His district's right to be fully represented in Congress is diminished by this.

The Nation's need to be led by its best qualified men, giving their full attention to issues on which our security and progress depend, is ignored by this.

In the States, in private business, and indeed, in the Federal Government itself, the wisdom of longer terms for senior officials has come steadily to be recognized. State after State has adopted a 4-year gubernatorial term.

This administration has made every effort to extend ambassadorial tours of duty, to promote career civil servants to posts of higher responsibilities, and to retain Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officers on the job for longer periods than before. For we have learned that brief and uncertain periods in office contribute—not to the best interests of democracy—but to harassed inefficiency and the loss of invaluable experience.

III

Thus I recommend that the Congress adopt this amendment to the Constitution in the belief that it will—

Provide for each Member a sufficient period in which he can bring his best judgment to bear on the great questions of national survival, economic growth, and social welfare.

Free him from the inexorable pressures of biennial campaigning for reelection.

Reduce the cost—financial and political—of holding congressional office.

Attract the best men in private and public life into competition for this high public office.

I am mindful of the principal reason advanced for maintaining the 2-year term—that it is necessary if the voice of the people is to be heard, and changes in public opinion are to be registered on the conduct of public policy. My own experience in almost three decades in public office—and, I believe, the experience of Members of Congress today—is otherwise.

For we do not live in a day when news of congressional action requires weeks to reach our constituents, nor when public opinion is obscured by time and distance. Communications media rush the news to every home and shop within minutes of its occurrence. Public opinion polls, and mountains of mail, leave little doubt about what our people think of the issues most vital to them. I do not fear deafness on the part of those who will take their seats in Congress for a 4-year term.

It is also vital to recognize the effect of a longer term on the authority of the House in making known the will of the people. Established in office for 4 years, the weight of the House in the councils of Government is certain to increase. For the sake of democracy, that is a development devoutly to be welcomed.

IV

I recommend that the amendment become effective no earlier than 1972.

It is imperative that each Member of the House have the opportunity of campaigning during a presidential election year. To divide the House into two classes, as some have proposed—one elected during the "off-year," one with the President—would create an unnecessary and wholly unfair division in that body. It would also create severe problems in every State: as reapportionment is ordered and redistricting takes place.

"Off-year" elections are notorious for attracting far fewer voters—perhaps as much as 15 percent fewer—than presidential elections.

If our purpose is to serve the democratic ideal by making the people's House more effective in its performance of the

people's business, then we must require that its Members be chosen by the largest electorate our democracy can produce. That, assuredly, is the electorate called into being during a presidential year.

I do not believe the Congress will wish to make the House the least representative of our three elective elements; by perpetually condemning half its membership to a shrunken electorate. Such a body could not long sustain its claim to be an equal partner in the work of representative government.

V

If this amendment is to serve the public interest—if Members are to be free of campaigning for a period sufficiently long to enable them to master the work of the House—it is right that they should remain at that work during the entire term to which they are elected.

It would defeat the purpose of the amendment, if a Member were free to campaign for the Senate without resigning his seat in the House. Because we seek to strengthen the House, and through it, representative government—not to provide a sanctuary and platform for further electoral contests—I recommend that no Member of either House be eligible for election as a Member of the other House until his own term has expired, unless, at least 30 days prior to that election, he submits his resignation from the office he holds.

VI

Our democracy cannot remain static, a prisoner to the past, if it is to enrich the lives of coming generations. Laws and institutions—to paraphrase Jefferson—must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind, and must respond to the changing conditions of life itself.

One law that should be changed limits the term of office for one of the great arms of our Government to a period too brief for the public good.

Let us no longer bind ourselves to it. Let us reform it. We shall better serve our people when we do.

Because I profoundly agree with former President Eisenhower, when he said, "Congressmen ought to be elected for 4 years, at the same time with the President," I urge the Congress promptly to consider a constitutional amendment extending the term of office for the House of Representatives to 4 years.

REFORM OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM

In my special message to the Congress last January, I urged an amendment to the Constitution to reform the electoral college system. I renew this recommendation and strongly reaffirm the need to reform the electorial college system.

There are several major defects in the existing system. They should be eliminated in order to assure that the people's will shall not be frustrated in the choice of their President and Vice President.

First, there presently exists the possibility that the constitutional independence of unpledged electors will be exploited, and that their votes will be manipulated in a close presidential race to block the election of a major candidate in order to throw the election into the House of Representatives. This grave risk should be removed.

Second, if the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, the existing system suffers from other fundamental defects. In such an election, the House of Representatives would be empowered to elect a President from the three highest candidates. However, each State casts only one vote, with the result that the least populous States have the same vote in the election of the President as the most populous States.

As early as 1823, Madison reached the conclusion that—

> The present rule of voting for President by the House of Representatives is so great a departure from the republican principle of numerical equality, and even from the Federal rule, which qualifies the numerical by a State equality, and is so pregnant also, with a mischievous tendency in practice, that an amendment to the Constitution on this point is justly called for by all its considerate and best friends.

I firmly believe that we should put an end to this undemocratic procedure.

Third, if the electoral vote is indecisive under the existing system, the President is elected by the House of Representatives, but the Vice President is elected by the Senate. This creates the possibility of the election of a President and a Vice President from different parties. That possibility should not exist. To prevent its realization, the President and the Vice President should both be elected by the same body.

Fourth, the 23d amendment makes no provision for participation by the District of Columbia in an election of the President by the House of Representatives, or of the Vice President by the Senate.

I firmly believe that we should extend to the District of Columbia all the rights of participation in the election of a President and Vice President which the 50 States may exercise.

Fifth, existing law fails to provide for the death of the President-elect or Vice President-elect between election day and the counting of the electoral votes in December. There is also no provision in the Constitution to cover the contingency presented by the death of a candidate for President or Vice President shortly before the popular election in November. These gaps should now be filled.

Elimination of these defects in our Constitution are long overdue. Our concepts of self-government and sound government require it.

Congress can now, in the words of Daniel Webster, "perform something worthy to be remembered," by uprooting the more objectionable features in the system of electing a President and Vice President, and thereby helping to preserve representative government and the two-party system.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 20, 1966.*

A BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF MR. AMLETO ABBATANGELO

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] 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 Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill for the relief of Mr. Amleto Abbatangelo, a present citizen of Italy who is in this country on a nonimmigrant visa. Mr. Abbatangelo has peculiar talents of immediate value to the growing Missouri tourist industry. Although this individual is making efforts to avail himself of an administrative remedy, the machinery for the adjustment of his status will take some time. This bill will allow the opportunity for Mr. Abbatangelo's needed skills to benefit the country and the economy while his status is being clarified.

ALCOHOLISM—ONE COMPANY'S SPLENDID REACTION

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. TALCOTT] 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 Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co., has adopted a farsighted compassionate policy for its employees suffering from the disease of alcoholism. So that other company and union officials may profit from the experience of this company, I ask unanimous consent to have an article entitled "Alcoholism," which was contained in the December 1965 issue of P.T.M., the company magazine, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

I urge other companies and labor unions, large and small, to consider this valuable report on a most commendable project of Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.:

ALCOHOLISM

More than 6 years ago, Pacific Telephone introduced a formal policy and program to help employees suffering from the disease of alcoholism.

This program has brought our company wide recognition and representatives of our medical and personnel departments have been asked to speak to groups throughout the country. Our general medical director, Dr. Clyde C. Greene, Jr., recently participated in the Industrial Workshop at the 1965 Utah School of Alcohol Studies. He traced the development of our program from its discussion stages to the present time. One of the early problems he mentioned was overcoming the reluctance of employees, including those in management, to accept the fact that alcoholism is an illness and not perverse or antisocial behavior. Recognition by Pacific Telephone people of the fact that alcoholism is, indeed, a serious disease, has now been generally accomplished through the efforts of our medical and personnel departments.

Last year, when the program had been in existence for 5 years, the company decided to review completely all aspects of the policy and program. This has now been done with the assistance and cooperation of all the areas and departments. The results are heartening. The overall program is considered to be of definite value to the company

and its employees. Many employees have been helped because of the existence of the policy, a number of them persons who had not been diagnosed as alcoholics. Many recognized alcoholics have been rehabilitated. The review showed a need for some minor revisions in the program. The company is now working to bring about these changes.

Over the 6 years the program has been in operation there has been a significant change in the public attitude toward the severity and incidence of alcoholism. However, the stigma attached to the diagnosis has not disappeared and supervisors do not yet find the recognition and supervision of a person suffering from alcoholism an easy task.

An informal status report, cited by Dr. Greene in his recent talk before the Utah School on Alcohol Studies, indicates that our rehabilitation rate to date has been about 40 percent, with rehabilitation being defined as 2 years of work with no known use of alcohol. The remaining 60 percent of the cases were closed as failures. Among the failures, 11 percent resulted from death, 40 percent from retirement for any reason, including age; 15 percent from resignation, and 34 percent from dismissal. Many other cases are still open with the end result unpredictable.

The medical department has knowledge of other employees who have controlled their use of alcohol without having been officially recognized as alcoholics.

Employees being the company's single most valued asset, we cannot afford to lose them for any health problem, including alcoholism, without making a serious effort to maintain and/or restore good health. What does this mean to us as employees of this company? What it should mean, if we are aware of the policy and program, is that alcoholism is recognized as a serious illness, that the company stands ready to assist anyone suffering from it as quickly as the need can be recognized and diagnosed, and that the chances for successful treatment are much greater if it is detected early. The longer we wait, the harder the problem. Many of the failures detailed in this report resulted from late diagnosis.

In an accompanying interview, Dr. Greene offers additional insights into this widespread health menace and dispels some misconceptions about it.

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. CLYDE C. GREENE, JR., GENERAL MEDICAL DIRECTOR, ON THE DISEASE OF ALCOHOLISM

Question. Dr. Greene, how serious is the alcoholism problem in the United States?

Answer. The latest estimates indicate there are some 5 million alcoholics in the country today, 2 million of them wage earners. There's no question but what it is one of the Nation's most severe public health problems, probably outranked only by emotional illness, heart disease, and cancer.

Question. What chance is there that I will become an alcoholic if I drink?

Answer. Statistics show that 1 out of 15 persons who drink at all will, sooner or later, develop alcoholism.

Question. How about age? Is a person with alcoholism likely to fall into any age bracket?

Answer. Yes. Most men and women contract the disease only after years of so-called normal drinking. This means that they tend to become ill in the middle years when their experience, maturity, and productive powers should be at their peaks. This is a terrible loss to their families and to the companies they work for. Needless to say, it's a tragedy for the individuals personally.

Question. What can be done to help a person who has alcoholism?

Answer. There are many things we can do. The treatment varies with each individual. Diet is important—and that includes vitamins and minerals. There is a wide variety of medication. Many tranquilizers are used, and for a very carefully selected few there are drugs which make it extremely dangerous if not fatal to drink. There is also the so-called aversion treatment where shots are given along with alcohol and the resulting violent illness is associated in the patient's mind with drinking. Some patients find most help through religion. Others respond to psychiatric counseling. One of the most successful groups, of course, is Alcoholics Anonymous, which employs a sympathetic but strong group approach through staying away from alcohol 1 day at a time.

Question. There have been a number of stories in the newspapers lately indicating that a person can be cured of alcoholism and taught to develop an acceptable pattern of moderate social drinking. Would you please comment on this?

Answer. There are a few physicians who say this is possible. I have never seen an example and do not believe that there is a cure in the usual sense for alcoholism. It can be controlled or arrested, that's all, and the way to control it is: No alcohol at all. End of quote.

Question. How can a person know whether he's just a normal "social drinker" or an alcoholic?

Answer. Anyone can tell whether or not he is in trouble because of drinking. However, no lay person can say whether or not he or someone else has alcoholism. That's a job for the physician. The one thing all persons suffering from alcoholism have in common is their loss of the ability to control their drinking. Once they take a drink, they've got to take more and they can't stop. Such a person may have been drinking socially for years. What makes it suddenly impossible for him to enjoy a couple and go home? We just don't know.

Question. Is it difficult to recognize the alcoholic in the business world?

Answer. Very difficult. Remember this, only 3 percent of the alcoholics in this country fit the average person's stereotype of the "skid row bum." The great majority of alcoholics are able to cover up their problem for a long time of period. In fact, this is one of the common characteristics of the sufferers from this illness—they are extremely skilled at hiding their problem. Among other common characteristics are highly variable moods, attitudes and productivity.

Question. You say they hide their problem. How can they do this?

Answer. Usually with the aid of sympathetic family, friends or supervisors who tend to want to protect them and keep their plight a secret.

Question. This wouldn't seem to be a really helpful approach, would it?

Answer. Indeed, not. In fact, such people are lengthening the odds against our being able to help the sick person.

Question. In your own diagnosis of alcoholism, do you have any particular guideline?

Answer. Yes. In accordance with our company's policy, an employee can be said to have alcoholism if his drinking interferes with any major part of his life—job—health—family—social life or reputation in the community.

Question. What about the physical effects of excessive drinking, doctor?

Answer. If we ignore the acute poisoning effect of overdosage, which, of course, can be fatal, the physical harm is to a large degree the product of nutritional imbalances. Alcohol is a food of sorts, rich in calories, but it contains no vitamins or minerals. One of two things will happen to a person with alcoholism: (1) He'll get all the calories he needs and won't eat, bringing on a vitamin and mineral deficiency, or (2) he'll continue to eat, gain weight and develop complications associated with obesity. The degeneration of the liver and kidneys which so often accompanies alcoholism is due to nutritional deficiency or to excess fat in those organs.

Question. Is alcohol a stimulant?

Answer. No; it is a sedative—a kind of depressant or anesthetic. In concentrated form it irritates the intestinal tract, causing vomiting, thus complicating the nutritional problem.

Question. What is the most important thing a relative, friend or coworker can do for a person with alcoholism?

Answer. Try to make the sick person recognize that he or she has lost control and needs help. This, of course, should not be done when a person is intoxicated.

Question. Is early recognition important?

Answer. Extremely important. It does little good to recognize alcoholism when a person is dying from its long-term effects. The hidden alcoholic in the early or middle stages of the disease is now recognized as the person who can be most easily rehabilitated if found in time.

Question. What is the company's attitude toward the alcoholic employee?

Answer. The alcoholic employee who accepts the fact of loss of control of drinking, is entitled to all his benefits while cooperating toward rehabilitation. The basic objective here is one that I believe any employer, any union or any employee group could endorse and support if the administration of the policy and objective is as stated. I can assure you that it is.

Question. It's difficult to understand why people who know they are sick don't ask for help. Why is this?

Answer. There are many reasons. No one likes to admit that he cannot control a problem, physical or mental. Also, there is an ancient stigma about alcoholism. People feel that there's something morally bad about it, or they believe that their job or chances for promotion may be endangered, which, of course, is what will happen eventually if they don't get help. Another reason is that some just don't want to give up alcohol.

Question. Would you comment on the effect of drinking on the family?

Answer. Yes, and in addition to the social and economic problems as well as the all too common physical damage to family members by the alcoholic, there is still another important aspect. Children tend to reflect the drinking habits of their parents. A child with two alcoholic parents is in serious danger.

Question. One final question, doctor. What can we do to lessen the chance that we will become alcoholic?

Answer. Dr. William Terhune, one authority on the problem, has suggested "Ten Commandments." I think they are worth heeding:

1. Never take a drink just because you think you need one.

2. Sip slowly and pace your drinks—the second after 30 minutes and a third an hour after the second. Never a fourth.

3. Dilute alcohol. Have a long, weak drink—never on the rocks, never straight, and never right out of the bottle.

4. Keep an accurate and truthful mental record of the amount and number of drinks you take. Never take a drink every day.

5. Be vigilant and do not permit your host to give you doubles or triples.

6. Do not drink on an empty stomach.

7. Do not drink on "signal." Such signals as "luncheon," "left office," "dinner," "meeting people," and "celebration" should be skipped. Instead, substitute something else—a big cup of coffee, hot tea or a bowl of bouillon. Even a drink of water will help.

8. When tired or tense, soak in a hot tub instead of drinking. Follow with a cold shower.

9. Never take a drink to escape discomfort, either physical or mental.

10. Never take a drink in the morning, thinking it will offset a hangover.

NOW, WHAT ABOUT KANSAS?

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MIZE] 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 Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, every State can point with pride to the attributes which make it stand out from all the rest as something special. This is certainly true of Kansas, where we feel we have a great many things going for us which make us the envy of those commonwealths less endowed. A recent editorial in the Topeka, Kans., Daily Capital sets forth a sparkling list of what Kansas is. Under leave to extend my remarks, I respectfully include this editorial, under the title "Know Your State," in the body of the RECORD:

KNOW YOUR STATE

For the benefit of argumentative barbarians who might boorishly demand, "Now what about Kansas?" the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce has the answers. With the cooperation of its research department, it has prepared a nutshell report on what Kansas is and stands for.

As projected, it will take the form of a pocket card of which two each, or about 8,000, will go to members of the State chamber. News media will also receive copies, and there is a possibility circulation will expand through the Kansas Economic Development Commission. It will read:

"Kansas is—

"The wheatheart of the Nation, ranking first in the production of wheat and in flour milling.

"The salt of the earth, with sufficient salt reserves to last the United States 375,000 years at the present rate of consumption.

"A State with a real sunny disposition—and people to match. (A 67-percent average percentage of possible sunshine; also, 92 percent of daylight hour weather is conducive to outdoor recreation.)

"A world leader and ranking first in the United States in the production of executive aircraft.

"A growing industrial center, with one out of every eight of the Nation's largest corporations having headquarters or branch plants in Kansas. Also, Kansas ranks among the top 10 States in the Nation in auto assembly.

"An important mineral producing State.

"A healthful place, ranking among the top 10 States in life expectancy.

"Ranking fourth in helium production.

"Ranking fourth in the number of producing oil wells.

"Ranking fifth in the production of natural gas.

"Ranking seventh in crude petroleum production.

"Ranking ninth in overall mineral production.

"A leading transportation center.

"Ranking third in total road and street mileage (exceeded only by Texas and California); enough mileage to reach literally half-way to the moon.

"Ranking sixth in total railroad mileage without a State debt.

"The geodetic, or map-making center, for the North American Continent.

"Leader in establishing direct primary elections and the legislative council.

"An acknowledged leader among the States in the field of mental health.

"A literary State, keeping up to date with more daily newspapers than all but nine other States.

"A State with four invigorating seasons and an average temperature of 55 degrees.

"A growing center of higher education, with 45 institutions of higher learning with enrollments topping 50,000 students."

THE 103D ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Mr. McDADE. 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 Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 103 years ago the people of Poland revolted against the autocratic rule of czarist Russia and fought heroically against far superior manpower. The Polish insurrection of 1863 failed, but the people of Poland persevered and finally achieved their independence in 1918.

This historic event has special significance at the present time since the current Communist dictatorship of the Soviet Union, which is substantially more diabolical than the czarist regime, actually holds Poland in bondage through the Communist regime which Russian military forces installed at the close of World War II.

On this historic occasion, the 103d anniversary of the Polish struggle for freedom against the czars, we encourage the brave people of Poland to remember that the defeat of that year was ultimately rewarded in independence, thus demonstrating the perseverance of the Polish people and the righteousness of their cause. Certainly, this historic perseverance and quest for freedom will again produce a government based on the true wishes of the Polish people.

It is certainly not asking too much of the U.S. State Department, which is giving lipservice to the principle of self-determination, that it develop a foreign policy which would apply this principle to the oppressed people of Poland.

Mr. Speaker, a current note that relates to the Soviet puppet government in Warsaw is the recent action by the Polish Reds banning trips outside the country by Cardinal Wyszynski. One hundred and three years ago czarist officials persecuted the churches of Poland, just as their Communist successors persecute religion today. It is also pertinent to note that this year the people of Poland celebrate 1,000 years of Christianity. Throughout the world free Poles will commemorate this historic landmark and pray that the great faith of their people will help produce the freedom to which they are entitled.

CONGRESSMAN HORTON PAYS TRIBUTE TO HISTORIC VALOR OF THE POLISH PEOPLE

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. HORTON] 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 Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, we are reminded that this Saturday, January 22, is the 103d anniversary of the Polish insurrection against Czarist Russia. This observance is important to us in a multitude of respects, and I believe properly of interest to a legislative body whose Members are dedicated to the cause of freedom from oppression.

I would like to share with my colleagues a brief historical account of this valiant uprising because I think it illuminates very clearly the noble qualities of the Polish people in their quest for self-determination and individual liberty. These are qualities which burn in the hearts of Poles today as they struggle to lift off the yoke of Soviet tyranny that harnesses their proud land.

Further, these national characteristics are prominently present among our fellow citizens whose ancestry is Polish. I have the honor to represent many people from Rochester, New York's Polish community, so that I feel confident in speaking from personal acquaintance of the love of freedom which is the heritage of every Pole.

In remembering the events of 1863, I ask that the United States reaffirm its support of the aspirations and yearnings of the people in Poland to join the family of free and independent nations.

Of the innumerable peoples under the autocratic regime of Czarist Russia the Poles were the most restless and proved most difficult for the Czar's officials to reconcile. They refused to submit passively to Russian rule and repeatedly during the 19th century they arose in rebellion. But each time they were put down with cruel severity. However, ruthlessness and cruelty could not subdue the Poles. They wanted to regain their political rights and national freedom. That was the goal of the Polish insurrection of 1863.

This abortive but heroic armed uprising had its beginning late in 1861. At that time the spirit of revolution flared up in Poland, and a conspiracy was formed with adherents in all parts of the country. In Warsaw there was a demonstration on October 15; the people took possession of the churches and refused to be dislodged. This led to the closing of the churches by the clergy. Then the Czar made overtures of peace, and the churches were reopened in February of 1862. Later on, through conciliation and concessions, a period of peace ensued, and it looked as though the revolutionary activity of the rebels was blunted. In the summer, however, an attempt to assassinate the Grand Duke—brother of the Czar—occurred in Warsaw, and the Russian Government hanged the persons charged with the attempted assassination. This provoked new uprisings. The Central National Committee was set up in Warsaw, and called itself the true government of Poland. Again the Czar made friendly overtures, and even promised autonomy

to the Poles. But the Polish leaders sent an ultimatum to the Czar stating that they would accept nothing short of complete national freedom.

This daring move cut short the possibility of an easy settlement. In this hour of trial the Poles placed high hopes for the success of their rebellion on international diplomacy, expecting more than mere moral support at least from France. On January 16, 1863, Polish leaders called the nation to arms, even though they could organize no more than 10,000 men against the Czar's 100,000. The Poles then serving in the Russian Army responded to this call, resulting in simultaneous uprisings in many parts of the country. As there was no unified command, units of these soldiers operated for many weeks as guerrillas, until General Langiewicz emerged as leader early in March. Soon, however, he was defeated in a pitched battle, escaped to Austria, and there he submitted to arrest and internment. The peasants in the steppe country could not be united behind the rebels with any effectiveness, and the Russians had little difficulty in conciliating them. The rebel leaders soon realized the seriousness of their situation. While fighting through spring and summer against forbidding odds, they resorted to diplomacy.

They sent Wladislaw Czartoryski to London and Paris to plead the Polish cause. But this resulted in only token gestures on the part of England and France, and the Governments of these countries reminded the Government of Russia of its international guarantee in the Treaty of Vienna. But Russia did not heed and the diplomatic hopes of the Poles were dashed. Meanwhile they had found a new leader in the 37-year-old Romuald Traugutt, an ex-officer in the Russian Army. In mid-October he was in Poland with dictatorial powers. He hoped to draw upon the untapped fighting manpower of the peasantry. But his efforts were frustrated. Through devious and deceptive means the Czar's agents had succeeded in alienating the bulk of the peasantry from the revolutionary cause in Poland. This weakened greatly the chances of the revolutionists, and by the early spring of 1864 all seemed lost. With the capture and hanging of Traugutt on the public square in Warsaw on August 5, the glorious Polish Insurrection of 1863 came to an abortive end.

CLARKSBURG, W. VA.—BIRTHPLACE OF STONEWALL JACKSON

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. MOORE] 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 Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, my State of West Virginia was born of the strife of the Civil War. It was the scene of numerous Civil War battles which pitted brother against brother and friend against friend. Several of the great Civil War generals were born in the hills and valleys of West Virginia, as it was known prior to secession from Virginia and becoming officially admitted to the Union on June 20, 1863. Among the Civil War leaders who called western Virginia their home was Stonewall Jackson, who was born in Clarksburg, W. Va., on January 21, 1824. It was ironic that Stonewall Jackson was killed in battle in 1863—the year West Virginia became a State. He was 39 years old at the time. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following extremely well-written article which appeared in the January 21, 1966, edition of the Clarksburg, W. Va., Exponent on Stonewall Jackson:

STONEWALL JACKSON WAS BORN IN CLARKSBURG 142 YEARS AGO TODAY

Today marks the 142d anniversary of the birth of Gen. Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson, born in Clarksburg, January 21, 1824.

S. J. Birshtein, chairman of the Stonewall Jackson Historical Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, informed the press that two local organizations are honoring the occasion with appropriate wreaths.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy have placed a wreath on both the Stonewall equestrian statue and on the bronze plaque erected on the site in the 300 block of West Main Street where the famous general was born.

The Stonewall Jackson Civic Club has remembered the 142d anniversary by placing a wreath on the striking equestrian statue located on the plaza of the Harrison County Courthouse.

The Clarksburg chapter of the UDC erected the bronze plaque in August 1911 to commemorate the famous general's birthplace. On May 10, 1953, the equestrian statue was dedicated.

The magnificent work of art was sculptured by the late Charles Keck of New York and the base of the statue was designed by William Grant, Clarksburg architect.

Birshtein furnished the press with the following information regarding Clarksburg's great general and renowned military tactician:

Clarksburg's brilliant officer during the War Between the States acquired the sobriquet or nickname of "Stonewall" with the stubborn defense of his 1st brigade in the first Battle of Manassas (Bull Run) on July 21, 1861.

Gen. Barnard E. Bee in rallying his men exclaimed "See, there stands Jackson like a stone wall." A near rout for the Confederate forces was turned into an overwhelming victory. Throughout the Confederacy and the world he became "Stonewall Jackson" from that moment on.

General Jackson was one of the ablest of the Confederate officers, and was probably the greatest corps commander on either side during the war. He had a deeply religious nature and has often been compared with the Cromwellian leaders in England, historians contend.

He deprecated secession but was a strong believer in States' rights, and when Virginia withdrew from the Union he maintained his allegiance to the State.

The military tactics of "Stonewall" Jackson are studied at West Point, Virginia Military Institute, Fort Knox, in St. Cyr, France, and at Sandhurst, England. It is said to be the consensus of military experts that his genius has seldom been equaled and never surpassed.

One of the finest tributes to "Stonewall" was sent in a telegram by the great general of World War II, Douglas MacArthur at the unveiling of the bronze bust of "Stonewall" in the Hall of Fame at New York University, May 19, 1957:

"Perhaps the most prized message I ever received came from the famous historian, Douglas Southall Freeman, who wrote me at the close of my campaigns in the Southwest Pacific area of World War II, 'The mantle of Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson has now fallen on your shoulders.' "

Two of "Stonewall's" favorite maxims are "You may be whatever you resolve to be" and "Never take counsel of your fears."

Birshtein said that few persons in West Virginia realize that the Clarksburg Public Library has an original letter by Stonewall. This letter is on exhibit together with a miniature replica of the Polaris submarine, the *Stonewall Jackson,* and other diversified mementos dealing with General Jackson.

Miss Charlotte Bailey, librarian, has extended an invitation to the public to visit the Clarksburg Public Library and examine the Jackson items being displayed.

Also on display is an excellent sketch by Bruce Haymond of Jackson's birthplace (234–328 West Main Street) now occupied by a mercantile store. The sketch graphically reveals a neat 3-room brick cottage with semiattic and inset porch, of a type now fast disappearing.

A large oil painting by David Van Pelt is also on exhibit in the library. This painting of Stonewall is by Edwin F. Draughman and is a fine copy of the famous original by John A. Elder in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

A ladderback rocker which belonged to Stonewall's mother can also be seen in the library.

The original letter by Jackson was presented to the library by the late D. H. Hill Arnold of Elkins, grand nephew of Stonewall.

The letter, postmarked West Point, is addressed to Jackson's sister, Mrs. L. (Laura) A. Arnold of Beverly, Randolph County.

Stonewall wrote his sister of his preparations for the annual examination at West Point and reported that his health was "very good at the present." He requested that his sister inform him as to the subscription rates of "the Democratic paper published in Clarksburg."

Jackson's paternal grandparents, his father Jonathan, and Stonewall's sister Elizabeth, are buried in the historic cemetery located in Jackson Park located on East Pike Street in Clarksburg.

The general's mother is buried in Ansted, W. Va. His sister, Laura, is buried in Buckhannon, and his brother Warren is buried near that city.

Stonewall Jackson died May 10, 1863, at the age of 39, near Guinea Station, Va., and is buried in Lexington, Va. He had led the army corps around Hooker's flank at the battle of Chancellorsville, routing the right wing of the Federal army.

He was wounded and died of pneumonia.

His death was a severe blow to Gen. Robert E. Lee and the southern cause. Jackson was a religious man who always prayed before battle. He was a tactician of the first rank and although a strict disciplinarian, was popular with his men. He was Lee's ablest and most trusted lieutenant.

EXPANSION OF EDUCATIONAL FIELD CALLS FOR ADDITIONAL TEACHERS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of this 89th Congress, we have had under consideration and passed several bills to aid in the advancement of education. We provided for educational facilities, and reported several measures to aid teachers in their desire to advance themselves in their chosen profession.

All this, we have done with the full knowledge that our educational system would be of the highest caliber that we can offer to our youth to face these times when our Nation is rapidly expanding its technological knowledge.

This expansion in the field of education necessarily needs additional teachers to keep pace in imparting to our youth the knowledge they possess.

In view of the fact that there is a critical need for well-qualified teachers, it is inconsistent that many local selective service boards have taken steps to induct into the services many teachers whose services are required on the home front. A fair number of teachers in the State of New Jersey have received their induction notices—to be taken in the middle of a school year into our Armed Forces. This is unfair to the schoolteachers and to the institutions which they serve.

To correct this injustice, I am today introducing legislation—H.R. 12209—which would amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act, by adding a new subsection which reads as follows:

(p) Any person who is employed on a full-time basis as a teacher in a public or private elementary school, high school, college, university, or similar institution, shall, upon the facts being presented to the local board, be exempted from induction for training and service under this Act.

It is my hope that this legislation will receive early and favorable consideration so that our well-trained and qualified teachers will not be inducted into the armed services at a time when we experience the greatest need for their capabilities to teach the youth of our Nation.

AMENDING TARIFF SCHEDULES TO PROVIDE FOR EDUCATIONAL EQUIPMENT

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to amend the tariff schedules of the United States to provide for the free importation of certain specialized educational equipment.

This legislation would remove from the U.S. tariff list special educational equipment which is used in the so-called Montessori system of teaching preschool children, which is not manufactured in the United States because of a limited market.

This special apparatus is mandatory for the employment of the Montessori system. The child learns through his physical manipulation of the equipment and through its self-corrective qualities. The equipment is varied and diverse and I shall enumerate only a few of the most essential items.

Among others, one will find wooden graded touch boards, wooden geometrical solids, wooden color tablets, metal geometrical insets, sandpaper letters on wood, number frames, boxes with chromonickel temperature tubes, bead stairs, boxes of beads for subtraction with charts on wood, and many others.

The existing tariff schedules already permit duty-free imports of many kinds and types of educational materials. The need for this bill stems out of the fact that the equipment used in the Montessori system of teaching is unique in its nature and the restrictive definitions of the various duty-free materials currently listed in the tariff schedules.

Many of our most distinguished educators acclaim the Montessori system, which was evolved by Dr. Maria Montessori after she received her degree in medicine from the University of Rome late in the 1890's. Working in the university psychiatric clinic, Dr. Montessori was shocked by the lack of training facilities and lack of toys for retarded children. Her efforts to correct this situation led to the establishment of a state school for such children and there she developed simple teaching apparatus to help these children obtain even a simple education. Using her method, soon many of these children were reading, writing, and doing simple problems as well as children with a normal mentality of the same age.

Dr. Montessori continued her study, research, and experimentation and, in 1906 opened a school in Rome's worst slum district. It was quickly found that her techniques had even a greater effect upon normal children in the advancement of their education. The Montessori system of education soon spread to many parts of the world and it was clearly shown that it is effective with normal children, with retarded children, with children of any culture or social background. It knows no language barriers or religious beliefs.

This is a highly meritorious educational program, but we are hindering its use by maintaining a tariff on the apparatus used in the Montessori system of advancing education. The removal of the tariff will not in any way hinder any domestic industry, since none of these items are manufactured in the United States. It could, however, permit the expansion of this type of teaching among what we call the culturally deprived—the big city slum child who is a major target of President Johnson's antipoverty program.

Antipoverty programs, with a strong emphasis on preschool education, are seriously considering using the Montessori system as one of the time-tested and proven programs for this preschool age group. The removal of the tariff on the materials used in this method will greatly assist our educators in expanding this type of project in their communities.

EXTENSION OF EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS TO VETERANS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SICKLES] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill designed to extend GI educational benefits to veterans who have served in the Armed Forces during the period February 1, 1955, until the Universal Military Training and Service Act terminates.

The educational and training allowances in my bill are identical to those of S. 9, passed by the Senate last year. The effective date of eligibility for entitlement is also the same as provided in S. 9, but my bill makes servicemen eligible as long as we find it necessary to draft young men for military service. The tendering of educational benefits to some veterans and not to others on the basis of cutoff dates is bound to produce inequities.

An important additional advantage of this bill is that it creates an incentive for our highly trained military personnel to remain in the service without forfeiting their educational entitlements. The bill provides that educational and training programs must commence within 3 years after his last discharge or release from active duty.

Now is an opportune time to give attention to a GI educational program on a long-range basis. We need a plan which is coherent and equitable, and applicable to all servicemen without regard to where they may be directed to serve in response to the exigencies of the cold war or crisis situations.

HARRY MARLEY

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. HANLEY] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, last week, I was privileged to attend the annual meeting of the Institute of Scrap Iron & Steel, here in Washington. The outgoing president of the institute is a resident of my congressional district and, I might add, one of central New York's most outstanding citizens—Mr. Harry Marley.

I am pleased to call Harry Marley my friend, and want, for a few minutes today to relate to the House some of his activities as president of the institute.

For purposes of clarification, it should be emphasized that the institute is an association of scrap processors. They are

not junk dealers, nor are they auto wreckers. Scrap processors perform a yoeman's job in conserving our natural resources. They also play an integral role in preserving the natural beauty of our Nation.

During his tenure as president of the institute and before, Harry Marley played a leading role in the above-mentioned activities of America's scrap processors. He represented the scrap processing industry before Congress during the hearings on the highway beautification bill; at the White House Conference on Natural Beauty; on the National Advisory Committee on Highway Beautification; and at the annual international conference of scrap and salvage associations, held last year in England.

Mr. Speaker, Harry Marley is so esteemed in his profession that last year, the institute subscribed, in his name, $4,000 to the Scrap Research Foundation.

Harry Marley's personal dedication exemplifies the dedication of the institute to making America a better place in which to live. Both have contributed greatly to America's store of precious metals and both deserve recognition.

MODERNIZATIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. HANLEY] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Postmaster General O'Brien announced at a press conference many long overdue modernizations in the postal service. As a member of the Modernization and Facilities Subcommittee of the House, I am most pleased with the Postmaster's actions.

The job Mr. O'Brien assumed is one of the most difficult in the Government. He must oversee the operations of a multibillion-dollar operation, and the performance of over 600,000 employees. That he has begun his task admirably is self-evident; that he will succeed in our efforts to bring the U.S. postal service into the mid-20th century is predictable.

Mr. Speaker, no activity of the Federal Government plays a more vital role in the continued expansion of our economy. Fast, efficient postal service is an absolute necessity for the business community, and a growing business community is an absolute necessity for a sound economy.

I salute the Postmaster General for his bold initiative and promise my own support in his efforts to improve the postal system.

We are fortunate in having this man, his energies, and his talents at the service of the American people.

NEW IDEAS—NEW SUCCESSES

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HATHAWAY] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the wings of a mighty airplane are built not rigidly but with great flexibility. Indeed, this flexibility makes them strong and enduring.

This is, in a sense, what is great about America and Americans. We have built new industries by trying new approaches. We have never closed doors just to prove that we could be rigid and thereby strong. We gain new solutions by new ideas. We are truly a nation of people who are willing to listen, to learn. We learn because we have not arrived at a point where we think we have all answers to all solutions down pat and easy.

In a recent editorial, the Christian Science Monitor pointed out:

> The situation in Vietnam is difficult and complicated. But we are convinced that an answer to that situation is available.

Because this article will be of much interest to my colleagues, I have asked permission to insert it in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHT MOTIVE—RIGHT PATH

Seldom in its history has the United States had a greater need for the virtues of patience, wisdom, and care. Faced with the crucial question of where to go next in the Vietnamese war, America can afford no misstep, whether this misstep be a rash broadening of the conflict or a misguided failure to do what the moral and practical aspects of the situation require.

The United States has already made a major contribution to the effort to find a path to peace with its suspension of the bombing of North Vietnam.

Doubtless this suspension greatly helped bring about the direct contact between Washington and Hanoi, now confirmed by the White House. This, in itself, constitutes full justification for the American decision. In addition, the suspension responds both to the wishes of an anxious world and to the promptings of America's own conscience.

From most points of view, the road ahead is somber and obscure. To many observers it appears to offer a choice only between dishonorable retreat and a disastrous broadening of the war. It is at just such a moment that a nation, like an individual, needs to sit back, think calmly and carefully about the situation, and open its thoughts to those answers which come from a wisdom higher than man's own.

In Isaiah we read: "And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left." If we assume that America's aims in Vietnam are honorable and right (whatever doubts may be held about some of its methods) we have the right to expect that the correct method of achieving those goals will become apparent. History has often shown that rightness of motive brings rightness of action, and that a path through an apparently impenetrable wood will open up where at first all roads seemed blocked.

We believe that the United States is in the right frame of mind to look and listen for such an answer. Despite the frustrating aspects of the war in southeast Asia, it is still happily obvious that no war psychosis has yet gripped America. Nor, we believe, is America adamant on imposing any one preconceived solution on Vietnam. These facts bring a flexibility to the situation which is a necessary part of any openminded search for a just solution.

The situation in Vietnam is difficult and complicated. But we are convinced that an answer to that situation is available. It can be found through looking and listening.

COMMITMENT OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO THE ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GILLIGAN] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of my colleagues to a statement released in Washington this week by the Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty.

The newly formed, 45-member committee includes leaders from the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America.

This committee represents millions of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant Americans and its purpose, as outlined in the lucid statement that follows, is both right and noble.

It represents a vigorous commitment by the Nation's religious leaders to expanding and strengthening the programs already laid out in antipoverty legislation passed by the Congress.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF INTER-RELIGIOUS COMMITTEE AGAINST POVERTY

The leaders of churches, synagogues, and organizations cooperating through the Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty are committed to the proposition that the persistence of massive poverty in our society is a moral blight which can and must be eradicated.

Recent Federal legislation marks a great stride forward in America's efforts to achieve this national purpose. The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, the legislation for Appalachia, the Manpower and Development Training Act, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, the Civil Rights Act, social security amendments including medicare, expansion of the rehabilitative focus of public welfare, legislation for housing urban renewal, health, education, and other measures represent notable advances.

What is on the statute books must be implemented and augmented to translate the hopeful potentialities of these goals into effective realities.

Many programs are already demonstrating their value. They should be extended and intensified. And where experience has indicated opportunities for improvement, such constructive advances should be made.

In view of the magnitude of the task and the experimental nature of these programs, some mistakes may well occur in their conception and implementation.

While the duty of responsible criticism should be exercised, the entire effort should not be condemned because of occasional false starts, setbacks, or errors of judgment. Such problems are inherent in new programs and should be the stimulus to new and greater efforts and commitments.

THE PROGRAM MUST BE STRENGTHENED

Our military commitments in Vietnam have led some to suggest reduction or holding the line on domestic antipoverty, health and educational programs. We reject such proposals as a major retreat in the war on poverty and a major defeat for America. Hundreds of thousands of the poor are now participating in governmental antipoverty programs. Their opportunities must not be wasted or thwarted.

Those now being assisted and the millions not yet being assisted must be helped to escape from poverty and to make their contribution to the strengthening of our society.

We urge that increased appropriations be provided to strengthen and broaden the Nation's programs to eliminate poverty. Our country has both the material and human resources to expand and strengthen these programs. It would be a cruel injustice to require that the poor—the young, the old, the sick, the disadvantaged—should be the ones to make the major sacrifice for the other problems we must solve.

COMMUNITY ACTION

The Congress has wisely emphasized the importance of community action programs to encourage local initiative and responsibility for devising and administering programs best adapted to differing needs, problems and circumstances.

Greater awareness of poverty in each community, deeper understanding of its causes, a firm resolve to overcome it and the strengthening of communitywide bodies with the fullest participation of voluntary agencies are vital goals of antipoverty programs. We urge continuing and increased support for community action programs.

MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR

One of the most challenging aspects of the community action programs is the requirement that they be "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and members of the group served." This basic concept is an integral part of the religious and democratic commitment to help people to help themselves. We deplore any attempt, national or local, to dilute the concept of maximum participation of the poor. We affirm our faith in the fact that their involvement is feasible and should be viewed as a creative utilization of the natural human resources found in the community of the deprived who are themselves dedicated to ridding the Nation of poverty. Constructive participation of the poor in the conduct of these programs is achieveable. The difficulties of accomplishing this purpose should not lessen our striving for its realization. We urge a redoubling of the efforts to encourage the full involvement of the poor in antipoverty programs.

The commitment to our antipoverty programs must not only be maintained but must be increased to achieve its noble purpose—the development of a just society.

SING-OUT '66

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Fifth District of Tennessee at Nashville will be experiencing over the next few days the celebrated Sing-Out '66 edition of the moral rearmament program of recent months.

In view of widespread distortions in our era regarding the attitudes and beliefs of our younger generation, I am in agreement with many Tennesseans and Americans in finding abundant stimulation from the conviction of these youngsters.

It is heartening indeed to note the message being delivered by this group who demonstrate the majority thinking of younger America. Of paramount importance, the moral rearmament movement has registered in a dignified manner what they are for, as opposed to what some minority groups and individuals are against.

The moral rearmament movement takes issue with the advocates of moral and military pacifism, noninvolvement, atheism, and the so-called new morality. These Americans are punctuating with exciting patriotism, colorful and meaningful alternatives to being communized, animalized, and modernized. It is such actions as these, manifested by the energy of our youth, which serve up the answer to some of the knottiest problems of our times and formulate concrete plans and action for attack.

I have requested permission for this notation to be entered into the RECORD; and with it, commendation to Mr. James Stahlman, publisher of the Nashville Banner, for his sponship of this program and support of the movement in general.

Also gratitude and congratulations to the Banner's Lee Bandy, in Washington, and Jacque Stubbel, in Nashville, whose reportorial endeavors applied measurable antidotes against beatnikism.

REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure today to follow the lead of our very able and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN], in proposing a Redwood National Park on the northern coast of California. The gentleman's efforts on behalf of conservation have appropriately earned him the gratitude of many of us who share his anxiety about the depletion of this great and natural wonder.

The bill I have introduced today is identical to that proposed last year by the gentleman from California.

The redwoods are a vital and historic national asset, and I know that many of us from throughout the Nation will support the efforts to save them. These giant trees, some of them reaching skyward more than 300 feet, belong not only to the great State and people of California but to all America. They stood before our Nation was established. In the minds of visitors to our country, they are as much a symbol of the United States as some of our famous landmarks and public buildings.

Over the years, 85 percent of the redwood stands have been cut for commercial and industrial uses. Only 15 percent of our country's original redwood forest remains, and it would be a monumental and irreparable loss if more of these virgin redwoods—the world's tallest trees—were destroyed.

The proposed Redwood National Park would preserve 90,000 acres identified as most desirable by the National Geographic Society, the Sierra Club, and the National Park Service. It includes the largest remaining concentration of virgin redwoods. I urge all of my colleagues to join in supporting the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN] in his effort to preserve the remaining redwoods.

REPEAL OF SECTION 14(b)

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, high on the agenda of unfinished business of this 89th Congress is repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Section 14(b) has permitted 19 States to hold down wage rates by banning the union shop. Using this lure of lower wage scales, these areas have conducted a series of raids on established industries in other States.

In my own home State of Ohio, union leaders claim that we have lost 15,000 jobs in the past 7 years to these areas.

This loss of industry has injured the economy of Ohio, and has also damaged the national economy by unfairly curtailing the income and buying power of 15,000 men and women. In the long run, the States which now welcome these runaway plants will find that they have also damaged their own economy.

It is ironic that a nation which is now engaged in a war on poverty should have a statute on its books which, in effect, condemns thousands of men, women, and children in 14(b) States to substandard wages, and consequently substandard living conditions. The causes of poverty are many, but there are few that would not yield to the remedy of full employment under minimum wage standards that provide a decent way of life for all wage earners. Business or industry that profits on substandard wages for its producers stand as a barrier to economic growth which is the key to full employment.

President Johnson has again called upon Congress to repeal section 14(b). It is an unfair law which damages the economy of every State in the Union. I urge Members of Congress to work to repeal this harmful law at the earliest opportunity.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, early this week President Johnson sent up a proposed Asian Development Bank for our earnest consideration. This proposal, Mr. Speaker, I believe to be the most constructive and unifying program that has been suggested as a means of aiding the war-torn and economically deprived area of southeast Asia.

The Asian Development Bank promises to be an effective use of limited resources for Asia's economic development. This proposed Development Bank resembles the World Bank in its administrative setup and economic programs. It is a program developed by Asians and run by Asians. An initial $1 billion of capital has been authorized, 65 percent of which has already been subscribed by Asian countries. The United States has subscribed $200 million over a 4-year period. This initial subscription is to be paid in one-half in a member country's own currency and the other half in dollars or other convertible currency.

The Asian Development Bank will guarantee or make loans for economic development projects, such as dams, irrigation projects, highway systems, and agricultural development. These long-term development loans will have long maturities, low interest rates, and a long period prior to the initial repayment. A second program of this Development Bank will lend out funds for a relatively short period of time, much like regular short-term foreign aid loans, for instance, to strengthen a country's monetary and currency system.

The Asian Development Bank will be run by a Board of Governors who will act as policymakers. Each member nation will have one representative on the Board of Governors. The day-to-day operations of the Bank will be run by a 10-man Board of Directors, 7 of whom will be Asians and 3 non-Asians, 1 a representative of the United States. The Bank's headquarters will be located in Manila, the Philippines.

At the present time, Mr. Speaker, 21 nations have agreed to become members of this promising program. Membership and associate membership in the Asian Development Bank will be open only to those countries who are members of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, thus excluding Communist China, North Vietnam, and North Korea.

The leadership has been taken by the countries of Asia. This aspect in itself represents the most promising start that could be imagined. It is about time, after 15 years of constant warfare that has almost destroyed the spirit and morale of the people of Asia, that a constructive effort has been undertaken to attempt to better the lives and provide a stronger and more viable economy for the countries of Asia.

I am pleased to see, Mr. Speaker, that this farsighted administration proposal has the strong bipartisan support in Congress. I was happy to see a number of my Republican colleagues this very week stand up and strongly support the Asian Development Bank. I believe that the Asian Development Bank is the most potent weapon that the administration has proposed in its recent peace campaign that would bring to an end the constant crises in southeast Asia. It is a promise of the future, a promise which will provide a better life for all the people of Asia.

MURDERING NEW HAVEN PASSENGER SERVICE MEANS CHAOS FOR CONNECTICUT

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MONAGAN] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the proposal of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad that it be authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission to terminate all interstate passenger train operations effective March 1, 1966. It is obvious what chaos and disruption of the lives of the people of Connecticut would result from this wholesale ending of a traditional service. I informed the ICC of my position in a statement on the railroad's proposal on January 11, 1966.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I wish to include my statement at this point because I believe that the problem is not solely that of Connecticut, but it is a concern of all the New England States and indirectly of every person in the Nation who must rely upon railroad transportation:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN S. MONAGAN SUBMITTED TO THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION IN OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED DISCONTINUANCE OF PASSENGER SERVICE BY THE NEW HAVEN RAILROAD, HARTFORD GAS COMPANY AUDITORIUM, HARTFORD, CONN., JANUARY 11, 1966

I oppose the discontinuance of all Connecticut passenger railroad service by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. It is unthinkable that the State of Connecticut, with its population of more than 2½ million, should be without passenger train service. It is true that the New Haven Railroad has been in a fiscal decline during the past several years and the standards of passenger service and facilities have likewise deteriorated but this does not justify a surrender of responsibility by responsible public bodies in a search for a solution to this problem.

Public service demands the continuance of railroad passenger service in Connecticut, and this factor must be given precedence over all other considerations. This service is essential to the livelihood and well-being of commuters, workers, business people, and ordinary travelers and to the economic welfare of the entire State.

My statement will be brief. The railroad's plan should not be authorized. Initially, the proposition was to discontinue a substantial part of its regular commuter service. The current hearings are on the proposal to discontinue all interstate passenger service. We can anticipate that the next request will be to abandon every vestige of passenger service in the areas served by the New Haven.

The notice of proposed discontinuances of passenger train service issued by the New Haven in pursuit of its proposal to terminate all interstate passenger train operations effective March 1, 1966, shows that the following runs would be terminated:

	Number of trains cut
Greenwich to New York	2
New York to Greenwich	1
Stamford to New York	83
New York to Stamford	81
New Canaan to New York	2
New York to New Canaan	2
New York to Norwalk and South Norwalk	2
Danbury to New York	6
New York to Danbury	7
Pittsfield to New York	2
New York to Pittsfield	2
Worcester to New London	6
New London to Worcester	6
Boston to New York	41
New York to Boston	39
New Haven to Boston	1
New London to Boston	1
Providence to Boston	18
New Haven to New York	24
Springfield to New York	32
Springfield to New Haven	3
Providence to New London	1
Boston to Providence	17
New York to New Haven	30
New York to Springfield	27
New Haven to Springfield	8

It is obvious what chaos and disruption of the lives of the people of our State would result from this wholesale suspension of a traditional service.

Testimony has been given by a representative of the Bureau of Accounts of the Interstate Commerce Commission that the New Haven Railroad is not now meeting its operating expenses in either the freight service or the passenger service. I shall not burden the Commission with a discussion of the technical phase of the railroad's bankruptcy. Some of the figures are definitely in dispute and I ask that the Commission carefully review the allocation of expense items to determine their validity and necessity.

I do want to emphasize, also, that this question is a matter of concern not only to Connecticut, but to Massachusetts, New York, and Rhode Island as well. My immediate concern is for the patrons in the State of Connecticut and, particularly in the Fifth Congressional District which I represent, but I am keenly sensitive to the broader implications of the requested change.

The proposal to abandon 273 passenger trains by July 1966, if approved, will have immediate impact on service in the towns of Bethel, Danbury, Meriden, Wallingford, and Redding, and, of course, upon the contiguous cities and towns whose residents are served by these trains. Immediately and inevitably, there will be curtailment of any local service remaining in the State, and this will hit many other towns including Waterbury and communities of the Naugatuck Valley whose volume of industrial freight has done so much to keep the railroad from worse financial disaster.

The trustees of the New Haven Railroad have reached an agreement with the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads that

the New Haven Railroad's freight operations will be continued in the event the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central is consummated. This represents an attempt to gain the prize operation while declining all responsibility for the necessary and irreplaceable operation because it is more difficult. This should not happen.

I have consistently supported reasonable State and Federal aid which has and will continue to make possible the operation of the New Haven Railroad.

It is a matter of record that Connecticut and New York have each advanced $750,000 and that the HHFA has provided $3 million for the demonstration project which assures railroad service until July 1, 1966. In addition, Connecticut and New York have appropriated $5 million each to improve passenger service providing a stable arrangement is developed, and HHFA will be asked to provide $10 million additional when demonstration project expires in July 1966.

Tax relief also has been provided by the States of Connecticut and New York to a total value of $2,700,000 contingent upon maintenance of satisfactory standards of service.

I am aware that the New Haven and other railroads have been confronted with severe competition through the development of State and Federal highway systems which have contributed not only to greater and more effective use of passenger cars, but, also, to the growth of bus and truck services. The airlines and the shipping industries, like the bus and truck operators, have been the beneficiaries of direct or indirect supports which have aided their operations at the expense of the railroads. Even the helicopter passenger lines which supplement the long-line routes of air traffic enjoyed the benefits of Federal assistance.

If public support of competing modes of transportation for the benefit of the public is to continue, then we must make certain that the public which relies upon the railroad is also served. We must not permit the complete demise of railroad passenger service in Connecticut and in the adjoining States. Ours is one of the heaviest populated areas in the country. It is because of this heavy population that through the efforts of the new Congress and the President, the Department of Commerce is currently engaged in experimentation with high-speed trains to run between Boston and Washington, D.C. This is a program which I support and which I hope will come to fruition in the immediate future for the sole purpose of improving passenger train service.

The State of Connecticut, under the leadership of Governor Dempsey, has made broad-scale financial commitments including tax reductions in order to maintain the New Haven passenger lines. This action is in the public interest and in this same interest I urge the Commission to deny the petition of the trustees. Let us hope that such a decision will stimulate the tripartite efforts of State and Federal Governments and private enterprise to solve the problems of the New Haven Railroad without the abandonment of passenger lines.

If the vast rail network in Connecticut is used only for the movement of revenue-producing freight and passengers are to be denied what is a commonplace service in every other country in the world, this action will be contrary to any reasonable concept of public interest. This Nation can afford adequate passenger train service and it is a sad commentary on our country that we can put men in space and reach the moon, but we can't solve our transportation problems in one State of the Union.

Your decision will help bring such a day closer.

EQUAL POSTAL RATES FOR LOOSE-LEAF MATERIAL CONTAINING MEDICAL AND LEGAL INFORMATION

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H.R. 12182 that would apply the same postal rate to looseleaf material containing legal information as presently is applied to similar material containing medical information.

Under present postal law, looseleaf pages and their binders consisting of medical information for distribution to doctors, hospitals, medical schools, and medical students are carried at the lower book rate while similar material consisting of legal information for distribution to lawyers, courts, law schools, and law students takes the higher parcel post rate.

Section 4554(a)(8), title 39, United States Code, assigns the book rate to looseleaf pages and their binders containing medical information for distribution to doctors, hospitals, medical schools, and medical students. No similar provision is made for the looseleaf distribution of legal information to lawyers, courts, law schools, and law students. It, therefore, is carried at the parcel post rate. There seems to be no valid reason why medical looseleaf material should be carried at a lower rate while the legal looseleaf material should be carried at the higher parcel post rate.

This inequity should be rectified. The same compelling reasons which warrant a special rate consideration in the case of medical material operates with equal potency in the case of legal material. My bill would correct this injustice by amending paragraph (8) of subsection (a) of section 4554, title 39, United States Code, to include the distribution of looseleaf pages and their binders containing legal information to lawyers, courts, law schools, and law students.

LIMITING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make known my support of Senator PASTORE'S resolution limiting nuclear proliferation.

To our best knowledge, there are now five members of the "nuclear club," but the exclusivity of this club can no longer be guaranteed. It has been amply demonstrated that no individual country has a monopoly on creative thinking; thus, inclusion in the club is for the most part a decision dependent upon a nation's economic and political willingness and tenacity.

The need to achieve atomic capabilities has and will continue to be justified, by those not in its possession, for a plethora of reasons. To obviate each of these supposed compelling reasons is a task that will necessitate lifetimes and lifetimes. Must each country on the brink of nuclear capability be individually deterred, be individually bargained with to refrain. Would not this system lead to inequities depending on one's point of view or inclination?

What is truly needed is a system that would impede completely the continued spread of atomic weaponry. If we can achieve a moritorium on the dispersal of these weapons, the peaceful planet we all seek is an attainable goal, if we do not achieve a moritorium, peace may be purely emphemeral.

I am not suggesting that we infringe on our present systems of defense—for I am equally adamant that our security remain strong and secure. The achievement of atomic limitation and remaining cognizant of our security needs presents a difficult dilemma. Frankly, I do not know how to achieve the result, but we must try.

The way to try is to dedicate ourselves to the solution. The executive branch must be made aware of our goal, and when this is achieved, the executive must know that we support his initiative toward this end.

MICHIGAN CITY (IND.) NEWS-DISPATCH ENDORSES 4-YEAR TERMS FOR CONGRESSMEN

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] 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 New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of an editorial dated January 20, 1966, from the Michigan City, Ind., News-Dispatch, published in my own congressional district, which endorses President Johnson's recent proposal for a 4-year term for Members of the House of Representatives.

The text of the editorial follows:

FOUR-YEAR TERMS FOR CONGRESSMEN

President Johnson's proposal for a 4-year House term struck many Members as the most admirable idea they have heard from the White House since the last congressional pay raise.

The political rose that the Chief Executive offered the House in his state of the Union message looked good to many Members who hardly finish one campaign before starting another.

Under the Constitution, all 435 House seats are up for grabs every 2 years. In the

100-seat Senate, only 33 or 34 seats normally are at stake every 2 years and terms run for 6 years.

Thoughtful political scientists and campaign-weary politicians have been suggesting for years that the system be changed. But they never have had the kind of endorsement that Mr. Johnson gave.

As a result of Mr. Johnson's totally unexpected recommendation, a constitutional amendment providing for a 4-year House term probably will get early consideration.

Mr. Johnson said: "To strengthen the work of Congress I strongly urge an amendment to provide for a 4-year term for Members of the House of Representatives—which should not begin before 1972.

"The present 2-year term requires most Members of Congress to divert enormous energies to an almost constant process of campaigning—depriving the Nation of the fullest measure of their skill and wisdom.

"Today, too, the work of Government is far more complex than in our early years, requiring more time to learn and master the technical tasks of legislation. And a longer term will serve to attract more men of the highest quality to political life. The Nation, the principle democracy, and each congressional district will be better served by a 4-year term. I urge your swift action."

During his speech Mr. Johnson was applauded 60 times. His reference to changing the 2-year terms to 4 years understandably drew the most vigorous applause.

It's a good suggestion and should be put into effect as soon as possible.

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY INVESTIGATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FASCELL). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I have been reading Mr. Clark Mollenhoff's magnificent book, "Despoilers of Democracy." I commend it to the attention of all Members of Congress and every concerned citizen who believes that government should serve the people, rather than itself, or favored individuals.

In the introduction to his book, Mr. Mollenhoff quotes the late President Kennedy, who in a special message to the Congress said:

> There can be no dissent from the principle that all officials must act with unwavering integrity, absolute impartiality, and complete devotion to the public interest. This principle must be followed not only in reality but in appearance. For the basis of effective government is public confidence, and that confidence is endangered when ethical standards falter or appear to falter.

I gained personal insight last summer into some of the ways in which a Federal program, however outstanding its motives, can go astray and thus endanger public confidence because ethical standards "falter or appear to falter."

This faltering occurred in the President's so-called youth opportunity campaign. President Johnson announced that Federal departments and agencies would hire 1 young person for summer employment for each 100 regular employees. The President also appealed to State and local governments, private industry, and foundations, to make available another 100,000 jobs for young people.

When he announced the program on May 23, 1965, President Johnson said:

> These opportunities will be given, so far as this is practicable to boys and girls 16 through 21 who need them the most because of economic or educational advantages.

The program was to provide some 25,000 summer jobs in the Federal Government, which were to pay the young people $1.25 an hour. As it turned out, some 8,600 of the jobs were ultimately to be in the Post Office Department.

It was in the first week of June that I received the first inkling that the manner in which the Post Office Department was distributing its share of the jobs might give the appearance that ethical standards were faltering. I received a telephone call from a newspaper reporter, who asked if I had yet been asked to submit names for possible hiring in the Post Office Department under the so-called youth opportunity campaign.

I had not received such a call at that time. I was to later learn, however, that members of the majority had been contacted at least several days earlier and had been given definite quotas of these jobs for which to recommend names. I was to learn that only after Nick Kotz, of the Minneapolis Tribune and Des Moines Register Washington Bureau, began asking questions did the Post Office Department begin contacting minority members and then no quotas were offered—they were simply told to submit names. I was to learn that at least some majority members were contacted by high-ranking officials of the Post Office Department.

Though the Post Office Department was to repeatedly claim that all Members of Congress had been contacted, a poll of the minority membership showed that 50 of the 140 had not.

The same afternoon that I was called by the newspaper reporter, I received a call from the Minneapolis regional post office and told that I could submit names for possible hiring under the President's so-called youth opportunity campaign. However, no quota was offered—as it was not in other calls to minority Members.

But most important, there was absolutely no mention of the criteria the President had established—that these jobs were to go to young people who needed them the most, due to educational or economic disadvantage. In fact, I was to learn that this criteria was never mentioned in any call to a Member of Congress—majority or minority.

The case was obvious. Youth opportunity campaign jobs, intended for educationally or economically disadvantaged young people who needed them the most, were being distributed as patronage with disregard of the Presidential criteria.

On June 10, I sent a telegram to then Postmaster General Gronouski, asking for clarification. Among the questions I asked was:

> Why do high officials of your Department, in soliciting patronage appointments for certain Members of Congress, fail to point out that the President had designated these jobs as being created for economically and educationally disadvantaged young people?

Mr. Speaker, the same day I appeared before the House and disclosed the situation, including the full text of my telegram to Mr. Gronouski, which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 111, part 10, pages 13287–13288.

A reply to my telegram was received on June 11, from Mr. Michael Monroney, executive assistant to the Postmaster General. In answer to the question which I have cited, Mr. Monroney wrote:

> The 7,500 summer post office jobs (which later increased to 8,600) in the field will be used to substitute for regular mail handlers, letter carriers and postal clerks who take their vacation time during this period. These jobs do not involve manual labor, gardening or other less technical work and, as a result, the postal service is primarily interested in obtaining the highest quality young people available.

Mr. Speaker, this was the Post Office Department's explanation of why its officials failed to mention the President's need criteria when soliciting patronage appointments for Members of Congress. I must admit I was puzzled by the reply. Did it mean that because a young person was financially disadvantaged that he was not the highest quality young person available? This reply was even more confusing in light of what Mr. Monroney wrote two paragraphs later, in answer to a question concerning the employment of girls as well as boys. He wrote:

> For the most part, these young people will be doing work which is normally done by male employees, such as handling heavy mail bags and working as letter carriers.

Mr. Speaker, I could not comprehend the difference between "manual labor, gardening, or other less technical work," and "handling heavy mail bags," or even serving as letter carriers.

Mr. Monroney included with his letter an official Post Office memorandum, dated June 9, which had been sent to all regional postmasters. It said:

> These appointments will be as seasonal assistants, PFS–3, $2.29 an hour, for individuals who are in need of money to remain in school, or who are economically underprivileged.

It was interesting to note that, unlike other Youth Opportunity Campaign employees, those in the Post Office Department were to make $2.29 an hour—the same as regular summer postal employees.

But it was even more interesting that this official Post Office Department memorandum directed specifically that the President's "need criteria" be observed in hiring. This memorandum was dated June 9—after majority Members of Congress had already been contacted, but 2 days before Mr. MONRONEY told me that the criteria had not been mentioned to Congress because "the postal service is primarily interested in obtaining the highest quality young people available."

I was to confront this type of apparent evasion many times in the investigation which I undertook last June, and which did not end until January.

But I learned that some 3,380 of the 8,600 postal jobs were filled by congressional patronage and that close relatives

of some Members of Congress and even of the Vice President of the United States, as well as many with well-developed political or social ties, found jobs under the Post Office Department's portion of the President's Youth Opportunity Campaign.

I was to find that in post offices from Maine to Hawaii, young people were hired with disregard for the President's need criteria.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not explore all of the details of the situation at this time, but the bulk of them are outlined in remarks which I made on the House floor and which appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 111, part 13, page 18145; volume 111, part 15, page 20792; and volume 111, part 17, beginning on page 22517.

Where did blame for this patronage distribution of jobs in disregard of the Presidential need criteria, lie? Patronage has long been a part of the Post Office Department operation and the high postal officials who first contacted majority Members of Congress did not mention any need criteria, nor did they mention it to minority Members at a later date. Thus—in light of the long-standing tradition of postal patronage—it is not surprising that few Members of Congress questioned the technique. I simply do not believe in such patronage as this, and thus was sensitive to the implications. I believe one of the greatest benefits of my investigation is that the Civil Service Commission has announced that future summer hiring of youth will be on a merit basis.

I hasten to add that I certainly do not blame the young people involved for accepting the jobs. Any student would find it useful to have a $2.29 an hour summer job. Those who had the opportunity to obtain them cannot be blamed and should be commended for their desire for employment.

If blame is to be attached, it is to those officials of the Post Office Department to whom political patronage has become so much a part of life that they disregarded the criteria of the President—which was reaffirmed in their own postal memorandum—in order to seek political gain by the distribution of jobs intended for the disadvantaged.

Patronage distribution of the jobs was also in violation of a U.S. Civil Service Commission directive, which instructed that the youth opportunity campaign employees were to be chosen from special rosters prepared by the U.S. Employment Service on the basis of the need criteria.

The Post Office Department was to excuse itself by saying that it did not have time to wait for these special rosters. However, the Director of the U.S. Employment Service says he was never told his organization was not meeting the need and State employment directors in Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and South Dakota said they supplied names by the date requested. In these States, as well as others, few employment service referrals were hired. But this is understandable. The patronage calls had already been made to Congressmen and their recommendations submitted to the Post Office Department.

Even granting the Post Office Department's assertion that it did not have time to wait for the special rosters, some questions should be raised concerning a program so hastily contrived that it is not announced until a week or two before the young people are flooding the job market.

But as it turned out, another major issue was raised by this case, in addition to serious diversion of the program from the President's intent. A major debate was to develop around the right of the Post Office Department to withhold the names of these young people from the public and even from Members of Congress.

On September 1, in a House speech, I said:

> There is an issue which has developed out of this case that I believe must be dealt with promptly and judiciously. That is the issue of departmental secrecy regarding nonsecurity governmental information.
>
> A clammy, gray cloud of secrecy has descended to envelop all who would inquire or anyone who might question the procedure of the Post Office Department.
>
> For instance, I have requested the names of the people hired by the Post Office Department under the so-called youth opportunity campaign. My requests have been denied. I have introduced a resolution, pending before a committee of the House, which would require the Post Office Department to provide the information to Members of Congress.
>
> I have written the President of the United States, pointing out to him that if Members of Congress cannot obtain the most innocent information from executive branch agencies and departments, that representative government is dead. I have respectfully requested him to require the new Postmaster General, the very able Mr. Lawrence O'Brien, to voluntarily provide this information to Members of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this innocent, nonsecurity information was repeatedly denied me, as it was other Congressmen and representatives of the press, throughout the summer of 1965. This denial was based on Postal Regulation No. 744.444. This regulation states, in part:

> Lists of employees, including their designations, salaries, or addresses shall not be furnished to any individual, commercial firm, or non-Federal organization.

I can see no justification for a regulation which prevents Members of Congress or the American people from knowing who works for their Government, particularly in a department which has no reason to justify secrecy on grounds of national security.

The Post Office Department took the position that Members of Congress are individuals and thus not entitled to the information of the Department.

By this time, however, the public and the press were aroused, and other voices in Congress were being raised, asking for the information. Mr. Gronouski made a concession. He said that anyone could have the names, if they were obtained from individual postmasters.

What Mr. Gronouski failed to mention is that there are some 34,000 individual postmasters in the United States.

His concession, while operationally impossible, was philosophically meaningful, however. For it was an implied repudiation of Postal Regulation 744.444. This appeared to mean that the Post Office Department's refusal to release the information was entirely arbitrary, grounded neither in law nor regulation.

It was in this atmosphere that my resolution of inquiry to require the Postmaster General to make the names of the youth opportunity campaign employees available to the whole House came to the floor on September 16.

The appropriate subcommittee and the full committee had met hastily that morning, clearing the privileged resolution with an adverse report. I did not even learn that it was coming up on the floor until I arrived in the Chamber. During debate on the resolution, I stated my case in these words:

> I believe the American people, who pay taxes, are entitled to know who is employed by the Federal Government in every area where it is not a security matter. I understand that with reference to security matters, this is not done. But on a nonsecurity matter, such as employment in the Post Office Department, where they are hired in local communities, anybody can go in and find out who is employed. I do not see that this has to do with any matter dangerous to the national security.

Mr. Speaker, when the resolution came to a vote, it passed on the first tally, but then enough votes were changed so that the final tally was 186 to 180 to kill a resolution designed to break through the serious matter of secrecy in government. I issued a statement, in which I said that this vote was "a bigger scandal than the scandal itself."

However, I continued to seek the information, as did other Members of Congress, the press, and the public. When the present Postmaster General, Mr. Lawrence O'Brien, was up for confirmation before a Senate committee, he was closely questioned regarding his position on the release of the names of postal employees. He said he saw no reason why they should not be released and has repeated this position on subsequent occasions.

I have recently written Mr. O'Brien and await his reply as to when he will live up to his Senate testimony and eliminate this ridiculous secrecy regulation. Mr. John Macy, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, was quoted in the Minneapolis Tribune as saying the Commission will adopt a Government-wide regulation eliminating such secrecy. I have also written Mr. Macy asking when he plans to eliminate such secrecy.

I immediately wrote to all of the regional postmasters requesting the information. A few days ago, my efforts were finally finished, as I obtained the final list.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to include all of these names in the RECORD today. I do so for two important reasons.

First. I believe that nonsecurity information concerning any department or agency of the Federal Government should be in the public doman. There are some limitations on this, of course, such as time of compilation and expense.

Certainly, no nonsecurity information should be withheld from a Member of Congress as the representative of the people, especially where the intent of a Government program obviously has been violated.

Second. I believe that the American people have a right to examine this information themselves, to determine whether or not the Post Office Department administered this portion of the President's youth opportunity campaign—which he closely identified with his so-called war on poverty—according to the intent of the program and the will of the people. Did the action of postal officials in offering the jobs as patronage with no mention of the need criteria tend to benefit or further deprive those young people who needed the jobs the most?

Mr. Speaker, I must stress two important qualifications.

First. In offering this information to the Congress and the people of the United States, I believe that the Members of Congress who accepted this patronage did so without being fully appraised of the intended nature of the program and I find no fault in Members of Congress. I do believe that Congress should take a long, hard look, however, at the use of patronage, especially in the Post Office where it has tenaciously lived on after it had become a sorry memory in most departments and agencies.

Second. The offering of this information is in no way an attempt to embarrass any of the people on the lists. As I have previously pointed out, the persons who accepted the jobs were simply seeking employment. I believe that it is good for any young person to seek and obtain gainful employment. However, these jobs were created within the Federal Government with a specific intent and that intent was to help those who might not otherwise have the opportunity to continue their educations or who might, in other ways, have pressing need of a job.

The conclusions of this case are twofold:

First. When a program is devised and presented to the public as a means of helping the disadvantaged, the disadvantaged should be helped.

Second. Any attempt to withhold from the Congress and the people information regarding nonsecurity matters of the executive branch, should be opposed.

As I said on the floor of the House on September 1:

> If the people see their elected representatives turned into rubberstamps and their free press turned into propaganda by the secrecy of departments and agencies, the people's right to know is gone.
>
> And if that is gone, democratic government is gone.

I ask my colleagues to picture in their minds the spectacle of a huge department of the executive branch, charged with grave responsibilities, using the distribution of 3,380 summer jobs for 16- to 21-year-olds as political patronage. And, picture in your minds the spectacle of this same supposedly responsible department, having distributed these jobs for partisan political purposes, adopting a fierce stance of defensiveness toward Members of Congress and representatives of the press, as they wrap this episode in a cloud of bureaucratic secrecy.

If such unworthy actions are taken regarding a trivial matter, what of the important matters?

Mr. Speaker, following are the names of those employed by the Post Office Department during the summer of 1965 under the President's so-called youth opportunity campaign. One further clarification is needed. In a few cases, regional post offices did not differentiate in their records between regular summer hiring and the youth opportunity campaign. As a result, a small percentage of the people in the following list were regular temporary employees and not youth opportunity campaign employees. I regret that they are included, but evidently the few regions where this occurred did not choose to differentiate between the programs:

Florida

Anctil, Joe, 2904 St. Conrad, Tampa.
Adams, Albert R., Jr., NK.
Argenio, Joseph A., 220 Beta, University of Southern Florida, Tampa.
Bachrach, Franklin A., 301 6th Avenue, Melbourne Beach.
Bauer, David, 4018 West South Avenue, Tampa.
Baxley, Ronald, 2009 Chowkeebin Nene, Tallahassee.
Beaman, Marvin Lee, Jr., NK.
Bedwell, Stephen B., 163 Shannon Avenue.
Benefield, Curtis J., NK.
Benford, William N., NK.
Benjamin, Adam, NK.
Bentley, John G., 3907 Laguna Drive, Orlando.
Berry, Sammy, 2708 Avenue D., Fort Pierce.
Beusse, Carleton, Maitland.
Beveridge, Mike, 4265 West 6th Avenue, Hialeah.
Bloodworth, Robert W., 2070 Shannon Avenue, Indialantic.
Boldin, Wayne T., 1278 Kathwood, Eau Gallie.
Bradshaw, LeRoy, 18214 Homestead Avenue, Perrine.
Breslin, Robert W., 3118 South Maritana Drive., St. Petersburg.
Brown, Barbara A., 14400 Tyler SW., Miami.
Brown, Cathryn, 14741 Polk Street, Richmond Heights.
Bryan, David R., 2929 Alamo Drive, Orlando.
Budner, Sharon, 2040 Southwest 20th Street, Miami.
Callahan, Robert, 184 Northwest 11th Street, Homestead.
Carpenter, Charlotte, 3661 Catalina Road, Lake Park, West Palm Beach.
Clark, Donald E., 33 Charles Avenue, Miami.
Clark, James C., 467 Alice Drive, Eau Gallie.
Cobb, Julius C., 742 Short Street, Orlando.
Cobb, Robert L., Jr., 744 Short Street, Orlando.
Collins, Charles R., 92 Balcross Drive, Miami.
Crawford, Clifford T., 9760 SW. 77th Terrace, Miami.
Crim, Harold L., 619 Cocoanut Grove, Melbourne.
Crona, Jim, Jr., 2014 Hollywood Drive, Tallahassee.
Culmer, Donald N., 3616 Charles Avenue, Miami.
Cumbie, Fred H., Jr., 1121 Shorewood Drive, Orlando.
Dart, James L., 1020 Terrace Street, Tallahassee.
DeStefano, Alfred, 1682 NE. 181st Street, North Miami Beach.
Diez, Robert, 2724 Carmen Street, Tampa.
Diglio, Vincent, Jr., 570 NE. 178th Street, North Miami Beach.
Dittmar, Christian F., 2530 S.W. 76th Avenue, Miami.
Dollison, James H., 338½ Vitoria Avenue, Winter Park.
Donnell, LeRoy R., Jr., 502 Shannon Road, Orlando.
Edwards, David L. (address not known).
Engle, Ronald, 1959 NE. 180th Street, Miami.
Fields, Donald C., 104 Bradford Drive, Tallahassee.
Frantz, Robert Edward, 2312 St. Joe Street, Tampa.
Frink, Robert, 812 Riverview Drive, Melbourne.
Fryer, Jeffrey O. (address not known).
Garvin, Thomas L. (address not known).
Gary, Harold, 2963 NW. 70th Terrace, Miami.
Gary, Howard, 2963 NW. 70th Terrace, Miami.
Glass, Jerry, Route 1, Box 91, Marianna.
Gishler, Walter S., Miami.
Gonberg, Leslie, 670 South Shore Drive, Miami Beach.
Green, John S., 1941 Legion Drive, Winter Park.
Gremer, Robert L., 2110 Euclid Street, Jacksonville.
Harris, Nathaniel, 10320 South West 173 Terrace, Miami.
Herndon, A. B., 1514 Steven Ave., Orlando.
Higgs, Richard P., 701 Melbourne Avenue, Melbourne.
Jamieson, Joseph, 753 America Street, Orlando.
Jones, Donovan St. Clair, 1121 Greenwood Street, Lakeland.
Kirby, Leslie, c/o M. J. Kirby, Live Oak.
Lawyer, George W., II, 1500 78 Terrace, North, St. Petersburg.
Leatherby, Patrick, 118 Glenridge, Temple Terrace, Tampa.
Lee, Gordon R., 525 Fee Avenue, Melbourne.
Livingson, Thomas J., Madison.
Long, John F., 1504 North Hampton Street, Orlando.
Lundin, Philip J., not known.
Lynch, Jeremy, 496 NE. 88th Street, Miami.
Mason, Robert D., 15740 NW. 27th Court, Miami.
Mathis, Gerald W., 7310 Autumnvale Drive, Orlando.
McCollum, Stanley R., 418 West 6th Avenue, Tallahassee.
McLeod, William J., not known.
McLeroy, David, Route 1 Box 826, Dover.
Mertz, Lowell C., 856 SE., Port Malabar Boulevard, Palm Bay.
Mobley, Isaac, 14741 Fillmore Street, Miami.
Mock, Donald, 1855 Dawn Drive, Melbourne.
Mock, Joe M., not known.
Moorefield, Robert P., 4835 Highland Street South, St. Petersburg.
Pace, Phillip R., not known.
Papp, Alex C., 205 Gardenia Drive, Melbourne.
Parker, Viola, 14761 Polk Street, Richmond Heights, Miami.
Pilcher, Ronny, 302 South Orleans, Tampa.
Pollard, Charles T., NK.
Polo, Jerry, 2316 Douglas Street, Tampa.
Popplein, Ernest C., 163 NW, Hickory Street, Melbourne.
Quesada, Armando A., 1407 Louise Avenue, Tampa.
Roberts, Tommy, Angela Street, Key West.
Rothenberg, Arthur, 6237 SW., 14th Street, Miami.
Rizzio, George, Jr., 1580 NE., 139th Street, Miami.
Salgado, Michael, 2702 Abdella, Tampa.
Samras, Roy K., 24 Lake Hollingsworth Drive, Lakeland.

Sands, Gladys, 15015 Harrison Street, Richmond Heights, Miami.
Sands, John, 15015 Harrison Street, Richmond Heights, Miami.
Scavella, Elizabeth, 10201 SW., 171st Street, Perrine.
Scott, John L., NK.
Seeman, Richard E., 3405 Omar, Tampa.
Sherrill, William C., 225 Murray Road, West Palm Beach.
Sierra, Richard, 1502 South Street, Key West.
Smith, James, 445 SW., 6th Court, Homestead.
Smith, Willie, 17525 SW., 107th Avenue, Miami.
Starr, Victor, 3250 Charles Avenue, Miami.
Sterling, Michael D., 331 Piney Ridge Road, Casselberry.
Stoutamire, James W., 1471 Crestview Avenue, Tallahassee.
Sullivan, Richard Lee, 19311 NW., 39th Court, Miami.
Summers, Robert C., 1819 South Eola Drive, Orlando.
Swart, Michael M., 23 Seneca Road, Fort Lauderdale.
Taylor, William E., 9795 SW. 70th Street, Miami.
Tibbs, James F., 1825 Monterey Avenue, Orlando.
Vickers, Kenneth, 1015 West Warren Street, Plant City.
Waldron, Don, 5025 SW. 7th Street, Miami.
Weinstein, Stanley, Miami.
West, Charles, 17011 NW. 34th Avenue, Miami.
West, John R., Not known.
Williams, Del, Rte. 1, Box 91, Live Oak.
Walfarth, Mary M., 2100 SW. 23d Street, Miami.

Georgia

Adams, Francine, Not known.
Allen, Terrell W., 345 University Drive, Athens.
Arrington, Marvin S., 883 Neal Street, Atlanta.
Belford, Richard D., 4145 Warrior Trial, Stone Mountain.
Bird, Becky L., 635 Banks Street SW., Gainesville.
Brooks, Evelyn, Box 114, Chestnut Mountain.
Burnett, William C., 4885 Northway Drive NE., Atlanta.
Campbell, Terry M., Rte. 8 Meadowview Drive, Gainesville.
Campbell, William W., 1911 Jeff Davis Street, Macon.
Carroll, Jerry Lee, 605 Mulkey Road, Toccoa.
Clark, Ted M., Rte. 1, Murrayville.
Cooper, Clarence, 111 Chappell Road SW., Atlanta.
DeFoor, James N., 921 South Big A Road, Toccoa.
Duke, John C., Newnan.
Fisher, Clifford P., 3216 Kemble Avenue, Brunswick.
Fortson, Frank, Elberton.
Geissler, Bill, 412 Stanton Way, Athens.
Goodwin, Alfred L., 1600 11th Avenue, Columbus.
Greene, Tom E., III, 169 Country Club Drive, Macon.
Harrison, Richard A., 1778 Winston Drive, Macon.
Hasty, David L., 1350 Sheridan Road, Atlanta.
Hatfield, Archie E., 2439 Cindy Drive, Columbus.
Higingbotham, Tom B., 428 South East Main Street, Eastman.
Hix, Stanley J., Danielville.
Jordan, Douglas Lee, Unknown.
Kantor, Michael E., 1266 Owsley Avenue, Columbus.
Lee, John L., Eastman.
Maddox, Alton, Jr., 368 Newport Street, North West, Atlanta.
Neighbors, John M., Unknown.
Richards, Kenneth, Route No. 1, Canton.
Ross, Charles A., 2696 Houston Avenue, Macon.
Rowland, Charles A., 205 Pine Needle, Athens.
Rouse, Harry, 201 Roach Street, North West No. 332, Atlanta.
Seymour, Guy, Elberton.
Shoenberger, Beverly A., 420 Lynhurst Drive, South West, Atlanta.
Smaha, Jiggy E., 815 Boulevard Avenue, Macon.
Smith, Charles B., Newnan.
Smith, Ronald M., Route 6, Gainesville.
Stovall, Mary, Unknown.
Summerour, Carol, Unknown.
Tucker, Oliver E., 815 Atlanta Avenue, Decatur.
Wager, John, 700 Cascade Drive, Marietta.
Weyandt, Thomas L., 3659 Admiral Drive, Chamblee.
Whiteside, John G., 301 East 19th Street, Rome.
Whittenburg, James P., 7 Parkway Drive, Rome.
Wyatt, Miriam, NK, Atlanta.
Abraham, William C., NK, Atlanta.
Baker, Gerald K., NK, Atlanta.
Blackburn, Linda C., NK, Atlanta.
Bloodworth, Michael H., NK, Atlanta.
Cook, Ronald D., NK, Atlanta.
Dounis, George S., NK, Atlanta.
Efferson, Susan L., NK, Atlanta.
Gaines, Robert G., NK, Atlanta.
Goosby, Alvin, NK, Atlanta.
Grimes, Henry M., NK, Atlanta.
Hammack, Larry C., NK, Atlanta.
Harris, Jon E., NK, Atlanta.
Hilliard, Earl F., NK, Atlanta.
James, Jack L., NK, Atlanta.
Jordan, Brenda J., NK, Atlanta.
Kellett, Roy C., NK, Atlanta.
Lester, James M., NK, Atlanta.
McChesney, Donald E., NK, Atlanta.
McKinnon, Michael A., NK, Atlanta.
McWilliams, Joseph, NK, Atlanta.
Martin, Sharon L., NK, Atlanta.
Murphy, Gail Y., NK, Atlanta.
Murtagh, Jerry A., NK, Atlanta.
O'Callaghan, Robert, NK, Atlanta.
Perry, Cheryl A., NK, Atlanta.
Phelps, Eddie L., NK, Atlanta.
Pierce, Ernest P., NK, Atlanta.
Rucker, Judith M., NK, Atlanta.
Ryan, John F., NK, Atlanta.
Shaw, Richard D., NK, Atlanta.
Simmons, Johnnie M., NK, Atlanta.
Singleton, Peter T., NK, Atlanta.
Smith, Elizabeth H., NK, Atlanta.
Stephens, James R., NK, Atlanta.
Summers, Michael C., NK, Atlanta.
Thomas, Norman H., NK, Atlanta.
Tibbetts, Samuel W., NK, Atlanta.
Wall, Philip H., NK, Atlanta.
Watts, Daniel T., NK, Atlanta.
West, George, Jr., NK, Atlanta.
Wigley, Gary Shannon, NK, Atlanta.
Wright, Anthony E., NK, Atlanta.
Dounis, Soterios S., NK, Atlanta.
Walton, Dan L., NK, Atlanta.
Hasty, David L., NK., Atlanta.
Strickland, George M., NK, Atlanta.

North Carolina

Abernathy, David P., 1702 Charlotte Avenue, Kinston.
Ainsley, William F., Post Office Box 22, Hertford.
Bell, Daniel, 1106 Downing St., High Point.
Brabble, James C., Route 2, Edenton.
Brady, Gary M., 118 East 1st Street, Newton.
Brewer, Frank L., not known.
Brown, Alan Dean, not known.
Brown, Kenneth M., 1542 Lynway Dr., Charlotte.
Calloway, Donald R., 1721 Circle Drive, Greenville.
Cannon, Clarence R., 219 Hill Street, Kinston.
Clay, Eric Lee, 36–C Wabash Avenue, Durham.
Cobb, Thurston, not known.
Conway, Donald R., Route 2, Box 35, Beaufort.
Croom, Edward M., 3118 Auburn Avenue, Charlotte.
Dawkins, Willie L., 1901 Grier, Charlotte.
Drayton, Jerry, 205 K Court, Winston-Salem.
Earnest, James D., Montreat.
Everett, Robert H., 5022 Sordis Road, Charlotte.
Eggleston, James E., 210 Roanoke Avenue, Elizabeth City.
Faison, Ollie W., Route 1, Box 349, Knightdale.
Felton, Billy, not known.
Ferebee, C. Thomas, Route 2, Box 16–P, New Bern.
Fuller, John M., not known.
Grady, John P., Post Office Box 1297, New Bern.
Griffin, Joseph W., 109 South Watts Street, Williamston.
Harper, Richard A., Wallace.
Harris, Wiley Dowd, 5212 Six Forks Road, Raleigh.
Hemric, Clay H., 2519 Pineway Drive, Burlington.
Huggins, Walter, Jr., 726 South Alexander, Charlotte.
Ivory, Cecil, 1631 Van Bruen Avenue, Charlotte.
James, Tracey, Burgaw.
Kinard, Glenn, 72 Ingleside Drive, Concord.
Knowles, Rodney, 117 East Park Avenue, Mount Olive.
Bunn, Lee H., 1515 Ridgecrest Avenue, Burlington.
Mallory, James D., 106 Country Club Drive, Plymouth.
Mapp, Kenneth, 242 Lincoln Avenue, Asheville.
McBride, Gene, NK.
McGee, George, 3113½ Rowena Avenue, Durham.
Morgan, George F., 49 Highland Street, Asheville.
Morris, Leslie, 1809 Tryon Road, New Bern.
Neidig, Milton E., 4210 Tangle Drive, Charlotte.
Nicholson, G. F., Richlands.
Nolan, William J., 5010 Milford Road, Charlotte.
Page, Bob, 311 Brentwood Avenue, Jacksonville.
Paris, Fulton, Graham.
Parrott, James H., 303 Sherwood Avenue, Kinston.
Perez, Frank W., 4921 Plum Nearly Lane, Charlotte.
Potter, NK.
Powell, Robert N., Post Office Box 756, Clinton.
Price, Ralph, NK.
Raiford, William R., 1608 Old Snowhill Road, Kinston.
Roberson, Clarence E., Memorial Drive, Ahoskie.
Rufty, Joe Hearne, 220 Confederal Avenue, Salisbury.
Sauder, John Larry, 313 Scofield Road, Charlotte.
Shaw, Jane G., 1138 Ordemore Avenue, Charlotte.
Seila, Andrew F., 129 Circle Drive, Lenoir.
Settle, James, 109 North Griffing Boulevard, Asheville.
Shotwell, Lonnie T., 107 Blue Ridge Avenue, Asheville.
Shreve, Richard A., Post Office Box 517, Brown Summit.
Smith, Dan G., 1904 Bragg Street, Fayetteville.
Smithwick, Billy H., Route 1, Belhaven.
Spivey, Charles B., Windsor.
Teachey, Bruce, 407 Brentwood Avenue, Jacksonville.
Uppercue, Charles Q., 13 Old West, Chapel Hill.

Vernon, John H., Jr., 1124 Aycock Avenue, Burlington.
White, Glenn C. Route 1, Box 123, Elizabeth City.
Winters, Joseph, Jr., 101 Pettigrew Street, Raleigh.

South Carolina

Babb, David R., NK., Anderson.
Bates, Carter Dean, 216 Holly Drive, Spartanburg.
Blanks, Billy, 561 Arch Drive, Rock Hill.
Bolton, Melvin R., NK., Columbia.
Brewer, Frank L., 1007 Colonial Avenue, Greenville.
Brockman, Barry B., Route 1., Duncan.
Carpenter, Arvil W., NK., Greenville.
Coffee, William T., 1143 Alderman Street, Aiken.
Crowder, Elliott W., 1208 Jessamine Street, Cayce.
Culbertson, John D., Greenville.
Curaton, Kenneth, Greenville.
Davis, Michael, 15 Ethelridge Drive, Greenville.
Dawkins, Stanley T., 105 Summit, Harris Station, Greenwood.
Douglas, Jackie, Chesterfield.
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BOSTON REGION

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Fee, Kristan M., 100 Tower Road, Hingham.
Scudder, John A., 24 Baxter Road, Hyannis.
Eaton, Meredith B., 100 Otis Street, Hingham.
Trice, Harley N., 15 Arlington Street, Hyannis.
Mason, John P., Winfield Lane, Osterville.
Newell, Robert C., Jr., 55 Phillips Road, Sagamore Beach.
Sykes, Timothy A., 25 Seaview Road, Sagamore Beach.
Cashman, Diane L., 6 Gilmore Terrace, West Roxbury.
Masse, Eli E., Jr., 24 Sullivan Street, Chicopee Falls.
Holle, Katherine M., 53 Statler Road, Belmont.
Begg, David Arthur, 4 Sunset Avenue, Methuen.
Martin, Craig Albert, 89 Greenfield Street, Lawrence.
Laughlin, Peter M., 7 Housatonic Avenue, Chelmsford.
McGee, Walter L., Jr., 142 Wilder Street, Lowell.
McKinley, David V., 119 Fremont Street, Lowell.
O'Dea, Dennis M., 60 Winthrop Avenue, Lowell.
Burke, Florence E., 33 Lennon Court, South Boston.
Carr, Deborah J., 37 Pond View Avenue, Jamaica Plain.
Grossman, Norma, 8 Bangor Road, West Roxbury.
Toye, Ellen M., 29 Durso Avenue, Lawrence.
Cronin, Frederick R., 17 Maple Street, Lynn.
Daley, Dennis F., 321 Lafayette Street, Salem.
Kiricoples, Charles P., 25 Brimblecom Street, Lynn.
Lennon, Robert G., 100 Johnson Street, Lynn.
Martin, Michael J., 94 Greenwood Avenue, Swampscott.
McDonald, Henry F., 67 Eustis Street, Revere.
McPhetres, George H., 59 Lake Avenue, Lynn.
Weber, Paul A., 3 Bradford Road, Lynn.
Donovan, Grace D., 20 Pickman Road, Salem.
Falls, Gary L., 224 Chatham Street, Lynn.
Gordon, Bruce J., 37 Moffatt Road, Salem.
Maker, Melvin L., Jr., 40 Fair Oaks Avenue, Lynn.
O'Connor, Joseph T., 37 Phillips Avenue, Lynn.
O'Shea, Arthur J., 5 Starratt Road, Lynn.
Wentzell, Paul J., 132 Bellevue Road, Lynn.
Call, Mark A., 27 Shore Avenue, Salem.
Cavanagh, Catherine M., 60 Graves Avenue, Lynn.
Conners, Robert A., 6 Conner's Road, Salem.
Cuffe, T. Richard, Jr., 89 Bickford Street, Lynn.
Curley, Matthew J., 18 Chestnut Street, Boston.
Dorey, George R., 41 Tower Avenue, Lynn.
Kelliher, Laurence M., 41 Jenness Street, Lynn.
Kennedy, Francis M., 146 Western Avenue, Lynn.
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Cheika, Alan L., 117 Fairview Avenue, Chicopee.
Cyboron, Daniel F., 5 Hooper Road, Chicopee.
DesRosiers, Denis A., 40 Abbey Street, Chicopee.
Kieltyka, Theodore S., 214 School Street, Chicopee.
Kozaka, Theodore F., 7 Hooper Road, Chicopee.
Lempart, Walter E., 78 Hafey Street, Chicopee.
Lunardini, Lawrence M., 89 Mount Vernon Street, Willimansett.
Olbrych, Walter C., 114 Washington Street, Chicopee.
Piotrowski, Frederick J., 31 Cyman Drive, Chicopee.
Ricardi, Paul F., 29 Goodhue Avenue, Chicopee.
Stoy, Carl S., Jr., 174 Center Street, Chicopee.
Ziolkowski, Henry J., 170 Springfield Street, Chicopee.
Balvin, Joseph C., 74 Summit Street, Clinton.
Ellam, Thomas J., 121 Berlin Street, Clinton.
Gibbons, William F., 8 Flagg Street, Clinton.
Kilcoyne, Robert M., 58 Park Street, Clinton.
Tierney, Thomas M., 773 Main Street, Clinton.
Thompson, William J., 101 Beech Street, Clinton.
Caulfield, Michael E., 58 Carson Avenue, Dalton.
Green, Robert, 75 Tower Road, Dalton.
Collins, John B., 7 River Drive, Danvers.
Kelley, Richard J., 35 Fremont Street, Lowell.
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Little, Thomas J., 27 America Street, Framingham.
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Aro, Stephen P., Rocky Pasture Road, Gloucester.
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Nickerson, Harold L., 177 Main Street, Chatham.
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Fillos, Stevan M., 39 Belleview Avenue, Salem.
Jones, Martin L., 49 Smith Street, Marblehead.
McMahon, Francis J., 40 Hanson Street, Salem.
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Wheeler, Sherman V., 28 Commercial Street, Marblehead.
Burke, Alexander B., Jr., 6 Sagamore Road, Marblehead.

Cuttell, William F., 41 McKinley Street, Maynard.
Lucas, Gary F., 10 Canal Street, Millbury.
Couture, Richard F., 39 Riverlin Street, Millbury.
Coughlin, Pual J., 25 Osgood Street, Salem.
Coughlin, John E., 25 Osgood Street, Salem.
Holdgate, David J., Vesper Lane, Nantucket.
Alfonso, Norman A., 194 Nemasket Street, New Bedford.
DaCosta, James H., 83 Alden Street, New Bedford.
Duphily, Raymond G., 408 Highland Street, New Bedford.
Quin, James M., 15 Anthony Street, New Bedford.
Sylvia, Edmund J., 30 Viall Street, New Bedford.
Connors, John J., 15 Charles Street, Newburyport.
Johnson, William W., 27 Prospect Street, Newburyport.
Eaton, Lawrence K., 14 Beach Road, Salisbury.
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Joyce, Paul J., Jr., 21 Cottage Street, Peabody.
Manning, John H., 17 Forest Street, Peabody.
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Waldron, Thomas A., 17 Stafford Street, Springfield.
Walsh, Donald J., 83 Pennsylvania Avenue, Springfield.
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Williams, Thomas C., 8 Marlborough Street, Springfield.
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Midura, Theodore A., 76 South Street, West Warren.
Kulig, Douglas J., 60 Main Street, West Warren.
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Rebecca Sidore, 32 Trenton Street, Manchester.
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Arthur Learmonth, Jr., 182 Kennard Road, Manchester.
Albert Desrochers, 278 Holly Avenue, Manchester.
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Maurice P. Guertin, 5 Haines Street, Nashua.
Martin T. Kelly, 70 Harbor Avenue, Nashua.
Maurice J. Richard, 11 Fulton, Nashua.
Frank R. DiPietro, 61 Spauling Street, Nashua.
Andrew Buswell, 58 Ferry Street, Nashua.
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Stephen S. Dumas, None, Danby.
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John Brockway, South Main Street, White River Junction.
Craig Walker, 9 Mountain Avenue, White River Junction.

Rhode Island

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David E. Dredge, Post Road, R.R. No. 1, Westerly.
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Joseph C. O'Connell III, 31 Weeden Avenue, Rumford.
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Donrick Dorsky, 44 Pier Street, Bangor.
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Lawrence A. Moores, None, Hancock.

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William J. Hagan, 12 Birch Road, West Simsbury.
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John C. Karl, 462 Washington Street, Bristol.
Thomas J. Albani, 308 Freeman Street, Hartford.
Thomas C. Banever, 35 Outlook Avenue, West Hartford.
Richard E. Barr, 146 Madison Avenue, Hartford.
Charles N. Bonadies, 198 Homestead Avenue, Hartford.
Joseph A. Borcynski, 53 State Street, Wethersfield.
Howard S. Brecher, 5 Lewis Lane, West Hartford.
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Francis G. Dowley, 395 Woodland Street, Hartford.
Michael Fanelli, 232 Pinceton Street, Hartford.
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David R. Lynch, 12 Plymouth Street, Hartford.
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James A. KcKeown, Jr., 69 Wade Avenue, Bloomfield.
Joseph F. Miscia, Jr., 208 Granderd, East Hartford.
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Gary P. Shank, 23 Adams Avenue, Norwalk.
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Peter J. Coughter, Jr., 67 Deacon Hill Road, Stamford.
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Edward M. Dunne, Very Merry Road, Stamford.
Glennon G. O'Connell, Jr., 95 Myano Lane, Stamford.
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Thomas J. Flanagan, 78 Revere Street, Waterbury.
Albert A. Guimares, 28 Pearl Street, Waterbury.
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John W. Lawley, Jr., 141 Beecher Avenue, Waterbury.
Gerald E. Mambruno, 116 Woodside Avenue, Waterbury.
Terence R. McDonald, 120 Randolph Avenue, Waterbury.

Joseph A. Marcello, 151 South Street, Waterbury.
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Walter Nelson, 102 Griggs Street, Waterbury.
Joseph F. Burke, 155 Eastfield Road, Waterbury.
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Bryon Morris, 11 Daniels Drive, Bridgeport.
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Charles W. Hagen, Ridge Lane, Weston.
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Boylan, Michael E., 1759 West 94th Street.
Braden, Alice A., 7010 South Paxton.
Bradley, Kathleen Mary, 8351 South Dorchester.
Brennan, Lyn Marie, 12515 South Elizabeth.
Brittain, George M., 2710 West 86th Street.
Brooks, Maureen, 11256 South Carpenter.
Brown, Barbara Lynn, 427 West 97th Place.
Brown, Irwin Jerald, 3901 West 69th Place.
Brown, Willie B., 5326 South Wabash.
Brumfield, Hattie M., 7933 South Champlain Avenue.
Burke, James F., 2813 West 85th Place.
Burke, Sterling M., 4637 Evans.
Buszkiewicz, Lawrence W., 2346 West Dickens.
Butler, Harrison, 7430 South Perry.
Callinan, Dennis Martin, 2927 Arch Street.
Catchings, Frank H., Jr., 107 East Marquette Road.
Chaet, Eric Richard, 6359 South Sacramento.
Chambers, Dorothy J., 5308 South Indiana.
Chatt, Charles L., 4715 South Seeley Avenue.
Ciurek, James J., 5038 South Carpenter Street.
Clay, Thomasina, 3517 South Federal.
Clegg, Allan James, 5916 West Bernice.
Cogan, Dominic James, 309 West 107th Street.
Cohen, Anthony R., 6436 North Troy.
Coleman, James, 418 South Central Park.
Conaway, John C., 820 North LaSalle Street.
Conone, Angela Maria, 5621 North Major Avenue.
Cook, Edward W., 1346 West 64th Street.
Cortinas, Guadalupe, 2447 West Taylor Street.
Cowley, James A., 1510 South St. Louis.
Cox, Michael Wade, 8327 Vernon Avenue.
Cyscor, Peter, 1751 West 48th Street.
Dale, Walter R., 8128 South Eberhart.
Daniels, Kathy, 3410 West Fulton.
Davis, Carl E., 6812 Indiana.
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Denard, Eddie James, 733 S. Keeler.
Denoms, Stephen D., 9426 South Indiana.
Depa, Thomas J., 2219 North Seeley.
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DiCaro, Joseph, 543 North St. Louis.
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Dolan, Robert D., 1339 West Garfield Boulevard.
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Duff, James P., 171 North Leamington.
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Dunigan, Nadine, 1547 East Marquette Road.
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Epstein, Ronald S., 5752 North Spaulding.
Evans, Doris Marie, 2320 South State.
Falls, Deborah C., 6934 South Cornell.
Fitzpatrick, Michael J., 5309 South Harper Avenue.
Flagg, Cora Lee, 835 East 75th Street.
Flynn, William R., 10726 South Bell.
French, Cassandra, 7221 Perry Avenue.
Fulgium, Joyce Oweter, 6131 South Champlain Avenue.
Fumbanks, Caroline I., 721 East Bowen.
Futrell, Henrietta E., 8138 Saint Lawrence.
Ganzer, Frank Michael, 1412 North Lawler Avenue.
Garrett, Zeller, 3445 West Walnut.
Gdowski, Joseph E., 6400 West 57th Street.
Grant, Robert L., III, 3249 South Calumet.
Gray, Dennis M., 206 North Leamington Avenue.
Green, Charles W., 7618 Calumet Avenue.
Guberman, Arthur P., 8843 Clyde.
Gunderson, William J., 9522 South Sangamon.
Guy, Timothy George, 4735 North Maplewood.
Hall, De Idra C., 8743 South Michigan Avenue.
Harris, DeWayne A., 5032 Evans Avenue.
Hartney, Edward J., 8051 South Washtenaw.
Hayden, Robert L., 7821 Eberhardt.
Hill, Joseph E., 400 East 33d Street, Apt. 714.
Holdsworth, James C., 10172 South Malta.
Holloway, William Lee, 1735 West Washburne.
Houston, John J., 8627 South Elizabeth.
Howard, Jeffrey P., 7531 South Rhodes.
Hultman, William, 4208 West Palmer.
Hunter, Charles E., 5136 South Ellis.
James, Willie D., 4033 South Calumet.
Jankowski, David A., 2440 South Oakley Avenue.
Jewell, Gary Gordon, 2115 North Sedgewick.
Johansson, Orve Karl, 4238 West 81st Street.
Johnson, Craig M., 7246 South Calumet.
Johnson, Thomas Theo, 6934 South Bell.
Jones, Brenetta Alma, 5420 Indiana.
Jones, Donald D., 401 East 32d Street.
Jones, Everett L., 7533 South Perry.
Jones, Leon Michael, 8023 South Vernon Avenue.
Jones, Steven Loring, 8325 South Calumet Avenue.
Jordan, Sherrilyn Faye, 6036 South Calumet Avenue.
Keelen, Russell N., 6628 South Evans.
Kindt, Thomas Leroy, 4028 North Austin.
Kleban, Stewart Ira (Mr.), 831 West Wilson.
Knox, Pearla Mae, 1622 West Jackson, Room 428.
Kondos, Robert A., 1714 North Maplewood.
Koswenda, Matthew A., 8364 Brandon Avenue.
Kubin, Lynn Anne (Miss), 116 Forest, New Lenox.
Kucharik, John F., 5737 North Roger Avenue.
Kurland, Howard J., 5643 North Spaulding Avenue.
Kurpiewski, Alan Paul, 1227 North Bosworth Avenue.
Kustusch, Ray J., 2040 West 83d Street.
Lane, Daniel P. T., 5832 North Medina.
Lewis, Michael B., 3603 South Indiana Avenue.
Lewis, Oswald G., 7925 South Indiana.
Livorsi, Tom J., 7043 West Summerdale.
Lloyd, Betty J., 4217 South Berkley.
Lobough, Patrick J., 5045 North Mont Clare.
Loda, Terry Allen, 5357 North Canfield.
Loeser, Michael, 7427 South Oglesby Avenue.
Loney, Elizabeth, 3672 South Wabash.
Lorenc, Zbigniew Thaddeus, 3410 North Linder Avenue.
Lukowich, David Albert, 1309 North Oakley.
MacKenzie, Malcolm Scott, 558 West Belden Avenue.
McCrary, Linda G., 11408 South Carpenter.
McCray, Robert Lawrence, 4250 West Adams.
McGough, James, 4717 W. Van Buren.
McKay, Randall P., 5615 N. Sacramento Avenue.
McNamara, Thomas M., 8114 South Justine.
Mackey, John Joseph, 9131 South Wallace Street.
Malloy, Richard J., 516 North LeClaire.
Maxey, Stephen Ernest, 7720 South Rhodes.
Metzler, Eric, 7618 Calumet Avenue.
Meyer, Fred M., 6492 North Newcastle.
Migut, Thomas Edward, 3135 North Monticello.
Miller, Karen, 6628 South Rhodes.
Misiulis, Vytantes Dominic, 11734 South Ridgeway.
Mitchell, George P., 400 East 33d Street.
Moore, Michael Pleasant, 1445 South Hamlin Avenue.
Moran, Teodore Jr., 1226 East Hyde Park Boulevard.
Morris, Robert G., 919 East Hyde Park Boulevard.
Mosley, Earnestine, 8131 South Yale Avenue.
Moszur, Edward J., 12410 South Lowe Avenue.
Mrumlinski, Arthur John, 8207 South Washtenaw.
Murrell, Andew, care of Mr. Frank Morries, 1920 West Washington Boulevard.
Murrell, Render, care of Mr. Frank Morries, 1920 West Washington Boulevard.
Nadel Phillip Charles, 4853 North Springfield.
Nakagawa, Robert Yoshio, 5062 North Winthrop.
Nawojski, Richard H., 5038 South Aberdeen Street.
Nicolei, Kevin P., 5415 South Laflin Street.
Nitzsche, Kathryn Joann, 2643 South Harding Avenue.
Noah, Kathleen Ann, 2756 West 43d Street.
Norris, Michael J., 7921 South Fairfield.
Novak, Cynthia Rose, 4545 South Spaulding.
O'Brien, Sally J., 4933 West Hirsch.
O'Connor, Michael J., 211 North Laramie.
O'Connor, Thomas P., 5837 South Francisco.
O'Neal, Leohsenth, 4222 South Parkway.
O'Sullivan, Daniel Patrick, 7948 Luella.
Orro, Keenan, 7425 South Michigan.
Osiol, Ronald S., 5329 North Milwaukee.
Pabalan, Steven S., 4841 North Ridgeway.
Pacholski, John J., 5232 South Winchester Avenue.
Pajkos, John E., 4725 South Seeley Avenue.
Panzica, Joseph P., Jr., 4221 West Hirsch.
Parker, Mike Thomas, 1255 North Sandburg.
Parrillo, James A., 6725 South Paulina.
Parrish, Darrell Nordice, 444 East 93d Street.

Pearce, Linda Marian, 2619 North Sawyer Avenue.
Pekarsky, Daniel Nachman, 5516 South Cornell.
Pelzer, Harold Joseph, Jr., 1539 North Mayfield Avenue.
Petty, Mary E., 1427 South Central Park.
Petullo, Thomas J., 5106 West Quincy Street.
Pierre, Norbert A., 6459 South Aberdeen.
Pietruszewski, Walter, 1057 North Sacramento.
Plens, Thomas, 2221 North Maplewood.
Dodgorski, Edward J., 5212 South Marshfield.
Prentiss, Hazel D., 358 East 54th Street.
Provisor, Hartley Thomas, 6609 North Campbell.
Pucher, Michael Alan, 11046 Avenue "D".
Quish, John Joseph, 1334 West 97th Place.
Ramos, Jessee Rincon, 1924 South Loomis Street.
Reed, Royal E., Jr., 5103 Ellis.
Reid, Charlotte Louise, 4107 South Ellis.
Reisman, Cary S., 2237 East 98th Street.
Robertson, Evelyn I., 7114 South Cornell.
Robinson, Ed. G., 2701 South Dearborn.
Romani, Frank M., 5350 North Mobile Avenue.
Rosenberg, Kenneth R., 4914 North Spaulding.
Rosenberg, Lawrence J., 10052 South Crandon Avenue.
Ryan, James E., 10536 South Millard.
Rytlewski, Craig Bernard, 4430 South Christiana Avenue.
Sekerka, John Francis, 2432 North Bernard.
Setka, Robert P., 6051 West Matson Avenue.
Shamberg, Lee Gary, 559 West Roscoe.
Shropsheer, John, 5129 Drexel.
Shymanik, Joseph E., 847 North Pulaski.
Siuta, Francis, 6564 West Devon Avenue.
Slothower, John Robert, 2055 West Jarvis.
Smith, Eulalia M., 7319 South Lowe.
Smith, Jeffrey W., 6507 North Hamilton Avenue.
Smith, Robert W., Jr., 7726 West Catalpa Avenue.
Spearman, Arnold David, 2941 West Lexington.
Stirling, Jack Martin, 10345 Cottage Grove.
Stokes, Paulette Royal, 200 East 72d Street.
Summers, Sandra L., 6936 Union.
Targonski, Conrad Andrew, 8637 Exchange Avenue.
Tate, Gail (Miss), 8223 Calumet.
Turner, Robert, 4265 West Cermak Road.
Vanderbilt, Mardelle A., 6809 Harper.
Van Etten, James L., 515 West 107th Street.
Versey, Henderson, 6531 Kenwood.
Walker, James R., 7342 South Prairie.
Wang, James Payton, 8200 South Indiana Avenue.
Washington, Alex Eugene, 5615 South Calumet.
Waterford, Herman L., 7230 South Michigan Avenue.
Webb, Melvin, 1827 South Karlove.
Weintraub, Joseph Nathan, 1645 West Greenleaf.
Wells, Neal, 7935 South Prairie.
Wheatley, George, 7721 South Indiana Avenue.
Wilkens, Myris Louise, 6242 South Bishop.
Williams, Eddie R., 3720 South Parkway.
Williams, Gloria Jean S., 4109 South Wabash Avenue.
Williams, William Michael, 2443 West Greenshaw.
Willingham, Camille Aljean, 4414 South Michigan.
Willis, Carolyn Theresa, 517 East 89th Place.
Wilson, John U., 6537 South Langley.
Winfrey, Carl M., 6034 South Indiana.
Wisinski, Carl L., 6092 North Naples.
Witt, Klyle Don, 9416 South Racine.
Wulff, John Newbury, 7304 West Greenleaf.
Ziubrzynski, Stanley J., 2328 West McLean Avenue.

Michigan

Allen Park

Brunelle, Garrett, no address.
Quinn, Paul, no address.
Ray, Robert, no address.
Shade, Jeffery, no address.

Alpena

Gamage, Robert, 111 Oliver Street.

Ann Arbor

Hayden, Charles L., 1604 Peach Street.

Battle Creek

Carr, Woodrow A., no address.
Garland, John Burton, 247 Cherry Street.
McNamee, L. C., III, no address.
Noverr, Dogulas A., 115 Cook Street.
Pool, Ronald Lee, no address.

Bay City

Charters, Thomas M., 311 North Sheridan Street.
Evans, Albert C., 103 Leng Street.

Calumet

Mikkola, James W., Rural Route No. 1, Box 106.

Charlevoix

Stephan, Paul, 207 Prospect.

Crystal Falls

Kudwa, Robert, Route 2, Box 106.

Dearborn

Bohas, John Jr., 225 North Vernon.
Borovsky, Jerry, 6489 Robindale.
Henry, Earle W., 7631 Maple.
Kopczyk, Christine, 6583 Kingsbury.
Palise, Sandra K., 6159 Argyle.
Paluch, Elizabeth J., 6133 Argyle.
Traye, Gordon Theodore, 731 Mohawk.
Whitcomb, Susan (Miss), 8136 Riverdale.
Wohlford, Pauline (Miss), 4465 Grindley Park.

Detroit

Ambrose, Donald H., 5035 Hillsboro.
Anderson, Shannon, no address.
Ardrey, Terry Walls, Mr., 2037 Oakman Boulevard.
Arnold, Earnestine, 612 East Philadelphia.
Ausgood, William, 1634 Glendale.
Barnes, Gary L., 16315 Coram.
Beard, Joyce M., 19925 Northlawn.
Bennett, Barbara A., 11328 Hawthorne.
Bibbins, Victor E., 2997 Belvedere.
Bland, Charles, no address.
Bolden, James, 13253 Trumbull, Highland Park.
Boone, Curtis D., 2325 Highland.
Bridges, Thomas C., 12057 Hawthorne.
Brown, Arthur R., 17690 Grandville.
Brown, Karen, no address.
Bullock, Robert E., no address.
Campbell, Harry L., 4587 Allendale.
Carter, Patricia, no address.
Cawthon, Gerald C., no address.
Chapman, Clement, no address.
Cherry, Lugreta, L., 5758 Woodrow.
Childers, Theda S., 2481 Seminole.
Clark, Elizabeth B., 6374 Ironwood.
Clarke, Brenda P., 3960 Garland.
Cochran, Edward, no address.
Coleman, Larry H., no address.
Coleman, Leroy, no address.
Collins, Harold S., 19929 Manor.
Colquitt Bernard B., 5202 Yemans, Hamtramck.
Colquitt, Thelma, 4405 Hireman.
Corbin, Gregory, no address.
Czerwinski, Lawrence M., 3965 Talbot.
Diggs, Charles C., III, 2522 West Boston Boulevard.
Dozier, Tyrone, no address.
Duthrie, Eleanor, no address.
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Edwards, Willie L., 675 Eliot.
Eldridge, Carolyn, 621 Navahoe.
Evans, Marilyn J., 19937 Ohio.
Ewing, Richard, 14738 Quincy.
Finkel, Howard, no address.
Ford, Beverly, no address.
Fox, Booker T., 4618 Beniteau.
Franklin, Roman, 20172 Tracey.
Frederick, Joanne M., no address.
Frey, James P., 2410 Inglis.
Gandy, Adak, no address.
Gardner, Reginald E., 1482 West Grand Boulevard.
Garvin, John M., 4444 St. Clair.
Gaspar, Kenneth L., 17700 Omira At.
Gee, Clara M., no address.
Grayson, Bessie M., 5012 McClellan.
Green, Sherril N., 142 Connecticut, Highland Park.
Greenwald, Leslie Neil, 19490 Steel.
Gulley, James C., 584 Erskine.
Gunn, Carolyn, 2721 Doris.
Hall, Frank Eugene, 2015 Highland.
Harper, Glenn, 5056 Underwood.
Hendon, Mary Jane, 3899 Garland.
Herring, Willie, no address.
Holston, Charles, no address.
Holtyn, Kenneth J., 6266 Joseph Campau.
Horn, Delores, no address.
Hudson, Frederick B., 18111 Greenlawn.
Hughes, Carl D., Jr., 258 Trowbridge.
Hunt, William J., 3161 Fourth.
Jackson, Henry, Jr., 3001 Cochrane.
Johnson, Gwendolyn J., 2918 Montclair.
Johnson, Patricia A., 11748 Cardoni, Highland Park.
Joseph, Edward F., 18088 Maine.
Kliber, William A., Jr., 8530 Concord, Grosse Ile.
Koseman, Susan, no address.
Kotlarczyk, Raymond, 7258 Rutherford.
Kuczynski, Bernadette M., 18940 Curtis.
Kulikauskas, Alfred A., 7441 Forrer.
Kusak, Christine E., 7427 Grandmont.
Langston, Von H., 21637 Highwood, Ferndale.
Law, Donovan, no address.
Leonard, Michael C., 15882 Fairfield.
Ligon, William J., no address.
Lonyo, Annette Louise, 751 Boston Boulevard.
Lorey, Lawrence, no address.
Lukshaitis, Eugene, 3869 Norwalk, Hamtramck.
McCarver, Clarence H., Jr., 3937 McGraw.
McCauley, Marcia L., 4370 Kensington.
McConnell, Rosemary, no address.
McFarland, Lynda Jane, no address.
McGivern, Kevin G., 11487 Findlay.
McGraw, Tom C., 15602 Lappin.
McKay, Edward B., III, 19359 Rutherford.
McLeod, Maureen A., 18625 Santa Rose.
McMurty, Dennis, 3237 Vicksburg.
Marable, Diane J., 16932 Parkside.
Marshall, Carl E., Jr., 3265 Burlingame.
Masley, Phillip A., 3890 Cicotte.
Mathis, Vickie Henry, 509 Westminister.
Maurant, Dorian, no address.
Mejca, Joseph A., no address.
Merski, Jack, 6509 Faust.
Merzulli, Mary J., no address.
Meyers, Gerald W., 16861 Mendota.
Millender, Patricia Louise, 5537 S. Clarendon.
Miller, Janice, no address.
Mitchell, Roger D., 3225 Concord.
Molnar, Robert L., 9175 Lane.
Moody, Maurice, no address.
Mozham, Marc M., no address.
Mucker, Lawrence, 7358 DeSoto.
Mulawa, Joseph L., no address.
Naugles, Barbara Mae, no address.
Neal, Michael E., 15327 Linwood.
Nosek, John W., 3288 Lehman, Hamtramck.
Onica, Paul A., 16156 Kentucky.
Orlowski, Richard J., 9006 Keller.
Palka, Mary Jane, 8082 Sussex.
Passmore, Charles, no address.
Pechur, John C., 825 Philip Avenue.
Pechur, Robert E., 825 Philip Avenue.
Peirsel, William L., 12257 Wilshire.
Peterson, Sandra J., no address.
Pickett, Kenneth, 1207 Burlingame.
Pierce, Gwendolyn J., 2293 Glynn.
Pishko, Gale Andrew, 8888 Auburn.
Pitts, Rozanne E., 2732 Charlevoix.
Pusker, Robert J., 8603 Cheyenne.
Ragland, Rosalynne Elaine, 2941 Cortland.

Ralyea, Evan P., 15900 Winthrop.
Ramos, Norma O., no address.
Reardon, Daniel James, 17136 Wildemere.
Reeder, William, 2992 Beniteau.
Reid, Eddie D., no address.
Reynolds, Paul G., 10371 North Oak Drive, Ferndale.
Richter, Francis, J., 19152 Grandville.
Riley, Michael, no address.
Ripton, George, 19942 Northlawn.
Rivers, Sidney, no address.
Robinson, Charles E., 4747 Cooper.
Rodriguez, Robert, no address.
Rogers, Nathaniel, Jr., 4439 St. Clair.
Romanowski, Dennis S., 3301 Kanter.
Romanski, Jr., Matthew Leo, 3935 Caely.
Ross, Jacqueline V., 7438 Dexter.
Rout, Emmanuel A., 3060 Bewick.
Sallee, Andrew J., 25541 Gardner, Oak Park.
Saunders, Ingrid Juanita, 2531 South La-Salle Gardens.
Scott, Ronald, 3520 Gibson, Apartment 11.
Shaw, Allan, no address.
Shepherd, James, no address.
Shomin, Jean L., 4646 Military Street.
Shore, Jerry N. (Gerald), 18619 Hartwell.
Sikus, Leonard, no address.
Slaughter, Richard L., 13816 Trumbull Avenue, Highland Park.
Slayman, Cheryl J., 22500 Alexander, St. Clair Shores.
Smith, Ernestine, 1756 West Boston Boulevard.
Smith, Harvey, no address.
Stanfield, Larry, 4429 Fairview.
Stanley, Celene M., no address.
Staples, Richard L., 19739 Santa Barbara.
Stewart, Clarence, no address.
Stocks, Jacqueline B., 2235 West Boston Boulevard.
Strong, Roger M., 13959 Greenview.
Sturkey, Gregory C., 2332 Buena Vista.
Szczhgielski, Joseph T., 3881 Hulrouk, Hamtramck.
Szirtes, Gerald J., 20234 Schaefer.
Thomas, Daryl C., no address.
Tomaszychi, Alex A., 3697 Medbury.
Townsend, Gordon, no address.
Tumidanski, Joanne Theresa (Miss), 2592 Military.
Uller, Frank D., 16261 Lappin.
Vincent, Joyce E., 17535 St. Aubin.
Waroway, Dennis M., 17836 Roe.
Washington, Gerald Daniel, 7535 Dexter.
Watson, Janet E., no address.
Wilder, Louis H., Jr., 5072 Holcomb.
Williams, Carol Ann, no address.
Williams, Clyde L., 2906 Harding.
Williams, Nathaniel, 3939 12th Street.
Williams, Robert E., 8476 Minock.
Wilson, Cattie, 1938 Hancock (East).
Wortham, Rozaa J., 2967 Glynn Court.
Worthy, Anthony P., no address.
Wynn, Larry L., no address.
Zakobielski, Marlene M., 8168 Archdale.
Zellars, Vivian A., 910 Gladstone.
Zrolka, Richard, 20316 Rosemont.

East Detroit

Bommarito, Margaret M., 21797 Pleasant.
Heuer, Lynda M., 16641 Stephens.
Kronberg, Gay (Miss), 21720 Donald.

Escanaba

Bruce, Jimmy R., 617 South 10th.
Vader, Charles L., 508 Second Avenue South.

Farmington

Jamieson, Perry D., 21640 Hamilton.
Key Smith, Catharine M., 34235 Cortland.

Flint

Bearup, Rodney T., 2127 Milbourne.
Bess, Dayne M., 618 Lyon Place.
Hickman, Dennis P., 121 Grace.
Jeffes, David L., 1426 Davison Road.
Lehnst, Michael S., G–2033 Delaney.
Martin, Webb F., 3734 Norwood Drive.
Mondell, Constance, 214 Edwin.
Schmidt, Wayne A., 2081 E. Bristol.
Snyder, David, 4410 Kilarney Park Drive.
Turnbull, Patricia L., 4265 North Gale, Davison.
Shaffer, Judith, 489 East Glass, Ortonville.
Wright, Charles O'Carnell, 2817 West Boulevard Drive.

Garden City

Anderson, Bruce M., 30742 Elmwood.
Koloski, Philip A., 32581 Sheridan.
LeMond, Carey Lee, 34563 Glover Street, Wayne.
Murphy, Sharon M. (Miss), 31560 Barton.
Patterson, Harold Vance, 31438 Rush.

Grand Rapids

Ashley, Ronald A., 4462 Hunsberger NE.
Buzen, Norbert J., 900 Flat Street NE.
Cwick, Patrick, 612 Davis Ave. NW.
Farrand, David L., 834 Canterbury Street SW., Wyoming.
Haas, David R., 332 Marion St. NW.
Koon, Frederick R., Jr., 1714 Kalamazoo Street SE.
Marlowe, Nancy L., 2704 Woodward SW., Grand Rapids.
Ponne, Brian T., 830 Canterbury SW., Wyoming.
Smiley, Harold Upjohn, Jr., 842 Cadillac Drive.
Terbeek, Kenneth J., 1104 Cricklewood Drive SW., Wyoming.
West, Rudolph, 402 Union SE.
Wissman, William, Jr., 838 Buckingham SW.
Zainea, Leo M., 1654 Woodward St. SE.

Hancock

Martin, John, no address.
Witting, James, no address.

Houghton

Niva, Mildred, Toivola.
Salo, Paul.

Ionia

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Iron Mountain

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Ironwood

Morin, Dennis J., 1225 Margaret.

Ishpeming

Turino, Steven P., 168 Saginaw.

Jackson

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Baker, Robert Paul, 4197 Lancashire Drive.

Kalamazoo

Barnum, Thomas, 4238 Mayfair Street.
Brown, Robert A., 813 Ferris Court.
O'Connor, Michael J., 4011 Devonshire Avenue.
Williams, Shirley Marie (Miss), 1015 Hotop Avenue.

Lansing

Davenport, Lawrence F., 608 West Street.
Holmes, Winfield L., 813½ Jerome Street.
Keesler, Eric Lynn, no address.
Kruger, David D., 2925 Pleasant Grove.
Reid, Lynn Edward, 1948 Elm Street, Holt.

Lincoln Park

Haf, James J., 1365 Moran.
Tomaszewski, Joseph W., 3043 Green.

Marquette

Labreche, Tom M., 136 West Crescent.
Mendelin, Jack W., 1123 North 3d Street.

Monroe

Williams, David C., 11 Richards Court.

Mount Clemens

Borowski, Michael A., 22215 Thomson.
Finch, Mary P., 22626 15 Mile Road.

Mount Pleasant

Turner, Gerry D., 107 West Hall Street, Shepherd.

Muskegon

Derezinski, James J., 11 North Wolf Lake Road.
Hughey, Jack L., 305 North Muskegon Boulevard.
Sullivan, Michael P., 457 Grover Road.
Sullivan, Michael P., 457 Grover Road.
Zellar, Michael F., 4091 South Wolf Lake Road, Fruitport.

Negaunee

Pirkola, Carl R., 406 Cherry Street.

Petoskey

Sterzik, Terry J., RFD, Resort Township.

Plymouth

Good, B. R., no address.
Hinderliter, Charles, no address.
Kenner, James F., no address.
White, R. E., no address.

Pontiac

Bisogni, Gary, 731 Third.
Corke, Hortense, 94 Wall.
Dugan, William, 363 Nelson.
Elkins, Robert, 1886 Elsmere.
Hayes, Jeanette D., 421 Lynch.
Metz, Barbara K., 90 W. Berkshire, Bloomfield Hills.
Mathews, Claudine, 348 Howard McNeil.
Norman, Thomas A., 981 Kettering.
Payette, Judy, 5115 West Combe, Orchard Lake.
Ramirez, Mary, 54 Hillside.
Sulaica, Gloria, 248 Columbia.

Rochester

Lorraine, Susan, no address.

Rockwood

Koerber, Dave E., 30023 Young Drive, Gibraltar.

Royal Oak

Almany, Julian R., 2343 Sunny Knoll, Berkley.
Boik, Alexander, 20110 Stotter, Detroit.
Czarnik, Thomas J., 19357 Carrie, Detroit.
Hahn, Edward, 3448 Royal, Berkley.
Murphy, Sheila M., 710 Catalpa.
Pietrzak, Patrick J., 18048 Mount Elliott, Detroit.
Valdez, Dennis N., 19651 Cliff, Detroit.

St. Clair Shores

Rzempala, Carol A., 27804 Ruehle Street.

St. Joseph

Smith, Thomas William, 1803 Niles Avenue.

Sault Ste. Marie

Cody, Calvin, Riverside Drive.
Dubow, Tom E., 3301 Lake Shore Drive.
Ziewacz, Larry E., 1503 Minneapolis.

Saginaw

Boese, Richard, 1845 Joy Road.
Bustamante, Robert, 1810 Sanford.
Chaney, James, 3172 Wadsworth.
Ehlert, Melvel H., no address.
Haney, Robert T., 413 South 25th Street.
Orange, Tommie, Jr., no address.
Schilling, Eugene P., no address.
Simmons, Warren W., no address.
Smith, William S., no address.
Toureau, Timothy, no address.
Turner, Joseph M., no address.
Volz, David Robert, 5016 Wadsworth Road.

Taylor

Day, Jim L., 7626 Mayfair.
Pray, David Peter, 3445 Filmore.

Traverse City

Hager, Robert T., Route 6.
Hulett, Bruce W., 3109 Townline Road.
Strong, Gary W., Route 4.

Trenton

Sawyer, James W., 2550 Edgemont.
Shamanski, Thomas L., 2977 Syckelmoore.

Wakefield

Petranek, John C., 405 Ascherman.

Walled Lake

Lewis, Forest G., 5681 Halsteed.

Wayne

Nicholas, Dennis, no address.
Ryerson, Nancy R. (Miss), 6973 Bison.

Wyandotte

Malinowski, Norman N., 2224 21st Street.
Piasecki, Joseph H., 544 Orange.

Illinois

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Gould, James P., 1531 Mascoutah, Belleville.
Orlet, James J., 27 South 10th Street, Belleville.
Cavalli, Nick, 404 West Reed, Benton.
Collier, Harold P., Jr., 6608 Cermak Road, Berwyn.
Ballard, Mark E., 174 Van Dyke Drive, Canton.
Turner, James, 1503 East Charles, West Frankfort.

Centralia

Wolf, Larry, 504 East 7th Street, West Frankfort.
Biagi, Arthur Jr., RR No. 2.
Duncan, Harry, 419 North Maple.
Duvian, Harry J., 419 North Maple.
Rissi, Michael F., Collinsville, no address.
Ruffus, Michael, 340 North Fairway Decatur.
Zindahl, Bernard W., 209 East 138th Street, Dolton.

Du Quoin

Adams, Michael, 107 East Smith, Benton.

East St. Louis

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Knor, Joseph, 4010 Caseyville Avenue.
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Mays, Cedric E., 4447 McCasland.
Mays, Robert Berry, 4447 McCasland Avenue.

Effingham

Bryant, David J., 604 South Fifth Street.
Foreman, Jerry J., Rural Route No. 1.

Evanston

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Burks, Deborah K., 1513 Asbury Avenue.
Cunningham, Thomas F., Jr., no address.
Galen, Arthur M., no address.
Gargas, James C., no address.
Gould, Francis B., no address.
Johnson, Linck C., no address.
Kaufman, Stuart D., no address.
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Galva

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Glencoe

Sheldon, Harvey M., 1228 Oak Street, Winnetka.

Glenview

McFadzean, John, 2111 Robin Crest.

Granite City

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Toth, David Neil, 2616 East 28th Street.

Harrisburg

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Herrin

Wright, Michael A., Route 1, Johnston City.

Hillsboro

Cox, Arthur L., Route 2.

Homewood

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Highland Park

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Poppe, Stephen C., no address.
Schecter, Steven Barry, no address.

Joliet

Bartl, Frank J., 701 Geneva Avenue, Lockport.
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Lang, Otha Olen, 210 Edward Street.
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Park Forest

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Meyer, Dennis A., no address.
Pecaro, Vincent J., no address.
Spenko, Frank J., no address.

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Larsen, A. R., no address.
Paisly, James D., no address.

Winnetka

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Fox, Barry, no address.
Heinbrink, J. J., no address.
Knowles, Robert M., no address.
Weiss, Harvey S., no address.

Zion

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Olsen, Brian, no address.

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Mudra, James, no address.
Murawski, Vernon, no address.
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Purchase, Wendell, no address.
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Weiss, Jerry, 4920 North Troy.

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South Suburban Facility

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Bazmore, Winston Leonard, 4626 Champlain.
Berry, Steven Mark, 9143 South Emerald.
Biggs, Lester, no address.
Burrell, James A., no address.
Ciapas, Leonard John, 4444 South Mozart.
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Crenshaw, Theodore, no address.
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O'Neill, Thomas M., no address.
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Stephen H. McElroy II, 2180 Olive Avenue.
Donald B. McEwen, 4123 Germaine Avenue.
James J. Menart, 800 Alhambra Road.
Jason A. Morton, 9322 Amesbury.
Kenneth A. Murphy, 10615 Lee Avenue.
Louis J. Nimylowycz, 1260 Cranford Avenue.
Michael T. Norton, 11107 Ashbury Avenue.
Charles J. O'Malley, 1117 Allston Road.
Frank R. Osborne, 164 East 211th Street.
Alvin J. Payne, 10831 Massie Avenue.
Alan M. Rauss, 3747 Bainbridge.
Robert E. Reese, 3518 Granton Avenue.
Ronald E. Richter, 5607 Forest Avenue.
James G. Robbins, 4007 Bush Avenue.
Stephan W. Salay, 18731 Holland Road.
Howard A. Schulman, 23225 Bryden Road.
Frederick A. Sizler, 12802 Grannis Avenue.
Michael Slusarz, 2220 Ralph Avenue.
Russell P. Smith, 14736 Fernway.
Thomas W. Smith, 16926 Chatfield.
Larry J. Soeder, 966 Nelaview Road.
Thomas E. Stafford, 19201 Forest Wood.
Thomas M. Stroh, 3820 West 136th Street.
Anthony J. Thomas, Jr., 15836 Norway Avenue.
Timothy M. Toner, 1254 Bunts Road.
David J. Trenton, 16106 Arcade.
Terence M. Troyer, 104 East 213th Street.
Louis Vallos, 2615 Vestry Avenue.
Leo W. Young, 1486 East 118th Street.
James A. Slater, 2821 Southington Road.
David C. Swaddling, 16000 Terrace Road.
William P. Welsh, 17427 Clifton Boulevard.
Leroy S. Atkinson, 115 Chestnut Road.
Gerald E. Batchlar, 2264 East 89th Street.
Warren F. Chrisholm, 18905 Colahan Drive.
Dennis R. Coy, 21770 Wilmore Avenue.
Jonathan K. Duff, 2911 Weymouth Road.
Gerald E. Fallon, 30902 Nantucket Row.
James S. Gillespie, 1579 Holmden Road.
John J. Gladstone, 2915 Eaton Road.
Kevin J. Lyons, 27319 Donald Drive.
Robert M. Murray, 3350 West 125th Street.
Thomas E. Porubsky, 1721 Merl Avenue.
Conrad H. Pokorski, 20668 Donnybrook Road.
Grover C. Randle, Jr., 3460 East 142d Street.
Gary A. Smith, 2544 East 38th Street.
Joseph W. Urbas, Jr., 3922 St. Clair Avenue.
Patrick J. Carey, 1441 Robinwood.
Maurice Carlton, 12217 Craven.
William A. Meltzer, 12700 Lake Avenue.
Anthony C. Nickras, 12700 Sprecher Avenue.
Brian F. Stenger, 19951 Upper Valley Drive.
Rufus F. Wilkes, 3465 East 119th Street.
Margie D. Burden, 3341 East 125th Street.
Thomas A. Hanson, 3332 Rumson Road.
Daniel L. Grady III, 14108 Southington Road.
Joseph P. Ditchman, 14026 Terrace Road.
Daniel P. Henninger, 3687 Stoneleigh Road.
Barry A. Jacobs, 3667 Blanche Road.
Paul J. Siedlecki, 1282 West 115th Street.
Harry C. Barnes, 2034 East 125th Street.
Thomas M. Hardulak, 1005 Kenilworth Avenue.
Arthur Lewis, 3336 East 123d Street.
Gary E. Polster, 2288 Loyola Road.
Thomas P. Roberts, 3219 Bradford Road.
Stephen H. Spiegle, 2199 Cranston Road.
Eugene C. Hughey, 1934 East 90th Street.
Fred A. Ettari, 3594 East 112th Street.
John L. Chorich, 15851 Drake Road.
Victor E. Sordi, 8004 New York Avenue.
Byron R. Webster, 23966 Duffield Road.
David L. Bieber, 2244 Jackson Boulevard.
Gary W. Demko, 4000 Henritze.
Morris M. Levin, 3031 Torrington Road.
Rodney Sledge, 2344 East 55th Street.
Russell H. Zeskey, 1856 Forest Hills Boulevard.
Ralph J. Zwolinski, 3084 East 65th Street.
Gardner K. Christopher, Jr., 1196 East 99th Street.
Robert E. Holden, 10247 Greensheath Drive.

Columbus

William E. Karath, 81 East Oakland Avenue.
John B. Moriarty, 277 South Cassady Avenue.
Richard W. O'Shaughnessy, 2960 Wellesley Drive.
Terence J. O'Shaughnessy, 1904 Malvern Road.
William R. Sheehan, Jr., 350 East North Broadway.
Eric A. Soiu, 229 West North Broadway.
Douglas L. Woodyard, 704 Euclaire Avenue.
Nicholas L. Butler, 2131 Margaret Street.

Sandra A. Crockett, 21 North 21st Street, Apartment K.
Gary N. Davis, 2096 Woodward Avenue.
Danny L. DeMatteis, 977 Kenley Avenue.
Thomas J. Donley, 478 Piedmont Road.
Harry J. Green, 200 Warren Street.
Steven B. Gugliemi, 2509 Vanderberg Avenue.
Jeffrey R. Hicks, 2125 London-Groverport Road, Grove City.
Charles M. Javorina, 1284 Country Club Road.
Leonard Lee, 2131 Margaret Street.
Stephen J. McGrew, 891 Sheridan Avenue.
Joseph E. Meehan, 741 City Park Avenue.
William S. Meyer, 825 Chestershire Road.
James F. Moore, Jr., 277 South 18th Street.
Stephen A. Mowrer, 2729 Ferris Road.
John R. Parker, 2322 Mecca Road.
Maxine M. Sarpa, 692 Pleasant Ridge.
Edward J. Smith, 280 S. Hague Avenue.
Harold W. Strickland, 929 Lilley Avenue.
Tom D. Swisher, 4686 Annhurst Road.
Donovan Thackery, 2376 Brentwood Road.
Raymond J. Troth, 814 South Ogden Avenue.
Joseph V. Vittorio, 4632 Scenic Drive.
Phillip E. Walker, 1430 Bryden Road.
Reynelda L. Ware, 1921 Denbridge Way.
Todd C. Barkan, 245 North Drexel Avenue.
Michael D. Campbell, 1486 Pennsylvania Avenue.
Thomas P. Smithberger, 1356 Rich Street.
Thomas D. Thompson, 66 West Beechwold Boulevard.
Stephen M. Ward, 2606 Camden Road.
James F. Battin, 318 Brevoort Road.
James B. Rader, 45 South Harding Road.
James S. Ridgeway, 125 South Columbia Avenue.
Douglas Shepherd, 2201 Charles Street.
Philip R. Williamson, 199 North Stanwood Road.
Stephen J. Nolan, 377 Glenburn Place.
Thomas A. Williamson, 199 North Stanwood Road.
William R. Fair, 5483 Driftwood Road.
James M. Johnston II, 703 Malvern Avenue.
Richard L. Walker, 186 West Weisheimer Road.
Robert J. Schmidt, 2760 Fair Avenue.
L. A. Cooper, 2933 Ivanhoe Road, Cuyahoga Falls.
R. L. Baldwin, 3058 Lake Road, Cuyahoga Falls.
T. G. Jones, 436 Marguerite Avenue, Cuyahoga Falls.
R. B. Lusk, 2026 Fourth Street, Cuyahoga Falls.
R. T. Richards, 625 Viewpoint, Cuyohoga Falls.
R. H. Judson, Jr., 2101 23d Street, Cuyahoga Falls.
J. D. Calvert, 2313 Hoch Drive, Cuyahoga Falls.
V. D. Geriak, 2343 23d Street, Cuyahoga Falls.
J. Craig Brubaker, RR No. 1, Walden Road, Farmersville.
Richard L. Cline, 301 West Center Street, Farmersville.

Dayton

Kelly T. Daniels, 820 South Euclid Avenue.
Alan R. Donaldson, 2436 Elsmere Avenue.
Charles E. Flax, 808 Wilberforce.
Robert A. Lischke, 1444 Ohmer Avenue.
Michael S. Portis, 609 Hall Avenue.
Robert E. Reedy, 1220 Edward Drive.
David M. Stockert, 206 Elm Street, Farmersville.
Charles H. Wagner, 4725 Silverwood Drive.
James B. Desch, 7791 Peters Road.
Edward D. Dunn, 1507 Riverside Drive.
Edward F. Fahrendorf, 11 Greenmount Boulevard.
Jeffrey Alan Jones, 320 Brooklyn Avenue.
Michael E. Bach, 640 Bowen Street.
Richard Malone, Jr., 1516 Bowman Avenue.
Lonnie L. McNew, 2708 Nacoma Place, Kettering.
James F. Spitzman, 28 Central Avenue.
Thomas L. Grieshop, 3502 Stanford Place.
Patrick C. Williams, 3729 Pittsburg Avenue.
Michael B. Keys, 409 Washington Avenue, Elyria.
James E. Neidhardt, 424 Sixth Street, Elyria.
Greg H. Davison, 434 12th Street, Elyria.
Dennis M. Moore, 1036 North Pasadena, Elyria.
John M. Sarnovsky, 423 Washington Avenue, Elyria.
Rupert E. Ruppert, 8699 Deardoff Road, Franklin.
John W. Holweger, 210 Locust Street, Franklin.
Patricia A. Ballman, 633 Western Avenue, Covington, Ky.
Connie J. Coffman, 841 Beechtree Drive, Cincinnati.
Jean M. Donovan, 6 Alcott Lane, Cincinnati.
Cheri A. Hardgrove, 115 Deborah Drive, Aurora, Ind.
Marilyn K. Macke, 3510 Darwin Avenue, Cincinnati.
Kelly C. Baugh, 441 Oak Street, Cincinnati.
Betty S. Dees, 3976 Dickson Avenue, Cincinnati.
Thomas R. Deitz, 3526 Glenn Avenue, Covington, Ky.
Hugh Doran, 1103 St. Gregory Street, Cincinnati.
Charles F. Faust, 15 Biehl Street, Newport, Ky.

Cincinnati

Richard W. Hanlon, 7110 Van Kirk Avenue.
John A. Haverkamp, 4656 Orchard Lane.
Douglas B. Kramer, 5800 Belleview Road.
Robert V. Nash, Jr., 1015 Hill Street.
Joseph A. Penwell, 117 West 69th Street.
Lawrence M. Stroup, 1111 Fuller Street.
Ronald C. Wilson, 879 Rockdale Avenue.
Michael E. Wolf, 702 Indiana Hill Road.
Lynn M. Woods, 1003 Cutter Street.
Frances E. Wright, 705 South Crescent Avenue.
Frank J. M. Capazza, 2540 Sarvis Court.
John R. Compton, Jr., 3522 Trimble Avenue.
Tom A. Dean, 2 Beckford Drive, Apt. D.
Charles J. Fitzsimmons, 4107 Homer Avenue.
Lawrence J. Gottlieb, 1746 Avonlea Avenue.
Gary L. Graf, 1484 Foxwood Drive.
Charles L Green, 939 Goss Road
Roger T. Hanlon, 5892 Kenwood Road.
Steven W. Hermes, 5425 Hunter Avenue.
Dennis M. Heywood, 2536 Sheridan Drive.
William J. Klus, 4234 Zetta Avenue.
Edward B. Krekeler, 2903 Temple Place.
William J. Leonard III, 621 McAlpin Avenue.
Dennis J. Maher, 2170 Quatman Avenue.
James W. Marx, 7360 Tike Avenue.
Frederick Michael, Jr., 3329 Royal Place.
Peter F. Moran, 227 West Seymour.
Ronald W. Ogletree, 395 Spring Street, Batavia.
John P. Russell, 1747 Northcutt Avenue.
Michael W. Sanders, 1915 Auburn Avenue.
Edward K. Schneider, 5415 Moundcrest Drive.
Dennis D. Schuermann, 1121 Fuller Street.
Joseph W. Shea III, 2216 Cathedral Avenue.
Ronald L. Spears, 46 Maple Street.
Raymond L. Voegele, 4224 Sullivan Avenue.
James H. Vonderhaar, 4402 Linden Avenue.
Paul Young, 1262 Herschel Avenue.
John D. Hickey, 533 East Southern Avenue, Covington, Ky.
Gary E. Hunninghake, 3850 North Broadlawn Circle.
Daniel R. Husekabel, 5544 Raceview Avenue.
Joseph E. Santangelo, 3751 Middlebrood Avenue.
Donna P. Sweeney, 2327 Grigg Avenue.
Michael J. McCullough, 8498 Darnell Avenue.
Emmette B. Craft, 126 Burley Circle.
Charles G. Gibson, 10111 Chester Road.
Michael D. Gillespie, 1607 Springlawn.
Edward W. Jackson, 4322 Floral Avenue.
Dudley A. Levick, 11 Dexter Place.
J. Michael Meretta, Jr., 1808 Dexter Avenue.
Phillip N. Sansotta, 2878 Ziegle Avenue.
Thomas T. Curran, 2363 Concord Street.
Audrey R. Gilyard, 1576 Dixmont Avenue.
Joseph C. Dooley, 874 Dernier Place.
Ronald L. Dreffer, 6636 Stoll Lane.
John J. Ryan, 5566 Picardy Lane.
Claborn L. Kendrick, Jr., 3965 West Park Drive.
Carleton L. West, RR #1, Kenton Farm, Alexandria, Ky.
Marlen S. Adamore, 22 Burton Woods Lane.
Eugene Dawkins, 705 Central Avenue.
Anthony F. Edelmann, 711 Hermose Avenue.
Elmer A. Hausterman, 8430 Chadwick Lane.
Jack R. Holzman, 2449 Eastern Avenue.
Robert G. Ritter, 3297 South Road.
Roosevelt Smith, 1926 Auburn Avenue.
Terence M. Tranter, 7835 Keller Road.
John Greg Holbrock, 45 Orchard Drive, Hamilton.
James Ralph Zettler, 2626 Pleasant Avenue, Hamilton.
Robert A. Stanforth, 338½ South High Street, Hillsboro.
Dale Edward Williams, Jr., 243 East Liberty Street, Hubbard.
Michael Thomas Bolchalk, 328 East Water Street, Hubbard.
Anthony Ingraham Hubin, 1055 Waugh Drive, Hubbard.
Paul Michael Goldcamp, 1548 South Sixth Street, Ironton.
Thomas R. Kuhn, 1919 Wendell Avenue, Lima.
Thomas R. Weadock, 706 Loretta Place, Lima.
Michal J. Scherach, 1118 West 12th Street, Lorain.
Michael J. Campbell, 4570 West Point Drive, Fairview Park.
Paul E. Butkowski, 700 West 17th Street, Lorain.
Richard R. Muzik, 1058 Highland Park Boulevard, Lorain.
John R. Springowski, 1244 West 23d Street, Lorain.
Dennis E. Snell, P.O. Box 351, Medina.
Thomas W. Grant, 7656 Acacia Avenue, Mentor.
Robert L. Owens, 7624 Munson Road, Mentor.
Joseph A. Rupert, 7484 Southwood Road, Mentor.
John R. Summers, Jr., 7097 Lake Shore Boulevard, Mentor.
Edgar J. Howard, 620 Louis Place, Middletown.
David A. Kinder, 816 Eighth Avenue, Middletown.
Scott A. Leonard, 609 Garfield Street, Middletown.
Edwin C. Pfeil, 137 North "F" Street, Hamilton.
Thomas G. Woerz, 942 Ronlee Drive, Milford.
Everett S. Curry, 458 Kemper Avenue, Lancaster.
Richard L. Debevoise, 215 Rose Hill Avenue, Newark.
John G. Marriott, 404 North 11th Street, Newark.
Clarence L. Ketchum, 1059 Stewart Street, Newark.
Michael A. Straud, 1121 Parkview Drive, Newark.
Frank Lee Cox, 1820 Wayne Street, Sandusky.
Michael Edward Dunn, 812 West Market Street, Sandusky.
Richard L. Chilton, 1900 Michigan Avenue, Springfield.
Anthony V. Hall, 363 Buxton Avenue, Springfield.

Eugene Chilton, Jr., 312 West Liberty Street, Springfield.
Michael L. Hix, 2744 Sunset Avenue, Springfield.
Daniel F. Hopper, 235 Rosewood Avenue, Springfield.
William E Klenke, 1445 Torrence Street, Springfield.
Harold B. Mowrey, 36 West Auburn Avenue, Springfield.
Elisha Reynolds, Jr., 312 West Liberty Street, Springfield.
Larry J. Stickland, 1325 West Perrin Avenue, Springfield.
James M. May, 1112 Rosedale Avenue, Springfield.
Michael S. Davis, 216 Opal Boulevard, Steubenville.
Stanley F. Lakota, 315½ Belleview Boulevard, Steubenville.
George A. Marini, 246 Hollywood Boulevard, Steubenville.
William Clemmer Ralston, Northwest Street, Flushing.
Anthony J. Stevens, Jr., 1304 Park Street, Steubenville.
William Paul Sunyoger, 267 Hollywood Boulevard, Steubenville.
Dominic E. Carcelli, 410 Fifth Street, Struthers.
John E. Trucksis, 168 Poland Avenue, Struthers.
Richard W. Mackin, 66 Renee Drive, Struthers.

Toledo

Vernon L. Albright, 5215 Secor Road.
Robert W. Bernius, 535 Myers Street.
Franklin D. Brown, 601 Lincoln Avenue.
Joseph T Buffy, 533 Brynhaven, Oregon.
James E. Hill, Jr., 921 Forest Avenue.
Floyd H. Johnson, 1505 Collingwood.
Melvin Jones, 1401 Prospect Avenue.
Beryl N. Schwartz, 4607 Burning Tree, Sylvania.
Robert L. Woods, 628 Fernwood Avenue.
Ralph W. Baker, 618 Palmwood Avenue.
Byron G. Buermele, 4203 Douglas Road.
Edward D. Neuhausel, 2922 Burnett Place.
Dennis E. Szollosi, 2005 Valentine Street.
Michael Bradshow, Jr., 133 44th Street.
Dennis M. Kiel, 3520 Glynn Drive.
Michael J. Kralovic, 2313 Caledonia Street.
Ben R. McCollam, Jr., 3050 Darlington Road.
James J. Molnar, 2025 Genesee Street.
Joseph J. Slivinski, 641 Reineck Drive.
Duane J. Szewczykowski, 1280 Tucumseh Street.
Emery W. Kolibar, 833 Athens Road, Oregon.
William R. Brockmeyer, 66 Rockingham Court.
Steven R. Connor, 2759 Daleford Drive.
Robert J. Lohner, 937½ Phillips Avenue.
Barry R. Radbone, 2839 123d Street.
Ronald D. Seymour, 3640 Berkeley Drive.
Thomas R. Szollosi, 2005 Valentine Street.
Thomas E. Warszawski, 2205 Castlewood Drive.
John D. Willey Jr., 3534 River Road.
James M. Collins, 2703 Barrington Drive.
Thomas J. Collins, 2447 Portsmouth Drive.
John M. Rogers, 3122 Warsaw Street.
Sherwood L. Applebaum, 2936 Hardale Boulevard.
John W. Holland III, 2636 Kirkwood Lane.
Jerry N. Hobbs, 1033 Lincoln Avenue.
Ronald L. Palmer, Anchorage Way, Vermilion.
Ronnie E. Coates, 1925 Southern Boulevard, NW., Warren.
John D. Hughes, 1186 Edgewood, NE., Warren.
Douglas R. Johnson, 724 Kenilworth, SE., Warren.
Joseph J. Kearney, Jr., 735 Oak Knoll, SE., Warren.
James W. Norris, 1530 Romas Street, SE., Warren.
Tyrone Shakespeare, 2728 Douglas Drive, SE., Warren.
William R. Thompson, 422 Howland-Wilson, SE., Warren.
Thomas W. Walker, 1385 Oak Street, SW., Warren.
Thomas K. Wareham, 3150 Draper Street, SE., Warren.
Richard B. Yerman, 172 Atlantic NE., Warren.
Patrick M. Lynch, 190 Traymore Boulevard, Eastlake.
Daniel F. Milo, 38864 Harmondale Drive, Willoughby.
Stephen A. Mika, 327 High Tee Drive, Willowick.
Grant R. Templin, 33145 Vine Street, Apt. 16, Eastlake.
Dale Eugene Campbell, RFD No. 2, Wooster.
Randolph Lee Snow, 940 Forest Drive, Wooster.

Youngstown

Neil H. Altman, 486 Norwood Avenue.
James P. Dwyer, Jr., 1329 Himrod Avenue.
John T. Farina, 611 Pasadena Avenue.
Edward J. Hartwig, 55 Brooklyn Avenue.
Francis Kos, 1902 Smithfield Avenue.
Ray I. Michel, 144 West Boston Avenue.
Robert L. Stevens, 469 Francisca Avenue.
Anthony J. Szmara, Jr., 1921 Highlawn Avenue.
John W. Tumbri, 7211 Tippecanoe Road, Canfield.
James R. Tyndall, Jr., 154 Upland Avenue.
John L. Zumrick, Jr., 1131 Inverness.
Richard D. Fisher, 168 North Middle Street.
John T. Long, 1421 Kensington Avenue.
Edward C. Milano, 4136 Euclid Boulevard.
Robert K. Bittle, 3318 Nelson Avenue.
James L. Borsh, 1034 Fifth Street, Struthers.
Charles L. Brooks, 753 Fairgreen Avenue.
William W. Cox, 2709 West, Schenley.
Daniel A. Czombos, 355 South Hazelwood.
Martin A. Garchar, 410 Coitsville Road, Campbell.
James B. Prosse, Jr., 1926 Elm Street.
Robert J. Ferreri, 4313 Helena Avenue.
Michael M. Matune, 1469 Cascade Drive.
Robert P. Rosko, 874 Edenridge Drive.
Duncan, Cleothus, Jr., 512 Belmont Avenue.
Ward, Ralph W., 23 Seventh Street, Columbiana.
Mook, Donald J., 8 Broadway.
Guzzy, Edward J., 68 West Evergreen Avenue,
Gaudio, Robert J., 405 Williamson Avenue.
Brooks, Richard S., 56 Woodbine Avenue.
Benard, Charles G., 3108 Oakland Avenue, Catlettsburg, Ky.

DALLAS REGION

Texas

Abilene

Charles F. Ferguson, 3511 Hunters Glen.
Mike Grant, 417 Popular.

Amarillo

Ralph Inman, Route 3, Box 210–F.
Bill Melin, 1019 Milam.
Ken Dawson Little, 2600 Harrison.
Timothy M. Sherwood.
Johnny L. Turner.
Jay H. Lowry, 1503 Lawrence.

Arlington

Lawrence P. Warren, 2615 East Mitchell.
Diana Gail Brewer, 1312 Westcrest.
Pat Ann Ailshire, 1601 University.
Mary Gobel, 1208 Navaho.
Michael Joe Wood, 518 South Center.
Teddy Dale Kendrick, 1128 West Park Row.
Harold Wayne Roberson, 2012 Fiedler Road.
John M. Carroll III, 828 North Fiedler.

Athens

Jerry Simmons, 114 West Clinton.
David Michael Stover, 801 Maryland.

Austin

Lawrence Olsen, Route 7, Box 187.
Ted Dodd, 1900 Schule.
Joe Newman, 6308 Wilbur.
Bob Martin, 4012 Vineland.
Charles Larry Boles, 806 Theresa.
Mike Holeman, 201 West 33d.
Mickey Bonesio, 2011 Sabine, Hillside Village.
Alva Edwards, 1916 Speedway.
Richard Trejo (Everett), 3011 South Fifth.
Terry Parker, 1616 Forest Trail.
John A. Hutchison, 2503 Pearl.
David V. Beavers, 3808 Bailey Lane.
Roy A. Green, 2904 Pearl Street.
Charles King, 1903 Tillotson.
Kenneth T. Nance, 1202 Bob Harrison.
Hige W. Russell, 1208 Coleto Street.
William Wise, 1710 Karen Avenue.
Alan Erwin, 3502 Woodcrest, Baytown.

Beaumont

Chester Slay, 2290 Tyler.
Martin Blum, 780 East Drive.
William Carter, 1060 Powell.
Phillip Lockhart, 5485 Hamilton.
Kenneth D. Rose, 3715 Lynwood.
James Paul Roen, 605 Howell.
Michael Browne, 3435 Crestwood.
Ronnie Boyette, 310 Charlotte.
Frank Adams, 1030 21st Street.
Patricia Ann Summus, 4416 Dorsey, Bellaire.
Robert Weaterbom, 107 Pandora, Brownsville.
Joe W. Villarreal, Jr., 244 Blanch, Brownsville.
Samuel Franklin Baxter, Box 638, Carthage.

Corpus Christi

Don T. Booker, 1138 Rickey Drive.
Larry Kelly, Route 2, Box 26.
Mike Deming, 915 Grant.
Gregory Haas, 5025 Cape Ann.
David Kanipe, 4801 Monette.
Rudy M. Flores, 1313 Craig.
Mandy Medina, 2210 Belton.
William Robert Terry, 1002 Easy, Crockett.

Dallas

Luke Grazzaffi, 3230 Springwood.
Bill H. Yarborough, 4625 N. Lindhurst.
Ronald Capehart, 804 Clearfield.
Lee G. Anderson, 5011 Echo.
Ronald Lynn Ellis, 2918 Don Street.
Robert David Guarnero, 901 Valencia.
John R. Black, 738 Huddleston, Grand Prairie.
Ken Zauber, 6823 Putting Green.
Roy Mortin, 520 Lacewood.
Miss Mary Ann Goodwyn, 3701 Turtle Creek.
James Lyle, 1446 Coner.
Mike Crutcher, 3911 Gillon.
Edward Acree Pietzsch, 517 Pittman, Richardson.
Willie Majors, 3837 Simpson Stuart Road.
Jerry Frank Mathis, c/o G. T. Visse, 869 Peavy.
John Franklin Egan, 4140 Fortune.
Victor Ralph Ellison, 3309 Alaska.
Jacqueline Lorraine Lewis, 2421 Caddo.
Ronald William Shepherd, 3741 Cortez.
Joseph S. Graves, 8427 Inwood.
Anthony R. Currey, 203 Hartsdale.
Jon Y. Beck, 4411 Buena Vista.
George B. Bristow, 821 Turner Boulevard.
Denford A. Brumbaugh II, 9715 Cloister.
John T. Collier, 4136 Sleepy Lane.
John M. Combs, 4428 Livingston.
David A. Hanson, 4901 W. Lovers Lane.
Gene M. Jackson, 2319 Berwick.
William J. Johnson, 922 Valencia.
Willie L. Lutts, Jr., 1507 Maywood Avenue.
Glen D. McClain, 2614 Ivandell.
Leo Northington, Jr., 7610 Caillet.
James T. Swift, 2814 Belknap.
George D. Allen, 6816 Coleshire Dr.
Kent A. Bowman, 6729 Country Club Circle.
Richard W. Chapman, 3320 Chadwell.
Louis S. Conroe, 11166 Lawnhaven Road.
Clifton L. Davis, 5510 W. Amherst.
Jerry H. Hoffman, 11140 Wyatt.
Gary M. Holt, 4603½ Junius.
Joel A. Horsley, 1410 Pine.
Richard E. Hull, Jr., 1111 Greenway.

Lloyd S. Kimble, 3112 Woodwind.
Gary W. Larrabee, 6735 Santa Marie Lane.
Joe D. Lynn, 6823 Norway.
Jon R. Parker, 2316 Tolosa.
Michael G. Marsalis, 4627 W. Amherst.
Tommy F. Spellman, 6326 Parkdale.
Henry A. Abernathy, 2912 Canberra.
Roy L. Bounds, 1749 Inwood.
Robert W. Bellamy, 1139 S. Bryan.
Howard R. Bones, 6255 Oram.
Ronald G. Brown, 9036 Donnybrook Lane.
Jack P. Chamberlain, 819 S. Mont Clair.
Lee B. Fargo, 4724 Alcott.
James F. Haller, 10509 Somerton.
Kenneth C. Killen, 5222 Denton Dr.
Albert V. Mitchell, Jr., Box 174.
Galal L. Walker, 1826 Pratt.
Jonathan Thomas Barker, 4715 Dove Creek Way.
Lloyd Edwin Briscoe, 2247 Harding.
Samuel Thompson, 2715 Bridal Wreath.
William Ronald Thompson, care of W. P. Kelly, 8903 Forrest Hills.
Richard A. Grimmer III, 3343 Gladiolus.
Gordon F. Walsh, 6230 Ravendale.
David Tomonek, 5000 W. Amherst.
Gary Trammell, Garland.
Lawrence I. Carpenter, 1617 Randolph, Garland.

Dallas

Robert Miller, 1515 Burlington.
Joe D. Weir.
Robert M. Azala.
Cheryl Clay.
John G. Edwards.
Shelton D. Miller, Jr., Del Rio.

Denison

John Hancock, 113 E. Coffin.
Lynn Barringer, 1420 W. Bullock.
Jack William Brady, 1009 W. Junction.

Denton

Dickie Sawyer, 1206 Dover.
Gary Taylor, 2309 Kayerwood.
Thos. W. Loney, Jr., 1516 Maple.
Lynn Melton, Box 6132.
Doug Muir, 3027 Sherwood, Dickinson.
Luis Alameci, Jr., 901 W. Cane, Edinburg.

El Paso

Mike J. Crews, Jr., 7613 Hermosillo.
Ed E. Graves, 5172 Mt. Abbott.
Richard Edens, 244 S. Maryland.
Ralph Craig Rowlin, 8224 Strickland.
Glen G. Johnson, 8941 Mt. Etna.
Donald Thomas, 7694 Alameda.
Winston L. Black, Jr., 2431 Altura.
Gary Bones, 2605 Nations Ave., Apt. 3.
Robert D. Hawley, 3302 Diamond Avenue.
Raul I. Baca, 909 South Park St.
Robert M. Long, 8124 Edgemere Blvd.

Fort Worth

Phillip Suebb-husen, 1929 Yosmite Drive.
Raymond Eugene Kaptejna, 2104 Fremont.
Ramina Garza, 3500 Childress.
Douglas Ford, 2805 Greene.
Oscar Menchaca, 2422 Prospect.
Gilbert Garcia, 6247 Malvey.
Herman Mason, Jr., 2451 Evans.
Norman Bonner, 820 E. Robert.
Armando Gonzalez, 1410 N. Calhoun.
Roger Jackson, 1308 E. Murphy.
Reuben Reges, 609 McCundy.
Stuart Marshall, 2216 Brairsdale.
Frank Alvarado, 3412 Lovell.
Robert Williams, 909 East Maddox.
Allen Willard Barr, 3014 Bright.
Miss Candice Schriver, 5032 Sherwood.
Ray Orren, 1316 Woodland.
Miss Karen Nunn, 4304 Harwen Terrace.
Parker Willson, Jr., 3832 Westcliff Road South.
Thos. Faber Chamberlain, 2300 Medford Court East.
Richard D. Baker, Route 7, Box 250–B.
Dudley Elliott, Route 7, Box 227.
Dorothy J. Sanders, 809 Colvin.
Beverly Jean Dunn, 4121 Wayside.
Willie C. Evans, 5117 Calumet.
Ronald H. Lofton, 2703 Lincoln.
Langston C. Coleman, 1313 Powell.
Claudie R. Hemphill, 1205 East Magnolia.
Grover G. Riddle, 4217 Eastland.

Galveston

Melvin Crockett, 4210 Avenue N½.
Albert Sidney Johnson, 4615 Avenue North.
Donnie Marvin Dunavant, 313 Fairview, Garland,

Greenville

Timothy Mason, 1903 Wesley.
Roy Pat Oler, 1409 Tulane.
Gary Mike Currin, 3702 Bourland.

Grand Prairie

Chas. E. Troup, 821 Walter Hill.
Gregory Chas. Horsley, 1410 Pine.

Harlingen

Gaudalupe Castillo, Jr., 107 Atlanta.
Allen Dwight Barker, 920 Beaumont.

Houston

Mike Driscoll, 1902 Driscoll.
Chas. W. Raulston, 817 Harold.
Wm. E. Wegner, 5217 Coonish.
Edward F. Zelenka, Jr., 2329 Hollis.
James N. Siedow, Jr., 4601 DeMilo.
Dalton Hughie Oliver, 5731 Takefield.
Miss Dianne Horn, 1106 Wynwood.
Caleb Morrow, 1205 Lockwood.
Floyd S. Denman, 5711 Clements.
Danny Gilbert, 1907 Chew.
Raymond White, 3619 Idaho.
Reginald White, 4717 Gunter.
Edward Ward, 9526 Beckley.
John James Duffy, Jr., 7102 Langdon.
Richard Lasser, 4726 Merwin.
John Swain, 8123 Sandbury.
Cherry Idell Bridges, 8113 Linda Vista.
Fred Douglas Calloway, 2614 Southmore.
Geo. Alvarez Cardinas, 3408 King.
Althalo Benjamin Horton, 8114 Hoffman.
Patricia Rochelle London, 1506 Dowling.
Grady James Landry, 3310 Maroneal.
Roger Alan Smith, 1415 Laskey.
Carl Moore, 2544 Sakowitz.
Reginald Allen Lang, 503 West Sixth.
Chas. Robert Miller, Killeen.

Laredo

Maxine Hernandez, Jr., 1318 Baltimore.
Victor Alcour, 805 Nobahan.

Lubbock

Dora Jean Crockett, 2106 Date.
Jan Vernon Graham, 2812 23d Street.
Tommy Joe Carry, 2010 68th Street.
Larry Oliver Greesen, 6117 Lynnhaven.

Lufkin

Jan Marshall, 541 Humason.
James Henderson, 1921 Keltys.
Lorenzo Wilson, 408 Ridge.
Paul Fenley, Route 5, Box 240.

Longview

Donnie Anderson, 314 E. Avalon.
Lorenzo Jackson, 304 Ledger.
Harold Lilly, 2213 Dunbar.
Lazarus Taylor, 1024 Irving Bridge Road.

McAllen

Joe Morales, 909 North 20th.
Robert Liles, 1519 Walnut.
Winston P. Logan, Jr.,
Santos (Fito) Guerra, 2200 Camellia.
John Hardin, 407 Brooklane, McKinney.
Ronald D. Kidd, 3136 Emily, Mesquite.
Manuel R. Rivera, care of Dondlinger, 1020 Conway.

Mineral Wells

Cynthia Jane Hendrick, 1605 Northwest 6th Avenue.
Joe Mendoza.

Pasadena

Miss Sharon Jeanne Buchanan, 3402 South Shaver.
George Lynn Lankford, 1503 Brickwood.
Jimmy Howard Stang, 319 South Center.
Frank Herman Mandorza, Jr., 1020 Mobile.
James Lionel Hendie, 7503 Glen Vista.
Douglas Elwood Miller, 12117 Palmfrie.
Herman Davis, 820 West Dye, Palestine.

Pampa

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Gary Doke, 121 North Starkweather.
Chas. W. Collier, Pecos.

Port Arthur

Shelby Perkins, 119 West 6th.
Chas. E. Freeman, 331 Tinkwood.
Lee Cliett, 2233 10th Street, Port Neches.
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Tommy K. Rude, 1618 Avenue L, Rosenburg.

San Antonio

Edmund Guerro, Jr., 918 West Mariposa.
Angelo Sabelli, 305 East Cevallas.
Chas. Gonzales, 409 Kendall.
Edward J. Herrera, 1606 Ruiz.
Rudy Herrera, 3200 Buena Vista.
Tom Herrera, 2001 Quintana.
Bernard Stoller, 318 Notre Dame.
Paul T. Sangner, 4539 Cambray.
Jerry Dee Terroil, 525 East Park.
Dean Siever, 1727 San Angelo.
Jesse Solis, 2425 McKinley.
Wayne Newsome Brown, 11 Rosemont.
Joe B. Lopez, 114 South San Marcos.
Delia Guerrero, 440 North San Felipe.
Ernest Ball, Jr., 2210 Nebraska.
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Joe Graham, 2110 Kenilworth.
Robert M. Cumbor, 3751 Electra.
Jimmy Alex Molinar, 115 Can't Stop.
Kenneth Ward Pfeiffer, 212 Vivian Lane.
Paul Ramiriz, 134 Piegon.
David Curtis Robinson, 421 North Olive.
Frank Alan Woolf, 1507 Gladstone.
Michael Carpenter, 1311 South Crockett, Sherman.
David Avery Hargrove, 550 Roosevelt Drive, Silsbee.
Sammy H. Attlesey, 211 Radio Road, Sulphur Springs.

Temple

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James Lee Carroll.
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David B. Schneider, 417 10th Avenue North.

Tyler

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Jack Graves, 2215 Glenbrook.
Steve King, 2720 Brestwood.
Samuel Biscoe, 1115 West Front.
Dennie Hamilton, 309 South Herndon.

Uvalde

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Braxton P. Smallwood, 224 North Second.
Glenn Ray Goldsem, 1307 East Warren, Victoria.

Waco

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Robert H. Graston, 3704 Shelby.
Curtis Lee Sallenburger, 1623 South 26th.
Crawford Long, Waco.

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Carrol David Dawn, 2522 Inglewood.
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Joe T. Bruton, 1427 Harris Lane.
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Baton Rouge

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Johnny Bennett, Route 2, Box 65, Zachary.
Henry L. Belton, 1763 Rosenwald Road.

James E. Gerace, 950 Aberdeen.
Leroy Shanklin, Route 2, Box 65, Zachary.
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Dan E. West, 2304 Fairway.
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Brian W. Dean, 2109 Lee Drive.
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Darrell Welsh, 2266 Cedardale.
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Dick Riding, 2656 Old Minden Road.
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Walter Bougene, 187 Ridgewood, Metairie.
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Edmund J. Anderson, 3121 Milan.
Larry D. Arnold, 1235 Seventh Street.
Lawrence J. Centala, 1600 Bodinger.
Barry A. Chickini, 6038 Memphis.
Melvin J. Creecy, 645 North Dorgenois.
Milton C. Doll III, 2721 North Prieur.
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Albert J. Doyle, 2600 Chippewa.
Gerard J. Haddican, 908 First.
Samuel Henry, Jr., 2029 Benefit.
Allen C. Hope, Jr., 3117 General Pershing.
Joseph G. Albe, 1328 Perrin Drive, Arabi.
Margaret Mary Amato, 6036 Wickfield Drive.
Annie T. Bageon, 2308 Feliciana Street.
Lyman H. Barrow, 1926 St. Philip Street.
Bruce M. Blanchard, 2117 Brutus Street.
Philip J. Bordelon, 625 Larisa Street.
Merial Rita Brown, 2339 Mandeville Street.
Michael S. Cashen, 19 Forest Avenue, Metairie.
Louis A. Catalanotto, 2139 Filmore Avenue.
Donald A. Creighton, 216 West Jean Baptist, Chalmette.
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Veronica M. Faust, 4481 Paintus Street.
Cecelia B. Feitel, 2–A Neron Place.
Joel David Ferguson, 4712 Papania Drive.
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Eric L. Humphreys, 1740 Marengo Street.
Ella M. Jackson, 2016 Foucher Street.
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Philip J. Gatluso, 1112 Dante.
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Henry Newman, 2714 Orleans.
Gary Joseph Dragon, 1028 Center, Arabi.
Louis A. Moffett, 1334 Seville.
Larry J. Benson, 2419 New York.
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McMillian.
Woodall.
Herman Millet, Jr., 8327 Oleander.
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Sharon P. Scott, 655 North Miro Street.
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Kenneth P. Thomas, 6053 Vicksburg.
Leonard L. Vaughn, 1526 Lizardi Street.
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Syndia V. Wall, 6520 Catina Street.
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Miss Patsy Kennedy, 1629 Toledano.
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Vance R. Andrus, 453 South Court, Opelousas.
Wayne LeBleu, Opelousas.
Christine Ledig, Port Allen.

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Jay Tuminello, 2011 Vivian.
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Mesa

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William L. Cooper, 125 East 4th Place.

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Louis Mazei, 611 Woodrow.

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Ralph J. Kounkin, 120 West Missouri.
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Larry Marks, 3420 W. Rose Lane.
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Thomas J. Burnham, 391 North 21st Avenue.
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Prescott

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Chuck Riske, 601 Callo del Norte.

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Ken Fraser, 1804 South Santa Cruz.
Ed Osborn, Jr., 703 West Corona.
Francisco Baraza, 1951 West Waverly.
Brendon, Brett, 3902 North Riviera Drive.
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Edmund R. Tellez, 1628 East 10th Street.
Calvin Grigsby, 2201 North Hampton Street.
Michael S. Nichols, 6359 Calle Luna.
Joe Harper, 1402 San Felipei Drive.
M. Stephen J. Langham, 1650 East Roger Road.
George M. MacGregor, 103 East Pastime Road.

Yuma

John R. Stewart, 1425 13th Avenue.
Tim W. Rooney, 1200 First Street.

Colorado

Alamosa

Kenneth Wilson, 701 12th Street.

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Joseph T. Boscia, 6877 West 53d Avenue.
Ed P. Dalecheck, 6146 Janice Way.
Robert H. Smith, 6549 Depew Court.

Aurora

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Boulder

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Colorado Springs

Scott Dyer, 2757 Chelton Road.
Cornelees Davis, 2412 Erich.
Michael Hassett, 1103 East Caramillo.
Michael Abel, 634 Glen Eyrie Court.
Marshall Griffith, 2622 Summitt Drive.

Commerce City

Richard J. Martinez, 7720 Larkwood Street.

Denver

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David E. Marshall, 2529 West 33d Avenue.
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Tomson D. Schaetzel, 6161 East Eastman.
Richard Hill, 2646 Elm.
Tom E. O'Hayre, 4395 Tennyson.
Clayton Cline, 4020 West Dartmouth.
Bruce Roberts, 3363 West 26th Avenue.
Ronald L. Melichar, 3094 West Hillside Place.
Frank J. Farrell, 4555 East 17th Avenue.
James T. Gibbons, 4342 Pecos.
Nicholas A. Tolve, 2800 Locust.
Ron Germano, 3557 Newton.
Richard Sanzalone, 4160 Yarrow Court.
Donald R. Baugh, 2531 South Franklin.
Robert H. Knott, 35 Hillside Drive.
Richard H. Garcia, 7260 West 28th Street.
James A. Bland, 1725 Ulster.
James K. Atkinson, Jr., 5749 Quay.
Harvey C. Cannova, 5060 West 8th Avenue.
Stephen M. Smaldone, 4659 Eliot.
Marcellus Bryant, 2534 Williams Street.
Kenneth Wirtz, 9247 East Nassau Avenue.
Allen Roth, 2887 South Monroe.
John Riordan, 2576 Birch.
Thomas Carmedy, 2291 Clermont.
Arthur Dye, 4308 Raritan.
Dave Rathbun, 2633 South Cook.
Lawrence T. Cohen, 5530 East 2d Avenue.
Charles A. Maierhofer, 975 Clay.

Durango

Michael Murphy, 1807 Eastlawn.

Englewood

Christofer Grant, 3026 South Clermont.
John Morrison, Jr., 731 East Bates Avenue.
James R. Sauer, 395 West Parkview, Littleton.

Fort Collins

James W. Roselieve, 723 South Washington.

Fort Morgan

Gary Ringo, 800 Diana Street.

Golden

Thomas L. Jackson, 1005 20th Street.

Grand Junction

William Fanning, 2208 North 20th Street.
James W. Frank, 2143 Broadway.

Greeley

Gerald E. Karre, 2405 24th Street.
Gary E. Wallace, 1202 23rd Court.

Littleton

Steven L. Peterson, 1919 South Ogden, Denver.
Carl J. Bjork, 2937 South Cherry Way, Denver.

Loveland

Robert Whitehouse, 607 Franklin Avenue.

Pueblo

Albert R. Crus, 602 West Arroyo.
James A. Carlee, 155 Cornell Circle.
Mark B. Reynolds, 119 West Orman.
Dave Ferraro, 509 Tyler.

New Mexico

Albuquerque

Arthur Melendres, 733 Mansano, NE.
Joseph A. Nickard, 29 Garden Park Circle, NW.
Charles R. Springer, 1502 Los Tomases, NW.
James P. Baxter, 302 Silver, SW.
Abran Lujano, 1971 DeVagas Circle, SW.
Franklin Robinson, 417 13th Street, NW.
Joseph R. Espinosa, 713 Tijeras, NW.
Richard C. Mattenci, 1317 San Carlos, SW.
John T. Murillo, 1059 Lead Avenue, SE.
John R. Scanlon, 1203 Copper Avenue, NE.
Joseph A. Abeyta, 423 Santa Fe, SW.
Wilfred J. Brennan, 1414 Silver, SW.
Armand J. Giannini, 324 13th NW.
Robert Lee Martines, 3313 Northfield Court, NW.
Daland J. Vertz, 1226 Britiana NE.

Belen

Frank M. Montoya, 818 North Main.

Carlsbad

James E. Powell, 903 Solano Road.
George L. Watkins, 1101 South Country Club Circle.

Clovis

Joseph Harry Turner, 2705 Ross.

Gallup

Sam Lopes, 508 South Puerco.

Hobbs

Tommy J. Cope, 1300 Pecos Drive.

Las Cruces

Arturo J. Flores, 418 East Amadon.
Leon Gluck, 2355 Rosedale Drive.
Harris Klein, 2011 Turrentine Drive.

Las Vegas

Johnny Aragon, Conches Dam.

Roswell

Howard E. Babcock, Post Office Box 1684.
Robert Tellez, 206 East Albuquerque.

Santa Fe

Albert Carrillo, 220 Rodriguez.
Laurence Lopez, 214 West San Francisco Avenue.
William Zimmer, 710 San Pasqual.
Marshall Saiz, 303 Rosario Boulevard.
Gilbert H. Quintana, Route 1, Box 10, Santa Cruz.

Socorro

Delbert Fraissinet, 563 Terry Avenue.

Taos

Joseph F. Montoya, Taos.

Tucumcari

Terry Turner, 1307 South First Street.

Utah

Salt Lake City

Allen Lee Bleak, 2039 Stratford Drive.
Ronald Floyd Brown, 3037 South 900 West (Magna).
Darwin C. Christofferson, 1751 Siesta Drive, Sandy.
Georganna Cuff, 4765 West 5015 South.
Jeanne Faust, 5093 South 2100 East.
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James Herbert Hammons, 1963 West 7300 South, West Jordan.
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Leroy Michael Montoya, 205 North 5th West.
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Karim Prawitt, 233 West 1st North.
Wm. E. Rasmussen, 127 East Winslow.
Charles L. Schack, 549 First Avenue.
Larry W. Sheffield, 170 "P" Street.
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Stephen A. Taylor, 1318 East 17th South.
Stephen W. Thayne, 1518 East 17th South.
Steven Dale Thompson, 4555 West 4805 South.
Ted Van Weeren, 330 North 1st West.

Ogden

Brent Julander, 565 West 4900 South.

Provo

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Wyoming

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James Joseph Steward, 255 South Jackson.
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Sharon Mothershead, 603 McGovern Avenue.
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Bob True, Box 55, Meriden Route.
Mike Fitzpatrick, Box 79, Route 1.
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Newcastle

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Powell

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Rawlins

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Rock Springs

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Mr. Harry Burton, 288 Siena Vista, Mobile.
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Mr. Evander Isiah Dickinson, 2417 Redmond Street, Mobile.
Mr. Daniel Mose, Jr., 1570 Polk Street, Mobile.
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Mr. Leslie L. Pritchard, 221 Dixie Avenue, Hattiesburg.
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Mr. Floyd Williams, 1332 Lynch Street, Jackson.
Mr. Thomas Elgin Dorsey, 4310 Watkins Drive, Jackson.
Mr. Mike Vincent, 952 Briar Field Road, Jackson.
Mr. Terry M. Sturzel, 3971 Meadow Lane Drive, Jackson.
Mr. C. A. Nelson, 3342 Oak Forest Drive, Jackson.
Mr. Tommy Miller, Jr., 516 South Fourth Avenue, Laurel.
Mr. Dwight Leon Hastings, 47 Oakcrest Drive, Laurel.
Mr. Mike Crosby, 2035 38th Avenue, Meridian.
Mr. Randolph Pool, 2424 Parkway Boulevard, Meridian.
Mr. Richard Glen Patterson, RR Box 131, Walnut Grove.
Mr. James William Shields, 1303 Dantzler Street, Moss Point.
Mr. Marvin Luther White, Jr., 300 Griffin Street, Moss Point.
Mr. Jerry A. Davis, Route 4, Box 139, Tupelo.

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Mr. Alan Wayne Garner, 1808 South Beech Street, Chattanooga.
Mr. Dick Kile, 1802 McBrien Road, Chattanooga.
Mr. Jerry Wayne Jordan, Soddy.
Mr. Michael James Dzvonik, 15 South Street Marks Avenue, Chattanooga.
Mr. Clevon E. Thompson, 3406 Tarleton Avenue, Chattanooga.
Mr. Byron M. Fogo III, 404 Druid Lane, Chattanooga.
Mr. Larry J. Ramsey, 305 Nelson Road, Chattanooga.
Mr. Gordon James III, 1100 Crown Point Road, West Signal Mountain.
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Mr. Raymond H. Brantley, 3601 Frederick Avenue, Chattanooga.
Miss Reatha M. Montgomery, 3416 Chandler Avenue, Chattanooga.
Mr. David Kaplan, 4008 Albermarle Avenue, Chattanooga.
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Mr. Bobbie Wendell Griffin, 1517 Walnut Hills, Clarksville.
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Mr. Robert Bryan Smith, 225 East Meadow Circle, Clarksville.
Mr. Will Daniel Foston, 1156 College Street, Clarksville.
Mr. William Kittrell Cooper, Columbia
Mr. Stephen L. Flatt, Cookeville.
Mr. Jere L. Hargrove, Cookeville.
Mr. Paul Edward Young, Covington.
Miss Nancy Garner, Franklin.
Mr. Floyd Carmack Hayes, Humboldt.
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Mr. Douglas Releford, 302 Louis Street, Kingsport.
Miss Betty Jo Asquith, 2921 Brabson Drive, Knoxville.
Mr. Arthur Levern Cheek, 5509 Cliffwood Road, Knoxville.
Mr. James R. Hathcote, Jr., 3117 Vera Drive, Knoxville.
Mr. Alfred Babington-Johnson, 2542 Brooks Road, Knoxville.
Mr. Carlton Bales, Route 11, Knoxville.
Mr. Helen Kelsey Colbert, Stonewall Extended McKenzie.
Mr. Hubert A. King III, McMinnville.
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Mr. J. Trent Snipes, 1081 Railton Road, Memphis.
Mr. Wayne Cain, 3628 Steele, Memphis.
Mr. Larry Barker, 2965 Ranier St., Memphis.
Mr. William Andrew Nesbitt, 184 Horn Lake Cove, Memphis.
Mr. Jim Kadell, 5599 Fox Meadows Cove, Memphis.
Mr. Dan Powell, Jr., 5298 Revere Street, Memphis.
Mr. J. J. Sohm, 1600 Kirkwood, Memphis.
Mr. Edward Friends, 1733 Marble, Memphis.
Mr. Bill Mitchell, 3609 Carnes, Memphis.
Mr. Kenneth Cox, 2719 Supreme, Memphis.
Mr. Joshua G. Brown, 681 Rozelle, Memphis.
Mr. Lawrence Barr, 3901 Spottswood Avenue, Memphis.
Mr. Bevan Canale, 1766 Forrest Avenue, Memphis.
Mr. Albert Page, 4836 Avondale, Memphis.
Miss Mary Joyce Mallory, Route 1, Box 179, Oakland.
Mr. Joe Hailey, Selmer.
Miss Linda Turner, 2920 South Radford, Memphis.
Miss Estell Bluington, 919 McDowell, Memphis.
Miss Molly McCalla, 8217 Kerrville-Rosemark Road, Route 1, Millington.
Mr. Thomas J. Hanrahan, 1063 Faxon Avenue, Memphis.
Mr. Sam Williams, 910 Palmer Ally, Memphis.
Mr. Alfred Leonard Gray, 1171 Englewood, Memphis.
Mr. William Hays, 3068 Bomah, Memphis.
Mr. John Edward Wilson, 539 Mariana St. Memphis.
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Mr. Richard Fulton, Jr., Nashville.
Mr. R. C. Bailey, Jr., 2012, 28th Avenue, North, Nashville.
Mr. Wade Mitchell, 908 Mitchell Road, Nashville.
Mr. Joseph Lynch, 1108 Sunnymeade Drive, Nashville.
Mr. Jimmy Surface, 914 Elvira Avenue, Nashville.
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Mr. Gary Liddington, 2805 Western Hills Drive, Donelson.
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Mr. Robert L. Wells, 509 Chelsea Drive, Madison.
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Mr. Edward Smith Blankenship, 211 Theodore Drive, Nashville.
Mr. Lawrence Gilbert Brown, 807 33d Avenue, North, Nashville.
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Mr. Lewis Dale, 2307 Hampton Avenue, Nashville.
Mr. Richard Poehlein, Eva.

Mr. Richard Alan Kottler, 3423 Amanda Avenue, Nashville.
Mr. Charles Richard Waller, Jr., 646 39th Avenue, North, Nashville.
Mr. Ronald Parham, 1908 Neeman Street, Nashville.
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T. F. Byrne, 1019 Beltrami Avenue.

Brainerd

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L. J. Pikula, 1704 Thirteenth Avenue NE.

Chaska

D. A. Dungey, Chaska.

Duluth

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W. W. Engdahl, 1449–90th Avenue West.
G. A. London, 401 East Eighth Street.
E. H. Luick, 1925 West Third.
M. P. Maki, 1031 North Eleventh Avenue East.
J. P. Neve, 707 Boundary Avenue.
J. W. Yount, 800 Almac Drive, Proctor.

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J. Y. Hanzalik, 13727 Orchard Road.
T. E. Jacobson, 350 Althea Lane.
J. P. Smerdon, 14019 Excelsior Boulevard, Minnetonka.

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J. F. Dauffenbach, 408 Tyler Avenue.
R. L. Haseman, 124½ East Liberty.
M. P. Meyer, No. 1 Petticoat Lane.

Minneapolis

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D. W. Billadeaux, 695 East 79th.
M. W. Blackwell, 1220 Fourth Avenue North.
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C. R. Boeckmann, 3732 Elliott Avenue.
A. G. Boler, 3411 Bryant Avenue North.
L. L. Brekke, 619 University Avenue SE.
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G. H. Broom, 4905 38th Avenue South.
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D. T. Dunne, 3514 Pierce Street NE.
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A. F. Knutson, 821 Twelfth Avenue SE.
S. M. Lester, 4700 Ewing Avenue South.
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R. J. Morris, 2305 Milwaukee.
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D. Royster, 4200 Portland.
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D. A. Sletten, 2227 Riverside Avenue.
I. O. Smith, 1131 Irving Avenue North.
M. J. Spencer, 3835 Oak Street North.
R. J. Spencer, 3835 Oak Street North.
W. R. Stoynoff, 9812 Columbus Avenue.
M. E. Stroud, 1013 Plymouth Avenue North.
J. Thompson, 726 36½ Avenue NE.
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W. N. Truelson, 1924 Third Avenue North.
R. A. Wedlund, 304 Sixth Street SE.
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N. E. McLellan, 221 Nineteenth Avenue North, Fargo.

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A. F. Pulford, 119 Thirteenth Avenue SE.
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D. W. Cheyne, 225 Sixth Avenue North.
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Thief River Falls

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C. A. Hoglund, Box 125, Spicer.
G. E. Hulstrand, Jr., 325 North Seventh Street.
R. D. Nelson, 624 West Tenth Street.

Worthington

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C. R. Cannon, 106 Seventh Avenue NW., Mandan.
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R. T. Lenhardt, 829 Park Avenue.
J. L. Sticka, 115 Fourth Avenue SE.

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L. R. Bolton, 708 First Avenue South.
R. A. Feder, 1700 South Eighth Street.
A. D. Reyelts, Galchutt.
G. D. Thompson, 1312 North 10th Street.

Grand Forks

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N. W. Fleming, 2700 University Avenue.
R. J. Fritz, 2532 Eighth Avenue North.
G. B. Hazen, Jr., 611 North 24th Street.
S. E. Johnson, 107 Walnut Street.
M. D. O'Halloran, 1529 Cherry Street.
R. L. Rolland, 305 North Sixth Street.
R. J. Skaar, 625 Ninth Avenue South.

Jamestown

E. R. Kabanuk, 610 Fourth Street SE.
W. A. MacKenzie, 908 Second Avenue SW.
K. W. Smith, 111 Sixth Avenue SE.

Minot

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J. E. Nybakken, 415 Eleventh Street NW.
T. L. Severson, 417 Hillcrest Drive.

Valley City

D. H. Thompson, 846 Central Avenue North.

Williston

D. M. Scollard, 1616 Second Avenue East.

South Dakota

Aberdeen

D. S. Bittner, 809 North Lincoln.
L. D. Miller, 916 South Lincoln.
T. L. Perrizo, 823 North Lincoln.

Brookings

T. E. Klinkel, 1430 Sixth Street.

Huron

R. H. Gosch, 608 Third Street SW.
J. D. Noonan, Route 2, Frankfort.

Madison

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Mitchell

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R. J. Colvin, 2202 East First Street.
L. G. Feiler, Route 3.
D. H. Grant, 216 West Fifth Avenue.
U. P. Unzicker, 901 East Second.

Mobridge

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Pierre

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T. P. Dunn, 320 North Summit Avenue.
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J. E. Hallberg, 1929 Forest Avenue.
H. R. Snyder, 1151½ Prairie.
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Brookfield

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Cudahy

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T. L. Obrodovich, Eagle River.

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M. L. Steil, 203 Bellinger Street.

Edgerton

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B. J. Leduc, 2857 Circle Shore Drive.
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J. F. Stodola, 626 South Jackson Street.
M. A. West, 1496 Biemeret Street.
J. P. Wieske, 715 South Jefferson.

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J. C. Gilchrist, 2002 Madison Street.
J. T. Grand, 206 North Park Street, Apt. 1.
J. D. Klaprat, 117 Bradfort Lane.
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T. M. Lillesand, 3733 Ross Street.
R. W. Lincoln, 541 West Doty Street.
P. J. McWilliams, 1819 Helena Street.
J. H. Miles, 1101 Lincoln Street.
R. M. Nuckles, 4005 Hanover Street.
M. J. Philps, 1054 Jenifer Street.
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J. A. Nesser, 300 North Ash Avenue.

Menasha

J. P. Dachelet, 400 First Street.

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P. J. Kinney, 1509 Main Street.

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G. R. Albright, 7434 West River Bend Drive.
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Sheboygan

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K. Hansen, 310 Center Avenue.
T. C. Jetzer, 1814 North 12th Street.

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P. R. Leon, 146 Havilands Lane, White Plains.
M. L. Levin, 25 Fairway, Mount Vernon.
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D. F. Hammonds, 25 Street Nicholas Terrace Apartments.
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R. S. Conovitz, 16906 45th Avenue, Flushing.
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E. R. Heidt, 11 Borchard Street.
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R. M. Leary, 415 Flint Street.
G. F. Mack, 178 Grafton Street.
P. E. McGovern, 21 Highview Trail.
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I. B. Phillips, 54 Brooklawn Drive.
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B. J. Prestianni, 92 Highland Avenue.
T. J. Samway, 111 Leonard Road.
S. F. Sayre, 45 Rogers Parkway.
M. A. Schalk, 159 Ledgerock Lane.
S. L. Schrader, 238 W. Filbert Street.
J. W. Scott, 25 Glasgow Street.
F. F. Velte, 114 Dunn Street.

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J. E. Hayes, New Court Avenue.
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R. C. Schlegel, 307 Loma Avenue.
T. Storto, 107 East Raynor Avenue.
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S. E. Dushnick, 31 Maple Place, Hicksville.
J. A. Eder, 81 Virginia Avenue, Plainview.
F. V. Eidmann, Jr., 107 Elm Drive, Levittown.
R. Enslein, 36 Hollywood Drive, Plainview.
W. R. Ewald, 6 Orlando Street, Massapequa.
L. S. Factor, 85 Elm Drive, Levittown.
G. J. Farber, 17 Maxine Avenue, Plainview.
W. E. Farrow, Jr., 22 Preston Lane, Hicksville.
R. C. Fein, 87 Lincoln Road South, Plainview.
R. G. Fero, 33 Oxford Road, Plainview.
J. L. Fink, 51 Pasadena Drive, Plainview.
G. F. Fox, 36 Cedar Street, Hicksville.
J. R. Fromer, 95 Nassau Avenue, Plainview.
M. L. Gagne, 4 Venetian Boulevard, Lindenhurst.
M. D. Geller, 1372 Oakfield Avenue, Wantagh.
K. R. Gentile, 5 Felms Court, Bethpage.
L. R. Gerber, 145 Grace Street, Plainview.
C. J. Geveda, Jr.
J. D. Giardina, 64 Cedar Street, Hicksville.
M. N. Gimbel, 61 Helen Avenue, Plainview.
J. M. Glickstein, 1489 Prospect Avenue, East Meadow.
F. B. Gold, 34 Comet Lane, Levittown.
L. G. Goldberg, 32 Lincrest Street, Syosset.
M. P. Grady, 287 Linden Street, Massapequa Park.
W. E. Haynes, Jr., 33 Jamaica Avenue, Plainview.
R. F. Healey, 36 Wishing Lane, Hicksville.
D. H. Heberer, 25 Twinlawn Avenue, Hicksville.
S. M. Hesekiel, 2959 Jerusalem Avenue, Wantagh.
J. J. Hood, 210 Plainview Road, Hicksville.
R. J. Hoops, 114 Cambridge Drive, Hicksville.
T. J. Hough, 40 Diamond Drive, Plainview.
F. M. Hudak, 29 Boblee Lane, Hicksville.
J. T. Judge, 2 Lawn Place, Hicksville.
M. A. Katz.
S. J. Katz, 10 Petal Lane, Hicksville.
P. W. Keelin, 3430 Bunker Avenue, Wantagh.
D. P. Kibbe, 368 South Kilburn Road, Garden City.
N. S. Kleinstein, 447 Briar Lane, Wantagh.
T. H. Koch, 533 Ocean Avenue, Massapequa.
E. T. Kondracke, 176 Ohio Street, Hicksville.
D. E. Korn, 8998 219th Street, Queens Village.
A. Krieger, 9 Martin Lane, Old Bethpage.
A. P. Laskin, 269 North Wisconsin Avenue, North Massapequa.
L. B. Lenetsky, 38 April Lane, Hicksville.
W. F. Love, 38 Bloomingdale Road, Hicksville.
S. R. Lowenthal, 50 Elliott Drive, Hicksville.
G. P. Maguire, 21 Terrace Place, Hicksville.
P. A. Mann, 12 Terry Lane, Plainview.
P. M. Masone, 74 Bruce Avenue, Hicksville.
J. C. Mauro, 3417 Demott, Wantagh.
R. J. McHenry, 54 Chaflin Boulevard, Franklin Square.
P. J. Meed, 7 Robin Court, Bethpage.
R. H. Nadrich, 20 Springtime Lane, Levittown.
S. A. Nash, 99 Greenbelt Lane, Levittown.
A. R. Nave, 35 Arch Lane, Hicksville.
I. J. Negrin, 803 North Delaware Avenue, Lindenhurst.
D. A. Ness, 16 Silversmith Lane, Levittown.
P. A. Oddo, 230 North Hawthorne Street, North Massapequa.
G. Oreilly, 87 Green Lane, Levittown.
R. M. Oxhandler, 29 Hardy Lane, Westbury.
J. V. Patwell, 154 East Avenue, Hicksville.
J. E. Pavlakis, 8 Booth Lane, Levittown.
W. D. Pescod, 1426 Britton Street, Wantagh.
R. M. Pine, 448 Mansfield Avenue, Levittown.
E. S. Pirreca, 14 Forte Avenue, Old Bethpage.
A. R. Polanski, 22 Thimble Lane, Hicksville.
J. P. Prible, 28 Abbey Lane, Plainview.
D. Pruce, 16 Arrow Lane, Hicksville.
H. S. Rabinowitz, 3729 Sandra Court, Wantagh.
P. Rasmussen, 7 Irving Place, Massapequa.
S. Reiss, 116 Sutton Drive, Plainview.
S. L. Rosenbaum, 9 Patricia Lane, Syosset.
A. H. Rothstein, 40 Netto Lane, Plainview.
D. T. Ryan, 87 Rim Lane, Hicksville.
R. M. Sales, 60 Barry Lane East, Old Bethpage.
C. J. Saltz, 43 Lincoln Road, Plainview.
J. S. Sarno, 108 Woodbury Road, Hicksville.
R. Schiavone, 41 Cambridge Drive, Hicksville.
K. J. Schwartz, 44 Marilyn Boulevard, Plainview.
J. N. Senyszyn, 9 Timberline Road, Huntington.
M. Shafran, 9 Kalman Court, Plainview.
L. M. Shapiro, 14 Greenvale Lane, Syosset.
D. R. Shor, 4 Helen Avenue, Plainview.
M. P. Siegel, 240 North Boston Avenue, North Massapequa.
R. S. Siegel, 1022 Cedar Drive East, New Hyde Park.
M. Slauenwhite, 61 Timerpoint Road, East Islip.
R. M. Smith, 10 Lawrence Street, Hicksville.
G. A. Smyth, 12 Primrose Avenue, Hicksville.
A. D. Soberman, 28 Saratoga Drive, Jericho.
R. W. Steine, 12 Grace Lane, Levittown.
R. J. Stutzbach, 169 Morton Boulevard, Plainview.
W. Stutzel, 14 Cynthia Lane, Plainview.
R. Tabachnick, 60 Dante Avenue, Hicksville.
W. Tabachnick, 60 Dante Avenue, Hicksville.
R. Terdeman, 3 Linda Lane, Plainview.
M. R. Terrone, 28 Chapel Lane, Levittown.
J. A. Tilelli.
S. E. Tisman, 37 Peachtree Lane, Hicksville.
T. M. Walsh, 68 School House Road, Plainview.
R. J. Young, 16 Old Farm Road, Levittown.
B. M. Zimmerman, 44 Church Road, Levittown.
E. C. Kline, 68 Seventh Street, New Hyde Park.
W. A. Breitbart, 55 Sunnyside Way, New Rochelle.
P. D. Letterese, 347 Summit Avenue, Mount Vernon.
G. C. Diloreto, 69 Croton Avenue, Ossining.
E. T. Dooley, 17 Lincoln Avenue, Pleasantville.
H. E. Lindsay, 135 Oak Ridge Road, Pleasantville.
R. J. Nofi, 2 Durbyan Street, Port Washington.
E. J. Oexner, 31 Linwood Road South, Port Washington.
D. J. Shapiro, Sycamore Drive, Port Washington.
E. S. Turbyfill, 30 Spruce Street, Great Neck.
D. G. Vail, 19 Beachway, Port Washington.
A. V. Caccomo, 7 Crestwood Boulevard, Poughkeepsie.
R. B. Dietz, 38 Parkwood Boulevard, Poughkeepsie.
R. W. Dixon, 105 Garden Street, Poughkeepsie.
J. R. Frye, 189 North Hamilton Street, Poughkeepsie.
F. A. Glenn III, Clover Hill Road, Poughkeepsie.
N. M. Gottesman, 51 Brand Avenue, Poughkeepsie.
V. Honczar, 7561 Oriskany Road, Rome.
W. F. Mincey, 143 Union Street, Poughkeepsie.
H. Murphy, Jr., 155 Main Street, Poughkeepsie.
J. L. Murphy, 155 Main Street, Poughkeepsie.
J. R. Otto, 6 Wasson Drive, Poughkeepsie.
C. A. Rathkopf, Jr., Poughquag.
D. L. Rumsey, Jr., 2816 Fillmore, El Paso.
W. B. Russell, 4112 Memphis Avenue, El Paso.
J. S. Schwartz, 28 Manitov Avenue, Poughkeepsie.
R. P. Watkins, 25 Main Street, Pawling.
N. G. Cachianes, 3443 Knight Street, Oceanside.
R. M. Slam, 671 North Village Avenue, Rockville Centre.
J. M. Bennett, 2049 Caldecott Road, Schenectady.
G. E. Male, R.D. 2, Rexford.
G. McGarrahan, 71 Linden Street, Schenectady.
K. L. Wozniak, 202 South Holmes Street, Scotia.

Staten Island

G. W. Allen, 250 Corson Avenue.
J. T. Baker, 74 Wayne Place.
R. Battista, Jr., 22 Sanders Street.

G. E. Braadt, 124 Ridgecrest Avenue.
R. J. Burke, 439 Hunter Avenue.
R. H. Crowe, Jr., 16 Wakefield Road.
W. M. Curley, 230 Elm Street.
T. D. Curry, 62 Grand Avenue.
A. J. Devito, 151 Overlook Avenue.
J. J. Digiovanni, 72 Forest Road.
L. F. Dipietro, 209 Foch Avenue.
K. M. Dugan, 45 Ravenhurst Avenue.
R. A. Fama, 256 Van Pelt Avenue.
W. H. Farley, 191 Raymond Place.
J. A. Frank, 42 DeKay Street.
G. D. Ganey, 226 Baden Place.
P. M. Giambardella, 173 Harrison Place.
J. Hicks, 283 St. Mary's Avenue.
G. E. Hurley, 205 St. Marks Place.
G. A. Iafe, 393 Seaview Avenue.
M. J. Keegan, 277 Great Kills Road.
A. J. Laurie, 30 Hawthorne Avenue.
M. A. Mazella, Jr., 408 Seaview Avenue.
D. J. Naiman, 171 Collfield Avenue.
T. M. O'Neill, 364 Van Duzer Street.
H. Rabinowitz, 215 Hart Boulevard.
G. A. Reinhold, 39 Willow Pond Road.
A. V. Rizzo, 23 Lansing Street.
J. W. Rowan, 46 Pelton Avenue.
M. J. Scamardella, 155 Seneca Avenue.
J. M. Scandaglia, 15 Penn Avenue.
J. E. Smith, 974 Post Avenue.
J. H. Stanley, 71 McClean Avenue.
V. C. Tropeano, 171 Cannon Boulevard.

PHILADELPHIA REGION

Delaware

J. T. Bailey, 609 Fairview Avenue, Dover.
J. C. Crossley, 111 Rodney Road, Dover.
B. R. Fry, Shaw Avenue, Harrington.
C. D. Hyatt, 1622 South State Street, Dover.
N. F. Dufendach, care of Postmaster, Houston.
J. A. Brown, Sea Air Mobile City, Rehoboth Beach.
D. S. Shockley, Bay Road, R.D. 1, Rehoboth Beach.
D. M. Harris, care of Postmaster, St. Georges.
J. J. Bird, 1709 Delaware Avenue.

Wilmington

J. W. Dorsey, 1031 West 7th Street.
S. A. Ficca, 4917 Lancaster Pike
G. R. Harrison, Jr., 109 South Road, Lindamere.
K. H. Potts, Jr., 4921 Lancaster Pike.
R. L. Russell, 312 Spalding Road.
C. L. Simmons, 45 North Stuyvesant Drive.
J. L. Thomas, 2722 North Pine Street.
R. C. Ward, 107 Dickinson Lane.

New Jersey

J. H. Cleary, 7 Vreeland Avenue, Allendale.
P. R. Copple, 206 North Brighton Avenue, Atlantic City.
P. R. Damato, 30 North Haverford Avenue. Margate City.
R. J. Fichera, 8084 Michener Avenue, Philadelphia.
J. D. Katz, 6200 Ventnor Avenue, Ventnor City.
D. M. Levin, 32 North Newton Avenue, Atlantic City.
E. G. P. Lund, 9406 Pacific Avenue, Margate City.
M. A. Marion, 40 East Decatur Avenue, Pleasantville.
J. E. McLoon, 170 Ocean Avenue, Atlantic City.
M. E. Ruddy, 14 Walton Place, Ocean City.
R. W. Swartz, 120 North Oxford Avenue, Ventnor.
G. E. Toll, 32 South Richards, Ventnor City.
F. B. Ward III, 304 North Clermont Avenue, Margate.
M. B. Wolf, 81 Chestnut Avenue, Irvington.
R. J. Arnold, 274 South Finley Avenue, Basking Ridge.
J. A. Kouflie, Jr., Main Street, Bedminster.
D. R. Bohan, 39 West Maryland Avenue, Beach Haven Terrace.
G. A. Burkland, 133 West Delaware Avenue, Beach Haven.
C. V. Davis, 313 West 13th Street, Surf City.
B. L. Grimmett, 259 19th Street, Surf City.
D. L. Grimmett, 259 19th Street, Surf City.
D. H. Huggler, 116 East Alabama Avenue, Beach Haven.
L. R. Knauth, 10100 Long Beach Boulevard, Beach Haven.
N. Levison, 205 South Beach Avenue, Beach Haven.
M. B. MacNaul, 13210 Beach Avenue, Beach Haven Terrace.
T. A. Melega, Jr., 8 East 18th Street, Beach Haven.
P. R. Moore, care of postmaster, Beach Haven.
J. P. Scully, 4306 Bay Boulevard, Beach Haven.
T. J. Scully, 4306 Long Beach Boulevard, Brant Beach.
A. C. Todd, 808 South Beach Avenue, Beach Haven.
D. F. Todd, 808 South Beach Avenue, Beach Haven.
C. L. Decker, 82 Church Street, Belford.
C. W. Heinrichs, 1644 Riverview Terrace, Belmar.
P. J. Matoska, 294 South Washington Avenue, Bergenfield.
D. J. Coletta, 18 Kuntz Avenue, Berkeley Heights.
K. P. Swarthout, 15 Holmes Oval South, New Providence.
J. A. Parker, care of postmaster, Cookstown Road, Wrightstown.
T. A. Bass, 35 Norfolk Avenue, Maplewood.
A. S. Berson, 96 Oakview Avenue, Maplewood.
W. S. Greenberg, 450 Elmwood Avenue, Maplewood.
T. D. Murphy, 31 Knolls Road, Bloomingdale.
S. P. Weiss, 401 LaReine Avenue, Bradley Beach.
H. A. Felder, Bricktown.
F. W. Musgrave, 132 Lillian Street, Bricktown.
S. G. Riello, Jr., 101 Ashwood Drive, Bricktown.
K. W. Thomas, 36 View Drive, Bricktown.
F. E. Valeri, 213 Lorraine Place, Bricktown.
P. F. Winchester, 1841 Lanes Mills Road, Bricktown.
N. C. Barbarette, Buena.
M. Cooney, 48 Elmwood Road, Cedar Grove.
D. L. Embs, Box 36, Rural Route No. 2, Cape May.
C. K. Hickman, 1108 Ohio Avenue, Cape May.
H. D. Burton, 56 Bergen Street, Carteret.
E. E. Mantie, 13 Grant Avenue, Carteret.
P. D. Vandermark, care of postmaster, Carteret.
M. M. Falar, 55 Pine Boulevard, Cedar Knolls.
R. A. Benvenuti, 48 East Madison Avenue, Florham Park.
A. F. Burger, Jr., 1201 Kresson Road, Cherry Hill.
G. Febish, 33 Wagon Lane, Cherry Hill.
M. A. Jones, Jr., 117 Wisteria Avenue, Cherry Hill.
E. A. Lucke, 243 Van Horn Avenue, Clementon.
J. J. Bizub, 120 Park Slope, Clifton.
T. J. Castorina, 72 Cliffside Trail, Denville.
H. E. Defazio, Jr., 91 Randolph Avenue, Dover.
J. P. Fitzpatrick, 250 South Main Street, Wharton.
G. M. Cohen, 35 Frost Avenue, East Brunswick.
P. H. Belott, 11 Beverly Road, West Orange.
R. J. Goode III, 131 North 14th Street, East Orange.
C. W. Hermann, 60 Colonial Terrace, East Orange.
W. A. Iannacone, 386 Tremont Avenue, Orange.
J. J. Lynch, 420 New England Terrace, Orange.
D. P. Marino, 329 Park Avenue, East Orange.
P. McCarthy, 647 Scotland Road, Orange.
A. J. Polychronopoulos, 28 North 18th Street, East Orange.
G. M. Joachim, 139 Boulevard, East Paterson.
D. S. Orlovsky, 133 Stefanic Avenue, East Paterson.
I. P. Slevin, 2–18A 14th Avenue, East Paterson.
W. F. Warren, 23 Valley Place, Edgewater.
J. D. Pfeiffer, care of postmaster, Edison.
C. P. Jackson, 202 Edgar Place, Elizabeth.
T. Martin, 1539 Ann Street, Selma, Ala.
F. R. Mellage, 412 First Avenue, Elizabeth.
C. F. Merritt, Jr., 1625 Voeglin Avenue, Selma, Ala.
D. N. Nicholas, 755 Rahway Avenue, Elizabeth.
L. M. Sniezek, 240 Franklin Street, Elizabeth.
B. C. Weinstock, 253 Greenwood Terrace, Hillside.
A. J. Grassi, 121 Jefferson Avenue, Emerson.
J. V. Scully, 108 George Road, Emerson.
J. B. Olmsted, 77 Rensselaer Road, Essex Fells.
M. N. Feinbloom, 2616 Berdan Avenue, Fair Lawn.
C. Hahn, 315 Grove Street, East Rutherford.
D. S. Hartstein, 1247 Burbank Street, Fair Lawn.
L. Kabat, 4–19 Cyril Avenue, Fairlawn.
R. S. Lustig, 1436 East 7th Street, Plainfield.
E. M. Anderson, care of postmaster, Flanders.
D. W. Cotto, 56 East Edsall Boulevard, Palisades Park.
R. J. Labarbera, 194 Harrison Avenue, Garfield.
C. P. Obremski, 22 Williams Street, Garfield.
L. G. Rubin, 1618 Orchard Terrace, Linden.
S. E. Bergen, 122 Lakeview Avenue, Leonia.
E. G. Bilof, 225 Ross Avenue, Hackensack.
C. E. Colello, 25 Webb Place, Hasbrouck Heights.
K. C. Dolecki, 297 First Place, Bogota.
B. C. Flynn, 160 Lawrence Avenue, Hasbrouck Heights.
E. H. Hynes, 351 Maywood Avenue, Maywood.
T. J. Karl, 476 Bergen Avenue, Maywood.
E. P. Lynch, 643 Midwood Road, Ridgewood.
J. V. O'Shea, 94 Euclid Avenue, Hackensack.
D. T. Shaeffer, 168 Williams Avenue, Hasbrouck Heights.
W. K. Trautwein, 51 Spring Valley Avenue, Hackensack.
P. H. Wenzel, 514 Rock Road, Glen Rock.
R. A. Winters, 186 Fairmount Avenue, Hackensack.
J. D. Ressler, 73 Centre Street, Haddonfield.
F. P. Thiel, 128 West End Avenue, Haddonfield.
C. R. Field, 505 Ridgedale Avenue, Hanover.
R. A. Rakoczy, 1 Cottage Place, Hanover.
G. E. Reseter, 21 Lammers Street, Hazlet.
M. B. O'Neill, 214 Raymond Street, Hillsdale.
P. T. Jordan, 56 Kensington Avenue, Jersey City.
B. A. Reynolds, Sr., 907 Clinton Street, Hoboken.
J. F. Schmidt, 1310 Bloomfield Street, Hoboken.
L. V. Sprang, 613 Willow Avenue, Hoboken.
H. E. Schroder, care of postmaster, Iselin.
G. M. Marlow, 276 Gatzmer Avenue, Jamesburg.
J. P. Ankin, 193 Cambridge Avenue, Jersey City.
J. A. Banach, 11 Armstrong Avenue, Jersey City.

J. D. Barba, 1031½ West Side Avenue, Jersey City.
R. D. Black, 372 Fulton Avenue, Jersey City.
C. D. Brandt, 217 Wegman Parkway, Jersey City.
J. J. Campbell, 118 West 10th Street, Bayonne.
R. D. Campbell, 4 Seaview Court, Bayonne.
J. Carlinsky, 161 Orient Avenue, Jersey City.
C. J. Catrillo, 214 Hopkins Avenue, Jersey City.
W. R. Colbert, 513 Avenue A, Bayonne.
T. F. Cosgrove, 95 Highland Avenue, Jersey City.
C. J. T. Curran, 3304 Hudson Avenue, Union City.
R. N. Danback, 136 West 16 Street, Bayonne.
T. Drew, 59 Boyd Avenue, Jersey City.
A. T. Fox, 255 Dwight Street, Jersey City.
R. A. Fristensky, 193 Academy Street, Jersey City.
D. Gallagher, 42 Lexington Avenue, Jersey City.
J. P. Gerba, 519 Avenue A, Bayonne.
W. J. Griffin, 324 Duncan Avenue, Jersey.
J. S. Hausser, 246 Jewett Avenue, Jersey City.
S. A. Herman, 533 Central Avenue, Jersey City.
K. J. Hoebel, 256 Congress Street, Jersey City.
E. J. Hudson, 70 Bergen Avenue, Jersey City.
J. K. P. Jones, 346 Liberty Avenue, c/o Mahan, Jersey City.
R. J. Kacprowicz, 413 Union Street, Jersey City.
E. C. Kaminski, 230 Jewett Avenue, Jersey.
R. C. Kopczynski, 806 West Side Avenue, Jersey.
J. A. Kopycinski, 169 Fourth Street, Jersey City.
C. A. Kuchar, 17 Terrace Avenue, Jersey City.
C. R. Kuzminski, 721 Garfield Avenue, Jersey City.
P. D. Manganiello, 347 Woodlawn Avenue, Jersey City.
G. J. Marasco, 136 West 16th Street, Bayonne.
J. P. Milsop, 3801 Kennedy Boulevard, Union City.
R. P. Nastawa, 37 College Drive, Jersey City.
J. T. O'Donnell, 292 Harrison Avenue, Jersey City.
A. P. O'Reilly, 70 Clendenny Avenue, Jersey City.
J. H. Page, Jr., 54 Claremont Avenue, Jersey City.
F. C. Parente, 12 George Street, Saddle Brook.
C. R. Parker, 15 Morton Place, Jersey City.
F. Pietrusiewicz, 158 Hopkins Avenue, Jersey City.
R. J. Raczynski, 170 St. Paul's Avenue, Jersey City.
J. A. Repka, 64 Wegman Parkway, Jersey City.
H. J. Roarty, 292 Avenue C., Bayonne.
J. E. Savage, Jr., 320 Marshall Drive, Apartment 6B, Hoboken.
M. S. Scharf, 404 Stegman Parkway, Jersey City.
J. R. Sek, 227 Townele Avenue, Jersey City.
E. J. Silver, 59 Garrison Avenue, Jersey City.
L. Simeone, 129 Booraem Avenue, Jersey City.
J. A. Smith, 82 Danforth Avenue, Jersey City.
V. F. Steckler, 1625 Palisade Avenue, Union City.
L. D. Sullivan, 231 Bayview Avenue, Jersey City.
G. Sussman, 40 Lexington Avenue, Jersey City.
W. E. Taylor, 130 Grant Avenue, Jersey City.
W. T. Torpey, 15 Glenwood Avenue, Jersey City.
M. A. Torres, 386 Fourth Street, Jersey City.
M. A Venutolo, 22 Concord Street, Jersey City.
T. J. Viggiano, 108 Pamrapo Avenue, Jersey City.
V. W. Waiters, 170 Randolph Avenue, Jersey City.
W. J. Warren, Jr., 6 Spruce Street, Jersey City.
J. M. White, 173 Boyd Avenue, Jersey City.
G. Witterschein, 126 Glenwood Avenue, Jersey City.
D. P. Zampella, 222 Summit Avenue, Jersey City.
J. A. Napolitano, 109 Lawrence Avenue, Keansburg.
M. R. Leve, 1407 Knoll Road, Lakewood.
R. J. Teck, 110 West Caranetta Terrace, Lakewood.
R. F. Horan, Jr., 3 West Ellice Street, Lincoln Park.
J. A. Coulson, 126 West Gibbons Street, Linden.
G. B. Julian, 1025 Hollywood Road, Linden.
S. A. Rafelson, 507 Washington Avenue, Linden.
N. F. Watter, 141 Fernwood Terrace, Linden.
J. A. Zboray, 822 North Stiles Street, Linden.
J. J. Duffy, 379 Main Street, Little Falls.
J. Krom, 21 Ryle Avenue, Little Falls.
J. D. Vonder Heyden, 13 Ethel Road, Little Falls.
A. P. Christense, Livingston.
F. R. Struckmeyer, 79 Hillside Terrace, Livingston.
S. N. Garmansky, 393 Church Street, Hasbrouck Heights.
P. V. Lynch, 18 Bernice Place, Lodi.
C. T. Brown, Jr., 147 North 5th Avenue, Long Branch.
B. G. Main, 258 Howard Avenue, Elberon.
P. M. Monahan, 5 Washington Drive, Madison.
J. C. Tassini, 294 Euclid Avenue, Manasquan.
G. E. Loeb, 335 Fucillo Street, Manville.
J. L. Mourovic, 204 E Street, Millville.
M. Kohlberg, 55 Ardsley Road, Montclair.
K. P. Delafrange, 1 Grand Avenue, Montvale.
F. J. Garzione, 9 Briarcliff Road, Morris Plains.
N. Pompilio, Netcong.
B. J. Armstrong, 21 Homestead Park, Newark.
R. Babaoglu, 12 Cutler Street, Newark.
E. R. Barbier, Jr., 204 Fifth Street, Newark.
S. F. Beachum, 16 East Alpine Street, Newark.
M. A. Blake, 258 Goldsmith Avenue, Newark.
W. R. Bonelli, Jr., 369 Roseville Avenue, Newark.
J. E. Boone, 130 West Runyon Street, Newark.
G. Cassese, 45 Tappan Avenue, Belleville.
A. Cataldo, 1079 Grove Street, Irvington.
P. M. Cathey, 77 17th Avenue, Newark.
E. L. Ciccone, 51 North 10th Street, Newark.
E. Cilento, 95 Parker Street, Newark.
A. R. Delvescovo, 132 North 15th Street, Bloomfield.
N. Disend, 15 Mulford Place, Newark.
J. T. Dunn, 35 Montrose St. Newark.
H. Ehrenkranz, 245 Wainwright Street, Newark.
F. J. Fede, 171 Park Avenue, Newark.
C. L. Feder, 324 Scotland Road, South Orange.
M. Forfa, 389 Walnut Street, Newark.
A. A. Gamba, 31 Finlay Place, Newark.
K. A. Giunta, 345 Second Street, East Newark.
S. H. Goldman, 99 Weequahic Avenue, Newark.
H. N. Gottlieb, 385 Leslie Street, Newark.
C. P. Grasso, 385 Highland Avenue, Newark.
C. L. Gregory, 15 Shephard Avenue, Newark.
M. M. Hammonds, 207 Chadwick Avenue, Newark.
E. F. Harrigan, 365 Main Street, Belleville.
S. L. Harris, 382 Badger Avenue, Newark.
T. P. Hauke, 213 Grumman Avenue, Newark.
W. J. Hodge, 86 Avon Avenue, Newark.
E. D. Hoffman, 201 Vassar Avenue, Newark.
T. T. Howard, Jr., 61 Rose Terrace, Newark.
E. A. Humm, 110 North Ninth Street, Newark.
K. B. Hurdle, 12 Mitchell Place, East Orange.
C. I. Jernow, 616 Lyons Avenue, Irvington.
P. Jones, 13 Marie Place, Newark.
R. Jordan, 33, 12th Avenue, Newark.
W. J. Kane, 37 Humboldt Street, Newark.
J. M. Katusak, 53 Goble Street, Newark.
S. King, 190 Wainwright Street, Newark.
D. H. Lawrence, 60 Main Street, Orange.
J. C. Lorenzo, 101 Malone Avenue, Belleville.
Salvatore Maiorana, 138 Jerome Place, Bloomfield.
H. A. Massler, 52 Duffield Drive, South Orange.
J. M. McCabe, 191 Cortlandt Street, Belleville.
G. E. McClendon, 61 Tillinghast Street, Newark.
J. J. Metsopulos, 226 Academy Street, Newark.
J. Morgan, 660 South 18th Street, Newark.
N. J. S. O'Louglin, 189 Johnson Avenue, Newark.
A. V. O'Neill, 96 Houston Street, Newark.
R. T. Palma, 53 Sandford Place, Newark.
T. Parrillo, 55 Frederick Street, Belleville.
D. Pepe, 647 Clifton Avenue, Newark.
N. M. Perna, 16 Watsessing Avenue, Belleville.
E. D. Porcelli, 385 Highland Avenue, Newark.
R. J. Reilly, 139 Hillside Avenue, Glen Ridge.
K. W. Ruth, 82 Chestnut Street, West Orange.
N. J. Salvato, 575 North 7th Street, Newark.
G. M. Santuoso, 150 Liberty Avenue, Belleville.
R. S. Saulino, 168 North 10th Street, Newark.
H. J. Schrader, 65 Oakley Terrace, Nutley.
N. Schulman, 1415 Highland Avenue, Hillside.
R. K. Silberberg, 51 Grumman Avenue, Newark.
E. Silver, Jr., 114 Barclay Street, Newark.
R. J. Spagnola, 49 Columbia Avenue, Newark.
T. A. Spagone, 755 Ridge Street, Newark.
C. E. Spellman, 46 South 7th Street, Newark.
J. B. Thor, 35 Freeman Place, Nutley.
A. Tomaselli, 10 Memphis Avenue, Belleville.
I Walton, Jr., 65 Newton Street, Newark.
J. A. Weinberg, 9 Troy Court, Maplewood.
I. R. Whitaker, 67 Fairmount Avenue, Newark.
M. A. Zigarelli, 87 Lincoln Avenue, Newark.
L. Adler, 76 Adelaide Avenue, Highland Park.
C. H. Carman, 36 Paulus Boulevard, New Brunswick.
C. M. Griffin, 58 Lee Avenue, New Brunswick.
J. J. Hoagland, Jr., 289 Redmond Street, New Brunswick.
L. A. Kertesz, 99 Senior Street, New Brunswick.
W. S. Kover, 42 Nelson Avenue, Highland Park.

L. D. M. Pino, 110 South 11th Avenue, Highland Park.
H. Rosen, 341 Mansfield Street, Highland Park.
M. S. Saiff, 1380 Seminole Road, North Brunswick.
P. L. Sano, 103 South 4th Avenue, Highland Park.
A. D. J. Stankowicz, 1367 Luke Street, North Brunswick.
K. A. Scepansky, in care of postmaster, New Lisbon.
R. J. Birx, 31 Barberry Lane, New Providence.
R. T. Goble, in care of Postmaster, Newton.
C. E. Anderson, in care of Postmaster, North Bergen.
J. M. Corless, in care of Postmaster, North Bergen.
L. A. Crescitelli, in care of Postmaster, North Bergen.
P. D. Fiehamer, in care of Postmaster, North Bergen.
E. G. Maske, in care of Postmaster, North Bergen.
R. V. Oliver, in care of Postmaster, North Bergen.
H. R. Scholp, in care of Postmaster, North Bergen.
W. A. Stanton, 8400 Boulevard East, North Bergen.
R. Zevenvadjian, 407 3d Street, Union City.
H. L. Blackmon, 35 Harbor Road, Ocean City.
J. A. Burkhardt, Jr., 113 Ocean Avenue, Ocean City.
J. L. Caldwell, 600 Atlantic Avenue, Ocean City.
F. J. Esposito, 1308 Simpson Avenue, Ocean City.
E. M. Farrell, 108 36th Street, Sea Isle City.
M. L. Flynn, 1513 Asbury Avenue, Ocean City.
H. W. Gates, 365 Seabright Road, Ocean City.
P. M. Gould, in care of Postmaster, Ocean City.
T. J. Herrington, 248 Wesley Avenue, Ocean City.
J. R. Hogan, 142 Ocean Road, Ocean City.
J. W. Kiphorn, 400 First Street, Ocean City.
F. W. Klein, 322 East Surf Road, Ocean City.
C. G. Krattenmaker, Jr., 3613 Pembroke Lane, Ocean City.
J. S. Lee, 916 Asbury Avenue, Ocean City.
R. R. Lee, 327 Wesley Avenue, Ocean City.
H. F. Ludlam, 307 Seabright Road, Ocean City.
R. E. Maurer, Jr., 400 18th Street, Ocean City.
R. B. Perkins, 811 Third Street, Ocean City.
W. G. Peterson, Jr., 410 Tuckahoe Road, Marmora.
D. M. Romano, 206 West Seabright Road, Ocean City.
J. R. Warren, 3547 Asbury Avenue, Ocean City.
S. J. Witmer, 1020 Asbury Avenue, Ocean City.
T. C. Brown, Jr., 29 Boston Road, Neptune City.
G. P. Nicholls, Jr., 64 Cookman Avenue, Ocean Grove.
J. R. Esposito, 346 Prell Lane, Oradell.
R. R. Riso, 990 Amaryllis Avenue, Oradell.
P. J. Christiano, 22 Meeker Street, West Orange.
W. J. Hanley, 296 Tremont Avenue, Orange.
W. R. Herman, 10 Fairway Avenue, West Orange.
A. R. Liberman, 66 Lenox Terrace, West Orange.
J. D. McCarthy, 577 Valley Road, West Orange.
R. P. McGovern, 159 Gregory Avenue, West Orange.
P. J. Passero, Jr., 62 Rock Spring Avenue, West Orange.
J. M. Renna, 39 Gaston Street, West Orange.
G. K. Ruff, 4 Thomas Avenue, Riverton.
G. G. Harrison, 169 Forest Avenue, Paramus.
P. E. Bagoon, 14 Village Drive, Livingston.
T. G. Rogers, 1 Carlton Street, Morristown.
K. L. Sterner, 376 South Street, Morristown.
H. Bonaparte, 47 Lucille Place, Passaic.
S. C. Fried, 53 Warren Street, Clifton.
J. L. Hirschfield, 24 State Street, Passaic.
C. Hookaylo, Jr., 16 Potter Road, Clifton.
D. C. Kwasnik, 239 Howe Avenue, Passaic.
D. W. Mann, 15 Wells Court, Clifton.
A. A. Mitchell, Jr., 351 Highland Avenue, Passaic.
R. Moss, Jr., 351 Highland Avenue, Passaic.
V. J. Senatore, 102 Ann Street, Passaic.
D. W. Azar, 384 North 11th Street, Paterson.
B. I. Barrish, 415 11th Avenue, Paterson.
S. L. Bressler, 801 11th Avenue, Paterson.
M. L. Canger, 114 Richmond Avenue, Paterson.
S. E. Capers, 389 11th Avenue, Paterson.
T. P. Coates, 941 East 25th Street, Paterson.
H. L. Cornish, 125 Governor Street, Paterson.
M. L. Elvin, 926 East 28th Street, Paterson.
A. A. Grano, 267 East 25th Street, Paterson.
E. Levy, 586 East 29th Street, Paterson.
A. L. Peck, 415 East 28 Street, Paterson.
P. F. Reilley, 205 Michigan Avenue, Paterson.
R. E. Reines, 28 Dale Avenue, Paterson.
J. L. Shaw, 19 2nd Avenue, Paterson.
G. A. Victor, 462 East 31st Street, Paterson.
A. L. Minniti, 54 Capitol Street, Pavisboro.
K. J. Knudson, 28 Sixth Street, Fords.
C. C. Kowxna, 77 Sixth Street, Fords.
R. J. Mantz, 47 Broad Street, Perth Amboy.
S. L. Bootman, 731 East Front Street, Plainfield.
H. J. Goldrich, 1217 Field Ave., Plainfield.
C. D. Payten, 941 Spring Street, Plainfield.
M. J. Regan, 524 Parkside Road, Plainfield.
R. A. Shupack, 69 Myrtle Avenue, North Plainfield.
B. J. Skladany, Jr., 121 Hillside Avenue, Plainfield.
A. T. Slater, Jr., 2145 Orchard Drive, South Plainfield.
R. A. Starks, 24 Martins Lane, Berkeley Heights.
R. T. Blazer, 503 Forman Avenue, Point Pleasant Beach.
A. Cadalzo, 816 Trenton Avenue, Point Pleasant.
B. A. Doyle, 616 Marshall Drive, Point Pleasant.
D. J. Grohowski, 3402 Fairview Road, Point Pleasant.
J. J. Horton, care of Postmaster, Point Pleasant Beach.
D. B. Meseroll, Jr., 400 Atlantic Avenue, Point Pleasant Beach.
M. I. Seldin, 390 Stiles Court, Pompton Lakes.
F. J. Gerard, 141 Glenwild Avenue, Bloomingdale.
R. M. Aagaard, 129 Russell Avenue, Rahway.
R. E. Morahan, 431 Maple Avenue, Rahway.
R. T. Schmaeling, 1071 Thirza Place, Rahway.
A. W. Frick, 25 Orchard Drive, Upper Saddle River.
D. C. Slack, 41 Chestnut Street, Allendale.
G. R. Johnson, 434 Oak Avenue, River Edge.
P. J. McKenna, 297 Concord Drive, River Edge.
A. J. Rovegno III, 186 Monroe Avenue, River Edge.
J. J. Barkocy, 915 Lichtenthal Street, Riverside.
R. J. Caracci, 32 Hancock Street, Riverside.
R. A. Fort, 2412 Branch Pike, Cinnaminson.
E. J. Cusack, 151 Alberta Drive, Saddle Brook.
E. J. Dersch, 533 Dewey Avenue, Saddle Brooks.
A. F. German, 504 MacArthur Avenue, Garfield.
H. Hascup, 16 Hoffman Avenue, Rochelle Park.
S. J. Heck, 81 Chestnut Street, Garfield.
E. Husselrath, 315 Saddle River Road, Saddle Brook.
K. E. Klinger, 223 Lanza Avenue, Garfield.
M. F. Lastowski, 491 Stuyvesant Avenue, Rutherford.
R. B. Mitchell, 707 Cornwall Avenue, West Englewood.
R. Mudrak, 17 Welcome Road, Saddle Brook.
R. T. Pastuch, 126 7th Street, Saddle Brook.
D. R. Versace, 338 Midland Avenue, Saddle Brook.
G. F. Vornehm, 64 Taggart Way, Saddle Brook.
J. K. Ward, 72 Christina Place, Paterson.
A. C. Winkler, 164 Bnorwood Aveune, Lodi.
N. F. Healy, 80 Valley Way, West Orange.
R. J. Rigney, 104 Manor Court, Runnemede.
R. P. Roberts, 2337 Hudson Terrace, Fort Lee.
R. S. Sableski, 524 Forest Avenue, Lyndhurst.
W. R. Skene, 185 14th Street, Wood-Ridge.
W. F. Walling, 344 2d Avenue, Lyndhurst.
C. H. Disbrow, 347 Cedar Grove Terrace, Scotch Plains.
R. L. Taintor, 16 Farragut Drive, Bricktown.
P. B. Tunney, 300 Carteret Avenue, Seaside Heights.
J. P. Fimiani, 5905 Madison Street, West New York.
H. A. Massler, 52 Duffield Drive, South Orange.
D. H. Steckroth, 44 Cypress Street, Millburn.
B. S. Tepper, 59 Pilgrim Road, Short Hills.
C. G. Wroble, Jr., 217 East High Street, Somerville.
E. Lutsky, care of postmaster, South Branch.
P. E. Geiger, 3 Lexington Avenue, South River.
E. H. Heyman, 102 Edgewood Avenue, Springfield.
W. R. Gregor, 802 Allaire Road, Spring Lake Heights.
V. D. Boyd, 132 Gloucester Avenue, Lawnside.
J. A. Langston, 203 White Horse Pike, Lawnside.
P. C. Mulford, 539 Sixth Avenue, Lindenwold.
J. L. Tallant, 12 College Circle, Stratford.
P. F. Cappadona, 448 Rutland Avenue, Teaneck.
A. J. Cohen, 938 Lincoln Place, Teaneck.
A. J. Edelman, 960 Warren Parkway, Teaneck.
E. A. Fox, 256 Edgemont Terrace, Teaneck.
R. Nelson, 1309 Somerset Road, Teaneck.
R. D. Stanzione, 193 Snepard Avenue, Teaneck.
J. S. Fitzpatrick, 7 Cathedral Drive, Lakewood.
N. M. Kramer, 1367 Lanes Mill Road, Lakewood.
M. D. Leifer, 1501 Lane Mills Road, Lakewood.
F. Adams, Jr., 28 Cadwalader Terrace, Trenton.
R. S. Blaustein, 247 South Walter Avenue, Trenton.
M. R. Christie, 31 Evans Avenue, Trenton.
M. S. Cohen, 201 Maple Avenue, Trenton.
J. E. Cubberley, Jr., 333 South Logan Avenue, Trenton.
T. S. Davis, 3019 Nottingham Way, Trenton.

P. T. Deangelo, 73 Wickom Avenue, Trenton.
D. R. Delozier, 22 Banbury Road, Trenton.
C. C. Dunn, Jr., 852 Norway Avenue, Trenton.
R. G. Freedman, 942 Greenwood Avenue, Trenton.
L. M. Hilton, 96 Prospect Village, Trenton.
D. G. McClaskey, 66 McCarthy Drive, Trenton.
D. A. Olivieri, Jr., 133 Washington Street, Trenton.
J. S. Pekala, 9 Unwin Drive, Trenton.
W. P. Schur, 4 White Oak Way, Trenton.
H. C. Scott, 3212 South Broad Street, Trenton.
R. W. Thomas, 111 Brookside Avenue, Trenton.
R. C. Baxter, 2100 Kay Avenue, Union.
A. J. Gelfand, 374 Minute Arms Road, Union.
J. A. Lamont, Jr., 308 Halsey Avenue, Union.
G. Raskulinecz, Jr., 910 Irving Avenue, Westfield.
P. D. Rosenberg, 864 Colonial Avenue, Union.
J. S. Simpson, 351 Princeton Road, Union.
J. S. Wolfe, 1817 Manor Drive, Union.
E. H. Brandli, 2716 Palisade Avenue, Union City.
M. C. Brunhoper, 6809 Madison Street, Guttenberg.
G. A. Camporini, 308 West Street, Union City.
R. M. Casey, 6900 Broadway, Guttenberg.
M. F. Latyn, 32 Pine Street, Spotswood.
T. J. Molon, 427 Gregory Avenue, Weehawken.
E. Sklarew, 7 65th Street, West New York.
N. D. Sklarew, 7 64th Street, West New York.
J. Urbanik, 307 Bergenline Avenue, Union City.
C. L. Woltmann, 7 Clifton Terrace, Weehawken.
K. D. Haynes, 367 Tower Street, Vaux Hall.
J. P. Kenny II, 109 Miami Avenue, Wildwood Crest.
R. K. Boomer, 811 Grandview Avenue, Westfield.
A. J. Kern, 436 Montauk Drive, Westfield.
J. A. McGeary, 606 Raymond Street, Westfield.
A. J. Smith, Jr., 343 Whittier Avenue, Dunellen.
R. W. Young, 1454 Deer Path, Mountainside.
E. D. Delaney, 45 Park Avenue, Rumson.
J. R. Schilling, Westville Post Office, Westville.
M. C. Gere, 80 Third Avenue, Westwood.
R. K. Phoenix, 25 Pleasant Valley Road, Whippany.
S. I. Bellman, 3409 Pacific Avenue, Wildwood.
J. R. Cuddhy, Jr., 113 West Juniper Avenue, Wildwood.
W. M. Fath, Jr., 102 East Glenwood Avenue, Wildwood.
E. K. Ferguson, 814 New York Avenue, North Wildwood.
A. J. Fulginiti, 3106 Pacific Avenue, Wildwood.
F. W. Garrison, Jr., 217 East 14th Avenue, North Wildwood.
N. B. Halpern, 123 East 20th Avenue, North Wildwood.
R. K. Johnson, 120 Stanton Road, Wildwood Crest.
C. J. Ketterer III, 208 East Nashville Avenue, Wildwood Crest.
J. C. McAllister, 889 Egret Drive, Toms River.
P. Olwell, 202 East 22d Street, Wildwood.
P. E. Nestor, 1900 New York Avenue, North Wildwood.
R. Simon, 402 Second Avenue, North Wildwood.
A. C. Staller, 107 East 21st Avenue, Wildwood.
E. M. A. Taylor, 3817 Arctic Avenue, Wildwood.
J. N. Thompson, 133 West Baker Avenue, Wildwood.
R. E. Young, Jr., 207 Louisville Road, Wildwood Crest.
R. M. Ryan, 120 Green Street, Woodbridge.
B. E. Sipos, 107 New Street, Woodbridge.
B. A. Minkoff, 534 Hunter Street, Woodbury.
J. F. Tumulty, 24 Lake Drive, Woodbury.

Pennsylvania

D. S. Reeder, 247 Spruce Street, Emmaus.
E. W. Schiffer, 115 College Drive, Allentown.
L. Schmaldinst, 2838 Reading Road, Allentown.
J. M. Bradley, 313 Parsons Avenue, Bala Cynwyd.
E. F. Deegan, 24 Llandillo Road, Havertown.
P. F. Grow, 319 Woodbine Avenue, Narberth.
J. E. Keezel, 24 Sabine Avenue, Narberth.
O. C. Garber, c/o Postmaster, Barnesville.
T. R. Coates, College Hill Apts., Beaver Falls.
J. F. Ranii Jr., 132 Burns Avenue, Beaver Falls.
D. R. McMullin, 422 East Bishop Street, Bellefonte.
R. F. Braxmeier, 322 Summit Street, Bethlehem.
J. Dozpat III, 633 Linden Street, Bethlehem.
T. J. Fischer, 1526 Lebanon Street, Bethlehem.
T. M. Fore, 236 West Coal Street, Shenandoah.
A. M. Gonzales, 734 Elm Street, Bethlehem.
W. J. Hart, 1454 Lane Avenue, Bethlehem.
J. L. Heidecker, 449 Grandview Boulevard, Bethlehem
J. C. Hoffner, 1308 Broadway, Bethlehem.
P. D. Howlett, 724 12th Avenue, Bethlehem.
J. J. Kachmar, Jr., 762 Washington Avenue, Bethlehem.
G. A. Kardos, 541 Elmhurst Avenue, Bethlehem.
W. L. Kovacs, 2010 Davis Street, Bethlehem.
J. F. Leary, 620 Buchanan Street, Bethlehem.
R. M. Long, 1905 Columbine Avenue, Bethlehem.
F. J. Martin, 2115 Princeton Avenue, Bethlehem.
H. M. Ortevein, Jr., 616 West Union Boulevard, Bethlehem.
R. J. Roseman, 619 Hellener Street, Bethlehem.
R. C. Scheetz, 1458 Stefko Boulevard, Bethlehem.
E. J. Shields, Jr., 1118 Russell Avenue, Bethlehem.
L. A. Steixner, 945 East Sixth Street, Bethlehem.
J. F. Sullivan, 632 Pawnee Street, Bethlehem.
P. D. Sullivan, 632 Pawnee Street, Bethlehem.
M. S. Turwaver, 1354 North Vister Street, Allentown.
J. M. Gambrell, 128 Third Street, Rankin.
T. D. Jones, 10 Fairbanks Avenue, Bradford.
A. L. Mussari, 203 Bramber Drive, Broomall.
P. R. Riley, 501 Lawrence Road, Broomall.
F. M. Stec, 726 Winchester Road, Broomall.
M. A. Casper, Tanglewood Park, Valencia.
C. R. Paradis, 469 East Jefferson Street, Butler.
A. M. Twyford, 811 Wood Street, Butler.
G. J. Watson, 101 Gilbert Avenue, Butler.
R. M. Bellotti, 326 First Avenue, Cadogan.
A. P. Christensen, 36 Carlton Terrace, Bloomfield, N.J.
D. C. Brown, Post Office Box 437, Clarksville.
A. A. Lamo, Box 411, Clarksville.
F. D. Herman, 423 Kismet Street, Carnegie.
L. M. Mamula, 309 Thompson Street, Bridgeville.
D. J. Kalamas, 517 Isabella Avenue, North Charleroi.
C. F. Ralston, 420 Elm Avenue, Clearfield.
M. M. Jacoby, Care of Postmaster, Commodores.
J. J. McCabe, 236 East Hector Street Conshohocken.
M. Slovak, 111 Center Street, Conshohocken.
D. J. Vohar, RD 1, Baden.
H. C. Collins, 921 Forrester Avenue, Darby.
D. I. Fulton, 223 Mac Dade Boulevard, Collingdale.
R. C. Keith, Jr., Post Office Box 267, Donora.
L. S. Graham, Jr., 363 North Main Street, Doylestown.
J. D. Welsh, 216 East Ashland Street, Doylestown.
J. L. Cutuli, 907 Burmont Road, Drexel Hill.
M. E. Martin, 827 Ridley Creek Drive, Media.
W. R. McDevitt, 1131 Cornell Avenue, Drexel Hill.
A. J. McGarry, Jr., 5012 Fairway Road, Drexel Hill.
———, Care of Postmaster, Eagles Mere.
J. A. F. Bullock, 246 West Wilkes-Barre Street, Easton.
J. C. Janos, 800 Sheridan Drive, Easton.
R. D. Lucey, Jr., 171 Charles Street, Easton.
T. Pukson, 729 Arndt Road, Easton.
W. L. Stubblebine, Care of Postmaster, Edison.
M. A. Bickerstaff, Box 175, Ellsworth.
C. B. Hennon, Rural Delivery No. 1, Wampum.
M. E. Simpson, Care of Postmaster, Elmhurst.
T. S. Buczek, 311 Southgate Drive, Erie.
P. M. Consiglio, Post Office, Erie.
J. M. Diplacido, 1602 Hickory, Erie.
D. E. Gallegos, 1132 East Eighth, Erie.
K. H. Graham, 68 Vine Street, North East.
C. J. Karlein, Jr., 932 East Ninth Street, Erie.
M. A. Mancini, 2715 Melrose Avenue, Erie.
J. T. Simmons, Jr., 350 West 10th Street, Erie.
D. M. Whitby, 445 East 10th, Erie.
A. J. Cerra, 2005 Mary Street, Farrell.
R. D. Demarco, 156 Shenango Boulevard, Farrell.
T. J. Acita, 9 Zeller Street, Greensburg.
F. J. Bassegio, 9 South Hamilton Avenue, Greensburg.
J. P. Foti, 243 West Otterman Street, Greensburg.
F. B. Imbrescia, 1428 Maple Street, Monessen.
J. J. Lichwa, Jr., Box 438, Hutchinson.
A. J. Moff, Care of Postmaster, Greensburg.
W. J. Murrin, 101 North Second Street, Greenville.
J. P. Walton, Rural Delivery No. 4, Greenville.
D. C. Gobel, 245 Baltimore Street, Hanover.
J. P. Graybill, 1130 Baltimore Street, Hanover.
T. M. Scheivert, 256 Fleming Avenue, Hanover.
D. R. Bellemare, 2250 Kensington Street, Harrisburg.
J. K. Bottonari, 37 South 24th Street, Camp Hill.
M. L. Boyer, 3222 Sunnyside Avenue, Harrisburg.
B. E. Bragg, 1716 Herr Street, Harrisburg.
J. W. Brown, 4927 Virginia Avenue, Harrisburg.
T. O. Dissinger, 406 Lansvale Street, Marysville.
J. E. Eaddy, 1106 North 17th Street, Harrisburg.
T. J. Elliott, 3703 Brisban Street, Harrisburg.
E. J. Gallagher, 239 Woodland Avenue, New Cumberland.
W. Gilcrist, 1926 Briggs Street, Harrisburg.
R. E. Green, 1509 Wallace Street, Harrisburg.

P. E. Kauffman, 334 Louther Street, Lemoyne.
D. L. Lobel, 3207 Derry Street, Harrisburg.
T. G. McNeil, 601 North Union Street, Middletown.
J. M. Munley, 3242 Green Street, Harrisburg.
R. M. Murray, 2815 Rumson Drive, Harrisburg.
W. M. Shields, 2123 Jefferson Street, Harrisburg.
J. E. Shomper, 243 Market Street, Millersburg.
J. A. Sims, 518 Kelker Street, Harrisburg.
R. E. Smeltzer, Jr., 708 South 24th Street, Harrisburg.
C. C. Snedeker, Jr., Moated Route 2, Enola.
L. Spencer, Jr., 596 Lincoln Street, Steelton.
J. P. Pandosh, 64 Horsham Road, Hatboro.
G. J. Baurnes, care of postmaster, Homestead.
F. J. Petras, Jr., 202 Ohio Avenue, Glassport.
R. F. Snyder, 532 Halsey Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. A. Witt, care of postmaster, Homestead.
P. B. Hefferle, 616 Rose Street, Irwin.
W. Karako, Route 1, Irwin.
P. A. Merlino, 48 Lincoln Avenue, Jeannette.
S. M. Riehl, 1015 Ohio Street, Jeannette.
J. J. Moore, III, 4008 South Warner Road, Lafayette Hill.
W. M. Barrett, 952 Avenue D, Parkland.
D. P. Blatt, 39 Grapevine Road, Levittown.
D. R. Hendricks, 431 East Penncrest Drive, Langhorne.
A. P. Zacharka, 1237 West Maple Avenue, Langhorne.
J. C. Flounders, 29 North Maple Avenue, Lansdowne.
A. J. Watson, 2 North Fairview Avenue, Upper Darby.
S. J. Weinberg, 358 Hastings Boulevard, Broomall.
J. H. Wagoner, 69 Cumberland Road, Lemoyne.
D. P. Blatt, care of postmaster, Levittown.
P. M. Redmond, 14 Sunset Road, Lewistown.
E. R. Brush, 181 Oxford Orive, McKeesport.
P. R. Sanders, 1423 Kansas Avenue, McKeesport.
J. L. Vukovcan, 1004 Park Street, McKeesport.
M. A. Ressler, 739 Water Street, Mount Joy.
T. A. Henretta, 756 Chestnut Street, Meadville.
S. L. Shay, R.D. 3, Meadville.
M. F. Conaboy, Jr., 521 Fairmont Road, Haventown.
——— ——— care of postmaster, Milford Square.
J. G. Kalidonis, % Postmaster, Monaca.
M. A. Richardson, Box 763, Morgan.
T. A. Burrell, % Postmaster, Mt. Gretna.
L. T. Kolanowski, 122 West Main Street, Nanticoke.
T. E. Hupp, 2540 Brighton Road, Ellwood City.
J. N. Mangieri, Jr., 14 Maitland Street, New Castle.
A. A. Russo, 733 Castle Street, New Castle.
R. J. Despirito, 129 Wilson Road, King of Prussia.
S. R. Saunders, 633 East Basin Street, Norristown.
M. J. Tinzer, care of postmaster, Oakland Mills.
J. H. Lippke, 826 College Avenue, Oakmont.
J. M. Angelichio, 232 Candy Lane, Ambler.
E. A. Cogliano, 45 Keystone Avenue, Paoli.
G. R. Wuerstle, 1021 North Fifth Street, Perkasie.
R. M. L. Acito, 5746 Grays Avenue, Philadelphia.
L. Baker, 5115 Springfle, Philadelphia.
P. Baldino, 6439 Malvern Avenue, Philadelphia.
S. B. Barenbaum, 8311 Lynnewood Road, Philadelphia.
G. H. Beasley, 211 North Alden Street, Philadelphia.
J. R. Bigley, 601 65th Avenue, Philadelphia.
J. V. Bivins, 5524 Chancellor Street, Philadelphia.
P. N. Bladen, 762 North 43d Street, Philadelphia.
H. M. Blitman, 1329 Stirling Street, Philadelphia.
S. D. Brandschain, 2200 Parkway E–110, Philadelphia.
J. Breland, 2129 North 27th Street, Philadelphia.
T. Brennan, 6918 Dicks Avenue, Philadelphia.
C. T. Brooks, Jr., 1512 Nedro Avenue, Philadelphia.
H. D. Brcussard, 5142 Larchwood, Philadelphia.
F. A. Brown, 1332 N. Allison Street, Philadelphia.
J. J. Brown, 4919 Walton Avenue, Philadelphia.
S. Brown, 6523 Souder Street, Philadelphia.
E. A. Bryant, 443 North 61st Street, Philadelphia.
J. R. Buckley, 7914 Fayette Street, Philadelphia.
M. M. Burns, 5540 Chancellor Street, Philadelphia.
J. V. Byrne, 7421 Revere Street, Philadelphia.
A. P. Cabrera, 1818 North Van Peh Street, Philadelphia.
A. W. Canada, 1850 North 27th Street, Philadelphia.
M. Canty, 5407 West Master Street, Philadelphia.
J. A. Carey, Apartment 20–B Erringer Place Apartments, Philadelphia.
J. F. Caviston, Jr., 222 East Roosevelt Boulevard, Philadelphia.
A. A. Chappell, 320 West Dauphin Street, Philadelphia.
J. R. Chudnow, 1401 Greywall Lane, Philadelphia.
W. J. Closson, 1306 West Erie Avenue, Philadelphia.
B. D. Cohen, 6948 Horrocks Street, Philadelphia.
H. J. Cohen, 8022 Rodney Street, Philadelphia.
K. M. Cohen, 1812 Farrington Road, Philadelphia.
P. L. Cohen, 941 East Dorset Street, Philadelphia.
I. C. Coleman, 3834 North 15th Street, Philadelphia.
P. J. Colgan, 515 South 56th Street, Philadelphia.
C. L. Collis, 1814 North 54th Street, Philadelphia.
D. A. Cook, 3804 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia.
G. E. Cooper, 1722 North 60th Street, Philadelphia.
J. A. Cooper, Jr., 701–B Sartain Place, Philadelphia.
D. Cruse, 5220 Master, Philadelphia.
M. J. Cull, 11615 Banes Street, Philadelphia.
L. A. Daniels, 330 North 59th Street, Philadelphia.
R. Dantonio, 2010 Morris Street, Philadelphia.
W. G. Davis, 501 North 40th Street, Philadelphia.
W. L. Davis, 2144 North 7th Street, Philadelphia.
J. F. Dewey, 4227 North 3rd Street, Philadelphia.
J. B. Dicair, 1474 Braddock Lane, Philadelphia.
F. J. Digilio, 2228 South 21st Street, Philadelphia.
F. Dingwell, 1436 South 23d Street, Philadelphia.
V. J. Distefano, Jr., 6462 Morris Park Road, Philadelphia.
S. Doktors, 1611 Justrn, Philadelphia.
T. A. Doyle, 6152 Argyle Street, Philadelphia.
J. W. Duckett, 620 North Frazier Street, Philadelphia.
R. M. Edwards, 1531 Widener Place, Philadelphia.
D. B. Elfman, 7214 Lynford Street, Philadelphia.
W. L. Fairfax, 1545 North 56th Street, Philadelphia.
S. V. Farmer, 6053 Webster Street, Philadelphia.
J. D. Felder, 2213 Disston Street, Philadelphia.
D. M. Fiandra, 257 West Albanus Street, Philadelphia.
F. R. Fields, 228 Roscombe, North Hills.
D. P. Fomby, 3125 North 16th Street, Philadelphia.
A. Ford, Jr., 5449 Christian Street, Philadelphia.
J. F. Fort, Jr., 1336 South 31st Street, Philadelphia.
M. P. Freedman, 1017 Chandler Street, Philadelphia.
M. E. Freeman, 3645 North 15th Street, Philadelphia.
J. H. Freiberg, 1427 Robbins Street, Philadelphia.
H. P. Friedrich, 2035 Disston Street, Philadelphia.
J. J. George, 659 North 66th Street, Philadelphia.
S. M. George, 2224 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia.
I. H. Getzoff, 1033 Levick Street, Philadelphia.
W. Gilchrist, 1734 North Wilton Street, Philadelphia.
D. C. Ginsburg, 4604 Old York Road, Philadelphia.
M. L. Gold, 7509 Malvern Avenue, Philadelphia.
E. A. Goldberg, 625 A Garland Street, Philadelphia.
M. E. Gooden, 6230 Jefferson Street, Philadelphia.
D. A. Grant, 248 North 61st Street, Philadelphia.
D. V. Grillett, 39 East La Crosse Avenue, Lansdowne.
G. Grillone, 1706 South 28th Street, Philadelphia.
M. A. Gross, 1021 East Cliveden Street, Philadelphia.
C. J. Guillory, 130 North 53d Street, Philadelphia.
I. S. Hairston, 1104 A Reno Place, Philadelphia.
M. D. Halkin, 1039 Fanshawe Street, Philadelphia.
W. C. Hall, Jr., 5320 Vine Street, Philadelphia.
B. A. Handy, 448 North 50th Street, Philadelphia.
D. E. Harmon, 6154 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.
J. Harrell, 2809 West Huntington Street, Philadelphia.
J. B. Harrigan, Jr., 8641 Hickory Drive, Philadelphia.
K. M. Harris, Jr., 1433 North Wanamaker, Philadelphia.
F. S. Hass, 1616 Longshore Avenue, Philadelphia.
J. G. Hayden, Jr., 3960 The Oak Road, Philadelphia.
J. K. Hayden, 3860 The Oak Road, Philadelphia.
K. Heller, 1348 Passmore Street, Philadelphia.
P. Hershovitz, 412 Winton Street, Philadelphia.
W. Hill, 2928 West Page Street, Philadelphia.
B. Hillian, 5932 Addison Street, Philadelphia.
R. M. Hillian, 5932 Addison Street, Philadelphia.

F. W. Hoensch, Jr., 3921 Claridge Street, Philadelphia.
R. W. Holman, Jr., 5022 Race Street, Philadelphia.
R. P. Horn, 5102 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.
S. M. Horne, 929 North 43d Street, Philadelphia.
J. P. Hurvitz, 904 East Upsal Street, Philadelphia.
A. D. Isley, 3023 West Girard Avenue, Philadelphia.
C. Y. Jackson, 4617 Hawthorne Street, Philadelphia.
C. J. Jerolmack, 2502 Aspen Street, Philadelphia.
K. Jett-El, 2918 West Gordon Street, Philadelphia.
C. F. Johns, 5932 Carpenter Street, Philadelphia.
O. C. Johnson, 4522 Pine Street, Philadelphia.
R. C. Johnson, 2032 North 15th Street, Philadelphia.
C. G. Jones, 844A Alden Place, Philadelphia.
W. C. Jones, 2009 West Madison Street, Philadelphia.
Z. E. Jones, 5044 Summer Street, Philadelphia.
J. J. Kedra, 601 East Hilton Street, Philadelphia.
A. Kenney, 3723 North 5th Street, Philadelphia.
M. A. Klein, 9873 Bridle Road, Philadelphia.
T. J. Krause, 5232 Beaumont Avenue, Philadelphia.
H. L. Lackey, 2307 West Edgeley, Philadelphia.
W. L. Ladson, Jr., 6045 Carpenter Street, Philadelphia.
E. W. Leak, 1330 North Taney Street, Philadelphia.
J. A. Leo, 8761B Glenloch Street, Philadelphia.
E. L. Levin, 1822 Merribrook Road, Philadelphia.
N. W. Levin, 7415 Evston Road, Melrose Park.
J. W. Lewis, Qtrs. C–25, U.S.N. Base, Philadelphia.
J. W. Logan, Jr., 3904 North Smedley, Philadelphia.
T. A. C. Lopresti, 7633 Malvern Avenue, Philadelphia.
N. M. Lubin, 1821 Fox Chase Road, Philadelphia.
W. J. P. Lynch, 1545 South Lindenwood Street, Philadelphia.
D. H. Lyons, 4524 North Warnock Street, Philadelphia.
H. N. Lyons, 4037 Locust Street, Philadelphia.
D. A. Martin, 434 South 62d Street, Philadelphia.
F. T. Martella, 1430 South 23d Street, Philadelphia.
R. K. Matthews, 276 South 58th Street, Philadelphia.
K. C. McCullough, 6345 Woodbine Avenue, Philadelphia.
B. J. McFadden, 1003 West Godfrey Avenue, Philadelphia.
J. P. McFadden, 1134 North 64th Street, Philadelphia.
M. J. McGee, 711 East Thayer Street, Philadelphia.
F. L. McGinty, 2626 South 66th Street, Philadelphia.
R. McIntyre, 9237 Academy Road, Philadelphia.
J. E. McKeever, 2108 East Arizona Street, Philadelphia.
J. F. McNally, 2442 South Garnet Street, Philadelphia.
C. M. Miller, 4378 Reno Street, Philadelphia.
N. Miller, Care of Postmaster, Philadelphia.
V. H. Miller, 760 M 41 Street, Philadelphia.
R. A. Montague, 4034 Lucust Street, Philadelphia.
A. L. Moore, 1946 Spencer Street, Philadelphia.
C. E. Moran, 5002 Willows Avenue, Philadelphia.
J. W. Moraney, 5461 Spring Street, Philadelphia.
G. E. Munroe, Jr., 148 East Duval Street, Philadelphia.
M. L. Murphy, 2891 Gradyville Road, Broomall.
R. W. Murray, 234 North 60th Street, Philadelphia.
S. R. Nemeroff, 4919 North Ninth Street, Philadelphia.
M. A. Nibbio, 917 South 10th Street, Philadelphia.
G. M. Owens, 321 East Sharpnack Street, Philadelphia.
J. P. Ozga, 5990 Woodbine Avenue, Philadelphia.
R. J. Palangi, 1220 Elbridge Street, Philadelphia.
P. A. Patterson, 5931 Opal Street, Philadelphia.
J. R. Perrello, 6356 Farnsworth Street, Philadelphia.
R. J. Perry, 131 South 55th Street, Philadelphia.
T. B. Peterson, 1523 North Allison Street, Philadelphia.
L. S. Petkov, 4916 Wynnefield Avenue, Philadelphia.
D. Philpot, 3811 Aspen Street, Philadelphia.
S. M. Pickholtz, Bromley House, apartment A–201, Philadelphia.
J. Pitts, 337 West Glen Echo Road, Philadelphia.
M. S. Podgorski, 1802 Arthur Street, Philadelphia.
C. M. Povine, 4965 Thompson Street, Philadelphia.
W. M. Powell, 402 North 59th Street, Philadelphia.
L. Powers, 5137 Hazel Avenue, Philadelphia.
R. A. Procopio, 1123 Mifflin Street, Philadelphia.
J. A. Prout, 1832 North Bailey Street, Philadelphia.
N. L. Purnell, 3219 Summer Street, Philadelphia.
M. Radbill, 2314 B Benson Street, Philadelphia.
C. D. Raiskin, 820 Lawler Street, Philadelphia.
R. J. Reaney, 7336 Pittville Avenue, Philadelphia.
W. J. Reeves, 7016 Limekiln Pike, Philadelphia.
P. J. Robinson, 5146 Hoopes Street, Philadelphia.
N. F. Rodowicz, 925 Sanger Street, Philadelphia.
M. A. Rosenbaum, 3729 North 17th Street, Philadelphia.
D. R. Rosenfeld, 1849 North 77th Street, Philadelphia.
F. J. Schweighauser, 6820 North 10th Street, Philadelphia.
R. L. Shamwell, 1916 North 22nd Street, Philadelphia.
C. J. Sharkey, 1133 South Ruby Street, Philadelphia.
A. M. Siegel, 2417 North 56th Street, Philadelphia.
R. Singleton, 117 North 60th Street, Philadelphia.
J. Slabothin, 1101 Mount Pleasant, Philadelphia.
E. E. Smith, Jr., 9636 Torresdale Avenue, Philadelphia.
A. F. Sokoloff, 4802 N. Warnock Street, Philadelphia.
H. D. Spirt, 1117 Sydney Street, Philadelphia.
G. Stanback, 2015 Morris Street, Philadelphia.
G. M. Stankieuicz, 5241 Sydenham Street, Philadelphia.
M. D. Steel, 1029 South 55th Street, Philadelphia.
J. C. Stinson, 1243 Wolf Street, Philadelphia.
L. C. Strang, 3319 North Waterloo Street, Philadelphia.
P. Tabas, 7730 Green Valley Road, Wyncote.
D. Talley, 433 North 42d Street, Philadelphia.
R. L. Tana, 830 Pierce Street, Philadelphia.
J. S. Tecklin, 8426 Forrest Avenue, Philadelphia.
J. M. Thomas, 2222 Reed Street, Philadelphia.
M. J. Tracey, 1232 East Cheltenham Avenue, Philadelphia.
J. C. Ulfelder, 4404 Sansom Street, Philadelphia.
E. Vanlandingham, 241 East Sedgwick Street, Philadelphia.
D. D. F. Vedder, 5529 Angora Terrace, Philadelphia.
A. Wadler, 1304 Magee Avenue, Philadelphia.
R. Wallace, 2334 Reed Street, Philadelphia.
J. Weinberg, 1022 East Slocum Street, Philadelphia.
J. R. Whitters, 6203 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia.
A. Wilmer, 5019 Reno Street, Philadelphia.
W. F. Wozniak, 310 Fitzgerald Street, Philadelphia.
R. J. Yanchuk, Hamilton Motor Court, Philadelphia.
D. E. Daniels, care of Postmaster, Pineville.
D. Atkinson, 5231 Schenley Avenue, Pittsburgh.
K. M. Ault, 97 East Steuben Street, Pittsburgh.
N. R. Baker, Jr., 806 Sarah Street, Pittsburgh.
A. J. Basinksi, 217 Main Street, Pittsburgh.
G. K. Bennett, 429 North Aiken Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. M. Benney, 1058 Cox Avenue, Pittsburgh.
W. M. Berkins, 223 Glen Caladh Street, Pittsburgh.
S. L. Biancaniello, 2073 Kearns Avenue, Pittsburgh.
B. A. Blandino, 3537 Fairwood Street, Pittsburgh.
T. J. Broderick, 344 Vanadium Road, Pittsburgh.
L. A. Burdman, 1215 Murrayhill Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. L. Burley, 7370 Stranahan Street, Pittsburgh.
J. M. Burwell, 3209 Iowa Street, Pittsburgh.
D. P. Butkiewicz, 5167 Coral Street, Pittsburgh.
R. H. Calhoun, 217 Dalzell Avenue, Pittsburgh.
T. Carroll, 705 Morgan Street, Pittsburgh.
D. L. Chelli, 504 North Sheridan Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. L. Clegg, 11612 Joan Drive, Pittsburgh.
L. G. Cocheres, 2800 Perrysville Avenue, Pittsburgh.
E. S. Cohen, 5537 Avondale Place, Pittsburgh.
R. T. Crystian, 32½ Roberts Street, Pittsburgh.
A. W. Daniel, Jr., 408 Veronica Drive, Pittsburgh.
J. M. Danko, 765 Montclair Street, Pittsburgh.
M. R. Dellavecchia, 1256 Hillsdale Avenue, Pittsburgh.
A. J. Demar, 534 Elaine Drive, Pittsburgh.
J. F. Dillon, 120 Marlboro Road, Pittsburgh.
M. Duddy, 141 Enger Avenue, Pittsburgh.
D. S. R. Duff, 1174 Murrayhill Avenue, Pittsburgh.
K. E. Dunn, 103 Owendale Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. C. Dybiec, 202 Parkfield Street, Pittsburgh.

R. P. Edwards, 800 Parkview Boulevard, Pittsburgh.
R. J. Fest, 2500 Leticoe Street, Pittsburgh.
F. M. Foley, Jr., 145 Catskill Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. Franconeri, 690 Elmbank Street, Pittsburgh.
C. J. Franklin III, 2229 Somers Drive, Pittsburgh.
W. J. Fry, 137 Wynoka Street, Pittsburgh.
R. J. Fundakoroski, care of Post Master, Pittsburgh.
W. J. Gallagher, 3081 Pinehurst Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. J. George, 301 Suncrest Street, Pittsburgh.
G. W. Griffin, 311 Burrows Street, Pittsburgh.
J. W. Griffin, 1632 Lincoln Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. M. Grossman, 1414 Denniston Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. Harris, 346 South Aiken Avenue, Pittsburgh.
N. Hawrylak, Jr., 23 Holt Street, Pittsburgh.
R. S. Hoover, 227 Silver Oak Drive, Pittsburgh.
M. S. Hoskins, 401 Morewood Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. F. Johnson, 4743 Norma Drive, Pittsburgh.
R. D. Kaleida, 114 Rahe Street, Pittsburgh.
M. L. Kanarek, 508 Fruithurst Drive, Pittsburgh.
T. J. King, 429 Ruxton Street, Pittsburgh.
J. J. Klein, 103 Haberman Avenue, Pittsburgh.
H. C. Klemp, 109 North Sprague Avenue, Pittsburgh.
S. I. Kornhauser, 5717 Hobart Street, Pittsburgh.
S. E. Kram, 2533 Mount Royal Road, Pittsburgh.
S. H. Kreimer, 6381 Douglas Street, Pittsburgh.
S. M. Kroll, Jr., 4111 Library Road, Pittsburgh.
R. E. Krysinski, 174 Home Street, Pittsburgh.
M. E. Lako, 2339 McCook Street, Pittsburgh.
P. F. Langbein, 1521 Dagmar Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. L. Lewis, 316 Sylvania Avenue, Pittsburgh.
T. P. Lewkowicz, 164 42d Street, Pittsburgh.
J. R. Lindsay, 1864 Runnette Street, Pittsburgh.
R. V. List, 478 Dailey Road, Pittsburgh.
A. C. Lockman, 623 Midtown Square, Pittsburgh.
P. E. Losco, care of postmaster, Pittsburgh.
D. B. Mahoney, 1705 Laporte Street, Pittsburgh.
C. R. Marney, 8531 Westwood Road, Pittsburgh.
D. McAuley, 4923 Wallingford Avenue, Pittsburgh.
C. C. McClelland, 1018 Haslage Street, Pittsburgh.
R. D. McDonald, 3151 Ashlyn Street, Pittsburgh.
R. A. Mikuta, 424 Kenmont Avenue, Pittsburgh.
K. R. Mori, 4642 Friendship Avenue, Pittsburgh.
E. D. Moyle, Post Office Box 8635, Pittsburgh.
K. E. Mura, 739 Orchard Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. E. Murphy, 267 South Winebiddle Street, Pittsburgh.
E. H. Myers, 1374 Navahoe Drive, Pittsburgh.
R. M. Newham, 420 Fairywood Street, Pittsburgh.
D. K. Obermeier, 80 Oakwood Avenue, Pittsburgh.
G. J. Ogilvie, 902 Haller Street, Pittsburgh.
R. Orlowski III, 4569 Carroll Street, Pittsburgh.
F. E. Parker, 4201 Willow Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. B. Patterson, 75 Kendal Avenue, Pittsburgh.
A. F. Paukovits, 414 Ruxton Street, Pittsburgh.
M. C. Pavlik, 3200 Mary Street, Pittsburgh.
D. R. Pellegrini,, 6513 Stanton Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. P. Pietursinski, 3505 Melwood Avenue, Pittsburgh.
M. Pollock, 1118 Woodbine Street, Pittsburgh.
J. Preston, Jr., 7209 Monticello Street, Pittsburgh.
P. E. Preusser, 6372 Caton Street, Pittsburgh.
L. E. Racke, Jr., 1211 Island Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. D. Racke, 1211 Island Avenue, Pittsburgh.
N. Radick, Jr., 173–D–45th Street, Pittsburgh.
R. J. Ransaw, 709 Dornbush Street, Pittsburgh.
R. G. Rea, 117 Scotia Street, Pittsburgh.
R. L. Reaves, 2545 Chauncey Drive, Pittsburgh.
S. F. Reck, 4348 Coleridge Street, Pittsburgh.
F. N. Reed, Jr., 1200 Brushton Avenue, Pittsburgh.
B. J. Reese, 8018 Susquehanna Street, Pittsburgh.
F. E. Reilly, 1216 Barton Street, Pittsburgh.
W. G. Remensnyder, 311 Rennie Drive, Pittsburgh.
R. Ricci, 4611 Friendship Avenue, Pittsburgh.
L. J. Rock, 1434 Woodbine Street, Pittsburgh.
J. R. Ross, 4670 Sherwood Drive, Pittsburgh.
M. R. Ruffner, Route No. 2, Box 82, Tarentum.
T. C. Russell, 70 Haldane Street, Pittsburgh.
J. A. Schmitt, 509 Elizabeth Street, Pittsburgh.
G. L. Seidel, Jr., 333 South Home Avenue, Pittsburgh.
T. F. Sherer, Jr., 108 Blackhawk Street, Pittsburgh.
D. J. Smith, 708 Pennwood Drive, Pittsburgh.
B. B. Sokolow, 2342 Eldridge Street, Pittsburgh.
C. A. Sperandeo, 1934 Lowrie Street, Pittsburgh.
M. D. Spirnak, 1430 Nixon Street, Pittsburgh.
D. C. Spitzer, 6557 Bartlett Street, Pittsburgh.
J. J. Stiscak, 91 Cedar Avenue, Pittsburgh.
L. Stitt, 1212 Glenn Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. W. Strouss, 123 Crawford Avenue, Pittsburgh.
A. M. Sullivan III, 3043 Harmening Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. B. Sullivan, 99 East Manilla Avenue, Pittsburgh.
F. E. Taylor, 316 Columbia Avenue, Pittsburgh.
F. W. Thackeray, 1913 Perrysville Avenue, Pittsburgh.
B. E. Thompson, 1512 Wolpert Way, Pittsburgh.
T. S. Trasatti, 5097 Forbes Avenue, Apt. D–11, Pittsburgh.
J. W. Turnbaugh, 1648 Dellrose Street, Pittsburgh.
R. J. Velte, 524 Knoll Street, Pittsburgh.
R. A. Vierheller, 240 Augusta Street, Pittsburgh.
W. C. Volkman, 1437 Howard Street, Pittsburgh.
D. A. Von Kaenel, 98 Locust Street, Pittsburgh.
M. J. Walsh, 132 Kearns Place, Pittsburgh.
D. C. Watts, 226 Collins Drive, Pittsburgh.
F. T. Webb, 1836 Bedford Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. R. Weber, 207 Clover Street, Pittsburgh.
J. E. Whitehouse 220 Parkside Avenue, Pittsburgh.
M. A. Wiezorek, 1248 Superior Avenue, Pittsburgh.
A. J. Williamson, 572 Orchard Avenue, Pittsburgh.
W. E. Wilson, 715 Hays Avenue, Pittsburgh.
U. R. Winn, 805 Whiteside Road, Pittsburgh.
M. J. Wittgartner, 988 Glencoe Avenue, Pittsburgh.
D. L. Worstell, 8287 Tanglewood Road, Pittsburgh.
P. M. Wrigley, Jr., 3450 McClure Avenue, Pittsburgh.
R. D. Yagulli, 766 Darlington Road, Carnegie.
R. A. Young, 502 Cabot Way, Pittsburgh.
M. L. Zucker, 5564 Beacon Street, Pittsburgh.
A. A. Knoll, 204 York Avenue, West Pittston.
R. L. Gregor, 210 East Franklin Street, St. Clair.
D. B. Mills, in care of Postmaster, Prospectville.
H. L. Brown, 1158 North 11th Street, Reading.
L. S. Newberry, 1138 Carsonia Avenue, Reading.
D. L. Pflum, 742 Franklin Street, Reading.
T. S. Reed, R.D. 1, Mohrsville.
K. C. Sherwood, 117 North 25th Street, Reading.
M. P. Brett, in care of Postmaster, Robinson.
E. J. Sanner, P. O. Box 386, Robinson.
J. P. Corcoran, in care of Postmaster, Scranton.
C. R. Harte, R.D. 1, Waymart.
J. S. Mattioli, U.S. Post Office, Scranton.
J. B. McNulty, 109 North Van Buren Avenue, Scranton.
P. J. Mellody, 311 Larch Street, Scranton.
F. J. Morgan, 1109 South Main Avenue, Scranton.
G. J. Popil, 237 North Cameron Avenue, Scranton.
J. L. Santini, U.S. Post Office, Scranton.
M. J. Latsko, 663 Service Avenue, Sharon.
E. A. Macknis, 113 South Gilbert, Shenandoah.
R. W. King, Jr., 102 North Kimberly Avenue, Somerset.
G. D. Miller, R. D. 2, Somerset.
R. H. Weigle, R.F.D. 5, Somerset.
W. M. Wiester, Jr., Route 3, Somerset.
N. D. Hartzel, 304 Washington Avenue, Souderton.
J. J. Ryan III, 148 Maple Avenue, Southampton.
T. O. Farrar, 411 Colfax Street, Springdale.
B. V. Intorre, Care of Postmaster, State College.
J. F. Kessinger, Jr., 1100 Centre Lane, State College.
M. L. Pierson.
L. J. Mudry, 247 Barclay Avenue, Pittsburgh.
J. Calloway, 12 Linn Avenue, Washington.
A.J. Caruso, 122 Woodland Avenue, Washington.
F. B. Ostovic, Jr., Box 74, Fredericktown.
G. F. Relich, 45 Fairhill Drive, Washington.
A. J. Sacco, 1375 Allison Avenue, Washington.
T. L. Trosch, 231 Lebanon Manor Drive, West Mifflin.
J. J. Yuhasz, 3519 Whitaker Street, West Mifflin.
J. H. Born, 271 East South Street, Wilkes-Barre.
S. J. Ebert, 239 George Avenue, Wilkes-Barre.
J. R. Kindler, 50 Pierce Street, Kingston.
W. A. Krute, 42 Auburn Street, Wilkes-Barre.

J. W. Lynch, 65 Bethel Street, Wilkes-Barre.
M. A. Purcell, RD 5, Shavertown.
N. W. Wartella, 811 Scott Street, Wilkes-Barre.
L. S. Yudkovitz, 21 West Union Street, Wilkes-Barre.
B. W. Smith, 234 West 5th Avenue, Conshohocken.
T. A. Glatfelter, 935 Maple Avenue, Lancaster.
C. B. Horner, 222 Orchard Road, New Cumberland.
M. R. Sheffer, 1952 Leonard Street, York.
K. L. Shellenberger, 61 Wise Avenue, Lancaster.

ST. LOUIS REGION

Missouri

Richard T. Jones, 220 West Locust, Bowling Green.
Jerry L. Staley, 435 North Fredrick, Cape Girardeau.
Larry L. Loos, 780 West Rodney, Cape Girardeau.
Paul Huey, Chaffee.
Denis Edward Rigdon, 1521 Themis, Cape Girardeau.
Floyd Williams 516 Jefferson Avenue, Cape Girardeau.
Carl R. Fisher, Caruthersville.
Jack L. Reynolds, 1400 Fair Street, Chillicothe.
Robert L. Brenneman, Route 1, Chillicothe.
Norman K. Perry, 308 Hillcrest, Chillicothe.
Larry Prather, 111 North 15th Street, Chillicothe.
Terry D. Coult, 1612 Bryan, Chillicothe.
David N. Tise, 403 Westmount, Columbia.
William A. Atkinson, 1605 West Broadway, Columbia.
Dennis D. Murphy, 715 Spring Valley Road, Columbia.
Addie J. Smith, 811 Leawood Terrace, Columbia.
Allan Schuh, 516 West Pratt, De Soto.
Carol R. Libbee, 903 Stewart Road, Columbia.
Robert DePew, 417 Sanford Avenue, Columbia.
Charles H. Sauer, 1635 Highridge Circle, Columbia.
Richard A. Pettus, 9 College Avenue, Flat River.
Nick Lingo, Potosi.
Terry G. Hassell, 501 Field Street, Flat River.
Richard Bess, 309 Haney Street, Flat River.
Barbara A. Hocker, Drexel.
Harold E. Hicklin, Jr., Perry.
Michael K. Osborn, Hazelwood.
Daniel E. McLaughlin, 602 West Walnut, Independence.
Stephen R. White, 102 Reed Street, Fulton.
Dennis H. Gaffke, 710 Houchins, Jefferson City.
Jerry M. Wekenborg, Route 5, Jefferson City.
Kenneth L. Adams, 1304 East Ducklin Street, Jefferson City.
Frederick L. Bloomfield, 922 Fairmount Boulevard, Jefferson City.
Roger D. Crocker, 617 W. McCarty, Jefferson City.
William P. Klauber, 2013 Norris Drive Jefferson City.
Edwin B. Hamilton, 614 Linn Street, Jefferson City.
Danny M. Melton, 1518 Notre Dame, Jefferson City.
Terry M. Reed, 922 Moreau Drive, Jefferson City.
Dennis McCurren, 721 Clark, Jefferson City.
Danny Dowdy, 811 East Dunklin, Jefferson City.
Charlene Mayberry, 504 Lafayette, Jefferson City.
Stephen Stauffer, 1715 Michigan, Joplin.
Richard Cook, 2807 Picher, Joplin.
James D. Saale, 517 Norma Drive, St. Charles.
Thomas B. Becker, 540 Monroe Street, St. Charles.
Joel F. Achtenberg, 1028 West 70th Street, Kansas City.
Donald C. Baker, 4116 College, Kansas City.
Ronald L. Bodinson, 6414 Warnall Road, Kansas City.
William E. Boykin, 4006 Euclid, Kansas City.
Arthur D. Coleman, 3224 Bellefontaine, Kansas City.
Larry F. Colletti, 2406 West 79th Terrace, Prairie Village, Kans.
Robert J. Davis, 5116 Rosewood Drive, Shawnee Mission, Kans.
Gordon F. Dawson, 11138 Oak, Kansas City.
Douglas R. Dubin, 1820 East 85th Street, Kansas City.
Fred G. Graham, 6418 Wornall Road, Kansas City.
Cheryl E. Jones, 3201 East 52d, Kansas City.
Robert E. Kelley, 5600 Bales, Kansas City.
Terry R. McCall, 3530 North Myrtle, Kansas City.
Charles W. McTyer, 2432 Olive, Kansas City.
John E. Mockobey, 9300 East 103, Kansas City.
Stephen J. Moore, 450 West 50th, Kansas City.
John B. Moree, 11222 East 50 Highway, Raytown.
Wesley C. Parham, 3509 Brooklyn, Kansas City.
Robert B. Patterson, 4407 Bellefontain, Kansas City.
William H. Redmond, 2456 Spruce, Kansas City.
William E. Shade, 2715 East 35th Terrace, Kansas City.
Harry D. Shrago, 112 East 67th, Kansas City.
David B. Silverforb, 209 Brush Creek Boulevard, Kansas City.
Karen J. Taylor, 1720 Berry, Independence.
Rodney M. Thompson, 3208 East 31st, Kansas City.
Ben Turec, 8409 Central, Kansas City.
Charles W. Wheeler, 204 South Jackson, Kansas City.
Charles B. Williams, Jr., 2714 Brooklyn, Kansas City.
Walter R. Jacobs, 912 West McCoy, Independence.
John E. Redmond, 604 East 65th Terrace, Kansas City.
Carl Bengston, 515 East 61st Street, Kansas City.
Richard Lippman, 817 Jefferson, Kansas City.
Joe Fanning, 5313 Prospect, Kansas City.
Frank M. McMahon, 1474 East 76th Terrace, Kansas City.
Charles Murphy, 2000 Benton Boulevard, Kansas City.
Lee C. Simm, 3845 Montgall, Kansas City.
David Paul Lyman, 5525 Garfield, Kansas City.
Edward V. Johnson, 3220 East 30th, Kansas City.
Bailus Melvin Tate, 3225 East 30th, Kansas City.
Verlie Norton, 3218 East 32d Street, Kansas City.
Milton C. Smith, 3046 East 32d Street, Kansas City.
Sammie Lee Smith, 3737 Garfield, Kansas City.
James Walter Rider, 3809 Windsor, Kansas City.
Patrick James Lillard, 322 North Brighton, Kansas City.
Raymone W. Sonnenberg, 421 East 55th Street, Kansas City.
James Ora Wallace, 1242 South Hardy Avenue, Kansas City.
Judith Anne Johnston, 1509½ West Walnut, Independence.
Helen Marie Ellis, 3025 Olive Street, Kansas City.
Carol Sue Horn, 845 West 30th Street, Independence.
Julious Carey, 1015 Vine Street, Kennett.
Patricia Novinger, RFD, Novinger.
Kenneth F. Robb, Jr., 602 Marion, Kirksville.
Donald Bradley, La Belle.
Joseph D. Roberts, II, 419 West Kansas, Liberty.
Gerald D. Jackson, 321 West 5th Street, Maryville.
Samuel C. Richardson, 4612 East Rollins, Moberly.
James G. Spencer, 402 North Olive, Nevada.
Larry G. Sheridan, Moundville.
William F. Johnson, 926 Tremont, Poplar Bluff.
John Throckmorton, 2535 North Main, Poplar Bluff.
James O. Essary, 928 Park Avenue, Poplar Bluff.
Lyndel Harold Porterfield, 511 Cedar Street, Poplar Bluff.
Sandra Schierloh, Belle.
Douglas L. Hermann, 808 West 12th, Rolla.
Chuck Downing, Houston.
Steven A. Honse, Route 3, Box 146, Rolla.
Stephen G. England, 806 Bray Avenue, Rolla.
Chris M. Killian, 902 Angus Valley Drive, Rolla.
Gary L. Frank, Route 4, Rolla.
Janice M. Duncan, Post Office Box 544, Rolla.
Rebecca Fuller, Augusta.
Albert Boos, 3504 Doniphan Saint Joseph.
Rita Hafner, 2814 Francis Street, St. Joseph.
Thomas J. Kneib, 2838 Messamine Street, St. Joseph.
Wilson G. Loar, Jr., 5419 South 22d, St. Joseph.
Alan G. Silverglat, 3029 Douglas, St. Joseph.
Charles E. Stewart, 53 East Hyde Park, St. Joseph.
Dee A. Turner Thomas, 904 Corby, St. Joseph.
John R. Yancey, Jr., 1805 6th Avenue, St. Joseph.
William F. Piercy, 220 North 18th Street, St. Joseph.
Patrick G. Peeple, 520 North 24th, St. Joseph.
Dennis Johnson, 1404 East Kathleen, Sikeston.
Robert Brothers, 230 Watson, Sikeston.
Richard Compas, 305 J Drive, Sikeston.
Mitchell Ray Shelby, 520 Wallace, Sikeston.
William T. Solon, 1415 West 3d, Sedalia.
William H. Bunn III, 1506 South Barrett, Sedalia.
Jack E. Gross, II, 1930 Ventura, Springfield.
Russell Campbell, Jr., Republic.
Larry J. Butrick, 2534 North National, Springfield.
Tim A. McColm, 502 North Burton, Springfield.
Joyce E. Franks, 2424 West Walnut, Springfield.
Michael D. Lumley, 521 West Minota, Springfield.
Terrence N. Hyde, 2139 Prairie Lane, Springfield.
Larry Gooch, 2817 Rocklyn, Springfield.
Craig E. Alexander, Route 4, Box 162, Marshfield.
Miss Neda L. Bockover, 806 West Seventh Street, Washington.

St. Louis

John A. Sappington, 4615 Tower Grove.
Michael Handley, 4354 Engright.
James Murphy, 5915 Waterman.
Frank Keaney, Jr., 6423 January.
Raymond Bruntrager, 71 Bellerive Acres.
Joseph Forti, 5407 North Kingshighway.
Joseph Herbst, 5019 Queens.
Thomas Archer, 5360 Queens.
Frank Bubb, 9 Wrenwood Court.
Lucy Christman, 659 Tuxedo Boulevard.

Michael Smolens, 601 North Price Road.
Jess Mitchel Usery, 5919 Garesche Avenue.
John J. Hennelly, 6230 Delor.
Robert Guilliams, 7820 Wilmore.
Eddie D. Evans, 4812 Cote Brilliant.
John O'Toole, 5644 Mimika.
Octavis Harrison, 3740 St. Louis.
Frank Cushing, 63 Bellerive Acres.
Arthur Groesch, 5420 Queens.
Richard L. Schuler, 4336a Arco.
Loren A. Jackson, 5026 Page.
Jack Davis, 719 Landscape.
Edward Levitt, 9626 La Jolla.
Kenneth Shear, 50 Creekwood Lane.
Steven Schwedt, 8425 Braddock.
Oliver R. Anderson, 6536 Itaska.
Thomas A. Grooms, 51 Westmoreland.
Grady Ward, 4021a Kennerly.
Terry L. Baker, 6216 Helm Drive.
Dayton M. Cramer, 4045 Germania.
Dennis Huelsing, 3230 Pennsylvania.
Byron Bass, 7535 Ahern.
James F. Booth, 6250 Walsh.
Larry Benoist, 2105 East Fair.
Harold Kalishman, 7301 Tulane.
George Otte, 5214 Finkman.
Ray Overman, 6037 Harney.
Roland Rose, 5317 Ruskin.
Michale J. Kelly, 150 Grenoble Lane, Florisant, Mo.
Fred Miller, 1323 Midland Drive.
Betty J. Clayborne, 2432 Cleveland, East St. Louis, Ill.
Albert Zimmer, 932 Chelsea.
Charles Wartts, 3024 Thomas.
James J. Crane, 7701 Mallard Drive.
William F. Seeck, 4233 McRee.
Ronald J. McIntyre, 2622 Belle Glade.
Douglas Whittington, 3900 Flora Place.
Michael Streng, 2045 East Prairie.
Andrew Farris, 45 Bellerive Acres.
Robert G. Hess, 2839 Miami.
John Hinrichs, 3250 Lucas and Hunt Road.
John DiFatta, 9946 Norwick.
Delores Warren, 2027 Franklin.
James Jeter, 4910 Maffitt Place.
Robert Mills, Jr., 7460 Hiawatha.
John W. Hammon, 915 West Main, Festus.
David Tolle, 4640 Tennessee.
Luke A. Knese, Jr., 5211 Bonita.
Bessie R. Johnson, 3027a Whittier.
Charles Kleine, 1438 Klein.
Lewis Jenkins, 4650 Page.
Kenneth W. Macon, 4501 Newstead.
Allan J. McCarthy, 3909a Fillmore.
Freddie C. Pryor, 2733a Franklin.
Paul E. Schroeder, 5733 Higgins.
James F. Chik, 10430 Four Winds Court.
Robert L. Nelson, 5041 Maple Street.
Donald J. Torizzo, 215 Westgate.
Vallon Brown, 5082 Westminster.
Timothy Meyer, 2214 Indiana.
Thomas Weatherby, 4902 Michigan.
Gary Pratte, 5202 Potomac.
John Kennedy Nolan, 900 Surrey Lane.
Robert McAlevey, 4933 Heege Road.
Elson Williams, Jr., 3914 St. Louis.
Mary S. Maginn, 8221 Glen Echo Drive.
Franklin S. McKeown, Jr., 7022 Canton.
Vickie A. Riggins, 5564 St. Louis.
Robert F. Allison, 6715 Murray.
David L. Green, 8206 Airport Road.
Gordon N. Johnson, 902 Drummond Drive.
Gary R. Rahm, 4139 Banks Road, St. Ann.
John H. Hoelzer, 7449 Dale.
Lyn F. Bayer, 701 Capac Court.
Raymond D. Kayser, 5095a North Kingshighway.
Barbara J. Dorsey, 5739 Westminister.
John J. Hennelly, Jr., 6230 Delor.
John W. Tecu, 5734 Lisette.
Lawrence A. James, 12127 Valencia.
Tom Mendelson, 8006 Stanford.
Joseph Domian, 7115 Hosmer.
Diane Molz, 2315 Wismer.
Craig Phegley, 46 Tulip Drive.
Gary S. Grisbeck, 5223 Potomac.
Thomas R. Zeisler, 5239 Emerson Street.
Leon B. Smith, 1420 Laurel.
Paul L. Small, 4637 Pope.

Thurman L. Willett, Jr., 213 Solley Drive, Manchester.
Gabriel Wallace, 2311 Biddle.
Timothy Foley, 6148 Washington.
John Moll, 2745 Accomac.
Archie Harrison, 3732 St. Louis.
Bradford Buchek, 9036 Consul Drive.
Charles Haller, 1240 Tamm.

Arkansas

Linda Lee Schuburg, 939 St. Louis, Batesville.
Robert Edward Parks, Newark.
James F. Holman, 701 Walnut, Newport.
Danny Smith, Bentonville.
Joe Cook, Route 4, Box 125–A, Camden.
William B. Ellis, Jr., Stephens.
Jimmie A. Brady, Route 3, Vilonia.
Marvin Keith Marshall, Route 3, Box 123, Crossett.
James William Berry, Route 8, Fayetteville.
James Alfred Cole, 321 West Lafayette, Fayetteville.
Ernest E. Rothrock, Box 479, Lincoln.
Gary D. Alverson, 4423 South 30th, Fort Smith.
Daniel L. Borengasser, 300 North 39th, Fort Smith.
Regina R. Crain, 1811 South Greenwood, Fort Smith.
James R. England, 1922 North 44th Terrace, Fort Smith.
Phillip Bushman Farris, 518 May Avenue, Fort Smith.
Dan Hendrix, 2215 South 40th Street, Fort Smith.
Pete Nicely, 208 Federal Building, Fort Smith.
Robert E. Woods, 805 North Greenwood, Fort Smith.
Larry Joe Jefferson, Route 2, Harrison.
Don Wesley Walker, Jr., 620 North Walnut Street, Harrison.
M. C. Clark, 917 Jefferson Street, Texarkana.
Frank Boyd Coleman, Lewisville.
Michael G. Mitchell, Star Route, Mountain Pine.
Andrew C. Donaldson, 714 Hope Street, Jonesboro.
Ralph Donaldson, Jr., 804 East Washington, Jonesboro.
Lynda F. Smith, 1609 Ethel, Jonesboro.
Ann L. Carter, 1612 West College, Jonesboro.
Clyde M. Knight, 1108 Kitchen, Jonesboro.
Michael L. Ball, 3120 Peyton, Little Rock.
Carroll R. Bates, 211 South Plaza, Little Rock.
Phillip Charles Bressinck, 1301 Garland Avenue, North Little Rock.
Joseph E. Cassady, 1407 South Harrison, Little Rock.
Jeff N. Hardwick, 923 East H, North Little Rock.
Jerry Wayne Hollis, 10024 West Markam, Little Rock.
James R. Isum, 1808 Bishop Street, Little Rock.
Henry L. Jones, Jr., 1511 West 23d, Little Rock.
Jim A. Lorenz, 508 West Pine, Little Rock.
Truman Mitchell, 2 Gilliam Park Road, Little Rock.
Drajah H. Morrow, 2123 Rice Street, Little Rock.
Barbara J. Rawls, 2124 West Seventh Street, Little Rock.
Phillip S. Shavers, 3024 Fulton Street, Little Rock.
Nancy E. Woods, 7 Belle Meade Drive, Little Rock.
David Allen Fincher, Box 218, Waldo.
Billy Earl Clampit, 502 East Jackson, Monticello.
Gail Bigge, Mena.
Murphy Davis, RFD No. 3, Newport.
Edwin L. Goff, 901 West 20th Street, North Little Rock.
Donald R. Owen, Jr., 1215 Parkway Drive, North Little Rock.
Manuel Dison, 1518 East 4th Street, North Little Rock.
Bruce Cook, Jr., Dooley Road, North Little Rock.
Don Roberts, 520 North 5th Street, Paragould.
Joel Railsback, 1615 West 33d, Pine Bluff.
Miles Fish, Jr., Box 476, Star City.
Kenneth L. Johnson, Jr., 1311 Alabama Street, Pine Bluff.
Hugh E. Hays, 905 North 9th Street, Rogers.
Jim W. Pickens, Box 128, Rogers.
Hugh R. Showalter, 503 North Walnut, Searcy.
William E. Black, Jr., 109 SE. J Street, Bentonville.
James S. Keeton, 522 Highland Drive, West Memphis.
Harold D. Masterson, Route No. 2, Earle.
William K. Thomas, 513 Ingram, West Memphis.
Cheryl D. Williams, Box 584, Clarkedale.
Lee N. Ziegenhorn, Route 1, Earle.
Robert Lee Williams, 530 South 9th Street, West Memphis.
Arthur Jackson, 202 South 11th Street, West Memphis.

Iowa

Howard J. Foulkner, Story City.
Larry K. McCoy, 413 East 3d Street, Ames.
Bernard Malone, 401 Olive St., Atlantic.
John Morton, 104 Clinton, Boone.
David Myers, 1628 Marshall, Boone.
Richard L. Houser, Boone.
Judith McCarty, Argyle.
Rick Humphrey, 606 West Ramsey, Burlington.
Fred Meeker, Mediapolis.
Fred Delezal, Carroll.
Niles B. Smith, Harper.
Thomas Borchart, 305 W. Water, Fayette.
Charles H. Patrick, 4305 Cavalier NE., Cedar Rapids.
Timothy Maddigan, Celwein.
Richard Menning, 825 Straub Court, Cedar Rapids.
Larry T. Baker, 1105 14th Avenue SW., Cedar Rapids.
Joseph H. Schmickle, 4001 Midway Drive NW., Cedar Rapids.
Franklin L. Spinka, 3311 Southland SW., Cedar Rapids.
Earl J. Williams, 1411 10th Street SE., Cedar Rapids.
Thomas R. Preston, Cedar Rapids.
Raymond R. Anderson, 914 9th Street SW., Cedar Rapids.
Donald E. Joens, 2320 J Street SW., Cedar Rapids.
Barry Fish, 2939 Skyline Drive, Clinton.
John Rayes, 1013 West 7th Street, Davenport.
Richard Rodriquez, 1453 West 3rd Street, Davenport.
William R. Ray, 1115 East Columbia, Davenport.
Michael C. Gaul, 3012 Tremont, Davenport.
James Hegeman, 303 First Avenue NE., Waukon.
Gerald Bagg, 2330 S.W. 9th, Des Moines.
Steven Cox, 307 Davis, Des Moines.
Ron West, 2514 West 53d, Des Moines.
John Brick, 1728 East 9th, Des Moines.
Charles Costelline, 2020 Harding Road, Des Moines.
Lynn Hoffman, 549 28th, West Des Moines.
Sam Gillotti, 915 Kirkwood, Des Moines.
Michael L. Durnavich, 618 Clinton, Des Moines.
James Denato, 1610 Watrous, Des Moines.
Roger Parker, 922 West 16th, Des Moines.
Gene Grozino, 2337 S.W. 9th, Des Moines.
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Gerald Kelaso, 5933 Cottage Grove, Des Moines.
Roger Mason, R.R. No. 1, Osceola.
Gary Lundholm, 1105 Euclid, Des Moines.
Fred Joseph Lucia, 1816 60th, Des Moines.
Ralph A. Chiodo, 318 Edison, Des Moines.

Charles A. Talcott, 931 29th, Des Moines.
Terrance L. Arnold, 1506 East 9th, Des Moines.
Richard M. Bush, 1107 12th, Des Moines.
Ronald L. Fisher, 914 Guthrie, Des Moines.
Roger D. Freel, 1021 West 26th, Des Moines.
Joseph J. Gedden, Jr., 662 36th Street, Des Moines.
Lloyd Jones, Jr., 950 West 17th Street, Des Moines.
James M. Mincks, 2406 Adams, Des Moines.
William S. Thyberg, 5304 Grand Avenue, Des Moines.
Melvin Crippen, 512 SW. Virginia, Des Moines.
Stephen King, Winterset.
John P. Mullen, 3113 Clark Street, Des Moines.
Michael W. Shearer, 1351 22d Street, Des Moines.
Dennis Mullin, 2411 Maryland Pike, Des Moines.
Nicholas J. Lemmo, Jr., 3513 SE. 8th Street, Des Moines.
Michael D. Porter, 1131 18th Street, Des Moines.
Paul G. Storey, 714 East Sheridan, Des Moines.
Curtis M. Murphy, Julien Hotel, Dubuque.
Dennis A. Boda, 434 Loras Boulevard, Dubuque.
Michael J. Durkin, 1511 Bluff Street, Dubuque.
Gerry W. Hallenbeck, 1555 Ruan Drive, Dubuque.
Thomas J. Wild, 752 University, Dubuque.
Douglas N. McNaver, 1646 Finley, Dubuque.
Wilmer Atkinson, 2411 Rhomberg, Dubuque.
Michale Laughlin, 1722 Avenue C, Fort Madison.
Daryl Beall, Somers.
Roger Conway, Swea City.
Michael Christenson, Jewell.
Michael W. Anderson, 2023 3d, South Fort Dodge.
Tim V. Langerman, 1729 4th Avenue, South Fort Dodge.
J. Michael Swank, 1253 North 25th, Fort Dodge.
Pat Cavanaugh, Lohrville.
Martin Huffman, Manson.
James Lynch, 1010 Highlane, Iowa City.
James Moore, 1006 North Church, Leon.
Paul L. Becker, 40 Oak Drive, Mason City.
Steven H. Collins, 721 North Jackson, Mason City.
Brian L. Ekborg, RFD No. 2, Nora Springs.
Jeffrey E. Judy, 215 Fourth Street, NW., Hampton.
Dale B. Olson, RFD No. 1, Rudd.
Douglas B. Tiedeman, 1215 North Hampshire, Mason City.
Jon R. Yankey, 302 14th Street SE., Mason City.
David R. Walters, 317 West North Street, Manly.
James H. Anderegg, Rural Route No. 3, Mason City.
Stephen Loy, 321 Taft, Ottumwa.
Richard J. Odem, Box 13, Kirkville.
Gary Raymond Smith, Route 3, Albia.
David Baker, 902 Center, Ottumwa.
Keith Kunkel, Rural Route 2, Ottumwa.
Frank Bell, 615 East Court Street, Ottumwa.
J. C. Irvin, Shenandoah.
John Perdue, Emmetsburg.
Gary D. Luft, 3519 McComb, Sioux City.
Sharon L. Powell, 2808 South Paxton, Sioux City.
John Wittstruck, 3600 Peters Avenue, Sioux City.
Harry Kitts, 3600 Peters Avenue, Sioux City.
Michael Halaszyn, 3423 Jennings, Sioux City.
Ken Heaton, 1622 West 16th, Sioux City.
John J. Mitzsechte, 2102 Pierce, Sioux City.
Darryl E. Nelson, 1515 McDonald, Sioux City.
Michael E. Bilunas, 2651 South Lemon, Sioux City.
Vernon E. Allen, 515 Sumner, Waterloo.
Lawrence W. Ash, 2817 East Fourth, Waterloo.
Ross R. Burrill, 357 Butler, Waterloo.
Marvin E. Dillavou, 1929 Sixth Street, Evansdale.
Richard J. Junker, 901 Brookside, Waterloo.
Noel R. Shekleton, 324½ West Fourth, Waterloo.
John S. Steidler, 916 Wellington, Waterloo.
Anthony L. Tisdale, 526 Iowa, Waterloo.
Thomas Berling, 1445 Bertch, Waterloo.
Gary M. Riley, 126 Harrison, Waterloo.
Joe N. Austin, 317 Sumner, Waterloo.
Gary L. Letchford, 202 Mulberry, Waterloo.
Jane Little, West Branch.
Michael A. Crivaro, 940 Creston, Des Moines.

SAN FRANCISCO REGION

California

V. J. Calderon, 2150 Fulton, Monterey Park.
W. H. Hanna, 8821 East Naomi, San Gabriel.
M. L. Huff, 2355 Bunker Avenue, El Monte.
W. C. Lee, 1100 South Bradshaw, Monterey Park.
S. M. Roland, 9556 East Nadine, Temple City.
R. Salinas, 1835 Portogrande Drive, South San Gabriel.
J. R. Stifel, 1625 Laurel Street, South Pasadena.
L. M. Tsuchiya, 1177 Garfield Avenue, Monterey Park.
R. P. Ward, 470 East Concha Street, Altadena.
R. L. Adler, 916 South Roberts, Anaheim.
W. T. Bryan, 702 Westvale Drive, Anaheim.
R. E. Clerisse, Jr., 2918 West Ravenswood Drive, Anaheim.
R. C. Scharples, 1332 Rosewood Avenue, Anaheim.
A. J. Aoki, 710 L Street, Bakersfield.
C. J. Barton, 2117 Lantana Way, Bakersfield.
L. G. Brawn, 3912 Wilson Road, Bakersfield.
L. D. Durbin, 404 Electra Avenue, Bakersfield.
P. J. Easley, 1501 Camino Primavera, Bakersfield.
A. Edwards, 338 Highland, Bakersfield.
A. A. Gibbs, 1605 Woolsey Street, Berkeley.
A. H. Hays, 3812 Phaffle, Bakersfield.
W. J. McLean, Jr., 5104 Elysium Street, Bakersfield.
J. F. Vitz, 1811 Kent, Bakersfield.
M. L. Avakian, 900 Oxford Street, Berkeley.
T. G. Boyden, 1208 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley.
W. B. Carroll, 2315 Parker Street, Berkeley.
A. A. Gibbs, 1605 Woolsey Street, Berkeley.
J. W. Hanson, 8 Jessen Court, Berkeley.
J. B. McCallan, Jr., 1611 Carleton Street, Berkeley.
B. L. Fox, 9118 David Avenue, Los Angeles.
J. A. House, 171 South El Cerrito, Brawley.
R. T. McIntosh, 1050 Monterey Street, La Habra.
D. N. Schneider, 1537 East Commonwealth, Fullerton.
C. E. Kroum, Jr., 2938 North Buena Vista, Burbank.
R. L. Sanders, 2921 North Frederic Street, Burbank.
D. J. Thorpe, 2740 North Lincoln, Burbank.
J. W. Thorpe, 1630 Highland, Glendale.
R. P. Bradley, 411 North Delaware, San Mateo.
L. B. Branson, 1401 Columbus Avenue, Burlingame.
D. M. Constantino, 1920 Carmelita Avenue, Burlingame.
J. M. Cullen, Jr., 1523 Columbus Avenue, Burlingame.
P. R. Durazzo, 1445 Benito Avenue, Burlingame.
E. S. Edwards, 609 Costa Rica, San Mateo.
W. H. Hartley, 1048 Black Mountain Road, Hillsborough.
R. S. McLeod, 1472 Benito Avenue, Burlingame.
D. M. Splain, 1510 Cypress Avenue, Burlingame.
G. L. Benson, 827 Heber Avenue, Calexico.
G. F. Elston, 3935 Linmar Lane, Carlsbad.
J. P. Murphy, 2570 Gregory Drive, Carlsbad.
J. M. Prout, 3440 Donna Drive, Carlsbad.
C. P. B. Burgess, 1002 Pomona Avenue, Chico.
T. L. Dawson, 1411 Almond Avenue, Chico.
F. J. Heffington, 420 Lake, Chowchilla.
S. J. Capuano, 1680 Fincroft Avenue, Claremont.
J. Navarro, 340 East Durian, Coalinga.
C. Austin, Jr., 802 North Northwood, Compton.
L. M. Bowen, 2323 West Raymond Street, Compton.
A. R. Henry, Jr., 1014 South Acacia Street, Compton.
G. D. Jackson, 1511 A. South Bentley, Compton.
A. Payton, Jr., 2209 West Reeves Street, Compton.
G. B. Thompson, 230 E. Raymond Street, Compton.
D. A. Aldrich, 3027 Esperanza Drive, Concord.
K. Ellingson, 1500 North Mitchell Canyon Road, Concord.
T. A. Keller, 3925 Royal Arch Drive, Concord.
J. E. McDonald, 3984 Dracena Court, Concord.
R. W. Serventi, 2514 Bonaflaco Street, Concord.
D. G. Tomlin, Post Office Box 21227, Concord.
R. T. Trumm, 2148 Frederick Street, Concord.
N. J. Aeberhard, 374 Esther Street, Costa Mesa.
E. M. Foster, 604 W. Bay Street, Costa Mesa.
J. D. Glenn, 858 Center Street, Costa Mesa.
C. J. Morgan, 720 Victoria Apartment A–3, Costa Mesa.
V. M. Mouzakis, 1045 North Dodsworth Avenue, Covina.
S. H. Simonton (address not available).
S. H. Simonton, 1045 N. Dodsworth, Covina.
R. L. Harness, 1625 16th Place, Delano.
B. C. Edwards, 10077 Fondo Road, Spring Valley.
C. H. Hall, 6225 Acorn Street, San Diego.
S. L. Campbell, 558 Euclid Avenue, El Centro.
M. L. Huff, 2355 Bunker, El Monte.
L. D. Pfeiffer, Route 4, Box 44, Escondido.
R. L. Francesconi, 826 J Street, Eureka.
S. J. Meininger, 1890 River Lane, Firebaugh.
R. S. Bellomy, 17490 Elaine Drive, Fontana.
J. D. Kern, 16248 Montgomery Street, Fontana.
L. A. Ornelas, 18024 Ivy Street, Fontana.
J. A. Avila, 42632 Charleston Way, Fremont.
N. P. Bruneau, 4496 Seneca Park Avenue, Fremont.
J. P. Herrera, 40374 Condon Street, Fremont.
S. L. Rockett, 41332 Chapel Way, Fremont.
B. A. Taylor, 444 Hillview Drive, Fremont.
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T. E. Babcock, 340 Richardson Way, Hanford.
E. J. Benedict, 1926 West Griffith Way, Fresno.
D. M. Bowen, 28 East Strother, Fresno.
M. M. Calderon, Jr., 35 Lorena, Fresno.
R. Chinn, 103 Hawes, Fresno.
E. E. Hall, 4th 27 Whitesbridge, Fresno.
T. N. Hardy, 3035 Adoline, Fresno.
J. W. Herring, 914 East Street, Reedley.

L. J. Hill 3d 135 Oleander, Fresno.
M. P. Jensen, 1612 North Adoline, Fresno.
D. C. Morgan, 1089 Ventura, Kingsburg.
J. L. Murrin, 2026 Kensington Way, Hanford.
R. F. Thomas, 4664 East Lewis Avenue, Fresno.
J. E. Tomer, 1213 Pleasant Way, Hanford.
D. B. Chaffee, 184 Hillcrest Drive, Fullerton.
T. H. Maxwell, 840 Grandview, Fullerton.
C. B. Stack, 1000 Arroues Drive, Fullerton.
E. A. Baker, 14907 Yukon Avenue, Hawthorne.
J. P. G. Johnson, Jr., 8731 Elmer Lane, Garden Grove.
J. M. Probst, 11311 Stratford Way, Garden Grove.
P. J. Remmel, 9662 Blanche Avenue, Garden Grove.
C. W. Webber, 10811 Blake Street, Garden Grove.
J. A. Black, 1634 Highland Avenue, Glendale.
S. K. Lecheminant, 1320 Norton Avenue, Glendale.
A. R. Matoza, 575 Sycamore Avenue, Gustine.
J. R. Gingrich, 296 West Kelly Drive, Hamilton Air Force Base.
P. T. Bitz, 24822 Broadmore Avenue, Hayward.
D. C. Cavallaro, 533 Banbury Street, Hayward.
L. J. Ghilardi, 2736 Pineridge Road, Castro Valley.
R. W. Pratt, 21785 Dolores Street, Castro Valley.
G. E. Sundberg, 24037 Wilcox Lane, Hayward.
R. J. Vigil, 26617 Luvena Drive, Hayward.
G. S. Bennett, 2733 East 58th Street, Huntington Park.
S. S. Geldman, 6712 Seville Avenue, Huntington Park.
G. K. Avila, 83 475 Highway 111, Indio.
R. G. Avila, 83 124 Center Street, Indio.
R. A. Garcia, 45 975 Grace Street, Indio.
T. G. Hill, 73 290 Catalina Way, Palm Desert.
H. S. Mestas, 45877 Sage Street, Indio.
G. R. Montez, 50021 Coronado, Coachella.
M. G. Saldivar, 46121 Towne, Indio.
R. T. Salgado, 43690 Jackson Street, Indio.
L. C. Smith, 46200 Calhoun Street, Indio.
W. P. Sprinkel, 85306 Avenue 52, Coachella.
D. L. Wheeler, 82185 Sierra Street, Indio.
D. B. Adler, 8011 Maitland Avenue, Inglewood.
N. E. Adler, 8011 Maitland, Inglewood.
H. Bauchiero, 2505 West 80th Street, Inglewood.
M. E. Brown, 350 East 70th Street, Los Angeles.
R. C. Buchholz, 108½ South Cedar Avenue, Inglewood.
K. C. Carter, 931 West Stockwell, Compton.
R. Caudillo, 433 North Nestor, Compton.
J. C. Clark, 1951 East 130th Street, Compton.
D. B. Cohen, 9421 Second Avenue, Inglewood.
R. J. Desimone, 13236 St. Andrews Place, Gardena.
L. W. Holmes, 7218 South Denker Avenue, Los Angeles.
D. D. Johnson, 16301 Visalia Avenue, Compton.
D. L. Jones, 1202 East 150th, Compton.
L. C. Jorgenson, 5359 West 117th Street, Inglewood.
R. J. Kintz, 8356 Chase Avenue, Los Angeles.
J. D. Kuns, 2301 Thoreau Street, Inglewood.
J. L. Kuns, 558 Glenrock 12, Los Angeles.
R. A. Leavell, 140 West 71st, Los Angeles.
J. K. Lowell, 3516 West 80th Street, Inglewood.
B. A. Monegan, 6310 5th Avenue, Los Angeles.
N. Oliver, 641 West 92d Street, Apartment 10, Los Angeles.
B. S. Parker, 140 West 71st, Los Angeles.
D. W. Ross, 1508 West Compton Boulevard, Gardena.
N. Rumanzeff, 2937 West 95th Street, Inglewood.
J. A. Saltzgiver, 323 Penn Street, El Segundo.
N. E. Shearin, 2102 Vanwick Street, Los Angeles.
W. L. Slaughter, 1122 South Dwight, Compton.
C. L. Solder, 1428 West 47th Street, Los Angeles.
D. R. Stutzman, 9014 5th Avenue, Inglewood.
L. Tippins, Jr., 340 East 64th Street, Los Angeles.
M. G. Townsend, 333½ West Kelso Street, Inglewood.
E. D. Williams, 319 West 122d Street, Los Angeles.
V. A. Pollack, 4933 Indianola, LaCanada.
T. H. Lipman, 2359 Caracas, LaCrescenta.
A. O. Baltuth, 637 K. Glenneyre Street, Laguna Beach.
M. J. Blair, 2669 Nido Way, Laguna Beach.
N. B. Woodbury, 443 Bent Street, Laguna Beach.
R. G. Case, 435 North Western Avenue, Whittier.
T. M. Coffey, 1041 North Euclid, LaHabra.
C. A. Feeney, 2521 Cajon Drive, LaHabra.
D. R. Wilson, 9673 Russell Street, LaHabra.
M. J. Cox, 6032 Castana, Lakewood.
R. D. Nunnally, 5515 Hazelbrook Avenue, Lakewood.
D. J. Sudakow, 5523 Coldbrook Avenue, Lakewood.
R. T. McIntosh, 1050 Monterey Street, La Habra.
H. L. Sumner, 15039 Costa Mesa Drive, La Mirada.
L. Hooker, 351 North Orange Avenue, Apartment 7, La Puente.
A. L. Larson, 14976 East Las Tunas Drive, La Puente.
R. C. Luehmann, 312 Pamela Kay Lane, La Puente.
J. Seargeant, 18744 Aguiro Street, La Puente.
I. V. Weil, 14543 Flanner Avenue, La Puente.
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J. C. Soto, 2320 Second Street, La Verne.
B. A. Shelby, 41304 North 27th Street West, Lancaster.
P. L. Brown, 34 East 69th Street, Long Beach.
S. A. Dum, 11852 Davenport Road, Los Alamitos.
S. J. Greenfield, 20 Grand Avenue 6, Long Beach.
D. I. Leddel, 4226 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach.
G. T. Mullan, 5603 Whitewood, Lakewood.
P. D. Olaso, 336 Gulf Avenue, Wilmington.
R. C. Rumley, 1136 Orizaba Avenue, Apartment 6, Long Beach.
D. V. Scott, 1322 Lewis Avenue, Long Beach.
R. J. Stanley, 707 Molino Avenue, Long Beach.
A. L. Steuer, 1114 East Harding, Long Beach.
K. E. Walczak, 2337 Daisy Avenue, Long Beach.
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C. G. Allen, 4566 Lomita Street, Los Angeles.
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L. K. Baker, 209 West 123d Street, Los Angeles.
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G. H. Boyd, 2123 West 74th Street, Los Angeles.
L. S. Brazell, 2003 Thoreau Street, Los Angeles.
R. G. Brito, 3218 East 1st Street, Los Angeles.
P. L.' Bronson, 2217 East 118th Street, Los Angeles.
A. H. Bustamante, 2207 South Mednik Avenue, Los Angeles.
W. E. Campbell, 2763 Highview Avenue, Altadena.
P. F. Carlson, 2263 Overland Avenue, Los Angeles.
T. J. Consiglio, 9902 Tristan Drive, Downey.
M. A. Coupe, 5848 Bowcroft Street, Los Angeles.
A. M. Cuevas, 152 West 110th Street, Los Angeles.
J. Curel-Sylvestre, 6669 Delongpre Avenue, Los Angeles.
P. A. Delpit, 1838 West 65th Street, Los Angeles.
K. C. Dixson, 1630 East 84th Street, Los Angeles.
P. R. Doose, 285 Beloit Avenue, Los Angeles.
R. D. Dunseath, 143 East Laurel Avenue, Arcadia.
S. A. Egan, 1208 Stearns Drive, Los Angeles.
R. W. Erickson, 1542 West 113th Street, Los Angeles.
J. R. Esters, 7618 Brighton Avenue, Los Angeles.
D. J. Estrada, 3435 Opal Street, Los Angeles.
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A. L. Fine, 3023 29th Avenue West.
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W. E. Burleigh, 10106 Portland Road, Silver Spring, Md.
G. M. Burman, 2921 Greenvale Road, Chevy Chase, Md.
J. T. Brannan, 4805 Springbrook Drive, Annandale, Va.
R. E. Breeding, 1245 Fourth Street SW., Apartment E801, Washington, D.C.
B. L. Brewer, 9459 Arlington Boulevard, Apartment 301, Fairfax. Va.
R. Brewster, 217 K Street SW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brock, 9702 Underwood Drive, Oxon Hill, Md.
W. P. Brockington, 4820 10th Street NE., Washington, D.C.
J. E. Brookman, 7410 Juneau Street, District Heights, Md.
D. V. Brooks, RFD 9135, Upper Marlboro, Md.
C. L. Brown, Jr., 255 Bellevue Avenue, Trenton, N.J.
D. V. Brown, 3412 Eads Street NE., Washington, D.C.

G. M. Brown, 4916 Just Street NE., Washington, D.C.
J. B. Brown, 1361 Fairmont Street NW., Washington, D.C.
J. L. Brown, 7003 Ritchie Marlboro Road, Washington, D.C.
M. A. Brown, 4425 13th Place NE., Washington, D.C.
S. W. Brown, 2729 Central Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
S. W. Brown III, 1754 Kilbourne Place NW., Washington, D.C.
V. B. Brown, 713 Farragut Place, Washington, D.C.
W. M. Brown, Route 1, Box 177, Trappe, Md.
L. Brown, Jr., 3716 Ely Place SE., Washington, D.C.
D. T. McHugh, Post Office Box 142, Annapolis, Md.
K. J. Morris, 11710 Emack Road, Beltsville, Md.
S. R. Raymond, 17431 Astoria Lane, Ednor, Md.

Baltimore, Md.

P. L. Allen, 3818 Barrington Road.
P. S. Arthur, Jr., 700 East 33d Street.
A. C. Baer, 4 Samwood Court.
C. L. Barnes, 2134 Firethorn Road.
A. M. Beane, 1657 West North Avenue.
B. T. J. Beckett, 638 Portland Street.
R. F. Bednarski, 405 East Clement Street.
H. M. Bennett, 122 North Central Avenue.
R. A. Blackwell, Jr., 108 North Smallwood Street.
J. B. Bondurant, 1447 Putty Hill Road, Towson, Md.
S. Bridgeforth, 2507 McCullen Street.
M. L. Brooks, 3402 Woodbrook Avenue.
V. L. Brown, 992 East Lombard Street.
M. L. Burton, 6330 Old Washington Boulevard, Elkridge, Md.
J. Butler, 645 Rosedale Street.
C. J. Byrd, 2331 Norfolk Street.
M. A. Caplan, 3403 Redman Road.
E. J. Cheney, 677 West Vine Street.
M. R. Chism, 877 Bethune Road.
J. A. Ciotola, Jr., 419 Wickham Road.
J. E. Cohen, 3309 Avondale Avenue.
J. S. Cohen, 3200 Strathmore Avenue.
M. F. Cooney, 3901 Parkside Drive.
M. K. Cronin, 8433 Garden Road, Pasadena, Md.
J. M. Curtis, 727 Dolphin Street.
M. L. Dates, Jr., 3421 Piedmont Avenue.
J. Z. Davids, 2417 Crest Road.
J. G. A. Davis, 2022 East Preston Street.
R. E. Dockins, 1426 North Bethel Street.
W. L. Dorsey, Jr., 1825 Clifton Avenue.
F. E. Duncan, 6222 McClean Boulevard.
B. A. Edwards, 1806 North Dukeland Street.
G. W. Elfrey, 3512 Ellerslie Avenue.
R. S. Elliott, 403 Robert Street.
A. G. Emerson, 215 Scott Street.
J. I. Epstein, 3430 Dolfield Avenue.
M. M. Fallon, 405 Giftings Avenue.
R. Feldstein, 2204 Chilem Road.
J. M. Fidler, 2754 Moorgate Road.
R. B. Fine, 12 Swan Hill Drive.
J. P. Finke, 400 Stevenson Lane.
M. Fisher, 4223 Rokeby Road.
M. P. Fitts, 3612 Cederdale Road.
E. A. Flanigan III, 3301 Norman Avenue.
R. L. Green, 525 Cumberland Street.
J. J. L. Hands, 411 Hazlett Avenue.
B. J. Hock, Jr., 4903 Fait Avenue.
E. J. Hruska, 704 Morris Avenue, Lutherville, Md.
S. M. Huff, 2303 Calverton Heights.
L. Israel, 4702 Bonnie Brae Road.
R. D. James, 2000 Euclid Avenue, Elkridge, Md.
A. Johnson, Jr., 5112 Craig Avenue.
E. W. Johnson, 411 Watty Court.
B. A. Jones, 763 West Saratoga Street.
C. B. Jones, 44 North Kossuth Street.
H. E. Jones, 2116 North Calvert Street.
M. E. Jones, 8 North Washington Street.
R. J. Jones, Jr., 3019 East Federal Street.
T. P. Kelly, 1418 Hadbert Street.
L. M. Klaus, 1109 South Curley Street.
E. F. Kmieciak, Jr., 621 South Streeper Street.
H. M. Kushner, 3602 Spaulding Avenue.
S. A. Kutchey, 5511 Pioneer Drive.
R. S. Landsman, 6917 Fieldcrest Road.
B. G. Levin, 3640 Fords Lane.
E. T. Levin, 7644 Carla Road.
P. Lewis, 809 Tessier Street.
R. Lieberman, 6318 Greenspring Avenue.
C. D. Long III, 1015 Boyce Avenue.
S. L. Luckman, 2849 West Cold Spring Lane.
M. B. Maddox, 6 South Abington Avenue.
G. A. Marsalek, 2211 Kentucky Avenue.
A. D. Martin, 123 West Greystone Road.
C. G. Martin, 2537 Round Road.
R. B. Mayeski, 126 Patapaco Avenue.
S. C. Mazelis, 3002 Glen Avenue.
B. McCormack, 3824 Beech Avenue.
G. A. McGill, 840 Edmondson Avenue.
J. T. McLawhorn, Jr., 2614 Boone Street.
H. S. McKilicsky, 4104 Belle Avenue.
K. J. Merritt, 3019 Brighton Street.
D. H. Meyers, Jr., 4206 56th Avenue.
P. B. Mickle, 3114 Presstman Street.
R. C. Milam, 3010 Westwood Avenue.
M. B. Mitchell, 1324 Druid Hill Avenue.
W. M. Monfried, 3312 Terrapin Road.
V. F. Monti, 212 Pontiac Avenue.
D. E. Mullins, 1420 West Lombard.
E. L. Murray, 2211 Chesterfield Avenue.
N. L. Murray, 1823 Wilson Point Road.
R. Nachlas, 4306 Maine Avenue.
C. L. Nelson, 801 Clintwood Court.
H. T. Oconnor, 3934 Frisby Street.
N. M. Osher, 3803 Clarks Inn.
F. C. Owens, Jr., 3111 Leighton Avenue.
I. S. Palmer, 765 Linnard Street.
L. R. Pearl, 5422 Gist Avenue.
P. A. Povegoy, 1907 Northbourne Road.
C. A. Phillips, 29 Tenbury Road, Lutherville.
A. Pope, 1231 North Linwood.
E. M. A. Rador, 1518 Byrd Street.
E. L. Ray, 1116 Ashland Court.
L. W. Ray II, 1607 Halbrook Avenue.
G. M. Reinsfelder, 7918 Montrose Avenue.
B. D. Richmond, 4110 Elderon Avenue.
J. F. Ryan, 6504 Roomount Avenue.
J. R. Sachs, 1210 North Gay Street.
J. A. Soaljon, 903 Beaumont Avenue.
W. E. Shade, 12 Sullivan Drive, Severna Park.
N. D. Sheeley, 14 Pelozar Avenue.
W. E. Smith, 2807 Glendale Avenue.
V. Smith, 1200 Waldo Court.
B. R. Southworth, 900 Old Oak Road.
I. Sternberg, 3310 Ludgate Road.
P. Stokes, 907 Funche Road.
L. F. Sullivan, 508 East 42d Street.
J. H. Sundstrom, Route 97, Glenwood.
A. J. Seczorbicki, 811 South Decker Avenue.
C. R. Thompson, 1525 Appleton Street.
J. W. Traffley III, 1310 Greenmount Avenue.
S. J. Venable III, 610 Wilton Road.
C. A. Weaver, 2752 Marbourne Avenue.
J. B. Weinstock, 5731 Jonquil Avenue.
J. L. Williams, 424 East 23d Street.
R. E. Wilson, 706 South Conkling Street.
S. F. Wilson, 2506 Calverton Heights.
C. L. Woodson, 923 North Carey Street.
H. A. Wunder, 3116 Cresson Avenue.
D. E. Wyatt, 6417 Hilltop Avenue.
M. Wylie, 1951 West Lexington.
H. C. Warfield, care of postmaster, Benedict.
A. R. Leifer, 3006 Traymore Lane, Bowie.

Cambridge, Md.

J. D. Balderson, Division Street, Oxford, Md.
E. L. Streagle, Jr., 421 Phillips Avenue, Cambridge, Md.
K. P. Harrison, care of postmaster, Crumpton, Md.
R. E. Shelton, Jr., 609 Frederick Street, Cumberland, Md.
V. E. Ricketts, care of postmaster, Dayton, Md.
E. M. Hill, care of postmaster, Dunkirk, Md.

Easton, Md.

J. O. Birmingham, Box 191, Tilghman, Md.
J. H. Kibler, 402 Cherry Street.
K. W. Pensel, East Oak Avenue.
J. E. Mosener, Jr., 157 North Street, Johns Lane, Ellicott City, Md.

Frederick, Md.

J. M. Atchison, 607 West Patrick Street.
J. J. Crum, 4 Frederick Avenue.
K. R. Miles, rural free delivery Route 1, Ijamsville, Md.
R. A. Sullivan, Post Office Box 47, New Market, Md.
F. C. Anderson, care of postmaster, Glencoe, Md.

Glen Echo, Md.

A. S. Thomas, 6203 Dunrobbin Drive, Washington, D.C.
E. L. Gilespie, 159 South Potomac Street, Hagerstown, Md.
L. M. Clark, care of postmaster, Highfield, Md.

Hyattsville, Md.

A. V. Christian, 7628 West Park Drive.
R. E. Bishop, 5717 43d Avenue.
P. A. Colovas, 4335 Southern Avenue, Bradbury Heights, Maryland.
J. D. Feldsman, 610 Valleybrook Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland.
J. R. Frothingham, 5203 59th Avenue.
T. N. Grant, 7012 Bradley Boulevard, Bethesda, Maryland.
T. A. Hay, 5505 Center Street, Lanham, Maryland.
E. B. Jones, National Trailer Park, 126 D Street, College Park, Maryland.
R. C. D. King, 427 49th Avenue, Capital Heights, Maryland.
R. J. Orleans, 9500 Colesville Road, Silver Spring, Maryland.
Q. R. Remein II, 903 Linwood Street.
J. L. Sheesley, 6205 41st Place.
S. A. Smith, care of Col. Merritt Booth, Fair Haven, Maryland.
F. D. Taylor, 6101 42d Avenue A–201.
J. R. Taylor, Jr., 11720 Ellington Drive, Beltsville, Md.
T. S. Templeton II, 8320 Nicholson Street,
R. W. Vaughan, 3923 Warner Avenue.
C. T. Banks, 1303 Strauss Avenue, Indian Head, Maryland.

Kensington, Md.

R. Podolak, 40126 Saul Road.
R. L. Rooney, 4221 Dresden Street.
L. R. Mundy, 9304 Ogden Place, Lanham Maryland.

La Plata, Md.

D. R. Head, Jr., Port Tobacco, Md.

Long Green, Md.

R. A. Stemler, Box 41 Kane Road, Glen Arm, Maryland.
T. G. Sauer, 107 Longdale Road, Lutherville-Timonium, Maryland.

Ocean City, Md.

W. S. Ayres, 809 Boardwalk.
W. M. Brown, Rural Route 1.
E. A. Disharoon, Care of Mr. R. S. Tull, Rural Route 3, Pocomoke City, Maryland.
R. F. Fagain, Post Office Box 65.
L. M. Higgins, 808 Baltimore Avenue.
J. H. Phillips, 111 Baltimore Avenue.

Rockville, Md.

N. J. Brandt, 2311 Ross Road, Silver Spring, Md.
C. W. Carpenter, 4103 Woodbine Street, Chevy Chase, Md.
V. G. Christiansen, 12109 Old Bridge Road.
R. H. Ficker, 9008 Flower Avenue, Silver Spring, Md.
F. R. Griggs, Jr., 26101 Mount Vernon Avenue, Damaseus, Md.
J. H. Groth, 6800 Belford Drive, Takoma Park, Md.
J. B. Harrod, 9408 Byeforde Road, Kensington, Md.

R. V. Holden, 11305 Galt Avenue, Wheaton, Md.
R. F. Kramer, 2810 Abilene Drive, Chevy Chase, Md.
R. G. Rayne, 1400 Riverside Drive, Salisbury, Md.

Silver Spring, Md.

E. W. Abramowitz, 12603 Connecticut Avenue.
J. D. Baker, 702 Southland, Electra, Tex.
J. M. Belt, 11503 Amherst Avenue.
D. B. Brandt, 2802 Radius Road, Wheaton, Md.
C. P. Brown, 10701 Kenlock Road.
S. Brown, Jr., 1315 69th Avenue, Landover, Md.
J. G. Degooyer, 1112 Mourilee Lane.
G. R. Dunlop, 13020 Valleywood Drive, Wheaton, Md.
R. W. Fout, 1008 Copley Lane.
E. M. Horowitz, 247 Southhampton Drive.
C. F. Kennedy, 119 Hedgewood Drive, Greenbelt, Md.
J. P. Knowlton, Howland, Md.
J. P. Kruse, 46 Shaw Avenue.
F. P. McCoy II, 3504 Edwin Street.
L. J. Pagliai 10606 Dunkirk Drive.
J. E. Reidinger, 8917 Whitney Street.
R. J. Rodriguez, 9122 Seventh Street, Lanham, Md.
R. W. Ruhling, 1 Manchester Place.
D. A. Smith, 11307 Galt Avenue, Wheaton, Md.
T. E. Sprague, 7514 Wellesley Drive, College Park, Md.
D. P. Strasnick, 5812 44th Avenue, Hyattsville, Md.
L. A. Wilson, 5713 Wainwright Avenue, Rockville, Md.
R. B. Woods, 1706 Norton Road, West Hyattsville, Md.
R. L. Young, 7929 Gateway Boulevard, District Heights, Md.
N. H. Cox, Sunderland, Md.

Westminster, Md.

F. B. White, 59 Penn Avenue.
E. R. Wilhide, R.F.D. 5.
J. F. Goodmen, R.F.D. 5, Abingdon, Va.

Alexandria, Va.

C. C. S. Beverly, Jr., 425 Timberbranch Parkway.
R. J. Comisky III, 3523 Wilson Avenue.
A. C. Fraiser, 622 North Columbus Street.
W. L. Fugate, 3404 Saylor Place.
W. O. Hall, 315 Buchanan Street.
C. B. Hanak, 6103 Augusta Drive, Springfield, Va.
J. E. Herbert, Jr., 305 Mount Vernon Avenue.
D. D. Hunt, 2501 Dewitt Avenue.
P. D. Kenny, 5335 Duke Street.
C. E. Kiblinger, 3454 Martha Custis Drive.
W. C. Leffingwell, Jr., 4513 Roundhill Road.
M. R. Lentz, 416 W Building Hunting Towers.
T. A. Lucas, 163 Chinquapin Drive.
A. J. Marche, 6407 Prospect Terrace.
C. L. Horavitz, 6611 East Wakefield Drive.
E. G. Newberger, 2909 Farm Road.
S. B. Savage III, 409 Jefferson Street.
C. J. Sobotka, Jr., 805 Enderby Drive.

Annandale, Va.

C. R. Michael, 7712 Killebrew Drive.
K. W. Hayder, care of postmaster.
K. W. Hayden, care of postmaster.

Arlington, Va.

G. L. Cron, 6039, North 27th Street.
R. M. Frederick, Jr., 227 North Park Drive.
R. L. Graham, 2017 North Emerson Street.
M. I. Edwards, care of postmaster, Birchleaf, Va.
D. L. Cushing, Box 473, Bowling Green, Va.
B. L. Roberts, 607 Arlington Avenue, Bristol, Va.
B. E. Lane, care of postmaster, Clinchport, Va.

Colonial Heights, Va.

G. T. McLaughlin, 263 Washington Avenue.
J. R. Williams, Jr., 516 Walnut Avenue.
D. P. Davis, care of postmaster, Crystal Hill, Va.

Culpeper, Va.

C. L. Button, Jr., 902 North East Street Extended.
T. J. Tysinger, care of postmaster.
K. P. Durgo, care of postmaster, Dolphin, Virginia.

Fairfax, Va.

E. Embree, Jr., 11333 Waples Mill Road, Oakton, Va.
D. D. Jennings, Jr., 3923 Tedrich Boulevard.
K. J. Marton
J. C. West, 10640 Maple St.

Falls Church, Va.

J. R. Akers, 3408 19th Avenue, Sheffield.
J. M. Bischoff, 7201 Marc Drive.
G. J. Cain, 1328 South Rulfe Street, Emporia, Va.
E. G. Crump, Rural Route 2, Box 2B, Climax, Va.
C. M. Finley, Jr., 22228 East Quebec Street, Arlington, Virginia.
J. R. Mellott, 3022 Westfall Place.
S. L. Toothman, 2617 Shelby Lane.
S. R. Wareholik, 6460 Spring Terrace.
W. E. Swan, Quarters 141, Fort Belvoir, Virginia.
R. S. Rodgers, Hampden, Sydney, Va.

Hampton, Va.

H. C. Brown, Jr., 16 Langley Avenue.
J. P. Cotton, 303 Ivy Home Road.
D. R. Jones, 1149 Garden Drive.
R. L. Moore, Jr., 1518 Morgan Drive.

Harrisonburg, Va.

J. M. Obannon III, Woodville, Va.
W. H. Holsper, Herndon, Va.

Lynchburg, Va.

W. R. Campbell, 3820 Cambria Street.
K. H. Coleman, Lucy Street, Appomattox, Va.
R. P. Cunningham, 1417 Gates Street.
W. R. Duff III, 806 Mansfield Avenue.
T. A. Hardin, 424 Cabot Street, Portsmouth, Va.
D. A. Rauh, Jr., 3908 Columbia Street, Portsmouth, Va.
S. O. Martin, Care of Postmaster, Marion Va.
I. E. Glascock, Post Office Box 73, Marshall, Va.
R. S. Hodnett, Jr., 1007 Cherokee Trail, Martinsville, Va.
I. O. Hockman, Maurertown, Va.
H. I. Bruce, Care of Postmaster, Meherrin, Va.
J. A. F. Dooley, Care of Postmaster, Montvale, Va.

Newport News, Va.

J. E. Cofield, Jr., 1016 22d Street.
W. N. Cunningham, 702 River Road.
R. R. Hatten, 6 Club Terrace.
L. W. Hauser, 1210 Roberts Road.
F. V. Jones, 12 Quillen Terrace.
W. A. Mitchell, Jr., 215 James River Drive.
B. S. Williams, 1608 Marshall Avenue.
S. C. Smith, Nora, Va.

Norfolk, Va.

B. M. Armstrong, Jr., 8618 Sturgis Street.
W. H. Baker III, 1403 Conoga Street.
J. W. Broadway, 1129 Hickman Street.
H. R. Bybee, 117 Arden Circle.
J. M. Foster, 1615 Bay View Boulevard.
L. A. Istrow, 3410 Willard Place.
C. B. Kello III, 4016 Gosnold Avenue.
J. T. Legault, Jr., 8830 Stratford Street.
J. M. Mason, 179 Blades Street.
D. B. Viccellio, 8915 Tidewater Drive.
A. E. Posten, Jr., 236 Craig Street, Norton, Va.
L. P. Wood, Patrick Springs, Va.
S. P. Johnson III, 1730 South Sycamore Street, Petersburg, Va.
E. M. Ward, care of postmaster, Pilgrim Knob, Va.

Portsmouth, Va.

P. I. Baker, 1914 Elm Avenue.
C. A. Forrester III, 3111 Duke Street.
L. P. Long, Jr., 110 Lisbon Road, Chesapeake, Va.

Richmond, Va.

D. I. Allen, 2116 Venable Street.
M. L. Aleton, 1707 Texas Avenue.
E. I. Bownan, 1215 Denny Street.
D. M. Claiborne, 110 Overbrook Road.
H. J. Cook, 603 North 35th Street.
V. M. Cottman, 1902 Chelsea Street.
W. R. Crookmur, 2011 Monument Avenue.
S. H. Crosby, 2809 Griffin Avenue.
R. E. Edwards, 2017 West Cary Street.
R. N. Evans, 810 Wilmer Avenue.
R. C. Featherston, 1320 West Laburnum Avenue.
C. A. Fraser, 2700 Fendall Avenue.
C. C. Galloway, Jr., 1613 Idlewood Avenue.
T. N. Georges, 7701 Brawsford Drive.
H. T. Hardy, Jr., Route 1 Box 1730, Sandston, Va.
R. B. Hill, 1319 North 27th Street.
C. L. Jasper, 1004 Edgehill Road.
W. A. Jewell, 6205 West Club Lane.
R. B. Kuper, 920 Sabot Street.
N. R. Lawson, 1710 Southhampton Avenue.
M. G. Morris, 330 Albermarle Avenue.
J. S. Hammond, Post Office Box 1, Ridgeway, Va.
J. J. Smith, care of postmaster, Ruthville, Va.

Suffolk, Va.

W. R. Fraser, 321 Cedar Street.
I. E. Williams, care of postmaster.
E. R. Rainey, care of postmaster, Sutherland, Va.
T. E. George, Jr., Tazewell, Va.
B. W. Piercey, 502 Niblick Drive, Vienna, Va.

Vinton, Va.

A. C. Anderson, L. G. Carter.

Virginia Beach, Va.

R. E. Baker, Jr., 1556 Ohio Avenue.
R. Y. Bonham, 3302 Holly Road.
C. V. Brown, Jr., 3302 Holly Road.
N. L. Gotwald, 2348 South Wolfsnare Drive.
J. W. Sills III, 219 86th Street.
W. M. Snider II, 404 22d Street.
H. M. Dennis, care of postmaster, Wattsville, Va.
E. S. Burke, Post Office Box 382, West Point, Va.
V. R. Wrixon, Post Office Box 143, Wilsons, Va.

Winchester, Va.

A. W. Jordan III, Strasburg, Va.
H.E. Craft, Box 412, Wise, Va.
J. L. Wilcox, care of postmaster, Allen Junction, W. Va.
C. Ellis, Post Office Box 78, Amigo, W Va.
B. H. Dempsey, Ansted, W. Va.

Beckley, W. Va.

J. P. McGee, Glen White, W. Va.
C. R. Wood, Jr., Route 2, Box 11, Bluefield, W. Va.
E. M. Silvers, Post Office Box 144, Bradley, W. Va.

Charleston, W. Va.

E. O. Allen, 1003 Copenhaver Drive.
L. G. Austin, Jr., 1418 3d Avenue.
D. M. Ballard, 2107 Kenawha Avenue.
G. T. Bane, 5212 Florida Street, South.
D. L. Cummings, 1640 Chandler Drive.
S. A. Davidson, 64 Garrison Avenue.
R. C. Gilligan, 1410 Watts Street.
T. D. Hamilton, 109 Pennsylvania Avenue.
R. R. Heath, 4907 Virginia Avenue.
A. J. Holley, 621 Simms Street.
E. W. Lampton, Sr., 1003 Edgewood Drive.
D. A. Liberty, 1157–C Bridge Road.
J. L. Miller, 1517 Huron Terrace.
K. A. Mollohan, 5222 Blaine Drive.
J. V. Reishman, 4200 Staunton Avenue.

F. G. Selbe, III, 786 Campabelle Creek Drive.
J. A. Sturgeon, 315 Roune Street.
T. L. Tucker, 110 Vine Street.
R. M. Vincent, 817 Somerset Drive.
D. M. P. Huffman, Chelyan, W. Va.

Chester, W. Va.

R. M. Temple, Laurel Heights, Box 22.
P. S. Chambers, care of postmaster, Clothier, W. Va.

Dehue, W. Va.

R. Hurek, Hutchinson, W. Va.
S. Lipinski, Glen Dale, W. Va.
E. G. Doss, Glenwood, W. Va.
E. Elusko, Post Office Box 144, Grant Town, W. Va.

Huntington, W. Va.

J. W. Blake, 1048 Harrison Street, Milton, W. Va.
T. H. Hensley, Jr., 346 Navaho Trail.
C. M. Sullivan, 1230 Glenwood Avenue, Milton, W. Va.
J. R. Welker, 2005 North Main Street, Pleasant, W. Va.
J. G. Dawson, 230 Armstrong Street, Keyser, W. Va.
C. S. Casey, care of postmaster, Kincaid, W. Va.
D. R. McClung, Post Office Box 38, Asbury, W. Va., Lewisburg, W. Va.
P. Lemon, Mallory, W. Va.

Martinsburg, W. Va.

D. S. Barney, Jr., Post Office Box 100Y, Route 4.
J. F. Davis, III, Route 3, Box 191–AA.
M. V. Milton, care of postmaster, Millville, W. Va.
D. W. Hilling, Jr., route 3, box 219, Morgantown, W. Va.
R. D. Peters, 117 Grant Street, Newell, W. Va.
R. R. Clark, route 1, Ona, W. Va.

Parkersburg, W. Va.

D. E. Johnson, 501 Columbia Avenue, Willamstown, W. Va.
M. L. Shockey, Sherrard, W. Va.
M. J. Whitt, care of postmaster, Switzer, W. Va.
W. R. Cogar, Webster Springs, W. Va.

Wheeling, W. Va.

J. W. Bayless, Tunnel Street, West Alexander, Pa.
B. R. Byrum, Jr., Highland Park.
G. E. Cappiccie, 31 South Wabash Street.
E. J. Dugas, 307 12th Street, Moundsville, W. Va.
A. E. Hatfield, 17 West Sixth Avenue, Williamson, W. Va.

WICHITA REGION

Kansas

Theis, Roger M., 1034 North C, Arkansas City.
Crawford, David A., 709 Avenue B, Dodge City.
Waldron, David L., 1005 Avenue B, Dodge City.
Remsberg, Steven R., 507 North Summit, Eldorado.
Bishop, Robert D., 623 Sunny Slope, Emporia.
Briscoe, Harry James, Jr., 1241 Thompson, Emporia.
Cukjati, John J., 304 East South, Arma.
Willard, Ralph R., Route 2, Fort Scott.
Goodwin, Kent L., 109 East 23d, Hays.
Kerbs, Kenneth W., Jr., 317 Skyline Court, Hays.
Wasinger, Stephen F., 1320 Marshall Road, Hays.
Weigel, Lawrence N., 1114 Centennial Boulevard, Hays.
Olson, Michael G., 616 East B, Hutchinson.
Kelly, James Patrick, 709 East Main, Independence.
Seals, Mitchell L., 1301 West 9th, Coffeyville.
Goreham, Kenneth C., 430 West Maple, Junction City.
Baker, Harry W., 6616 Wood Avenue, Kansas City.
Blee, John J., Lake of the Forest, care of J. Welch, Bonner Springs.
Burdette, Otis L., III, 2028 Darby, Kansas City.
Flury, Kirk E., 7341 Canterbury, Shawnee Mission.
Hanson, Alan L., 5122 Yecker, Kansas City.
Holton, Michael Wayne, 1131 Ella, Kansas City.
Jackson, Gerald L., 720 Stewart, Kansas City.
Kirksey, Jackie Arnold, 2317 North 5th, Kansas City.
Louden, Woodrow, 242 North Early, Kansas City.
Love, Cheryl Christi, 2853 Parkview, Kansas City.
Naaktgeboren, Martin J., 1832 North 28th Street, Kansas City.
Oesterreich, Robert A., 6444 Leavenworth Road, Kansas City.
Persley, Michael Dean, 4315 Nebraska, Kansas City.
Peters, Jay L., 721 North 14th Street, Kansas City.
Rush, Virgil P., II, Rural Route No. 1, Severance.
Skibniewski, Michael Gary, 5012 Georgia, Kansas City.
Thompson, Rudolph B., 2734 North 10th, Kansas City.
Gillispie, James D., 1421 Kentucky, Lawrence.
Mitchell, Jeffrey Clerk, 1626 West 20th, Lawrence.
Paul, Jack N., 1122 North Pershing, Liberal.
Jones, Willie L., 1317 Anderson Street, Manhattan.
Payne, Donald Edward, 306 Goodnow Hall, Manhattan.
Durso, Carl Kent, Rural Route No. 1, Olathe.
Fulton, Jack Richard, 503 West 5th, Pittsburg.
Smrcka, Roderick, 605 South Main, Plainville.
Green, Oliver Deck, 727 Morrison, Salina.
Litchman, John Frederick, 150 South Eighth Street, Salina.
Corcoran, Thomas J., Jr., 3920 West 95th Terrace, Shawnee Mission.
Johnson, Duane R., 8114 West 74th Street, Shawnee Mission.
Johnson, Larry D., 8114 West 74th Street, Shawnee Mission.
Kline, Jack Davis, 9000 Goodman, Shawnee Mission.
Powell, Stephen T., 5121 Rock Creek Lane, Shawnee Mission.
Sheridan, John L., Jr., 4211 West 90th Terrace, Shawnee Mission.
Winn, Douglas S., 9610 High Drive, Shawnee Mission.
Haney, John P., 2524 Duncan Drive, Topeka.
Harrop, Robert J., 2632 Michigan, Topeka.
Ralston, Harold Clee, Phi Delta Theta, Washburn University, Topeka.
Regan, Thomas Walter, 1407 West Eighth Topeka.
Symons, Stanley M., Onaga.
Bell, Charles Edward, 1329 Greenwood, Wichita.
Beatty, Brian A., 425 North Bluff, Wichita.
Bonnett, Marily E., 4001 Bellaire, Wichita.
Brechbill, Robert Kent, 8315 Peach Tree Lane, Wichita.
Broshears, Beverly L., 613 North Gordon, Wichita.
Buchan, Robert Eugene, 244 North Pershing, Wichita.
Burmeister, Larry Louis, 1925 South Elizabeth, Wichita.
Emery, Jane C., 1918 North Chautauqua, Wichita.
Griffey, Michelle, 2012 Pattie, Wichita.
Grubbs, Daniel Franklin, 3025 Oakland, Wichita.
Hawkins, Chester L., 932 North Piatt Wichita.
Hoagland, Janet Ruth, 806 North Green, Wichita.
Hogan, Paul D., 1331 South Main, Wichita.
Jones, Michael L., 36 Mission Road, Wichita.
Low, Harold R., 255 South Pershing, Wichita.
Mardock, Richard Stanly, 1713 Mentor, Wichita.
Massey, Michael G., 1020 North Parkwood, Wichita.
Mucklow, Gary L., 258 North Holyoke, Wichita.
Patterson, Loren B., 2166 Greenway Boulevard, Wichita.
Rich, Ivan H., Jr., 1601 Socony, Augusta.
Simmons, Donald L., 2616 Clover Lane, Wichita.
Taylor, Lyle E., 1950 South Madison, Wichita.
Tuxill, Bruce Farrant, 507 Stratford Road, Wichita.
Williams, Melvin, 2027 Corning, Parsons.

Nebraska

Ensz, James H., R.R. No. 3, Beatrice.
Fitzpatrick, William L., 1208 Potter, Bellevue.
Burt, Kelly, Box 263, Newport.
Ramaekers, Joseph C., Route No. 1, Monroe.
Schupbach, Norman Walter, R.R. No. 4, Box 86, Columbus.
Chisholm, Robert Charles, R.R. No. 1, Fremont.
Lamme, George T., 1040 North Pebble Street, Fremont.
McIntosh, Michael X., 739 North Union, Fremont.
Stoltenberg, Gerald A., 1663 North Sommers, Fremont.
Rinder, Thomas P., 1822 West Anna Street, Gr. Island.
Nein, Samual M., 622 East 7th, Hastings.
Ganow, Harold C., 738 East 4th, Hastings.
Flemming, James Richard, 223 East 4th, Hastings.
Armstrong, John Michael, 1040 "A" Street, Lincoln.
Bates, Eugene Paul, 4011 South 40th, Lincoln.
Bogard, Robert L., Jr., 3810 "L" Street, Lincoln.
Dolan, Ronald J., care of Lincoln Hotel, Lincoln.
Eikleberry, Lana K., 2053 Calvert Street, Lincoln.
Exon, Stephen J., 5101 Washington, Lincoln.
Goebel, Jon F., 2929 Georgian Court, Lincoln.
Horn, Frederick Emil, 351 South 45th Street, Lincoln.
Jordan, Betty A., care of Jordan Hotel, Valentine.
Kafka, David K., 6713 "Y" Street, Lincoln.
Kleppinger, Michael V., 4525 "A" Street, Lincoln.
McGoogan, Ralph Richard, 3225 South 30th, Lincoln.
Muehling, Conrad A., 423 North 20th, Beatrice.
Priefert, Frederick T., 2551 South 36th Avenue, Lincoln.
Rodgers, Richard R., 2510 Van Buren, Bellevue.
Snyder, Lee L., 545 North 27th Street, Lincoln.
Sparks, Robert B., 2036 South 26th, Lincoln.
Veed, Patricia R., 1127 "E" Street, Lincoln.
Vogt, Jerry J., 1728 South 26th, Lincoln.
White, Dennis E., 1965 Brower Road, Lincoln.
Zwink, William E., 540 "I" Street, Loup City.

Wood, Kelly R., 1140 Linden, Sidney.
Frazier, William J., 1220 East 12th Street, North Platte.
Webb, Marvin L., 318 South Reynolds Avenue, North Platte.
Ruff, Steven Mark, 112 Elder, North Platte.
Dittrick, William G., 1102 Koenigstein, Norfolk.
Froehlich, Lee D., 1311 Prospect, Norfolk.
Winter, Douglas J., 303 North 9th, Norfolk.
James Patrick Adams, 2622 North 24th, Omaha.
Peter Joseph Beauchamp, 2615 Camden Avenue, Omaha.
Jan M. Bogard, 99 Country Club Road, Ralston.
Gerald Brock, 3017 Myrtle Avenue, Omaha.
Harold S. Conner, 6338 Binney, Omaha.
John E. Duggan, 2216 Hanscom, Omaha.
Philip L. Dunham, 208 North 35th Avenue, Omaha.
Gwynn Eleby, 2409 Manderson, Omaha.
Mike E. Eyster, 1236 Bellaire Boulevard, Bellevue.
James P. Fitzgerald, 2735 Fontennelle, Omaha.
Priscilla L. Fuglei, 4118 North 54th Street, Omaha.
James A. Gallant, 2114 4th Street, Kearney.
Fred M. Guss, 4963 Cumings, Omaha.
Leslie L. Henderson, 8073 Cedar Street, Omaha.
Terry Lee Johnson, 6011 Curtis, Omaha.
Herbert P. Jurgens, 4161 Cass, Omaha.
Paul R. Kaster, 3259 Jefferson, Omaha.
Danny E. Kinsley, 1410 Main Street, Bellevue.
Dennis E. Koley, 2835 South 32d Street, Omaha.
Michael E. McAndrew, 3019 North 45th, Omaha.
Kenneth R. Middleton, 2611 Van Buren, Bellevue.
Judith Lynn Owens, 3030 California, Omaha.
Richard D. Peck, 1610 South 75th, Omaha.
Michael W. Ryan, 2047 North 54th, Omaha.
Duncan M. Shrout, 7515 Highland, Ralston.
Joseph R. Steward, Jr., 3513 "U" Street, Omaha.
Francis Leo Vail, 4212 Polk, Omaha.
Richard C. Waller, 6321 Odgen, Omaha.
Jerry D. Belford, 1701 Avenue "F", Scottsbluff.
Robert M. Eddy, 2439 Craig, Sidney.
Gerald L. Collingham, 521 Beaver, York.

Oklahoma

Snow, Jerry David, 730 East Fifth, Ada.
Truett, Thomas E., 519 East 14th, Ada.
Hughes, Carol Sue, 605 North Louis Tittle Avenue, Mangum.
Walker, James W., 1518 North Crain, Altus.
Settles, Robert S., Box 6, Antlers.
Alexander, Richard A., 706 Second Avenue NW., Ardmore.
Axsom, Ralph E., 1532 Maple, Bartlesville.
Sholl, David S., 105 W. Brahma, Dewey.
Pentecost, Michael E., 615 Mason Drive, Broken Arrow.
Wilson, Keith Dwayne, 417 East Freeport, Broken Arrow.
Brown, Richard Norman, 123 Phillips Lane, Clinton.
Mitchell, Anthony G., Box 237, Cordell.
Whisenhunt, Billy, Route No. 3, Caddo.
Laster, Roy E., 202 East Park, Enid.
Nearing, Richard C., 722 North Peachtree Street, Ponca City.
Robinson, Phillip W., 1621 West Oklahoma, Enid.
Weaver, William D., 609 W. Jackson, Hugo.
Grimes, Johnnie Dale, Route No. 1, Box 27, Idabel.
Fargo, Michael J., 1633 North 27th, Lawton.
Mims, Jerry D., 124 West Washington, Walters.
Serda, Edward Jerome, 4316 Santa Fe, Lawton.
Boggs, Max, Fort No. 3, McAlester.
Cobb, John D., 1020 East Deleware, McAlester.
Dillingham, Michael J., 1313 South 10th, McAlester.
Graham, Jimmy, Box 34, Marietta.
Herbert, Adam W., Jr., 710 Fondulac, Muskogee.
Fisher, Harold B., 921 West Okmulgee, Muskogee.
Stevenson, James W., 2026 Boston, Muskogee.
Carpenter, Donald J., 515 Dee Anne, Norman.
Keim, Howard Lynn, 469½ College Street, Norman.
Allen, Robert N., Jr., 1324 Northeast Seventh, Oklahoma City.
Biscoe, Charles E., 5925 Northeast 63d, Oklahoma City.
Boyd, James D., 435 Northwest 22d, Oklahoma City.
Chandler, Wayne C., Jr., 637 Northeast 11th, Oklahoma City.
Child, Gilbert C., 2805 Plymouth Lane, Oklahoma City.
Claro, Joseph A., 309 Northeast 61st, Oklahoma City.
Edwards, Ronald, 516 North Lindsay, Oklahoma City.
Elliott, William D., 1800 North Main, Altus.
Gage, John F., 3205 Southwest 21st, Oklahoma City.
Gwin, Robert M., 1624 Westminister Place, Oklahoma City.
Hall, John A., 2700 Normandy Drive, Oklahoma City.
Howard, Moses, Jr., 2221 Northeast Park Place, Oklahoma City.
Humble, Jerry W., 204 West Ercoupe, Oklahoma City.
Lawter, Joseph M., 2125 Southwest 64th, Oklahoma City.
Lewis, Jamerson Ambus, 924 Northeast 2d, Oklahoma City.
Luper, Calvin B., 1819 Northeast Park, Oklahoma City.
McClain, Richard J., Ft. No. 2, Box 122, Luther.
Magers, Michael Bruce, 721 Southwest 47th Street, Oklahoma City.
Mead, Michael R., 3320 North Robinson, Oklahoma City.
Meek, John H., 309 East 5th, Edmond.
Moen, Russell C., 2637 Southwest 42d, Oklahoma City.
Paramore, Gary L., 117 Northeast 14th, Oklahoma City.
Proctor, Barbara K., 1501½ Northwest 20th, Oklahoma City.
Ramsey, Stephen Douglas, 9909 Sunny Meade Place, Oklahoma, City.
Ray, Branda L., 3844 Northwest 36th, Oklaroma City.
Reed, Ronald L., 620 Southwest 51st Street, Oklahoma City.
Roberts, Gary T., 3400 Northwest 41st, Oklahoma City.
Rodgers, James R., 323 South Second, Blackwell.
Seba, Terry A., 3119 Northwest 19th, Oklahoma City.
Simms, Lewis C., 840 Northeast 5th, Oklahoma City.
Sledge, Connie Lee, 1711 Northeast Park, Oklahoma City.
Sperling, Kenneth, 5833 Northwest 47th, Oklahoma City.
Thomason, William P., 838 Northwest 34th, Oklahoma City.
Williams, John C., 20 Northeast 4th, Oklahoma City.
Wilson, Joseph Purman, 3212 Northwest 23d, Oklahoma City.
Dehart, Charles W., Route 1, Poteau.
Smith, Kenneth G., Route 2, Sallisaw.
McLaughlin, Jon Mike, 807 East Commerce, Altus.
Shaw, James Keith, 1010 10th Street, Snyder.
Giddens, John B., care of Giddins Jewelry, Cleveland.
Hinds, James I., 500 East Seneca, Tahlequah.
Adams, Charles L., Route 2, Box 80–A, Shawnee.
Arnold, James T., 1607 East 12th, Tulsa.
Carter, Carolyn, 501 South 7th, Okemah.
Davis, Elmer L., Jr., 1614 North Cheyenne, Tulsa.
Halka, Dennis W., 1001 West Dewey, Shawnee.
Higgins, William R., 402 North Lynn Riggs Boulevard, Claremore.
Jimerson, Herman H., 304 East Woodrow, Tulsa.
Liljedahl, John E., 3129 East 5th Place, Apartment 6, Tulsa.
Lynam, Robert B., 505 East Ada, Shawnee.
Mize, Rick L., 3513 East Archer, Tulsa.
Palm, Irvin David, 2421 North Main, Box 6038, Tulsa.
Parsons, Kenneth D., 3230 East 7th Street, Apartment 7, Tulsa.
Pendergraft, Thomas Elston, 920 "I", Northwest, Miami.
Powell, Peter Earl, 1901½ North Broadway, Shawnee.
Simmons, Larry L., 2603 North Broadway, Shawnee.
Taylor, Lawrence D., 413 West Walnut, Barnsdall.
Bishop, Stanley Anthony, P.O. Box 282, Vinita.
Freeman, Lynn B., P. O. Box 706, Vinita.
Hodge, David L., 515 North State, Wagoner.
Braly, Murlin E., 1721 Oklahoma Avenue, Woodward.
Waggoner, Terry Lloyd, 2133 2d Street, Woodward.

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

Mr. QUIE. Yes. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman taking the floor in behalf of this book by Clark Mollenhoff entitled "Despoilers of Democracy." Certainly none of us want democracy despoiled, no more than we want the representative Republic under the Constitution despoiled. This book hangs up some valiant red lights about how it can be done, not only in the areas which the gentleman has referred to, but this author, with his keen perceptiveness and his stick-to-it-iveness and his prudent judgment, the man who wrote "The Pinnacle of Power," I believe, just before this, wherein some of the goon administrations and gangster control of labor unions which were despoiled, or at least brought to light, so that normal processes of good government could despoil reprehensible practices in that movement, has clearly laid out deficiencies in the appointive system of the Cabinet office, errors documented and depicted in the administration of the Department of Defense, which has not only been policymaking in its lately assumed powers under the Curtis-McCormack amendment to an appropriation bill of a few years past, toward the end of empire building in more than 18 instances, that has again brought to public light and for considered consumption and decision of informed opinion by necessary repetitive process, such errors in administration as the Billie Sol Estes, the Bobby Baker cases and many others which have indeed despoiled the good name of democracy as spelled with a small "d" in the last few years.

Again I compliment the gentleman. Certainly this fine author will not be

despoiled by expediency in what he has brought before the American public.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IN BIRMINGHAM, JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALA.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FASCELL). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, following a period of peace, harmony and orderly progress in the city of Birmingham which it is my honor to represent, we find ourselves in recent weeks once again in the glare of the spotlight of the news as a result of riotous demonstrations, led in the city of Birmingham and the neighboring city of Bessemer, by one Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and others.

The purpose of these demonstrations is, as I am given to understand from the lips of Mr. Williams and those of others, twofold. In the first place, to press for night registration, neighborhood registration, and more lately, the bringing in of Federal registrars to facilitate the registration of all Negro citizens in the area in the immediate future.

There is a second purpose about which Mr. Williams has spoken: that Birmingham was so successfully used by certain elements before that they are using our city again. I gather this to mean that they will try to use our city as a stage for a drama in which the people are the props and our city is an object lesson to be held up before other cities.

As the pressure in all areas has grown for the facilitation of Negro registration and voting, and since this has been taking place in recent weeks in the city of Birmingham, I felt it would be useful to insert into the RECORD the truth and the facts to make clear the status of registration of voters in my county at this time.

First, may I say that it is my conviction and the conviction of many others of both major racial groups in my area, that there is no discrimination in the registration of voters in Jefferson County, Ala., at this time.

As of July 31, 1965, there were registered in my county some 153,974 white persons and some 24,088 Negro citizens, for a total registration of 178,062.

Since the white adult population constitutes about 70 percent of the adult population of the district, and the Negro population about 30 percent, there was a larger percentage of registered Caucasian persons than Negro persons, as of July 31, 1965.

However, in the month of August 1965 there were registered in Jefferson County 150 white and 2,220 Negro citizens.

In September there were registered 462 Caucasians and 2,155 Negroes.

In October 1965 there were registered 413 whites and 1,444 Negroes.

In November there were registered 399 whites and 1,443 Negroes.

In the month of December 1965 there were registered 858 Caucasian persons and 3,859 Negro citizens.

In the first half of January 1966 there were registered 714 white persons and 4,160 Negro citizens, bringing the total registration at this point to 196,339, of which 156,970 are Caucasian citizens and 39,369 are Negro citizens.

Now, these new figures indicate that as of the beginning of January, 1966, 21 percent of the registered voters in my county were Negro citizens, against a 30-percent population figure.

It is estimated that at the present rate, estimated by responsible local officials, the Negro registration by April 1, 1966, will be 30 percent of the total registered voters in our county, thereby bringing into balance the percentage of Negro citizens registered to vote and the percentage of Caucasian citizens registered to vote. on a population basis.

Mr. Speaker, not only has there been no discrimination practiced, I can testify to the fact that as early as the fall of 1964 the people who were having difficulty registering in my county were not Negro citizens. When the lines became heavy, near the election season, the lines were filled with Negro citizens who were being registered; the people who had difficulty registering were Caucasian rather than Negro.

Not only has there been no discrimination but steps have been taken to facilitate such registration. From the period August 6, 1965, the following changes have taken place:

On August 6, 1965, the Board of Registrars was staffed by six clerks. Since that time 15 additional clerks have been employed, such additions being made as per the following: on August 18, 4 employees; on December 15, 6 additional employees; on January 4, 1966, 5 additional clerks were employed, 3 of whom I believe were Negro clerks and 2 of these were serving on the last registration day which I checked.

Now the opening week of January 1966, is an indication of the present rate of registration. On Monday, January 3, 376 applied for registration. On Tuesday, 395 and on Wednesday, 366. On Saturday, January 15, more than 800 persons were registered in Jefferson County. On a normal day the Board of Registrars estimate they can easily register some 600 persons to vote. With the single exception of the Saturday on which 800 applied, and the 800 were handled by the Board with no undue delay, there has been no day to date when as many as 600 persons applied for registration.

In short, those who have wanted to register have been handled by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars at this time without delay.

In addition to employing extra employees, arrangements have been made to keep the board open for 5 days instead of 3 days which had previously been the case. Saturday was substituted as one of the registration days. Registration takes place on Saturday rather than Thursday to enable those who work and cannot obtain leave during the weekdays to register.

These things have been done to facilitate registration of voters in my county on a nondiscriminatory basis and to provide all citizens a reasonable opportunity to come to a centrally located place and to register themselves to vote.

The fact that there has not yet been a day on which there have undue delays in which the board has been unable to handle those who presented themselves is an indication that steps have been taken which appear to be sufficient to facilitate registration of all citizens in my county who have a reasonable and minimal interest in registering themselves in order to vote.

Now there has been a demand for night registration or neighborhood registration. Without commenting finally on whether this kind of registration is a good thing or not, may I say that night registration has been tried once and it was found not successful by the board of registrars.

Neighborhood registration presents a number of difficulties both in law and in the physical capability to handle such registrations.

But may I point out in this connection that there are available means for registration of all citizens for 5 days a week in a central location and these facilities are available regardless of race, color, or creed.

Now no one can guarantee that every citizen of either major racial group will in fact present himself to be registered and to vote. Because, as a matter of fact, not only in our city but in all America apathy is one of the problems in getting people to participate as they ought to participate in the political life of the Nation. This is a problem that I think a check of any district's voting record would indicate. In very few places if ever at all do 100 percent of the citizens present themselves to register to vote and participate actively in the processes of selecting their leaders in government.

Apathy has been one of the problems in our city. The militant group which came into our city to organize demonstrations to press for these changes in registration and in voting had great difficulty in arousing enough interest on the part of the adult Negro community to get an impressive demonstration underway and to get such demonstrations carried out.

On a normal day of demonstrations some 100 persons have participated and the law enforcement agencies report approximately 52 out of the 100 are paid workers of civil rights organizations.

Therefore, there has been apathy on the part of the adult Negro community to the attempts to organize these demonstrations, and there is apathy on the part of both Negro and Caucasian citizens in the matter of registering to vote. No one can guarantee that every citizen will in fact, whatever arrangements are made, present himself to be registered

and will in fact vote. But may I say that it would appear—and it is the conviction of most of the leadership of our community that it is the case—arrangements have been made to cover all normal reasonable demands for registration and voting.

May I say that if neighborhood registration did come to pass, our registration is at present on a nondiscriminatory basis. While there are some 76,000 Negro citizens who are not yet registered to vote, there are over 100,000 Caucasian citizens who are not yet registered to vote, and in light of the fact that many of those unregistered voters are Caucasian housewives who do experience some difficulty in leaving their homes in order to register to vote, if the neighborhood registration takes place, it would seem to me mandatory, obvious, and elementary that it should be on a nonracial, nondiscriminatory, countywide basis in every precinct and in every neighborhood, and not in selected neighborhoods; particularly since by April 1, according to the present rate, the percentage of Negro to Caucasian registered voters against the adult population figures for those two racial groups will be in balance in my district.

Therefore, to sponsor and to carry out registration in certain selected neighborhoods only, on a racial basis, would be to create a new discrimination, to create a new imbalance rather than to correct any present imbalance, and would be working against the rights of and that which could be considered equity for the majority of the citizens of my county.

It would seem from these facts that the Board of Registrars of Jefferson County has made reasonable effort to comply with the requirements of the 1965 Civil Rights Act, that there is no discrimination, that efforts have been made to facilitate registration, and that soon there will be a complete balance in registration figures, and that there is present ample opportunity for any citizen who desires to present himself to register to vote to do so without undue delay or inconvenience.

The leadership of our city has spoken emphatically on behalf of equal rights, but also for responsible action, in a statement published in the Birmingham News on January 11, 1966. That statement is as follows:

While this statement does not presume to speak for every elected or appointed official or every individual citizen, it does—in our sincere and considered opinion—represent the convictions of the great majority of the people of this area.

There are two cardinal principles of government which appear, in effect, as the mottos of the governments of Jefferson County and the city of Birmingham. One is engraved above the 21st Street entrance of the county courthouse; the other on the walls of the city council chamber.

Above the courthouse entrance, from the pen of Thomas Jefferson are the words: "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion."

In city hall the words mean: "Cities Are What Men Make Them."

Those two phrases ought to be a part of the governmental fabric of every American city, county and State. But even when they are—as they now are part of the governmental fabric of Jefferson County and Birmingham—they cannot be effective until all qualified citizens, of all races and creeds, are ready and willing to undertake full participation and full responsibility as citizens.

In order to make voting participation possible as rapidly and practically as possible, the Jefferson County Board of Registrars has completely fulfilled its obligations, both moral and legal.

Its effort to accommodate those who wish to register as voters are now limited only by the physical requirements of State laws which may not be abridged except by due process of either legislative amendment or court orders.

The fact that some applicants may have had to stand in lines for short periods is hardly a challenge to either the capacity or willingness of the Board of Registrars to fulfill its duties under the civil rights or any other act, State of Federal.

Let it be noted that every year, regardless of months of notice and mail-in privileges, 10 times as many citizens stand in line from dawn till dark for automobile tags.

Several times yearly hundreds stay in line for 72 uninterrupted hours solely for the privilege of buying a football ticket. At least five times a year some 70,000 people ride bumper to bumper for 2 hours or more for the same purpose and thousands miss the opening kickoff because they did not start in time.

No week passes that people, regardless of color or creed, do not stand in tiresome checkout grocery lines, in front of theater box offices, at bus stops and in restaurants.

The world's richest grocer could not provide an instant checkout clerk for every grocery shopper; the richest county in America has not and cannot produce an instant registrar for every applicant.

Groceries and voting privileges are both fundamental to the full pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness. Both are worth, and usually require standing in line. But now, even that has been minimized.

We believe that it is the right of any qualified citizen to participate, as a voter, in government. We believe that under existing laws the exercise of that right cannot be limited by race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Certain groups have requested the Justice Department to send Federal registrars to Jefferson County.

We believe the Board of Registrars has the capacity and will to register all those who, within reasonable bounds, seek to register.

We believe the responsibility for encouraging registration and voting lies with local leadership at all levels.

We believe that as people are encouraged to register and vote, they must also be instructed in the obligations as well as the privileges of full citizenship. Strong and responsive democracy can only come as a by-product of the maintenance of law and order; the realization that self-determination also includes self-restraint; that no man or group of men may disrupt the peace, violate the law or otherwise unlawfully or violently expedite their own aims at the expense of the whole society in which they live.

Every citizen owes a duty to act in the best interest of his entire community.

Today there is rapidly developing a growing and responsible leadership in both the white and Negro communities. It is a leadership capable of communication and understanding.

That leadership recognized that local problems can be solved satisfactorily, and without rancor, only at the local level. They believe affirmatively that local opportunities can be fully realized and fully shared only by local cooperation and accommodation.

That leadership needs to grow and to be strengthened. It will be vastly strengthened when the qualified citizens register and vote in good conscience for the best interest of the city as a whole, Jefferson County as a whole, Alabama as a whole, and the Nation as a whole * * *. "One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

W. COOPER GREEN,
President, Jefferson County Commission.
E. H. GILMORE,
Member, Jefferson County Commission.
THOMAS B. PINSON,
Member, Jefferson County Commission.
ALBERT BOUTWELL,
Mayor, City of Birmingham.
M. E. WIGGINS,
President, Birmingham Council.

These leaders, including the president of the county commission, the city mayor, and the president of the city council, point out that while they support absolute equality of opportunity, they do not believe it reasonable to expect them to guarantee instant registration to every citizen everywhere at this or any future time. They point out that every day more people stand in line to receive licenses of various kinds than stand in line to register to vote, that people are often subject to delays in supermarket lines and at football games. Certainly it would not be physically possible to guarantee instant registration for every citizen, but registration has proceeded without any undue delay or inconvenience that anyone can observe at this point for all citizens.

So much for the registration itself, which seems to be proceeding at an orderly and nondiscriminatory pace.

May I address myself now to the efforts that have been made to change the procedures of registration and to press for these various things—Federal registrars to come in, night and neighborhood registration in Negro neighborhoods only. As I indicated, our city has made peaceful, harmonious, and orderly progress in recent months and years. However, recently there came into our city a group of personalities, nonresidents of Jefferson County, who attempted first to inflame the passions of adult Negro citizens and, failing this, turned their attention to Negro high school students in my county.

These individuals sought to persuade these young people to leave school, to demonstrate, to defy authority, to press for their demands regarding registration.

On January 10, 1966, the following took place, according to an affidavit of Lt. David Wayne Orange of the Jefferson County Sheriff's Department:

At the urgency of alleged nonresident civil rights leaders, students from the Brighton High School, a school under the jurisdiction of the Jefferson County Board of Education, left said school and went to Carver High School, a Jefferson County school, where they persuaded a number of students to leave said school and join in their march and continued on to Abram School, also a Jefferson County school, where they persuaded a number of students to join in their demonstration and continued on through the streets of Bessemer to the Jefferson County Courthouse, Bessemer Division.

On Tuesday, January 11, 1966, some 250 to 300 Negro students from Brighton High School lay down in the four-lane Bessemer superhighway between Birmingham and Bessemer, blocking vehicular traffic; later marching back to Brighton after a warning. On Tuesday, according to local reports published in the Birmingham News, Negro students hurled rocks and bottles at police and

bystanders in an outburst of violence at Birmingham's Parker High School.

School officials sought to restrain these young people.

May I say that these actions are not representative of the Negro community in the Birmingham area. These actions are not representative of the Negro leadership who live in our city and in our State. These actions were spurred and inspired and encouraged and incited by persons who are not residents of Birmingham, Ala., or of Jefferson County, and were carried out by young schoolchildren at the urging of these outside leaders.

In each instance in the school, the school officials pled with the young people to stay in school, sought to restrain them from demonstrating, and acted responsibly by trying to talk reason and good judgment into these young people who are in their charge legally as well as morally during the school hours.

Faculty members of the school forcibly prevented young Negro students from breaking out of the school grounds. One policeman, D. L. Faulkner, was hit in the outbreak of the rock throwing. Students went on the roof and kept up a steady barrage of rocks and bottles at police and passersby near the school at 330 Eighth Avenue North, Birmingham, Ala. A group of about 100 Negro students went to the Birmingham city hall seeking to enter this building.

From this the students went on, led by Mr. Williams, and others, and demonstrated in blocking main thoroughfares, in demonstrations blocking traffic in various ways in Birmingham, and between Birmingham and Bessemer.

On Tuesday, January 11, Hosea Williams spoke to a group of about 200 Negroes in front of the Jefferson County Court House. He said an attempt would be made to keep children out of all the schools in Jefferson County.

He said—and I quote—"We are going to turn this town upside down."

He said when he spoke on the courthouse steps to the students in his audience that they could give a year of their life toward the movement. When asked how he would keep them out of school he said: "We are professionals in keeping them out of the schools."

And this is the kind of incitement that was made by Mr. Williams and others in order to persuade young people in violation of law to come out of their school during school hours. The young people first threw rocks and bottles at the police and obstructed traffic. A police officer said that the mood was the ugliest he had seen. This was a mood inspired, as has been repeatedly said, by outside agitators and not by local Negro leadership.

Indeed, while there are many local leaders militantly supporting registration of all Negro voters at the earliest possible time, certain of these leaders have indicated they do not concur in Mr. Hosea Williams' approach in leading young people to violate law and to defy authority.

For example, a prominent Negro businessman in our area, Mr. Gaston, came forth with a statement in which he made clear his disapproval of the misuse of young people and, in fact, he deplored such action. Here is that statement:

As a native of Alabama and a taxpaying, first-class citizen of Birmingham and Jefferson County; as an employer of a large number of people whose total earnings are more than $1 million a year and with several million dollars invested in this area, I feel that I am qualified, and have a right, to be concerned not only about myself, or my businesses, but about the hundreds of employees and their families who are associated with me—as what affects the good name and economy of this community, good or bad, affects all of us who benefit from this community.

I would hope that the line of communication recently established with the leaders of the white community would not be adversely affected by the present unrest, but instead strengthened and enlarged to give more Negroes an opportunity to participate in our city and county governments on all levels of which they are capable, including counsel and advice to foster good will and growth in our community.

I feel that there is a reservoir of intelligent, dedicated, responsible Negroes in this community. If given a chance to do so they can and will, together with their counterpart in the white community, make Birmingham a real magic city in fact.

I am concerned about the more than 13,000 shareholders in the Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association who have entrusted to us more than $8 million of their savings, of which more than $6 million has been invested, to enable our people to become homeowners. The security of the homes of these people and the protection of their savings are directly affected by the climate, the image, and the solid economy of this community.

As a responsible citizen of Birmingham, I deplore the invasion of our schools to enlist students for demonstrations during school hours.

"I would recommend that steps be taken to institute workshops to train our young people in discipline, nonviolence, and good law-abiding citizenship.

"I support the right of peaceful protest and freedom of assembly when across-the-table conferences fail to achieve the goals. When all of these fail, demonstrations are inevitable. Demonstrations reflect the dissatisfactions of Negro and white citizens alike, but should at all times be within the law.

"I think the Board of Registrars has demonstrated its willingness and ability to register all who apply. I think this is a challenge on the part of interested Negroes to present themselves to the Board of Registrars in large numbers and get their names on the voters list.

"I think it is the responsibility of all interested Negro citizens of our community to urge all capable Negroes who are interested in employment with our city or county government to qualify with the county personnel board for any vacancies in our city, county government, including the police and sheriff departments.

"The doors of opportunity are rapidly opening for qualified Negroes. In many fields firms are unable to locate capable personnel to fill many of the positions offered. The Booker T. Washington Business College, which we operate, is dedicated to training efficient personnel for commercial and automated technical positions. The demand for such persons is greater than we are presently able to supply.

"One of the great needs of our people today is a good education. I would urge our young people to stay in school and prepare themselves for these opportunities which are opening up very rapidly, and to also prepare themselves for first-class citizenship by assuming their responsibilities as law-abiding citizens of the community, contributing to the good and prosperity and best image of the community, as well as receiving the benefits therefrom.

"I do not condone violence or violation of the law on the part of anyone, and I am sure all responsible Negro citizens share this thought.

"The responsibility and conduct of our youth is first the responsibility of the parents and our local leadership. And I would hope that we as local, concerned, and responsible citizens will not shirk our responsibility for the conduct of our children in or out of school, and give our cooperation and support to our teachers and school administrators in training our children to be law-abiding, respectable, and responsible citizens."

This, Mr. Speaker, is an indication that the Birmingham Negro leadership does not endorse wrong methods toward achieving ends which many of them might applaud. The Negro newspaper, the Birmingham World, also came forth with a statement reminding citizens that the place to register was at the voter registration tables and not in the streets.

Dr. John Nixon, the chairman of the NAACP for the State of Alabama, stated that he deplored the use of schoolchildren in these demonstrations. So we see that such methods are not representative of the Negro leaders. Nevertheless, the outside agitators were determined to inflame the passions of these young people and incite them to commit acts of defiance and attacks on the persons of police officers and disobey the law. As a result, the Jefferson County Board of Education sought and received a temporary restraining order on January 13 pointing out that the young people were being abused by these demonstrations.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD at this point the petition and the restraining order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FASCELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA SOUTHERN DIVISION—THE COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA, A PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA; GEORGE ROGERS, MRS. ROBERT GWIN, C. R. BOTTENFIELD, ROBERT L. ELLIS, JR., AND O. G. GRESHAM AS MEMBERS OF SAID BOARD AND KERMIT A. JOHNSON, SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, STATE OF ALABAMA, PLAINTIFFS *v.* HOSEA WILLIAMS, EDWARD BEDFORD, ANDREW MARSETE, AND SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, A CORPORATION, DEFENDANTS—CIVIL ACTION NO. CA 66–24

COMPLAINT

Now comes the plaintiffs in the above styled cause and shows unto your Honor as follows:

I

That the County Board of Education of Jefferson County, Alabama, is a public school board under the laws of the State of Alabama. That George Rogers, Mrs. Robert Gwin, C. R. Bottenfield, Robert L. Ellis, Jr., and O. G. Gresham are members of the Jefferson County Board of Education and are all residents of Jefferson County, Alabama, and over the age of 21 years. That Kermit A. Johnson is Superintendent of

Education in Jefferson County, State of Alabama, and is also a resident of Jefferson County, Ala., over the age of 21 years.

II

The defendant Hosea Williams is over the age of 21 years and is a resident of the State of Georgia, whose present address is unknown. Edward Bedford and Andrew Marsete are both over the age of 21 years and nonresidents of the State of Alabama, their place of residence being to the plaintiffs unknown. The defendant Southern Christian Leadership Conference is a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Georgia with its principal office and place of business in Atlanta, Ga.

III

This court has jurisdiction pursuant to the provisions of 28 U.S.C.A., section 1332, and Civil Rights Act, 1960, as amended. The amount in controversy, exclusive of interest and consideration, exceeds the sum of $10,000.

IV

The Jefferson County Board of Education receives over 60 percent of its entire income from the educational trust fund of the State of Alabama and this income is based upon daily attendance which averages $1 per day. The continued absentees from the Jefferson County school will cause irreparable loss to the Jefferson County School System.

V

The plaintiffs are by law charged with the general administration and supervision of the public schools and educational interests in the Jefferson County schools with the responsibility to seek in every way to promote the interests of said schools and the welfare of said children who attend said schools, and with the duty of securing the prompt and regular attendance of students enrolled at and obligated by law to attend said schools. That during school hours the principal of each school and others in authority are in effect the personal guardian of said students and responsible for their safety and attendance in school. That said board of education and its superintendent are charged with the duty and responsibility under the laws of the State of Alabama and the constitution of the State of Alabama to see that said students attending said schools keep the peace and do not engage in any activity destructive of said properties of said board of education.

VI

That commencing on or about January 10, 1966, and continuing each day since that date, the individual and corporate defendants individually and through their agents, employees, servants, members, followers, and other persons in active concert or participation with the defendants conspired to and did induce, coerce, encourage, or persuade large numbers of students enrolled at and attending public schools under the administration and control of plaintiffs to be absent from said schools on days and at times when said schools were being operated for the benefit of said pupils and when such pupils were required to attend said schools; that said individuals and corporate defendants individually and through their agents, employees, servants, members, followers, and other persons in active concert and participation with the defendants conspired to and did induce, coerce, encourage, or persuade said students to participate in unlawful activities sponsored or incited or caused to be sponsored or incited by defendants, including demonstrations, street parades or processions without permits, and congregating in mobs upon the public streets and other public places in Jefferson County, Ala., and in the city of Birmingham, Ala.; that agents, employees, servants, members, followers, and other persons in active concert and participation with the defendants have entered upon the school properties under the control and supervision of the plaintiffs and have encouraged, coerced, intimidated, induced, and persuaded said students to leave school during school hours and to engage in unlawful street demonstrations in Jefferson County and the city of Birmingham, during which demonstrations the students have been instructed to lie down in public streets thereby blocking traffic and did on, to wit, January 11, 1966, to cause students in the Jefferson County school system to leave their classes during school hours and to lie down in the Bessemer super highway, being a heavily traveled highway between Birmingham and Bessemer, designated as U.S. Highway No. 11 and block traffic for several minutes, resulting in over 300 cars being prevented from passing on said highway; that said individual and corporate defendants individually and through their agents, employees, servants, members, followers, and other persons in active concert and participation with the defendants have caused said students to organize demonstration groups and did induce, coerce, encourage, and attempt to persuade said students to attempt to be arrested by the commission of unlawful acts and have on many occasions requested the students to influence other students to boycott public schools operated under the supervision of plaintiffs; that such conspiracy of the defendants and others in active concert and participation with the defendants, as hereinabove described, has resulted in serious interference with the operation of said schools by plaintiffs and in irreparable harm to the education and welfare of said students and in substantial diminution of the amount of funds which can by law be apportioned and made available to plaintiff for operation of said schools and that the defendants, as hereinabove set out, have threatened and stated their intention to continue such conduct and conspiracy as aforesaid and thereby cause said students to continue to be absent from said schools and have threatened to close down the public school system of Jefferson County.

That the defendants by their conduct have caused mass demonstrations of county students to spread to Negroes attending the city schools of the city of Birmingham and several hundred students did abandon their classes and leave the Parker High School in the city of Birmingham on January 11, 1966, and did engage in mass demonstrations, in which bricks and rocks were thrown at law enforcement officers and traffic was obstructed on the public streets; that on each of the days of January 10, 11, and 12, 1966, said defendants have so caused approximately 500 students to be absent from the public schools operated by the plaintiffs and have caused said students to participate in unlawful activities as hereinabove stated.

VII

The defendants have urged, persuaded, encouraged, and intimidated and caused large numbers of Negro pupils to withdraw from the public schools in Jefferson County on the 11th day of January 1966, and to participate in mass demonstrations in Jefferson County thereby preventing Negro pupils from continuing their academic courses and encouraging said students to violate the laws of the State of Alabama in keeping peace and in blocking the highways of said county preventing a free flow of traffic. This conduct on the part of the defendants has denied these students who desire to remain in school their civil right of attending school unmolested, unafraid, and without interference.

The large number of Negro pupils having withdrawn from public school of Jefferson County as a result of threats, persuasion, and intimidation on the part of the defendants has caused a loss in appropriation from State funds of some $500 a day and will continue at the rate of $1 per day per student if continued.

The large number of Negro students having walked out of school without permission and participating in mass demonstrations, blocking public highways, defying lawful authority has created a situation wrought with danger and which could result in riot, insurrection, bloodshed, and injury to person and property in excess of $10,000.

VIII

That your plaintiffs are informed and do believe on such information and belief that the law enforcement officers of said county do not have adequate personnel and facilities to prevent a wholesale riot, insurrection, and breach of peace by said student demonstrators, and if the sheriff of Jefferson County would call upon the Governor of the State of Alabama to furnish adequate law enforcement officers to protect said school properties and public highways and to protect the lives and properties of other citizens of said county the expenses of providing such law enforcement personnel would unduly burden the taxpayers of the State of Alabama, and neglect of law enforcement to counties other than Jefferson.

Wherefore, plaintiff respectfully prays:

1. That the court will enter an ex parte temporary restraining order, preliminary and permanent injunction restraining and enjoying defendants, their officers, agents, employees, servants, members, followers, successors, and all other persons in active concert and participation with them from conducting, encouraging or participating in demonstrations, boycotting the public schools in Jefferson County; from encouraging, coercing, enticing, intimidating and persuading said students to absent themselves from school or leave school during school hours, from marching, parading, or in any wise protesting and interfering with the operation of public schools in Jefferson County; from encouraging students to join any demonstration during normal school hours, from leading any demonstrations involving students who have absented themselves from school; from encouraging, persuading, inciting any students to commit any breach of the peace within Jefferson County; from leading any demonstration, obstructing the public streets in any manner so as to prevent or delay the orderly flow of traffic both vehicular and pedestrian; from in any manner or method encouraging students in the Jefferson County schools to become truants; from encouraging and advocating any boycotting of Jefferson County schools, and from in any manner committing acts of violence, endangering the lives and property of citizens.

2. That the court will grant such other, further and general relief to which plaintiffs may be entitled, including the costs and reasonable attorneys' fees.

EARL C. MORGAN,
MAURICE BISHOP,
Attorneys for Plaintiffs.
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Frank Nelson Building, Birmingham, Ala.

STATE OF ALABAMA, JEFFERSON COUNTY

Before me, the undersigned authority in and for said county and State, personally appeared Earl C. Morgan who on his oath does state that the matters and things stated in the foregoing complaint are true and correct, except as to those matters and things stated on information and belief, and as to such matters and things, that he is informed and believes that the same are true, and upon

such information and belief, does swear that the same are true.

EARL C. MORGAN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this ——— day of January 1966.

———, *Notary Public.*

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA, SOUTHERN DIVISION—THE COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA, A PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA; GEORGE ROGERS, MRS. ROBERT GWIN, C. R. BOTTENFIELD, ROBERT L. ELLIS, JR., AND O. G. GRESHAM AS MEMBERS OF SAID BOARD; AND KERMIT A. JOHNSON, SUPERINDENDENT OF EDUCATION OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, STATE OF ALABAMA, PLAINTIFFS, *v.* HOSEA WILLIAMS, EDWARD BEDFORD, ANDREW MARSETE, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, A CORPORATION, DEFENDANTS—CA 66-24

TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER

Pursuant to the opinion of this court this day entered in this cause, the defendants, Hosea Williams, Edward Bedford, Andrew Marsete, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a corporation, and each of them, their officers, agents, employees, successors, and all persons in active concert and participation with them, be and they are hereby restrained and enjoined from conducting, encouraging, or participating in a demonstration on or near any public school in Jefferson County, Ala.; from encouraging and enticing pupils to leave the public schools in Jefferson County, Ala.; from encouraging, aiding and abetting in any respect truancy on the part of any pupils in the Jefferson County school system; and from conducting, encouraging, or participating in demonstrations, picketing and boycotting the public schools in Jefferson County, Ala.; from marching, parading, or protesting the operation of the public schools in Jefferson County on or near the school premises; from encouraging or engaging in riotous conduct which would invade the privacy of property or injure citizens, and from obstructing the public streets in any manner so as to prevent or delay the orderly flow of traffic, both vehicular and pedestrian, and from in any manner committing acts of violence, endangering the lives and property of citizens.

A delay in the granting of this order will result in irreparable injury to the plaintiffs due to the fact that the actual operations of the schools of the Jefferson County school system will be interfered with and impaired if the boycott is carried out as threatened.

It is not possible to give notice to the defendants of the hearing on the temporary restraining order and the issuance of this order in time to prevent the interference and impairment referred to due to the fact that the defendants' movements and whereabouts are presently unknown.

Issued this 13th day of January 1966, at ———.

HOBART GROOMS,
SEYBOURN H. LYNNE,
CLARENCE W. ALLGOOD,
U.S. District Judges.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I think this raises before us a great moral question in our time and in our land. After the tragedy of Watts it would seem clear and elementary that every American citizen and certainly every public official at whatever level of government would understand the danger of the doctrine of civil disobedience, would understand the grave threat to all our institutions and to the liberty of all of us of these attacks upon the framework of law within which we have known our liberty. It would seem elementary and clear that the doctrine that we can disobey those laws with which we disagree, that we can defy any authority with which we disagree, and rightly do so, and believe that this is an acceptable way of moving toward the realization of our goals and ambitions in America—it would seem that everyone could understand by now the danger of this doctrine. Yet we see this doctrine applied once again in leading young people in acts of lawlessness.

I am grateful that certain voices both Negro and Caucasian in my district have been raised against this dangerous practice, this practice which led to great tragedy in Watts and could lead to national tragedy if left unchecked.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no practice or doctrine more dangerous in our time than the one of civil disobedience. The forces pressing for the changes in my district at this time have behind them the full force of Federal law and the sympathy of the Federal Government and the Federal courts. Why, then, is it necessary or why, then, is it acceptable to anyone that there should be those who press for unlawful means, for dangerous means, for riotous means to work toward their desired ends? It is not my desire that any person of any age of any race in my district or elsewhere in the State of Alabama, that any person who desires to register and vote, shall be denied such privilege of registering and voting. I am sure I express the will of the vast majority of the people of my district, but even those who are militantly supporting the cause of registration and of voting of the citizens—and I would do so strictly on a nonracial and nondiscriminatory basis—do not endorse nor subscribe to the methods which have been used by the officers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in my district—in their use of young people and unlawful means, in teaching them to commit acts of defiance against authority, to break the law, and in teaching them that they are morally right in so doing. This is dangerous, and sooner or later this Government and its officials must face up to this danger and answer it emphatically and not compromise or give in to it. Liberty under law has been the political system in this country under which we have guaranteed our rights and liberties. America can only be sustained as a nation of liberty if we sustain it as a nation of law. So I would say that we have had both lawful and rational work toward the registration of people of all racial groups to vote in my county. We have had unlawful and unacceptable pressure by the leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and some of their followers. One of these men was quoted as saying after the restraining order was issued that he understood he was violating it but nevertheless was trying to incite young people to go out in the streets and to leave schools. Another stated that Federal court injunctions are "made to be broken."

Mr. Speaker, we have made a national decision, and it is a very important part of our law and it is a part of what is taking place in our land, that there shall be no discrimination in registration and voting in our country.

I pray that this shall be the case and that we shall not create a new day of discrimination in areas like the one which it is my privilege to represent, in which we go into some neighborhoods but not into others, in which we create new imbalances and in which we create new discrimination.

But, Mr. Speaker, even more basic than this I would say, it is my profound hope, representing all of the citizens of my congressional district and on behalf of the 200 million American citizens, that we shall no longer heed and give any recognition to the voice of the prophets of civil disobedience, a dangerous diabolical doctrine which—left unchecked—could destroy our land.

AFFIRMATION VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FASCELL). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CALLAWAY] is recognized for 30 minutes.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I was recently visited by a group of young men from Emory University in Georgia who brought with them a very interesting story about a truly worthwhile project. Today I would like to present, in their own words, the story behind their project: Affirmation Vietnam:

The aim of Affirmation Vietnam is to show emphatic and positive affirmation of the U.S. commitment in Vietnam. We know that this country fully supports the commitment of American forces to the freedom of South Vietnam; but to our fighting men on the frontlines, and to the rest of the world, our dedication must be made crystal clear.

We students feel that fundamental to the success of America's commitment in Vietnam is the support of American public opinion. There is evidence to show that the Communist authorities in Hanoi are impressed by the draft-card burners and other protest movements in this country, and that the Communist resolve is hardened and strengthened by reports of these dissenters. To our great concern, one American newspaper said this: "In the world environment or our time, European and Asian observers, reaching conclusions out of their own environment, view our student demonstrations as somehow representative of a majority American opinion. Certainly those opposed to Vietnam have a right to be heard but for a long time I have been concerned that in the absence of some sort of effective reply to these negative demonstrations, our strength might be deteriorated. I have heard from Vietnam that the Vietcong casualties have been found with clippings about these student protests in their pockets. Our own troops have been receiving mimeographed propaganda from the more radical student protest movements in this country."

Such reports led us, as students in the State of Georgia, to try and show exactly how the people of Georgia and the Nation stand on the vitally important issue of Vietnam. Thus we have organized into a group called Affirmation Vietnam through which

we hope to show the world that the people of the United States support our commitment to the Vietnamese people to freely develop as they see fit, without external interference and indirect aggression through so-called wars of national liberation.

Affirmation Vietnam intends to accomplish this purpose through the use of three complementary programs: a statewide opinion poll, an educational program, and a massive assembly in the Atlanta stadium.

The opinion poll will be conducted as thoroughly as possible among the citizens of Georgia through the services of the Georgia Youth Council. All persons interviewed will be asked to give a "yes" or "no" answer to the statement: "We, as Americans and Georgians, affirm and endorse our country's commitment in Vietnam."

College campuses will be especially well polled. We feel this is important because college students are the leaders of tomorrow, and because they are the ones who will have to fight this war, and they have much to lose through personal involvement. Clubs and other civic groups are being utilized to conduct the opinion poll, again under the control of the Georgia Youth Council. The nonpartisan Georgia Youth Council was organized over a year ago, and consists of outstanding high school and college students in all of Georgia's 10 congressional districts. Their numbers include some 325 students who, in the normal routine of their work, institute and maintain needed and worthwhile projects in each of the congressional districts.

During the months of January and February, over 50 qualified students from colleges across the State will speak to civic groups and student gatherings on the historical basis of the U.S. position in Vietnam. This series of lectures, in addition to the presentation of public discussions, groups, forums, panels, and the publication of papers and pamphlets, will form the backbone of their effort to educate the public regarding the background of the present situation in southeast Asia.

The assembly in Atlanta stadium will represent the culmination of the project and will involve the presentation of the results to a high-ranking Government official. Secretary of State Dean Rusk has agreed to be the keynote speaker at the assembly which will take place on February 12 at 2 p.m.

The Affirmation Vietnam movement has found enthusiastic support at all 50 of Georgia's accredited colleges, because the youth of Georgia and of our Nation want to take an active interest in national and international matters, and to do their part in helping the just and righteous cause of freedom and self-determination for the people of all countries.

Affirmation Vietnam has received endorsement and support from outstanding national leaders of business, government, and the press. Nevertheless, Affirmation Vietnam is entirely a student movement. It started with 2 college students at Emory University in Atlanta and grew to 6, then to 20, and 40, and now to its present size and state of organization. Affirmation Vietnam is maintained only by students of Georgia institutions of higher learning.

Together we students, in a concerted effort with the residents of Georgia, hope to impress the nations of the world with the fact that in one State, and presumably in all States, the majority of Americans are in support of our Government's commitment to South Vietnam.

This, Mr. Speaker, in their own words, is the story of Affirmation Vietnam. I am tremendously proud that this fine project originated in Georgia. But I daresay that I, or any of us, would be proud to have seen it originate in any State, for I feel that it is representative not just of Georgia's, but of the high caliber of our youth throughout America. Mr. Speaker, we have always been proud of our young men and women, but I feel that at no time in our history could we be more proud than we are today, for, despite the bad publicity of the few, the many continue to uphold the highest traditions of American citizenship.

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALLAWAY. I am happy to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. I want to commend the gentleman on his statement, but most of all I want to congratulate the students of Georgia. Being a Representative of one of your sister States, I think it behooves all of us in the Congress and all of us in all the States of the Union to look into the fine project the gentleman has just discussed. I thank the gentleman for bringing it to our attention.

I also would like to use a moment of his time to congratulate my colleague from Jefferson County and Birmingham for the very fine discussion he made to this House, and I hope the Members of this House will give their consideration and attention, and honor this fine record that our colleague has just given to this Congress.

To both of my colleagues, I express my sincere thanks.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I thank the gentleman from Alabama. I would like to say that many of us are involved in a great many worthwhile projects in Vietnam. In my own district which includes Fort Benning, the home of the 1st Air Cavalry Division, we have Vietnam Mail Call and other wonderful projects.

But in my experience I have never seen anyone quite so enthusiastic about anything as these students are. I met a few weeks ago with about 20 of them at the home of a friend and we talked until midnight about their projects. These students are calling on people throughout the State every day. A project like this does not just happen. The enthusiasm of the students makes the project possible.

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

Mr. CALLAWAY. I am happy to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I too would like to add my words of commendation to the students of Georgia and to the gentleman in the well of the House for what he has so vividly brought to our attention about this program for the benefit of the people in this Chamber.

I hope his remarks will be read and that this program will be emulated by many people throughout the country and that it will bring you relief and encouragement in the fact that it has been started spontaneously, and may I say simultaneously, in other colleges.

On October 30, I had the privilege with one of my colleagues of this House to visit the Evangel College in my hometown of Springfield, Mo., where a "Back the Boys in Vietnam" program was started. Evangel College is generally a liberal arts college in my hometown which was originally church oriented to the Assemblies of God and who have their international headquarters there. This seems to be similar to the program that you have related about the students in Georgia and the "Back Our Boys" movement. And the student body has adopted a resolution which has been forwarded to the President of the United States as well as to General Westmoreland, the commanding general of the theater in South Vietnam. They also distribute bumper strips that encourage "Back Our Boys." It is an enlightened effort.

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, it has been of vital interest to me—as well as to many others—to try to make an assessment of what the rabblerousing, poorly informed, draft-card burners represent and portray of themselves to the troops in South Vietnam. It is an almost infinitesimal small percentage, less than one-hundredth of 1 percent. Of course, it is interesting though that the noisemaking, publicity-seeking, television-camera-crowding reaction of these extremists and ultrapoorly informed people suggests those who before World War I formed the "I Won't Work" organization, and the "Peace-at-any-pricers" before World War II. We seem always to have these few with us. They are our cross to bear. But they amount to very little as far as the body politic and the informed opinion of our public is concerned. Thank goodness for the USO shows and the Bob Hope entourage at Christmastime which more truly reflects the attitude of the citizens, U.S.A.

I thank the gentleman for what he has done today.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I thank the gentleman from Missouri for his contribution. I feel sure that the gentleman agrees with me that the best thing that might happen in respect to the events in Georgia is further emulation of what is being done in other States. The gentleman is, of course, aware that even though the people who will protest our policies in Vietnam may be a small portion of our people, the national attention they get is much more than that.

I have been told that Ho Chi Minh once said that he did not win the war against France at Dienbienphu; instead, he won when the people of Paris no longer supported that war. I have been told also that he now sees the same sentiment in the United States that he saw in Paris.

I believe it is totally different. I think the people of the United States do support our commitment to Vietnam, but it is important that those of us who do support that commitment be heard. It is tough to be heard when the press quite naturally wishes to hear dissenting opinions and not people who agree. That is why the enthusiasm of these young people is so important. They are enthusiastic. They must be heard. They will be heard. Ho Chi Minh will hear about Affirmation Vietnam. When he does, perhaps he will realize that his policy of continuing the war waiting for the collapse of U.S. support will not work.

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

Mr. CALLAWAY. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I wish to join in congratulating my colleague from Georgia for his remarks today, for his continued leadership in this field, and for the fact that he, for one, has certainly been vocal. He has demonstrated his interest in going to Vietnam and his repeated work in the House. I wish to congratulate also, and join my colleagues in congratulating, these young people in Georgia who have certainly set a fine example for the whole Nation. I think there is very little question that the American citizens stand behind our men in Vietnam.

As the gentleman has indicated, the tiny minority who take this opposite stand have received entirely too much press. I would say that in my own city we, too, have sought to demonstrate our support and make it concrete and real through the adoption of the 1st Infantry Division.

Various groups and clubs within my city of Birmingham have adopted various units of the division. Last Christmas they were flooded with mail, with gifts, and with other remembrances from the people of my city as an indication of our full support of what they are doing there.

I wish to congratulate your young people for an outstanding example of leadership in making concrete the support we all feel for the cause in Vietnam.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I thank the gentleman from Alabama. I commend the people of Birmingham for adopting the 1st Infantry Division, one of the fine units that is fighting in Vietnam today.

In closing I should like to say that these young people, in their enthusiasm, have not made the mistake of going off halfcocked. When I talked to them about it and explained to them how difficult it was to get publicity for those who supported our position as contrasted with those who do not support our position, they told me that they had an international press conference in New York with representatives of the international press, international editions of New York papers, and international magazines. At that time I asked them, "Why did you go to New York to do this?" realizing that Atlanta is the headquarters of this movement. They said, "Why, don't you know that New York is the headquarters for the international press?"

They had already been to people who were knowledgeable, who told them to get maximum international press coverage, they must go to the headquarters of the international press. They are working enthusiastically and hard and in a very meaningful way.

It is a real privilege for me at this time to present this information about enthusiastic Georgia students to the Members of this Congress.

WE CAN WIN IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the things which I say today are based on studies made in the war theater in December. Recommendations were made at that time to the Department of Defense as a result of these observations. They reflect the advice and opinion of senior U.S. military and civilian leaders there.

The past year has seen a rapid escalation of the effort of the United States in the war in Vietnam. This escalation has been marked by additional appropriations for defense, foreign aid, and State Department activities. It has resulted in increased military operations, bombing of a portion of North Vietnam, and increased airstrikes, including B–52 missions, in support of allied military operations in South Vietnam. Similarly, nonmilitary activities, including the programs of AID and USIA have been increased. These escalated programs have served to hold in check the efforts of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese Government for a takeover in South Vietnam. However, they have not succeeded in bringing about a negotiated peace settlement, nor have they strengthened the military posture of South Vietnam to the extent that Government forces, U.S. and allied troops supporting their position, have been able to seize and hold the initiative.

Increased allied effort in this area has been matched by the increased involvement of troops from North Vietnam over the Ho Chi Minh trail. This is not in reality a trail but is a well-developed, thousand-mile road system over which men and equipment flow steadily from North Vietnam, around the demilitarized zone into Laos, and southward in South Vietnam. Despite repeated bombings of military targets in North Vietnam and recently of the Ho Chi Minh trail, infiltration of weapons, supplies, and North Vietnamese regular army troops into South Vietnam is increasing. The monthly rate of these troops is estimated to be approximately 4,500.

These forces are well supplied with modern weapons and equipment of Communist manufacture which come through the port of Haiphong or over the two railroads from China. Other supplies move up the Mekong River and its tributaries or along the coast. The Communist forces are equally well supplied with food, most of which is obtained from the huge South Vietnam rice crop.

The present situation has been brought about by a variety of things, but in part by repeatedly underestimating the future actions of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. To some extent, our response to the requirements for the prosecution of the war have been based on estimates of what we thought the enemy would do rather than on their capabilities. Repeatedly these estimates have proven erroneous.

At the best, the prosecution of the war promises to be a lengthy affair. Under present ground rules, it can continue for many years. However, the war can be won and won speedily, if a determined effort is made which properly utilizes the power and capabilities of American fighting men and American resources, plus whatever help is available from our allies, and which reinforces the determination of the Vietnamese to win their own war.

Obviously, then, there is a necessity for the establishment of an atmosphere favorable to a stable government for freedom-loving people of a nation willing to stand up against Communist oppression. It can be created, but such a task will not be easy. We have given tremendous help in every category to South Vietnam. Nevertheless the efforts of this country to assist the Government of South Vietnam must be increased further.

This simply means that measures must be taken and taken at once to strengthen our position and that of the Government of South Vietnam for the prosecution of the war. This will require a number of actions. The cost will be high, but it is a cost which must be paid if we are to be successful. I will discuss primarily the military side of the picture.

Additional men and materiel must be supplied at once. We have about half enough of each in Vietnam to do the job. The South Vietnamese and their allies are already hard pressed for manpower sufficient to carry the war to the Communists. Many United States and South Vietnamese troops are required to pin down allied holdings and to perform other security duties. Last year's big buildup of forces seems at best to have resulted only in containing the Communists. Open invasion of South Vietnam by North Vietnamese regulars has changed the picture drastically. We cannot attain a healthy atmosphere until sufficient troops are available to search out, fight, and destroy Communist forces. We must be able to retake and hold South Vietnamese territory which is now largely in Communist hands. Bigger and bloodier battles are in store and it is essential that the forces and supplies necessary to win those battles be provided with a minimum of delay.

In other words, steps must be taken to increase our operational troop strength so that we cannot only contain the buildup of the North Vietnamese forces and those of the Vietcong, but be able to seize and hold the initiative. This is essential to victory. We cannot continue to operate at our present level and hope for more than a standoff. Failure to increase our forces and our effort will not only lead to a lack of success in the military field, but will place in jeopardy the lives of American military men now serving in Vietnam. Certainly no effort should be spared to give these troops, who are responding gallantly to their mission, the protection and support which they deserve.

If the present peace offensive fails, we can no longer afford to make a sanctuary out of the northeast industrial area of North Vietnam. This policy must be changed to permit essential military targets in the area to be neutralized by bombing or other effective measures. This means power, POL, airfield, and port facilities, including those at Haiphong which serves as a major source of supply for the war economy of North

Vietnam. Failure to do this can only assist the Government of North Vietnam in its escalation of the conflict and result in the deaths of more Americans. If the Government of Cambodia allows its ports and facilities to be used to supply the enemy, effective quarantine of these ports should be established. The pure and simple fact is that delivery of personnel, equipment, supplies, and the weapons of war being made available in support of the Vietcong operations can best be stopped in North Vietnam or at least before it reaches South Vietnam.

Within South Vietnam itself, a large portion of the huge rice crop produced in this nation has, in recent years, gone to the Vietcong. In a limited way, inroads were made into the quantities of rice which Communists secured in 1965; however, far too much still went into their hands. This must be stopped. To do so will require larger military operation to protect those gathering the rice crops and to seize the rice-bearing areas now in the hands of the Vietcong. For areas where this cannot be done, it is better to destroy the crop than to permit it to fatten Communists to kill Americans.

If food and supplies are denied to the enemy, I believe the war can be won in 1 to 2 years, despite ready Communist access to ample manpower. Failure to take strong steps can result only in the loss of lives of additional American, South Vietnamese, and allied servicemen without resulting in successful military operations or the attainment of the just peace which we seek.

In major part, this is a war of logistics. Logistics and construction play an essential part and a limiting part in our operations in southeast Asia. Augmented U.S. forces—roughly twice as many as are now on duty there—must be sent into southeast Asia before success can be anticipated. We must be prepared to support them with food, weapons, equipment, bases, airfields, and ports. At this moment, it is barely possible to support forces already on duty there. Unless the required ports, airfields, and military camps can be constructed rapidly, our forces, and their supplies must be crowded somehow into existing facilities and effective military operations will necessarily be hampered, confused, and delayed. In other words we need additional troops and additional aircraft immediately. Yet there are limits on the numbers which can be sent to Vietnam simply because we cannot supply their needs. This is a situation which cannot effectively be overcome within months or even years at the present rate and method of procedures. Work has barely started or not started at all on some essential projects. Logistics is the limiting factor in the conduct of the war.

Let me reiterate, the construction effort in Vietnam, particularly the provision for port facilities and operational bases is vital to military operations. However, to this date there has been a marked lack of central authority and coordination in the construction efforts. Steps have been taken, in some instances effectively, to bring about a coordination between the construction and operational programs. But at best, it has been piecemeal. The proposal to establish a general officer position on the staff of the military advisory command to effectuate this coordination should be promptly implemented. This officer should report directly to the commanding general, and be responsible for the coordination of the construction effort and making it responsive to operational requirements.

An essential portion of the construction problem is the lack of a sufficiently skilled labor force in South Vietnam to meet the military construction effort which is required. Present contractor effort is requiring all of the available local labor force plus generating a requirement for the use of foreign labor. The latter proposal is not meeting with enthusiastic response from the South Vietnamese Government and will probably never be a fruitful source of labor for our construction effort. Still less desirable would be the importation of high-priced workmen from the United States because of price problems which their presence would generate. The construction battalions of the Navy and the Army are doing heroic work in their activities there. If the escalated construction program is to be successfully implemented, there is a need for more troop construction battalions from both the Navy and the Army. The requirement for these troops will be accentuated as additional facilities become operational and it is necessary to maintain them with troop labor. In order to meet the overall requirement for the construction and maintenance of facilities, steps should be taken as promptly as possible to drastically increase the troop construction units in South Vietnam including the activation of Air Force battalions to bolster the troop effort in this area.

The Reserve Forces of the Army and of the Navy also contain a large number of troop construction units. These are manned by skilled personnel who in most cases have been training for years to meet emergency situations. Certainly such a situation exists in southeast Asia today. There is a backlog of construction work in Vietnam today which could well be performed by troop labor. This requirement will be magnified by construction which will be necessary in support of the items in the January supplemental appropriation request. There will be questions on whether or not the transfer of all Navy Seabee construction battalions and Army Engineers construction battalions now deployed in other theaters of operation should be undertaken. Considerations must be given to whether we would seriously impair our military efficiency in the areas in which these troops are now operating. Regardless of this, there are available selected Reserve units capable of contributing to the construction effort in southeast Asia, either by their own presence there or by replacing Regular units who could then be transferred to this area without impairing our military requirements. Failure to utilize the services of all available units—Regular or Reserve—is handicapping and holding back the war effort at a time of great urgency.

Fourteen are now on duty in the theater. Their number can be increased fivefold by utilizing Regular and Reserve forces. They can make a tremendous contribution. It is inexcusable not to utilize their service. Whether to use them is one of the most important unresolved questions. We are fighting only one war and that is the place they are really needed.

Aside from troop labor considerations, your subcommittee finds that construction programs are based on the expectations that the contractor's labor supply can be increased threefold to fourfold. Contractor personnel at the time of the subcommittee's visit was 22,000. It is anticipated this number will have to be increased to 60,000 or possibly even 80,000. Completion of essential projects—ports, airfields, troop cantonments, and so forth—within the prescribed time is predicated upon securing additional contractor personnel. Witnesses in the theater stated that the supply of skilled labor is now virtually exhausted. I am convinced that very material contributions can be made through a more realistic vocational training program, but this will take time. It is planned to obtain approximately 10,000 third country nationals to alleviate the labor shortage. This still is a far cry from the 60,000 to 80,000 required. When it is taken into consideration that this number is needed to complete projects, programed for the troop structure already authorized, and that the percentage of completion on these projects is now quite small, the enormity of the task ahead to provide facilities and accommodations for a troop level of 400,000 can be seen. We can provide the uniformed personnel much faster than we can provide facilities for their use.

The tremendous distances which must be overcome in providing more equipment and supplies for the Vietnamese war are seldom comprehended in the United States. South Vietnam is half way around the world from Washington. The great stretches of the Pacific mean that the bulk of logistic support must move by sea transportation. It is a long, long trip from the U.S. west coast to the docks of South Vietnam. Most of the ships which make the 20- to 25-day trip must wait for a period longer than their travel time across the ocean before space for unloading is available at dockside. In late November 120 ships were in Vietnamese waters and the waiting time before discharging cargoes was 28 to 30 days each. There the crews receive the higher pay authorized for those in danger areas and this further multiplies the cost.

The lack of port facilities in Vietnam is both geographical and historical. Saigon is the only major effective deepwater port. Additional deepwater facilities of a limited nature have been made available at Da Nang. These are being improved and expanded under existing construction programs. A completely new logistics base including deepwater facilities is now under construction at Cam Ranh Bay. Every effort must be made to expedite the construction of these facilities and additional facilities in the Saigon area or where needed.

Proper advance planning must be accomplished to see that port battalions and other personnel required for the operation of facilities of this type will be available as soon as any of them can be effectively utilized. In the meantime and probably for an indefinite period, greater reliance must be placed on over-the-beach landing and shallow port operations which would lessen the strain on existing port facilities and permit an expedited flow of supplies more quickly than will be available through the completion of ports now under construction. Even with the completion of planned port facilities, any escalation in the military effort will require more effective logistics operations.

It is fallacious reasoning to think that the completion of deepwater port facilities will meet all logistics requirements for port facilities. The escalation in numbers of troops and military operations which must take place if we are to be successful in attaining our objectives in South Vietnam will place increasing workloads on all port facilities.

Shallow water ports do exist in South Vietnam and are available for shallow draft vessels. This will mean moving additional landing craft type vessels into the area as well as others of the type capable of utilizing such port facilities. It is essential that greater use be made of LST type vessels, and that greater reliance be placed on seagoing tugs and barges and on lighterage equipment. Steps should be taken to activate all required additional vessels of this type in the reserve fleet, including those available to the Military Sea Transport Service. Consideration should be given to transferring those vessels now serving in other parts of the world to the southeast Asia area wherever practicable in keeping with other military requirements and the obtaining of this equipment from stocks of other nations.

Steps should be taken at once to implement realistic plans for utilization of the type of equipment described above.

Many of the ships servicing the forces in Vietnam are chartered from private shipping firms. This is a necessary but costly requirement. The cost is compounded by the problem of the long wait to discharge their cargo. Certainly, consideration should be given to placing high priority cargo in these ships and to unloading them quickly so that costly delays are not incurred.

One basic requirement in the logistics-construction field is for additional funds to be made available for the construction of adequate facilities and for the logistical support essential to our troops in Vietnam.

Consideration should be given to making a large portion of these funds available directly to the Military Advisory Command in Vietnam—MACV—rather than to the individual military services. This is particularly true with reference to the construction portion of the logistics effort. Construction should be accomplished wherever possible without fiscal and programing restrictions and with complete flexibility. This has not been the case in the past but must be done now if our troops in this area are to be properly supported.

It is very difficult for the logistics effort to respond to the changing operation's program under present limitations and regulations. The military command in Vietnam should be provided with greater flexibility in the use of funds. Wartime conditions which are existent in Vietnam today, simply do not permit a continuation of peacetime operating conditions within the Office of the Secretary of Defense. To allow existing conditions in this area to continue will increase the number of costly delays which have taken place to the detriment of the overall military operations.

In addition to providing increased funds for specific construction line items, a reserve of funds should be established and made available to the command in Vietnam for changes in scope of projects and increased cost of construction as requirements change.

Additional preprograming functions are necessary in the construction program in order to formulate the coordinated construction-logistics effort which is necessary to support the operational requirements.

The lack of total funding now precludes adequate advance procurement of materials and restricts contractor mobilization. Both are essential if the construction program is to be responsive to operational requirements. These actions require long lead times of a minimum of 4 months. Advance funds should be made available for the immediate requirement. They should continue to be made available in the future because this requirement is a continuing one and will increase as the construction program escalates.

However, money is not everything. Money already is available which cannot be expended. There is still too much paperwork on programing, on requisitions for construction material, and on other needed supplies. Requisitions sometimes take weeks or even months for approval. The lack of preprograming to assess actual requirements for construction and the ability to meet these requirements is stressed. This is partially attributable to peacetime procedures which necessitate too much paperwork.

In another area too much equipment, especially construction equipment has been deadlined throughout the area for lack of spare parts. The situation is improving and will continue to improve as additional port facilities are made available. There is now a shortage of spares, worldwide, and this must be faced up to. There is a need, however, for greater emphasis, not only on making additional spare parts available, but also in changing the length of the time for replacement of equipment to one which is more in keeping with the conditions in Vietnam. For example, the construction contractor plans for the amortization of his equipment on the basis of 18 months usage. If this is realistic, and apparently it is from experiences to date, equipment of the troop construction units should also be programed on this basis rather than the 2- to 3-year cycles now anticipated.

I am disturbed by the fact that equipment and material requirements for the war in Asia do not command top priority in the American marketplace. Military witnesses state that other governmental programs, such as NASA, Polaris, and the missile program, all have a priority higher than the war effort. The moon will wait. The other programs are well along toward completion. It appears unrealistic not to give the highest priority to a program which is taking the lives of American youths.

The supply situation is further aggravated by the fact that most of the roads and railroads in Vietnam can be utilized only to a limited extent if at all by United States and South Vietnam forces. The Communists control most of the countryside and can cut many important highways almost at will. Only limited stretches of the country's one railroad can be used. That places the burden largely on air transportation and creates inordinate demands on our ability to provide and maintain a sufficient number of aircraft to supply U.S. forces who are located away from port areas. Thus far, the job has been done with remarkable ability. I found no instances where key operations have been prevented for lack of essential supplies. Nevertheless, the problem is a critical one and the situation will be greatly improved if sufficient forces can be made available to open and maintain essential highways and railroads.

Since it is necessary to supply many of our bases in South Vietnam by airlift, we must accept the fact that escalation of our efforts in this area will increase the requirements for airlift support of our troops. Consideration will have to be given to the utilization of C–123 and C–130 aircraft in much greater numbers than those now available in southeast Asia until highway and road transportation can be opened. This is a part of the story of the need for sufficient U.S. and allied assistance to enable the A.R.V.N. to seize and hold the initiative in land warfare.

The B–52 bombing activities in southeast Asia are required in support of our ground operations. As our military planners become more aware of their potentialities and more experienced in their use in a war of this type, their effectiveness will be even greater than at present. The aircraft presently used are based at Anderson Air Force Base, Guam. The flight to southeast Asia is long and requires refueling for a round trip mission. Steps should be taken to secure an additional site for these aircraft closer to the target area so that the present costly refueling and long and wearing flights on personnel and aircraft can be avoided. There are several locations available if proper authority can be obtained from other nations. In the case of utilization of one of these sites—Okinawa—no such additional authority would be required. But it would be necessary to move some tanker-type aircraft to other locations.

Naval aviation is playing an effective role in the conduct of the war. Due to the limitation on the number of carriers presently available to the 7th Fleet, it is

not possible to provide sufficient naval aviation support on station at all times to meet the operational needs. The escalation of our military operations and the presence of additional troops will cause an added burden on the units providing air support. The construction of land facilities for Air Force and Marine aircraft even at an accelerated rate will still probably lag behind the operational requirements. Consideration should, therefore, be given to the assignment of additional carriers to the 7th Fleet so that this required air support can be made available to our operational troops.

The A–6A is a Navy aircraft newly assigned to the 7th Fleet. It is the only aircraft in any of our forces with a night reconnaissance and bombing capability. Although it may have minor deficiencies, this single factor dictates that its use and number in Vietnam be expanded. Consideration should also be given to adapting the night reconnaissance equipment of this aircraft to existing aircraft available to the Navy, Marine, and Air Force. Research and development should be implemented at once which would lead to the provision of adequate night reconnaissance and bombing capability for aircraft employed or to be employed in this area.

Naval gunfire has played a role in supporting the operations in Vietnam. The nature of the terrain and long shoreline of this country makes naval gunfire often effective when used in support of military operations. Consideration should be given to strengthening the 7th Fleet, so that additional naval gunfire might be made available. This might require the activation of ships from the reserve fleet, including some which are equipped with heavier guns than those presently available.

I should comment on the intelligence picture. It is generally agreed that the intelligence system in Vietnam requires more personnel who have better training for the job to be done. There is a definite need for better coordination and more skillful interpretation of information to permit a quicker response at policy levels.

For instance, there frequently is a lack of followthrough on bombing missions to assess results and to permit fullest advantage to be taken of enemy losses. Informed witnesses feel that intelligence-gathering is neither broad enough nor detailed enough and that stronger efforts are needed, both in military and in civilian application. As an illustration, our forces have no accurate information on Vietcong supply forces. Civilians and coolies seen on the streets may, in fact, be Vietcong pipeline forces. Undoubtedly, some U.S.-employed Vietnamese are also working for the Vietcong. Often, detailed information at the village level regarding Communist sympathizers and local Communist organizations is nonexistent.

Apparently there is a strong Communist underground which on occasion is able to report important events to Hanoi, where they are broadcast before they are known generally to United States and allied government forces. These are parts of the intelligence problem to be coped with.

Now to turn to the field of psychological warfare, I am convinced there is a definite need for improved program direction which can best be provided through having a director who is responsible solely for this program. Good work is being done in this area, but its potential is far from being realized. It should be kept in mind that the Vietcong is highly vulnerable to psychological warfare operations. There is much capital to be made of the fact that refugees flee only to the South Vietnamese. The Vietcong tax and conscript, and seize the rice crop, and offer nothing in return. The Saigon government offers a much greater hope to the villagers for the future. These things should be emphasized over and over again. They are only token examples among many.

Recreation facilities for American personnel, particularly for enlisted men, remains one of the serious problems throughout southeast Asia. Granted that there is not much time for recreation, the fact remains there are leave periods when our personnel can get away from their exacting duties for short periods. For these periods, there is in most areas a dearth of wholesome recreational facilities. The alternative is the nearest local counterpart of honky tonks and other places of questionable value. Additional emphasis on adequate recreational activities and facilities remains very important.

There is a need to train additional skilled labor throughout South Vietnam. This is not only true from the standpoint of our present military construction and logistics requirement, but from the standpoint of the future economy of the country. This should involve vocational training on a much larger scale than is taking place now or is contemplated through present programs. A realistic vocational training program would remove much of the necessity to seek additional skilled labor from foreign nations to meet anticipated needs in the construction field.

In addition steps should be taken to establish vocational and agricultural type training for skills of the type needed in the villages in order that more people can become self-supporting.

The increasing activities of the South Vietnamese and allied military operations have led to thousands of refugees leaving their homes to escape Vietcong oppression or because of the displacements which are a problem of any war. It is a problem which is helped in South Vietnam by the nature of the people who have a longstanding tradition of caring for their own and assisting those who are homeless. Yet it is a problem which cannot be resolved through reliance upon these means alone. The numbers are far too great even now. Escalation of military operations will increase these numbers and with it the problem. These refugees are basically anti-Communist because they have felt the heel of Communist oppression. As such, they can be effectively utilized to tell their story to others who may be wavering in their support of the Government or who do not know what oppression of this type can mean. These people cannot be used to get their story across nor are they likely to remain anti-Communist if they are caused to suffer unnecessary hardships and privations in their new homes. As they are a source for good today, they can become, as history has proven in other areas, a source of instability if their basic needs are not met.

It is obvious that a coordinated long-range program to meet the refugee problem is not available today. There seems to be too much of an attitude that the problem can be overcome by passing out limited material aid and allowing the local populaces to attempt to assimilate the refugees. This is impractical. It cannot be accomplished. The South Vietnamese will assimilate every refugee humanly possible. It is their nature, but the numbers are far too great. There is immediate need for a large program for the resettlement of these refugees in areas where they can support themselves in new homes or at least until the time when they can return safely to their home villages. A little has been done but such areas must be established in a greater quantity than has been done to date. This resettlement should be coupled with increased vocational training, with primary emphasis on agriculture and in locally needed skills. Failure to accomplish this will add to the instability of the Government, but if accomplished it will allow these proud and industrious people to contribute, not only to their own support, but to that of the countryside about them.

Any report on the war in Vietnam should include an especial commendation for medical and hospital units whose responsibility it is to heal the wounded and sick and to contribute to the maintenance of health of U.S. personnel. Although faced with serious problems—some of them almost insurmountable due to large numbers of sick and wounded for whom no theater hospital facilities had not been made available—they improvised and met every requirement in admirable fashion. Unanticipated problems with new and virulent strain of malaria, which frequently exceeded battle casualties in number, added to the difficulties. However, your subcommittee found no instances of inability to meet the pressing demands placed upon medical personnel nor cases of shortage of essential medical supplies. In part the problems were met by air evacuating sick and wounded to the Philippines and thence to convalescent hospitals in other areas. There are cases where battle wounded were receiving treatment at Clark Field, Philippines, within 6 hours from the time the injury was received. This policy of air evacuating sick and wounded is not the most desirable procedure, but it served to insure prompt and adequate treatment. Additional hospital facilities are under construction which should soon permit in-theater treatment for all emergency and short-term cases.

We were briefed many times during the course of my work in southeast Asia. It is the belief of this committee that briefing procedures can be modified materially to the benefit of staff personnel without taking away from the value of the briefings. It was noted that in most

instances, briefing teams comprised essentially all of the top staff members of the respective groups. Although 20, 25, or even more staffers might be present, the briefing was conducted essentially by 2 or 3 individuals. Most of the others took no part. Although appreciative of the efforts of the U.S. units to provide a detailed picture it is respectfully suggested that three or four well-informed staff members could do the job, freeing others for pressing work which always awaits them. It is suggested also that film clips showing areas and actions could well be substituted for much of the detailed information on organization and mission. In other words, a great deal of time for the briefing teams can be saved without taking away from the effectiveness of the briefings.

It would have been impossible for me and other Members of Congress to accomplish our mission in Vietnam without the outstanding cooperation and helpfulness extended by both the military and civilian personnel in the areas visited. Every effort was made to provide all possible assistance. The work of the staff of the Committee on Appropriations and of the legislative liaison officers involved in the planning and execution of the trip was outstanding. The wholehearted support of all those who participated in this endeavor is deeply appreciated.

No report would be complete without a high tribute to the morale and valor of America's fighting men in southeast Asia. Their contributions have been and are magnificent. Their will to win, their morale and their esprit de corps is of the highest. Their valor and ability in battle, their friendly relations with the local populace and their untiring efforts to assist these people in the problems which they face in their everyday lives are in the highest tradition of the American military service. They know why they are fighting in Vietnam. They are satisfied that their missions and objectives are proper ones and they are dedicated to the achievement of those objectives with every means at their disposal, including their lives. No lesser contribution is being made by the many civilians in our military and many of our nonmilitary programs who are living and working side by side with many of our military personnel. Even a brief association with these people and a short glimpse into their lives in Vietnam makes one proud to be an American. In every area, they have the will to win. They deserve and they need the full and unlimited support of the American people and of their Government.

SUMMARY

This will be no easy war. Many unresolved problems confront us. The ground rules under which U.S. forces fight will have to be changed. It is necessary that the North Vietnamese port, power and industrial complex which supply Communist forces be neutralized or the war will go on indefinitely. Continuation of the sanctuary now provided those facilities in North Vietnam will mean continued escalation of conflict and more American deaths. Cambodian ports should be quarantined if that country insists on supplying the enemy. The bulk of South Vietnam's huge rice crop now goes to the Communists. This, too, will have to be stopped. If food and supplies are denied to the enemy, I believe the war can be won in 2 years despite ready Communist access to ample manpower.

Additional U.S. forces, supplies, bases, and port facilities must be provided at once. We appear to have underestimated Vietcong and North Vietnamese capabilities in number and supplies. The buildup of opposing forces has not permitted us to seize and hold the initiative. This is essential to victory. The lives of American servicemen are at stake in this operation and no effort should be spared to give them the protection and support they deserve.

Logistics and construction play an essential part in successful U.S. operations in southeast Asia. Unless ports, airfields and military camps can be constructed more rapidly, our forces and supplies must be crowded onto existing facilities and effective operations are delayed. The available labor force of South Vietnam is being utilized effectively but the number of skilled manpower is limited. Greater dependence should be placed in Seabees and Army engineer construction battalions through the transfer of additional units and call-up of reserves. Air Force aviation maintenance battalions should be activated to bolster construction forces in the combat area. Much broader vocational training programs should be instituted for South Vietnam and Thailand personnel without delay. There is a need for additional skilled labor throughout the area which can be provided from local sources. This is true not only from the standpoint of the future economy of the nations involved but also because of the requirement for skilled workers in military construction and logistics problems.

We recommend that steps be taken to develop another B–52 site closer to southeast Asia. Guam, the present site, is far removed from the target area and the long flights represent unnecessary wear and tear on men and equipment and require costly refueling operations. A number of such alternate sites are available.

More effective use can be made of naval aviation if additional carriers are provided. This will permit naval aircraft to be on station for a greater length of time than is presently possible. Strengthening of the surface craft in the 7th Fleet will also permit heavier gunfire to be made available to our land forces in operation near the coast.

Greater reliance on over-the-beach landing operations would lessen the strain on existing port facilities and permit an expedited flow of supplies more quickly than will be available through the completion of ports now under construction. This will mean making greater use of LST's and similar landing craft wherever available and placing greater reliance on seagoing tugs and barges. Through the use of such equipment, many ships which now wait for days in the rivers and harbors of Vietnam to discharge cargo can be offloaded onto equipment which utilizes shallow ports or beach landing operations.

There is a need in the logistics construction field for additional money to be made available directly to the military command in Vietnam under regulations which provide greater flexibility. Wartime conditions simply do not permit peacetime operating practices to be followed without costly delays. Some funds already provided through supplemental appropriations are not yet available. In other construction cases appropriation processes need to be speeded up in the field. A reserve of funds should be made available for changes in scope and cost of construction as requirements change in the theater. Work has barely started or not started at all on too many essential projects in the theater.

Additional preprograming is needed and it is probable that this can be expedited if additional planning personnel are made available. However, it is apparent that high enough priorities are not being given construction requirements in the war theater. Top priority is not being given to some of the equipment and material needs in Vietnam.

Too much equipment has been deadlined throughout the area for lack of spare parts. The situation is improving but there is a need for greater emphasis on making spare parts available. Much equipment is in short supply and when equipment cannot be used for lack of spare parts, the loss is doubly costly.

In nonmilitary activities there is a requirement for more positive direction and emphasis, especially in our efforts in psychological warfare. In this connection, tribute is paid to American teams, including AID, Peace Corps, and Armed Forces medical teams, who through direct contact with villagers have presented a new and needed picture of the U.S. intentions and helpfulness to the Vietnamese.

The refugee program in South Vietnam also remains a problem. There is a need for a better coordinated refugee program with stress being placed on the resettlement of refugees in areas where they can contribute, primarily through agriculture, toward their own support and that of the countryside.

We wish to pay highest tribute to the morale and valor of America's fighting men in southeast Asia. Their contributions are magnificent. They have the will to win and they deserve the full and unlimited support of the American people.

THE TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE IN CUBA: A THREAT TO WORLD FREEDOM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, between January 3 and 15, some eleven hundred miles from Washington, but only 90 miles from Key West, Fla., a most significant event took place in the capital of Cuba.

Last July 26 in my speech on Cuba, I warned that a tricontinental meeting of

Communist representatives would be held this January in Cuba. That meeting did in fact occur and its deliberations should be of monumental concern to all who value freedom.

Last Saturday, after 13 days of deliberation, this conference of the Asian, African, and Latin American Communists came to a close in Havana. Sponsored by the Communist powers, organized by known Communists, and attended by pro-Communist delegates and observers from 82 countries, including official delegations from the Soviet Union and Communist China, the tricontinental conference represents a direct and major threat to the stability of Latin America and, consequently, a danger to the whole of the Western Hemisphere.

As a cofounder of the Cuban Freedom Committee which operates Radio Free Cuba, I have followed the progress of this meeting with great concern.

Our staff, which maintains close contact with activities in Cuba, has compiled a comprehensive record of the conspiratorial meeting and I should like today to present briefly some of the highlights of this meeting which most directly affect us as free Americans.

I believe that the conclusions and objectives agreed upon at this meeting clearly show that this conference represents the beginning of the most important Communist effort to penetrate Latin America since the Castro takeover in Cuba in January 1959.

That the Castro regime is the willing tool and promoter of international communism's desire to intensify subversion and terrorism throughout the continent and the world becomes more evident daily.

Mr. Speaker, I believe there is a direct correlation between our struggle in Vietnam and the Communist meeting in Havana last week.

If the United States were ever to be driven out of Asia, such a defeat would give the green light for Communist subversion all over the world.

Last week's meeting of Communist leaders in Havana clearly spelled out the blueprint for waging subversion and terror as the new mode of coordinated Communist aggression.

In the last days of the tricontinental conference it was decided that the executive secretariat and liberation committee—with four representatives from Latin America, four from Africa, and four from Asia on each committee—should have their headquarters in Havana, Cuba.

The avowed purpose of the liberation committee is to channel aid and materials for insurrection throughout Latin America. This is the first time that Moscow and Havana have formally set up an office for international communism in Havana.

Because of the Havana conference's importance, the American people should know, and this Chamber should thoroughly investigate, the significance of the pronouncements made during its sessions, the role of Communist Cuba as host nation, and the final results and future consequences of the gathering.

Too often preoccupied with events in Vietnam, we unfortunately fail to attach proper importance to portentous events in our own backyard.

The aims of this conference greatly affect our security, the safeguard of which is our prime duty. President Monroe in 1823 outlined that responsibility when he declared that the United States would consider any attempt of an extra hemispheric power to extend its system to any portion of this hemisphere, dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.

The celebration of the tricontinental conference in Havana was agreed upon in Cairo last May, when the so-called African-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, decided to expand its activities and include Latin America in its ranks.

Although Communist Cuba is going through a serious economic and financial crisis, lavish preparations were carried out in Havana for the conference, and the best facilities were offered to about 600 delegates and observers, all declared guests of the Castro regime. The Havana Hilton Hotel—now called the Havana Libre—was the site of the meetings and was declared off limits for the public.

According to the official Cuban announcement, the principal points on the conference's agenda were as follows:

1. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

2. Support for Vietnam against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the liberation of South Vietnam and the reunification of the whole country.

3. Struggle for complete national liberation of the three continents; against imperialist aggression and foreign intervention of independent states and against the imperialist policy of isolating peoples that are fighting for national liberation.

4. Intensification of every form of struggle, including armed struggle, by the peoples of the three continents.

5. Support for the Cuban people's struggle against U.S. imperialism; support for the patriotic struggle of the peoples of Latin America against U.S. imperialism and its tools, such as the OAS.

6. Liquidation of foreign military bases on the three continents and action against the policy of military pacts.

7. Ways and means of helping liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in general and armed struggle for independence in particular.

In an article on the tricontinental congress, the official Cuban newspaper Granma, in its issue of January 6 said:

> The strategy of the revolutionary movements in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism and, especially against Yankee imperialism—principal enemy of peoples—calls for closer military ties and solidarity between the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the working class, the progressive forces of the capitalistic countries of Europe and the United States, and the Socialist camp.

The same article says it is obvious that military solidarity of the peoples of the three continents is an urgent necessity.

Fidel Castro said on January 2 that any revolutionary movement in any part of the world "would receive concrete and unconditional help from Cuba."

The belligerent tone of the tricontinental congress was set by Cuban President Dorticos in his inaugural speech on January 4, when he asked for the "overthrow of the United States."

He proclaimed that "the right as well as the duty of the people was to answer armed violence of imperialism with armed revolutionary violence."

The Asian delegates in particular called for support of South Vietnam as well as for the oppressed peoples of Japan.

The Russian delegate Rashidov declared Soviet support of the Dominican Republic "in its battle against the North American invaders."

Rashidov praised highly "the armed struggle" of the patriots from Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, against the lackeys of imperialism"—referring to their governments.

Continuing to speak on the subject of Latin America, the Soviet delegate also expressed "the solidarity of his government with the peoples of the British, French, and Dutch Guianas, as well as the peoples of the Antilles, in general, and—of special note—to the peoples of Puerto Rico. Mind you, the Soviets now publicly proclaim their grand design to ultimately take over our territory in the Caribbean—Puerto Rico.

Particular importance was placed on the statements of the Latin American delegates: Pedro Medina Silva, chief of the Venezuelan delegation to the conference and supreme chief of the armed forces of the National Liberation Force of Venezuela said, on January 6:

> The Tri-Continental Congress must make a base for the coordination of our movements in order to fight more effectively U.S. imperialism. We intend to see to it that no American ship will feel safe in any Latin American port, nor will the vast commercial enterprises of the North Americans, which cover our continent, feel safe.

Another militant Latin American delegate, Guido Gil, from Santo Domingo, said:

> Armed struggle is the only solution to the Dominican Republic's problems.

Peru's delegate paid warm tribute to Communist Cuba's influence on the armed struggle in that country.

Major Turcio Lima, head of the so-called Armed Liberation Forces of Guatemala also endorsed revolution as the only solution.

On January 7, Aluisio Palao, Brazilian extremist, said that the Brazilian Communists were "preparing the people to overthrow the present government in the armed struggle."

This was the tone and substance of the statements of all the delegates from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The tricontinental conference ended on January 15 with a 2½-hour vitriolic speech by Fidel Castro, which I recommend to all of you for a clearcut understanding of the grave situation which faces the United States as long as there is a Communist Cuba in this hemisphere.

Castro described all Latin American representatives as "men from national movements which are presently fighting, or will begin to fight for liberation."

Castro clearly indicated in his speech that he considers all hemispheric na-

tions, including Canada and Mexico, ripe for so-called national wars of liberation.

The Cuban dictator added:

> We Cubans are the only people truly liberated from Yankee domination.

His bellicose attitude was further evidenced in his pledge, not only to send civilian volunteers but also members of the regular Cuban armed forces to aid national liberation movements around the globe, especially in Latin America.

Referring to guerrilla activities in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, and Guatemala, he added:

> There should be no single movement fighting alone.

Castro urged that a simultaneous struggle be initiated at once, and mentioned the possibility of insurrections in Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Argentina, and other nations.

Castro criticized the anti-Communist activities in Indonesia. He paid special attention to insurrection in Portuguese territories in Africa; to the guerrilla activities against the Leopoldville government and he strongly backed terrorist activities against the State of Israel.

The conference closed by voting, among other things, to demand the withdrawal of North American troops from the three continents and the dismantling of U.S. bases, especially in Guantanamo.

In essence, the conference was a declaration of increased aggression and subversion against the United States and a pledge of concerted help in this effort from all Communist and pro-Communist movements.

The secretariat of the conference is to maintain headquarters in Havana, as stated earlier. Also a liberation committee has been set up in Havana to facilitate the channeling of men and materials to Latin America.

The New York Times in an article on January 19 discloses, on page 5, that "Cuba is to become a center of anti-U.S. activities in the Western Hemisphere."

The Cuban radio announced today that 27 delegations, in Cuba, for the tricontinental conference that ended in Havana last Saturday, had created the Latin American solidarity organization, with headquarters in Havana, which will unite, coordinate and impel the struggle against North American imperialism. The meeting at which the organization was created was presided over by Pedro Medina Silva, chief of the pro-Communist Venezuelan guerrillas. In addition to 20 Latin American delegations, representatives of leftist groups from Guadaloupe, British Guiana, Jamaica, Martinque, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and Tobago were present.

This decision was entirely to be expected because Cuba, for some time, has been the training center for Latin American saboteurs. Since the tricontinental congress repeatedly recommends increased efforts in preparing cadres for guerrillas and subversive activities, Communist dominated Cuba can now be expected to enlarge its training facilities. As you know Cuba has for some time maintained schools for the training of saboteurs and agents, the most important of which is the Sierra Maestra school, for propaganda and guerrilla specialists and, the "Caribe" guerrilla school, outside of Havana.

Evidence that Cuba is a base for Communist activities to infiltrate and, by violence and subversion, to overthrow national governments throughout the Western Hemisphere is not new. Since Premier Fidel Castro in 1959 established his Communist regime, Cuba has carried on, supported and directed in various ways a policy of intervention against independent countries of Latin America, according to an investigating committee report of the OAS made public on February 24, 1964. The report charged that Cuba had supplied military equipment to "support those movements that seek to subvert national institutions through force in order to install Communist regimes." It also revealed that Cuba's Communist Party and government has conducted extensive training programs in sabotage and guerrilla warfare.

OAS exposure of Cuba's aggressive intentions and methods is part of a long chain of evidence against the Castro regime. Soon after he had installed himself in power, Fidel Castro initiated the first phase of his plan to subvert Latin America by carrying out direct aggression, financing and organizing expeditions to overthrow the Governments of Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Guatemala. In 1960, Castro embarked on a new, more subtle phase of penetration. Starting with the first Latin American Youth Congress in Havana in July 1960, Cuba began to attract students from other Latin countries, offering what she called scholarships, but which actually were courses of indoctrination and training in sabotage, guerrilla tactics and terrorism. Also, part of this plan was a vast propaganda campaign directed at Latin America, and the world through its powerful radio facilities.

These broadcasts include one in English to the United States. This is a virulent program called Radio Free Dixie, which is especially designed to arouse hatred and incite the Negro in the South.

Many of our Latin American neighbors are cognizant that this Havana conference represents a distinct and open threat to the entire continent. Principal newspapers of Latin America recognize that the conference has as its principal objective, the intensification of Communist subversion in the hemisphere. To cite only a few, La Prensa of Buenos Aires, said recently that the "dominant aim of the conference is the conquest of the Latin American peoples." In Bogotá, Colombia, El Tiempo said that the "plan for attacking imperialism," worked out in Havana, is in fact a "plan of Communist expansionism." The daily La Prensa Libra of Costa Rica said that Castro plans to "bleed the continent to deliver it to his bosses in the Kremlin." "What took place in Havana was not a conference but a conspiratory reunion, the danger of which is so clear, that only a blind person fails to see it," declared editorially the daily El Globo of Rio de Janeiro. The daily added that "once more the sinister shadow of subversion begins to cover the continent." In Caracas, Venezuela, the daily La Esfera called on Latin Americans to "be prepared as soon as possible for emergency and not to remain with our hands crossed."

This, Mr. Speaker, should be our attitude also. Because of the Havana Conference, the peoples and governments of the Americas now face the serious danger of a coordinated and intensified subversion campaign, handled by the international Communist apparatus.

This new thrust of terror, guerrilla activities, and violence creates conditions which make it increasingly difficult for public and private enterprises to achieve economic and social progress, essential to the success of our long-range economic and social goals envisioned by the Alliance for Progress.

Cuba is, of course, a small country, which cannot directly affect U.S. security. However, the Communist government there maintains the largest army in Latin America and is supported by the most cruel and tyrannical police state ever devised. The Castro regime is dedicated to the proposition of creating revolutions, effecting overthrows in Latin America, and, ultimately, in the United States. We must not forget that Castro's admitted motive is his pathological hatred of the United States and its powerful position in the world today. Nor must we forget that only 3 years ago he was a willing participant with the Soviet Union in the Cuban missile crisis.

I hope, gentlemen, that you will agree with me that this Conference is eminently destructive in its publicly announced purpose.

I urge that this body seek ways and means to help rid our hemisphere of the rapidly expanding Communist advance which seeks to debilitate and make impotent our efforts to maintain a free society based on democratic principles for all peoples.

I also urge that the delegates to the OAS take all steps within their power to meet the threat of the Tricontinental Congress held last week in Havana, Cuba.

At this moment I would like to quote a few paragraphs of a speech delivered on April 20, 1961, by President John F. Kennedy, which I believe to be even more meaningful today than they were 5 years ago:

> It is clear that this Nation, in concert with all the free nations of this hemisphere, must take an even closer and more realistic look at the menace of external Communist intervention and domination in Cuba. The American people are not complacent about Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than 90 miles from our shores. But a nation of Cuba's size is less a threat to our survival than it is a base for subverting the survival of other free nations throughout the hemisphere. It is not primarily our interest or our security but theirs which is now, today, in the greater peril. It is for their sake as well as our own that we must show our will.
>
> The evidence is clear—and the hour is late. We and our Latin friends will have to face the fact that we cannot postpone any longer the real issue of the survival of freedom in this hemisphere itself. On that issue, unlike perhaps some others, there can be no middle ground. Together we must build a hemisphere where freedom can flourish and where any free nation under outside

attack of any kind can be assured that all of our resources stand ready to respond to any request for assistance.

Mr. Kennedy's words are as important today as they were 5 years ago. I hope the appropriate committees of Congress will immediately undertake a full analysis of this latest menace in our hemisphere and—in consultation with the President—outline an effective program to deal with the Communist menace.

WORK AS A PROCESS OF THERAPY IN A SCHOOL FOR EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED ADOLESCENT GIRLS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FASCELL). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the extremely dedicated and experienced principal of Public School No. 621 in New York City, Dr. Esther P. Rothman, has sent at my request her cogent and authoritative appraisal of some elements involved in the process of educating emotionally disturbed children.

Dr. Rothman conducted a study on work as a therapeutic method at the Livingston School for Girls. Her report was made available to me and I commend its careful reading to all my colleagues in the House and Senate.

This is a field where we need increased research and facilities. It is a vocation requiring the very best of human instinct, energy, intelligence and compassion.

Dr. Rothman's thesis is forward-looking and promising. I hope it will serve to awaken further understanding:

WORK AS A PROCESS OF THERAPY IN A SCHOOL FOR EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED ADOLESCENT GIRLS

(By Esther P. Rothman, Ph. D.)

The Livingston School for Girls is New York City's only day school for emotionally disturbed adolescent girls. It is part of the educational system of the city, servicing those girls whose behavior has been so disruptive that they cannot attend the regular schools of the city. The school consists of 120 girls ranging in age from 13 through 19. A few girls are older, as any student in New York City has the legal right to attend school until the age of 21 if both the student and the school agree. Girls are referred to the school from several sources; hospitals and treatment centers, State training schools, or the regular schools from which they generally have been suspended. While the courts have no jurisdiction over the school, it is not uncommon for a judge or a probation officer to make referrals to the school. Girls travel from all parts of the city to attend the school which is located in the borough of Manhattan.

The guidance counselor is the liaison between the school and all referring agencies. She collects all pertinent data and meets individually with each girl and her parent. This initial interview is the girl's first therapeutic contact with the school. Most of the girls are frightened, expecting to find a prisonlike atmosphere. The guidance counselor often dissipates these fears as she encourages the girls to speak freely about these fears and explains the many resources of the school in terms of both personnel and programs.

At the end of the first interview it is not infrequent for girls to want to be admitted immediately. It has been found, however, that often the girls most eager for admission are not always the candidates with the best prognosis for a successfully therapeutic school experience. Very often these are the girls who have not attended any school for several years because of severe emotional instability. Equally often, these are the girls who had been released from treatment centers or training schools because they presented severe problems of management and did not seem to profit from the treatment offered. If the guidance counselor seriously questions the advisability of admitting any girl, the clinical team consisting of a psychologist, social worker, and psychiatrist, is consulted. Actually, however, very few girls are ever denied admission as professional ability to predict adjustment and behavior is simply not definitive enough in our present systems of psychology to enable valid predictions of adjustment at the school. Because there is a great margin of error in the prediction of future behavior both in school and in the community, almost every girl who is referred to the school is admitted and given her last chance for schooling within the public school system. She then attends the Livingston School for Girls.

The Livingston School girls are all in emotional trouble. A large percentage of them are in trouble with their communities as well. For instance, approximately 80 percent of the girls have been adjudged delinquent at some time in their lives; almost every one of them, however, or 100 percent of the school population has appeared in court as witness to crime or as victims of rape, parental disharmony, neglect or abuse. The girls appear to live in a milieu of violence. For instance, when some particular crime rocks the city, it is not unusual to find that some girl in the school is the sister, girl friend, cousin, or daughter of the person arrested for the crime. It is therefore almost axiomatic that the tenor of any particular school day is related to the tenor of the city at large. That is to say, when the city is gripped by a specific act of violence, the girls are extremely anxious, aggressive and unpredictable. These are the most difficult school days. For instance, when a popular singer was murdered several years ago, it took the school staff several days to calm, soothe, and quiet aroused feelings of anger and anxiety. When, on the other hand, men were catapulted into space or presidential elections were held, the girls showed little or no interest. War, peace, politics, space in short, the world around them has no real meaning to the girls for they shut themselves off from the rest of the world. They are essentially isolated girls who are concerned primarily with their own needs and lives in the immediate present. One girl in describing herself put it this way: "When June was born, she was born alone and when she dies, she dies alone." Between the two, there seems to be little room for interest in other people and in conditions of life other than what they themselves are experiencing at the moment.

For instance, while every one of them travels to school daily, some of them traveling as much as 2 hours one way to get to school, very few of them take the opportunity to explore other neighborhoods in the city. Thus, each girl takes a direct route from the block of her neighborhood to the block of the school, and does not often deviate from it. Considering the fact that the school is in the heart of one of New York City's most interesting and picturesque neighborhoods, Greenwich Village, very few girls, in the 7 years of the school's existence, have ever returned to the neighborhood after they had left school for the day. Similarly, although Broadway and Times Square is only a 15-minute subway ride from the school. few girls have ever detoured there. The girls appear to be insulated against curiosity by hatred—self-hatred, as well as hatred directed against others. This apparent lack of curiosity and interest in their environment, is but an inability to make an emotional investment in others which in turn stems from their own self-perceptions as something lesser than human beings. It is not only that they feel unloved primarily by their parents, and secondarily, by the world, but that they feel unworthy of love because they see themselves as unlovable. Referral to the Livingston School convinces them that their parents, their schools, and their communities were really right in rejecting them, that they are indeed unlovable. Their behavior and their feelings become then cyclical, "If I am really worthless so that no one can love me and no one, not even my parents, love me, so I must be worthless." The girls seem to accept the unalterability of this position and they face the future with depression and fatalism. They seem to feel that their destinies are already created, that they cannot dare to hope for control over their own lives.

One girl, talking of her life, put it this way, "All this static for nothing." This attitude of hopelessness does not mean that girls accept their lots with equanimity and passivity for just as they rebel against their lives, so do they equally resist any attempts at intervention or change. As one girl said, "I'm just growing inside me for everybody just plain hate."

How does the school dissipate this hatred so that personal emotional growth and learning can take place? The curriculum of the school cannot be considered from the usual educational framework. It cannot be discussed primarily in terms of subjects taught. Rather, the curriculum is the milieu of the school, a place where girls are taught to see themselves as adequate human beings.

Primarily they are taught that they are important to themselves. This is the first step. Once they perceive themselves to be important, they can then begin to feel important to other people. They can then afford to give of themselves to another person. The second step therefore is a process of making meaningful interpersonal relationships that are both emotionally satisfying and socially acceptable. The process sounds simple; yet, it is extremely difficult to achieve. The teacher is the important figure in the process. It is the teacher who must begin to provide opportunities for the girl to feel adequate, and who must have sufficient ego strengths so that each girl may borrow from some of these strengths—it is the teacher who in essence must be the girl's ego, who must set the limits for her. At the same time the teacher must always provide areas of success for each girl giving her tasks, especially at first, which he knows she can accomplish with ease.

Each girl must be praised for everything she does that deserves praise. Sometimes, searching for an ear of praise makes a gargantuan task, for everything a girl may do may defy conformity and praise. As little a thing as keeping margins straight, however, may be deserving of praise even if everything written on the page is wrong. When the girl feels secure in the teacher's strength and in the teacher's ability to accept her even though she knows that her behavior is unacceptable she begins to want to achieve. Her attempts to achieve may at first be only to please the teacher, but as his words of praise become rewarding to her, so do the knowledges gained. She begins to want to achieve for the sake of achievement. Perhaps for the first time in her life, she feels successful. This is not an easy educational process. It starts with a staff who are above all insightful into their own problems and who can differentiate their problems from the problems of the girls. Staff is asked to empathize with

each girl, particularly with those girls with whom they are not immediately successful at establishing a good relationship. A teacher who learns to ask himself "How would I act if I lived in a slum, had an alcoholic for a mother and a crippled father dying of cancer? How would I act if my brother were in prison? With such self-imposed questions, teachers develop a new respect for the dignity of each girl and for the struggle each girl has undergone in trying to make her own way in life. With such soul searching, teachers develop a new respect for each individual's right to feel the way she does, even though they may not approve of her behavior. Thus, each teacher never preaches or moralizes, trying to convince a girl not to hate. Rather, the teacher accepts each girl's feelings of hatred and tries to lead her into patterns of behavior which will alleviate her feelings but not cause hurt or distress to her or to someone else.

Teachers do not indulge in fatuous sentimentality. Rather, they train themselves to utilize the resources within themselves to be emphatic and compassionate. Sentimentality becomes a trap of do-nothingness in that it is relatively easy for a teacher to weep figuratively with a girl but do nothing therapeutic for her. It requires much more strength and ability on the part of a teacher to refrain from weeping and to act constructively. Sometimes acting constructively requires strong action such as sending for the police. In the long run, strong community action may help a girl much more intensively than merely feeling sorry for her and permitting her to continue in her destructive course of action. Police action can be most therapeutic. Arresting a girl for an assault, for instance, holds up reality to a girl. Accepting the assault and doing nothing about it, does nothing for the girl but confuse her. The question the girl then logically asks herself, "What can I get away with?" becomes a very real threat to her because it is answered with, "I can get away with murder." It means no limits are set for her. It means that she begins to fear her own aggressive impulses and where they will lead.

The Livingston School program sets limits. It makes demands upon the girls, but demands that are reasonable and that can be met. This does not mean that each teacher always maintains a stable relationship with each girl and that each teacher is always in control of each girl. On the contrary, the teacher is not always in control of a girl, but with self-understanding, the teacher is always in control of himself and of the situation.

The program of the school is divided into two parts, known respectively as the Lower School and the Upper School. They are, of course, housed in the same building. In the Lower School, classes are organized on the basis of cores of interest rather than on grades. Classes are therefore called dance, music, dressmaking, cooking, business practice, and nursing. All these areas have a high interest level for adolescent girls. Some areas are of particular importance because they are evocative of creative expression. The expressive qualities of music and dance are obvious. Not only do girls learn how to perform but they also create. Not so obvious, however, is the creativity and expressions inherent in business practice, dressmaking, cooking and beauty culture. The business practice provides opportunity for typing original stories, poems, etc. The cooking program centers upon cooking in the glamorous tradition. Experimentation with foods and with different methods of preparation of foods often results in chocolate mousse rather than chocolate pudding or in a souffle instead of scrambled eggs.

Dressmaking, centering upon making oneself attractive, and beauty culture, equally centered are classes geared toward exploration of the self, making oneself attractive. Turning out a beautiful dress or a stunning coiffure is creative in that the individual reshapes an old pattern of appearance into a new pattern. It is therefore emotionally satisfying. These are personal skills, that are extremely important to every adolescent girl and adult woman in the world today. The focus of these areas is not on vocational training but if some vocational interest in a particular area is sparked, the girl is, of course, motivated to explore the full potentialities of the field in which she is interested.

The nursing program deserves particular mention because adolescent girls are particularly concerned with their own bodies. Moreover there are the girls who very often care for babies, either as babysitters or because they care for younger siblings at home. Some girls have children of their own. The nursing program therefore includes child care, as well as personal hygiene and care of the sick.

Classes are heterogeneously formed in terms of ages, grades, and achievement levels. Thus, 13-year-olds may be grouped with 15-year-olds, and second-grade readers may be in a class with high school readers. As the basis of the class is the activity involved, and as the activity does not depend primarily on academic skills, the level of achievement is of little importance in grouping.

It simply makes no difference in baking a turkey or performing a dance if a girl reads well or, is proficient in arithmetic. All classes however, are scheduled for academic work in mathematics, English and social studies. Because the top register of each class is no more than 10, individual instruction is completely feasible in the academic areas. There are some girls, however, who find it difficult to approach reading or arithmetic even within a very small group structure. They find it shameful to display their difficulties in front of other girls. They cannot work in a room with other girls present. These girls need their dignity preserved, and for them, completely individualized lessons in privacy are provided. To achieve this goal, there are three remedial reading teachers on staff and one remedial mathematics teacher. Ninety girls attend the lower school. They are placed in an official class, after an initial placement in the orientation class. In orientation, the girls learn the rules and the program of the school. In addition they also study the other girls in the school and quickly find their place in the scheme of things. They really learn, "Who acts big, but isn't big and chickens out," and who "is big" and within this framework they learn to find their own niche. The orientation class usually lasts for approximately 10 days. During this time girls remain with one official teacher for most of the day.

At least once a day, they go to a specific subject area. That is, during this time the class goes to nursing, dance, dressmaking, etc. Each teacher in the school therefore gets to know each new girl in the orientation class. In addition, each new entrant is evaluated completely in reading, and arithmetic skills, and is also examined by the school doctor. At the end of her stay in orientation, a faculty conference is held at which each girl is discussed and decisions made jointly for her future class placement. As each girl's case history is presented and as her present behavior is discussed, teachers learn about each girl's behavioral modes of adaptation and they make tentative judgments about the girl's future adjustment at school. Teachers can often predict the possible areas of difficulty each girl will encounter and with some anticipation, serious difficulties can often be averted by preventive measures.

The question is often asked how long must a girl be in the lower school before she goes to the upper school. There is no definitive answer. For some girls the answer may be 1 year, for another, 6 months, or 2 years. It depends entirely on the girl herself and upon how long it takes her to learn how to exercise some inner controls. In other words, she must have learned to inhibit her impulses, to tolerate frustration and delay, to cope with external and internal pressures without "letting off steam."

Behaviorally, the pattern changes from overt explosive, volatile aggression to aggression expressed only verbally, usually in the form of threats or obscenities, to verbal control with an ability to express a grievance and a point of view. When a girl reaches a state of control, when she can come to school every day and on time, when she can accept direction and suggestions from teachers, when she looks for ways "out" of troublesome situations rather than "in" to troublesome situations, she has shown that she is ready for a work situation.

Faculty conferences are held weekly. At this time, the staff suggests those girls who may be ready for the upper school. The guidance counselor takes the next step. She interviews such girls and in a counseling relationship, the girl decides for herself whether she feels she is ready for this program. Readiness implies a willingness and an ability to assume the obligations of an employee. It also assumes the ability to tolerate more freedom of movement within the school structure than she had formerly enjoyed. All girls are not ready for obligation, responsibility, and freedom and many girls ask for deferment into the upper school. Nevertheless, the fact that the faculty feels they are ready for the work program is a therapeutic experience in itself. The girl often begins to see that other people have faith in her even though she may lack faith in herself.

Many girls have to be weaned away from the sanctuary of the lower school. The weaning process is slow and often painful to the girl. During this period, each girl is placed in a class called preparation or prep, as it is commonly known. In this official class, girls prepare themselves for their approaching new status in school. While prep is part of the lower school, it is a bridge to the upper school. Girls know that more is expected of them than previously had been expected. Teachers demand more academic work. The girls begin to make more demands of themselves. They become more critical of their own achievements and social behavior. How long a girl remains in prep depends upon two things; her own needs and the availability of openings in the upper school. Some girls remain a matter of weeks, some a matter of months, some only a few days, even as few as two. It would also be accurate to say that some girls have not really "earned" their way from prep to the upper school. That is, they are still extremely aggressive. Yet, in many cases, the upper school is really the girl's last chance to succeed in both the school and her community. To deny her this opportunity would be most unfair to both her and the community at large for very often the upper school keeps the girl functioning in the community. Very often a girl catapulted into a situation of responsibility assumes that responsibility even though her previous behavior did not indicate that she would be able to tolerate the stress of work.

To say that she was psychologically ready for the responsibility is probably a truism, yet, readiness could not be attested to by her behavior, nor, perhaps even by psychological testing and psychiatric interview. Thus, it does happen, that girls are placed in the upper school even though they have not truly merited it. At first, there were some questions about this procedure. Many staff members felt that the other girls in the school would object, that putting a girl into the program who did not merit it, would

deter other girls from trying to merit it. If a girl can be bad and get into the program, the faculty reasoned, a girl might feel, "Why should I be good?" Yet, this probability did not become a reality. Because the program of the school is so tailor made to each girl's needs and because the girls themselves are so ego-centered, they pay too little attention to another girl's school achievements. The philosophy of the school reinforces the positive aspects of this psychological isolationism. "Never mind what so-and-so does or what class she's put in, that's right for her. What's right for you? is a faculty statement and question that is generally accepted by the girl. Thus, "right" for one girl may be a 2-day stay in prep, for another a 3 month stay. When a girl moves from prep into the upper school, she again goes through counseling sessions, exploring her own feelings about the move, as well as learning about the realities of the work world.

During this time of intensive counseling, she gets her working papers and her social security card. These procedures are not easy for the girls. It entails traveling to other parts of the city to other government offices. It involves learning how to dress appropriately, fill out forms, travel, ask for information. It also involves a physical examination. Because of the tremendous anxiety of each girl during this process, it sometimes takes weeks for a girl to complete all these details. It is not unusual for girls to "get lost" on the subway, "lose their papers" or come to an office too "late," etc. They fear the responsibilities of their new status and they often anticipate "failure." Thus, they put many obstacles into their own paths. Eventually, however, each girl is finally placed in the school to employment program (STEP).

STEP is the first level of the upper school. Girls work 3 hours each morning and attend school 2 hours each afternoon. Their work assignments are in neighboring schools, but the schools are not in close proximity so that each girl must travel to her job. In schools they act as librarians, assistants to kindergarten, first grade teachers, secretaries and guidance counselors. They do many secretarial tasks as well as work directly with the children. They escort children to clinics and homes, help them with clothing, tell stories, play games. They form new perceptions of children, of people in authority, of work, of themselves.

Working with little children, for instance is extremely provocative of self-insight. At first, the girls are most often critical of the behavior of children. They do not seem to expect them to be children, but rather miniature models of adult conformity. They expect the children to respond automatically to their demands and commands. These girls, the ones who have been the least conforming to adult standards, expect the children to obey them without demur. With very little time, however, the girls begin to empathize with the children and to understand why a child cries in school or refuses food or hits another child. They become invaluable to the cooperating teacher in assisting her in handling these moments of crises. Of much more value, however, is the insights the girls develop into their own behavior and feelings. They look at the child from two frames of reference, the teacher's and the child's, and they begin to see themselves from the same two points of view, their own and society's. It is indeed cathartic for a girl to be able to undergo an emotional experience with a child and to interpret this experience from the school's point of view as well as from the child's. Moreover, in this kind of experience, the girls are filling in a gap in their own lives. For the first time many girls are learning the songs, games, and poems of childhood that they themselves had never learned. As most of the girls had never had a kindergarten experience or enjoyed an uninterrupted period of elementary education, many of the childhood games, stories, and learning experiences made available to the young school child were not made available to them. In the guise of teacher, a girl may teach a nursery rhyme to a child, when, she in fact, is learning and enjoying the same material for the first time.

STEP is an arduous program. Girls may become proficient at clerical tasks. Acquiring these skills, however, is relatively easy. Much more difficult to acquire are the work attitudes and habits necessary for maintaining a job. For instance, many girls can learn to type well within a few weeks. It takes a much longer time, however, for the girls to learn that they have to report to work when it rains even though they rebel against getting their hair wet. It takes self-discipline and control to do assigned tasks when they do not want to do these jobs, or when they do not approve of the way in which they are asked to do them. The girls are extremely sensitive. They demand that their employers be excessively polite, saying "please" and "thank you" at every turn. Yet, they reserve the right to be sullen, impolite, or unresponsive.

The second level of the upper school is the Neighborhood Youth Corps program (NYC). The Neighborhood Youth Corps consists of girls who worked at least a year in STEP and who demonstrated by faithful attendance, devotion to work, controlled behavior, and the good performance of their duties that they were ready for more responsibilities. Instead of working in a school, the girls in this program work in community agencies such as hospitals, settlement houses, nurseries, and welfare agencies. Their duties remain very much the same, but their school- and workday is longer. They work from 1 to 4 p.m. and attend school in the morning. For the longer day that they put in, for their responsibility to an agency rather than a school, they receive $1.25 hourly, an increase of 25 percent over the STEP girls. Here too, the therapeutic experience still holds. Something extremely important however has been added. These girls, most of whom have been on the "taking" end of agencies' services, are now on the "giving" end.

They began to identify with giving service, rather than receiving it; they became the authority themselves. For most of the girls, social workers and social agencies have played a very important role in their lives. Many of the families have received public assistance at one time or another, and social workers are received most often as the dispenser of funds. Generally they feel that one must "put the social worker on." Social workers are perceived as people about whom one must maneuver in order to gain one's ends. The ability to maneuver successfully around another person in order to gain one's end, most often implies that the person about whom one maneuvers is a fool. He is a fool simply because he can be manipulated. Social workers, whether they are dispensers of welfare funds or associated with other agencies, are therefore often viewed as ridiculous figures. When the girls become identified with the agencies in which they work, when they develop an investment in the welfare of the agency, they begin to appreciate its values rather than deprecate its services. Not only do they respect the agency, but they begin to wish to be part of it, not as a recipient of services, but as a contributor. This is the greatest therapeutic value of the program—an identification with authority and a recognition of the need for authority. It would be extremely beneficial to the girls, if in addition to community social agencies, they were permitted to work in courts and police stations. In these positions, they would be in a unique position to see the "other" side of the law and to perceive law-enforcing personnel not as ogres and sadistic brutes, but as people who are doing a job that needs to be done. To date, girls have not been placed in these positions as many problems, namely, the confidentiality of these agencies precludes the placement of girls in these positions.

Thirty girls are enrolled in the upper school, twenty in STEP and ten in the NYC program. Each class has its own teacher who coordinates the program, supervises the work, and teaches the academic skills related to their jobs. In addition, there is a business practice teacher and a remedial mathematics and remedial reading teacher. The funds for the program come from both the State and the Federal Governments. Most recently they come from the Office of Economic Opportunity under the anti-poverty legislation. Periodically as new budgets emerge each year, there is trepidation lest funds be slashed. This anxiety is shared by both staff and girls. There were times when appropriations were cut and the staff and the girls utilizing their prerogatives as citizens, wrote letters of protest to their legislators. Girls are not interested in government in the abstract. They become intensely interested in the workings of government, however, when government affects them. Thus, by writing letters, by becoming a pressure group, they learn at first hand about democratic procedures. This is indeed a lesson worth learning.

Money is extremely important to the girls and their families as it is to everyone. Equally as important, however, is the status that goes with the money and the job. Girls are not placed in menial positions. They are placed in offices, libraries, classrooms, and hospitals. They are now the authority figures. Girls who had once been rejected from their schools now return to the schools, not as students, but as assistants to the staff. The pride of the girls at this accomplishment is unmeasurable. Unfortunately, in many schools, students who are put into a work program are on their way out of the school. Generally they are placed in a work study program because they have failed in the academic program. It's a downward process from school to a labor market. The work program at the Livingston School, however, is an upward program. Pupils must earn their right to be in it. They must exhibit by demonstrated self-control, achievement, and good attendance that they are the elite of the school. Quite remarkably, it is this elite of the school who often find that they want to continue their own education. Working in positions of prestige, they learn the importance of more educational skills. They begin to want to continue their education on a more intensive basis. From the upper school, comes our greatest number of girls returning to the regular schools. Eventually they graduate from high schools, a few graduate from college. Approximately 25 percent of the entire school population returns to the regular school.

Almost all of this number have gone through our school-work sequence. It is not all an upward climb, however; there are incidents that were impossible to predict and therefore control. For instance, one girl with her first paycheck, left home. Another girl spent her entire salary on records and was brutalized by her parent. A third girl's parents took the girl's entire salary for themselves. Individual problems each one of them—but each was handled clinically and therapeutically by teachers, guidance counselors and members of the clinical staff.

The key to the success of the upper school lies in the qualities of the teachers. Because girls in STEP have just come from the

lower school, they need more external controls imposed upon them than do the girls in the NYC program. When the girls are ready for the NYC program, they have internalized these controls. The controls and values of the teacher are now their controls and values. As this process takes place, the girls need to borrow less of the teacher's own strengths. In essence, they have developed egos of their own. The final success therefore for the girls going from the lower school through prep to STEP and finally to NYC is the development of their own self-concepts. They emerge from the upper school as young ladies of substance and quality.

INTER-RELIGIOUS COMMITTEE AGAINST POVERTY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, this week an event of historical significance took place in this Capital City of Washington. Leaders of our three great religious faiths formed an Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty. Forty-five distinguished Americans, clergymen and lay leaders, have united in a most significant undertaking—support of a national commitment to wage war against poverty and to seek its broadest and most effective prosecution.

It comes as no surprise, of course, that the religious leaders of our Nation should enlist in this thoroughly holy war. What is significant is that it has been possible to forge a unity the like of which has rarely been seen. I append a list of the organizers of this great movement. I salute particularly the six cochairmen of this committee. They are: Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen, president of the Synagogue Council of America; Mrs. Louis Stern, former president, Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds; Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D., Archbishop of San Antonio; Most Rev. Raymond J. Gallagher, D.C., Bishop of Lafayette, Ind.; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk, United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: member, National Advisory Council to OEO; Dr. Norman J. Baugher, general secretary, General Brotherhood Board, Church of the Brethren, Church Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches.

This committee, let me stress, is not an official Government-inspired committee. These religious leaders on their own organized themselves for this great cause. They are not and will never be apologists for any Government program. Theirs is an independent voice. It is particularly gratifying, therefore, that in the first statement issued by this committee, the committee hails recent actions of this Congress, including the Economic Opportunity Act. This statement recognizes that many of the programs "are already demonstrating their value." They ask that these programs be extended and intensified.

Mr. Speaker, these leaders of America know what they are talking about. They are not motivated by blind partisanship—as others have been recently—to attack and derogate vital programs. Who better than religious leaders know the needs of our people—know whether programs are in fact reaching the poor—know whether corruption has taken over these programs?

It is a great tribute to the work of this Congress and to the administrators of the war on poverty that such a distinguished group speaks out not only in support of the program but for its extension. This is the most eloquent answer imaginable to those who have made petty and uninformed attacks on the program.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to append the prospectus of the program, the statement adopted at an organizational meeting on January 18, and an article on the meeting from the New York Times. I should like to note, finally, that two of the leaders of this group are serving this Nation not only in this new capacity, but also as members of the National Advisory Council to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Appointed by President Johnson, Archbishop Lucey and Dr. Carson Blake have been kept fully informed about developments in the war on poverty and are in a unique position, therefore, to bring to the Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty relevant and up-to-date information about the program.

The material referred to follows:

ROSTER OF PERSONS ACCEPTING THE INVITATION TO SERVE ON THE INTER-RELIGIOUS COMMITTEE AGAINST POVERTY, AND STAFF SERVING IN AN ADVISORY CAPACITY TO THE COMMITTEEE

Persons invited by the Synagogue Council of America and other cooperating Jewish bodies:

Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen, cochairman, Anshe Emet Synagogue, Chicago, Ill., president of the Synagogue Council of America.

Mr. Moses I. Feuerstein, Malden Mills Sales Co., Inc., New York, N.Y., president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations.

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, New York, N.Y., president, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Mr. Aaron Goldman, Macke Vending Corp., Washington, D.C., chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

Mrs. Florence G. Heller,[1] New York, N.Y., president, National Jewish Welfare Board.

Hon. Philip Klutznick, Chicago, Ill., former Ambassador to the United Nations, former president, B'nai B'rith.

Rabbi Israel Miller, Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center, Bronx, N.Y., president, Rabbinical Council of America.

Mr. George Maislen, New York, N.Y., former president. United Synagogue of America.

Rabbi Max J. Routtenberg, Temple B'nai Sholom, Rockville Centre, New York, president, Rabbinical Assembly.

Mr. Louis Stern, cochairman, New York, N.Y., former president, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, K.A.M. Temple, Chicago, Ill., president, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Mrs. Joseph Willen, New York, N.Y., president, National Council of Jewish Women.

Mr. Jacob Blaustein, Baltimore, Md., honorary president, American Jewish Committee.

Mr. Milton Waldor, Washington, D.C., national commander, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

[1] Deceased.

Dr. Joachim Prinz, New York, N.Y., president, American Jewish Congress.

Staff:

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Washington, D.C., director, Religious Action Center Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Mr. Philip Bernstein, New York, N.Y., executive director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

Mr. Sanford Solender, New York, N.Y., executive vice president, National Jewish Welfare Board.

Mr. Arnold Aronson, New York, N.Y., director of program planning, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

Persons invited by the National Catholic Welfare Conference:

Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D., cochairman, San Antonio, Tex., Archbishop of San Antonio.

Most Rev. Raymond J. Gallagher, D.D., cochairman, Lafayette, Ind., Bishop of Lafayette, Ind.

Mr. Joseph A. Beirne, Washington, D.C., president, Communications Workers of America.

Mr. Stanley Herbert, Washington, D.C., chairman, NCCS executive committee.

Mr. John Donnelly, Holland, Mich., president, the National Council of Catholic Men.

Very Rev. Msgr. Lawrence J. Corcoran, Washington, D.C., secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities.

Mrs. Marcus Kilch, Youngstown, Ohio, president, National Council of Catholic Women.

Mr. Edward Marciniak, Chicago, Ill., director of human relations, city of Chicago.

Mr. James J. Norris, New York, N.Y., assistant to the executive director, Catholic Relief Services—NCWC.

Most Rev. Edward E. Swanstrom, D.D., New York, N.Y., executive director, Catholic Relief Services—NCWC.

Rev. John Wagner, San Antonio, Tex., executive secretary, Bishops Spanish Speaking Committee.

Staff:

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Frederick J. Stevenson, Washington, D.C., director, Youth Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Very Rev. Msgr. Francis T. Hurley, Washington, D.C., assistant general secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, Washington, D.C., director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Thomas D. Hinton, Washington, D.C., executive director, National Catholic Community Service.

Rev. Alphonsus B. Slivinski, Washington, D.C., field consultant, National Catholic Community Service.

Persons invited by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States:

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, cochairman, Philadelphia, Pa., stated clerk, United Presbyterian Church in the United States; member, National Advisory Council to Office of Economic Opportunity.

Dr. Norman J. Baugher, cochairman, Elgin, Ill., general secretary, general brotherhood board, Church of the Brethren; chairman, division of Christian Life and mission, National Council of Churches.

Bishop Henry C. Bunton, Washington, D.C., presiding bishop, seventh Episcopal district, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

Dr. J. Edward Carothers, New York, N.Y., associate general secretary, national division, Board of Missions of the Methodist Church; chairman, National Council of Churches Antipoverty Task Force.

Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Eugene, Oreg., president, University of Oregon; member, general board, National Council of Churches.

Mr. Albert J. Hayes, Wilson Hills, Silver Spring, Md., past president, International Association of Machinists (AFL–CIO).

Mrs. Douglas Horton, Randolph, N.H., vice president, United Church Board of World Ministries; former chairman, division of Christian life and work, National Council of Churches.

Rev. C. C. Hung, Washington, D.C., pastor, the Chinese Community Church.

Archbishop Iakavos, New York, N.Y., patriarchal vicar, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

Mrs. Abbie Clement Jackson, Louisville, Ky., North American president, World Federation of Methodist Women; member, program board, division of Christian life and mission, National Council of Churches.

Judge William H. Maness, Jacksonville, Fla., senior partner, Kurz, Toole, Maness & Martin, attorneys and counselors-at-law; member, general board, National Council of Churches.

Dr. Paul Miller, Morgantown, W. Va., president, University of West Virginia.

Mr. Walter Reuther, Solidarity House, Detroit, Mich., president, International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America—UAW; chairman, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

Staff:

Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, New York, N.Y., general secretary, National Council of Churches.

Dr. Jon L. Regier, New York, N.Y., associate general secretary, division of Christian life and mission.

Dr. Shirley E. Greene, New York, N.Y., associate director, Commission on the Church and Economic Life.

Rev. Richard O. Comfort, Washington, D.C., Washington staff, antipoverty representative.

Rev. Sheldon L. Rahn, New York, N.Y., director, Commission on Social Welfare.

A Prospectus for an Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty

PREAMBLE

The problem of poverty and its solution have been the concern of Judaism and Christianity through the ages. Deeply imbedded in the prophetic literature of our religious heritage are the moral imperatives calling for the elimination of poverty. Among these are the conception that God created the earth and all its resources and found them good; that man was created and ordained for dominion over the earth and its fruits; that man has the obligation of trusteeship over the natural resources of earth; and that the will of God for man includes abundance of life, justice in human dealings and sharing of his gifts in charity and equity.

For the first time modern science and technological development make the elimination of poverty in the United States of America a possibility. United in the conviction that toleration of persistent poverty amidst our national affluence is morally indefensible and that the combined efforts of both voluntary and governmental agencies are required for the successful waging of a total war upon this social and moral blight, the Synagogue Council of America in cooperation with other Jewish bodies, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States, of America, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference are joining in the creation of an Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty.

PURPOSES OF THE COMMITTEE

The purposes of the Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty shall be:

1. To symbolize and communicate to their own constituencies and to the Nation the moral conviction that the persistence of involuntary poverty in a society possessing the resources and the technological capacity to eradicate it is both economically and politically indefensible and morally intolerable.

2. To identify major issues and areas of moral concern which emerge in connection with the total efforts to eliminate poverty in the United States, of America, and to study and evaluate current policies, programs and experiences in the war against poverty, both in the public sector and in the religious communities.

3. To apply the common ethical insights of the major religious traditions to formulation and application of goals and standards for the Nation's antipoverty efforts.

4. To stimulate and coordinate the antipoverty efforts of religious groups, agencies and institutions and to provide facilities for communication and liaison between such religious groups and the poverty-combating activities, both public and private, of the general community.

5. To encourage the creation where alternative means are nonexistent, unavailable or clearly inadequate, of instrumentalities for the utilization of resources—governmental, religious, private or foundation—for combating poverty.

6. To encourage the creation of such corporate or other instrumentalities as it may find necessary to mobilize and bring to bear the impact of the three religious communities, including their various local churches and synagogues, councils and judicatorial units, agencies and institutions, upon the elimination of poverty in the United States.

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMITTEE

The committee shall be composed of 50 to 60 persons of the highest standing chosen from the Jewish, Protestant and Orthodox, and Roman Catholic communities selected respectively by the Synagogue Council of America and cooperating Jewish bodies, the National Council of Churches, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The committee shall be an agency of the above-mentioned sponsoring bodies. The sponsoring bodies shall determine the personnel of the committee and their terms of office; determine and underwrite its budget; receive regular reports from the committee; and retain the power to terminate the committee.

The committee shall be brought into being by a joint declaration of duly authorized spokesmen of the three sponsoring bodies as soon as its members have been designated. It may be terminated at any time by a 3-months' written notice from any one of the sponsoring bodies.

The committee shall establish its rules of procedure and shall elect its own officers and standing committees.

OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

Frequency of meetings: The committee shall meet at least semiannually, and may meet more frequently at its own discretion.

Budget: The committee shall formulate its own budget with the approval of the sponsoring bodies. The budget shall be funded in equal shares by the sponsoring bodies.

Staff: The committee shall be staffed by professional persons assigned from the sponsoring bodies.

Headquarters: The headquarters and business address of the committee shall be established in Washington, D.C.

Statement of Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty, January 18, 1966

The leaders of churches, synagogues, and organizations cooperating through the Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty are committed to the proposition that the persistence of massive poverty in our society is a moral blight which can and must be eradicated.

Recent Federal legislation marks a great stride forward in America's efforts to achieve this national purpose. The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, the legislation for Appalachia, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, the Civil Rights Acts, Social Security Amendments including medicare, expansion of the rehabilitative focus of public welfare, legislation for housing, urban renewal, health, education, and other measures represent notable advances. What is on the statute books must be implemented and augmented to translate the hopeful potentialities of these goals into effective realities.

Many programs are already demonstrating their value. They should be extended and intensified. And where experience has indicated opportunities for improvement, such constructive advances should be made.

In view of the magnitude of the task and the experimental nature of these programs, some mistakes may well occur in their conception and implementation. While the duty of responsible criticism should be exercised, the entire effort should not be condemned because of occasional false starts, setbacks, or errors of judgment. Such problems are inherent in new programs and should be the stimulus to new and greater efforts and commitment.

THE PROGRAM MUST BE STRENGTHENED

Our military commitments in Vietnam have led some to suggest reduction or holding the line on the domestic antipoverty and health, and educational programs. We reject such proposals as a major retreat in the war on poverty, and a major defeat for America.

Hundreds of thousands of the poor are now participating in governmental antipoverty programs. Their opportunities must not be wasted or thwarted. Those now being assisted and the millions not yet being assisted must be helped to escape from poverty and to make their contribution to the strengthening of our society.

We urge that increased appropriations be provided to strengthen and broaden the Nation's programs to eliminate poverty.

Our country has both the material and human resources to expand and strengthen these programs. It would be a cruel injustice to require that the poor—the young, the old, the sick, the disadvantaged—should be the ones to make the major sacrifice for the other problems we must solve.

COMMUNITY ACTION

The Congress has wisely emphasized the importance of community action programs to encourage local initiative and responsibility for devising and administering programs best adapted to differing needs, problems, and circumstances.

Greater awareness of poverty in each community, deeper understanding of its causes, a firm resolve to overcome it, and the strengthening of communitywide bodies, with the fullest participation of voluntary agencies, are vital goals of antipoverty programs.

We urge continuing and increased support for the community action programs.

MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR

One of the most challenging aspects of the community action programs is the requirement that they be developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and members of the groups served.

This basic concept is an integral part of the religious and democratic commitment to help people help themselves. We deplore any

attempt, national or local, to dilute the concept of maximum participation of the poor. We affirm our faith in the fact that their involvement is feasible, and should be viewed as a creative utilization of the natural human resources found in the community of the deprived who are themselves dedicated to ridding the Nation of poverty. Constructive participation of the poor in the conduct of these programs is achievable. The difficulties of accomplishing this purpose should not lessen our striving for its realization. We urge a redoubling of the efforts to encourage the full involvement of the poor in antipoverty programs.

The commitment to our antipoverty programs must not only be maintained, but must be increased to achvieve its noble purpose—the development of a just society.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 19, 1966]

THREE FAITHS JOIN TO COMBAT POVERTY

(By Nan Robertson)

WASHINGTON, January 18.—Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders formed a coalition today against poverty, which they assailed as "morally intolerable" in this rich Nation.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council of America, working with other Jewish groups, created a 45-member Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty.

Its mission is to rally the full weight of their constituencies behind the poverty campaign.

Those on the committee, both laymen and clergy, directly represent hundreds of religious bodies of the three great faiths and indirectly represent tens of millions of Americans.

Vice President HUMPHREY and Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, were present at the news conference announcing the group's formation. Both expressed enthusiasm.

The Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake of Philadelphia, stated clerk and highest official of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, said the committee would support, coordinate, and criticize existing private and governmental programs for the poor, and perhaps would suggest additional ones.

RESOUNDING ACTION

Mr. HUMPHREY said the members were translating their faith into resounding action that will transform America.

The formation of the committee is an important extension of the all-faith cooperation that helped produce the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The Vice President said that "there wouldn't be any civil rights legislation without the margin of difference contributed by the clergy bringing their moral persuasion to bear. Every Member of Congress knows that fact."

The committee immediately issued a joint statement by the six cochairmen for more poverty funds (which Mr. HUMPHREY assured them would be asked in the President's budget message next Monday), and maximum participation for the poor in poverty programs.

"Hundreds of thousands of the poor are now participating in governmental antipoverty programs," Dr. Blake said. "Their opportunities must not be wasted or thwarted."

Calling participation of the poor "an integral party of the religious and democratic commitment to help people help themselves," the group deplored "any attempt, national or local" to dilute their involvement. Some big city mayors have resisted the demands of the poor for a voice in shaping community projects.

The group rejected suggestions that antipoverty programs be cut back or held at the present levels because of the increasing military commitment in Vietnam. They called such proposals "a major retreat in the war on poverty, and a major defeat for America."

The only other private antipoverty organization to compare in scope with the committee formed today is the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. That coalition of more than 125 groups and leaders in civil rights, labor, agriculture, teaching, and business is headed by Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers. His union has given $12 million to the crusade.

There is some cross-fertilization between the crusade and the interreligious committee.

REUTHER ON COMMITTEE, TOO

Mr. Reuther is a member of the interreligious committee and attended today's meeting. Dr. Blake is chairman of the crusade's Commission on Community Activity and Organization. The crusade also includes some religious groups, among them representatives from the three bodies that joined forces today.

When asked if the committee would direct ministers, priests and rabbis throughout the Nation to "mount their pulpits" to preach involvement in the campaign against poverty, Dr. Blake replied:

"I expect them to preach the faith they profess to hold. It includes this commitment."

Another of the cochairman, Rabbi Seymour Cohen of Chicago, president of the synagogue council, rose in the conference room at the Capitol to give his answer.

IDEALISM AND REALITY

"There is a concrete need to close the gap between the idealism of our faith and the stark realities of society," he said. "We have a moral imperative to rise, to speak, to stir to action."

The four other cochairmen are Louis Stern of New York City, past president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds; the Reverend Dr. Norman Baugher of Elgin, Ill., general secretary of the Church of the Brethren General Brotherhood Board; the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Catholic bishop of San Antonio, Tex.; and the Most Reverend Raymond J. Gallagher, Catholic bishop of Lafayette, Ind., and formerly executive director of the National Conference of Catholic Charities.

The National Catholic Welfare Council is an association of about 300 American bishops. The National Council of Churches represents 30 Protestant, Anglican, and Greek Orthodox denominations. The Synagogue Council of America represents Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis and presidents of congregations.

In another development tonight, Mr. Shriver said he believed that "one of the great contributions of the War on Poverty" was that the plight of 30 million poor Americans had been made visable and understandable to other, more fortunate Americans.

He said that to him one of the most interesting developments was the creation of Women in Community Service.

"It's composed of all four of the major religiously oriented women's organizations in the United States, and for the first time these four groups—Protestants, Catholics, Jewish people, and Negro women—have all gotten together" to fight poverty.

Mr. Shriver's remarks came during an interview on national educational television.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. RANDALL (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. Dow for January 21, 1966, on account of official business.

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. PUCINSKI, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. MCDADE), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. FOGARTY (at the request of Mr. PATTEN), for 20 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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

Mr. FINO.

Mr. PERKINS and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MCCORMACK (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and to include extraneous matter.

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

Mrs. BOLTON.

Mr. PELLY.

Mr. SMITH of New York.

Mr. AYRES.

Mr. HOSMER.

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

Mr. HANNA in two instances.

Mr. OLSEN of Montana.

Mr. BROWN of California.

Mr. GILLIGAN.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1446. An act to reserve certain public lands for a National Wild Rivers System, to provide a procedure for adding additional public lands and other lands to the system, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.J. Res. 767. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim National Ski Week,

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, January 24, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE EMPLOYEES

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

JANUARY 17, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from June 30, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
John J. Heimburger	General counsel	$12,470.46
Francis M. LeMay	Staff consultant	12,470.46
Christine S. Gallagher	Clerk	12,470.46
Hyde H. Murray	Assistant clerk	10,480.35
George F. Missibeck	Printing editor	6,194.97
Lydia Vacin	Staff assistant	5,792.91
Betty M. Prezioso	do	5,792.91
Peggy Jean Lamm	do	5,347.86
Martha S. Hannah	do	5,347.86
Jane C. Wojcik	do	5,151.06
INVESTIGATING STAFF		
Thomas A. Banks	Staff assistant (July 1, 1965).	$405.41
Carolyn Windsor Berkeley.	Staff assistant	3,073.72
Roger J. Brown	Staff assistant (through Oct. 31, 1965).	2,959.96
Larry Allison High, Jr.	Staff assistant (July 1 to Aug. 31, 1965).	810.82
Marjorie B. Johnson	Staff assistant	3,899.16
Champion Mitchell	Staff assistant (July 1, 1965).	405.41
Fowler C. West	Staff assistant	4,154.18
Catherine L. Bernhardt.	Staff assistant (Aug. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965).	2,130.30
Aaron Neal Clinard	Staff assistant (Aug. 1, 1965).	405.41
Jimmy Lee McElreath	do	405.41
Jacqueline White	Staff assistant (Oct. 15 to Dec. 31, 1965).	204.64

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$75,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	18,829.71
Amount expended from June 30 to Dec. 31, 1965	20,031.08
Total amount expended from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	38,860.79
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	36,139.21

HAROLD D. COOLEY,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

JANUARY 15, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Kenneth Sprankle	Clerk and staff director.	$11,679.12
Paul M. Wilson	Assistant clerk and staff director.	11,679.12
Carson W. Culp	Staff assistant	11,586.09
Robert M. Moyer	do	11,353.50
Jay B. Howe	do	11,353.50
Ross P. Pope	do	11,353.50
Frank Sanders	do	11,353.50
G. Homer Skarin	do	11,353.50
Eugene B. Wilhelm	do	11,353.50
Robert L. Michaels	do	11,353.50
Aubrey A. Gunnels	do	10,480.35
Robert P. Williams	Editor	9,371.79
George E. Evans	Staff assistant	9,180.24
Francis G. Merrill	do	9,180.24
Samuel R. Preston	do	9,180.24
Earl C. Silsby	do	8,544.54
Samuel W. Crosby	do	7,792.35
Keith F. Mainland	do	6,972.84
Lawrence C. Miller	Assistant editor	6,338.90
John M. Garrity	Staff assistant	1,210.62
Gerald J. Bova	do	966.86
Dempsey B. Mizelle	do	2,596.05
Milton B. Meredith	do	1,182.65
Robert C. Nicholas III.	do	5,101.89
George A. Urian	Clerical assistant	5,101.89
James E. Moore	do	4,690.47
Austin G. Smith	do	4,690.47
Francis W. Sady	do	3,169.44
Randolph Thomas	Messenger	3,109.59
Alan R. Henry	Clerk-stenographer	4,690.47
Ruth E. Addison	do	2,303.76
Helen C. Hampson	do	4,629.54
Patrick M. Hayes	do	4,690.47
Mary L. Hollis	do	3,001.89
Rosalind E. McGovern.	do	4,690.47
William J. Neary	do	4,690.47
John A. Ringwald	do	4,044.12
Mary L. Schwarzmann.	do	3,894.90
Mary H. Smallwood	do	4,690.47
Mary F. Wilson	do	1,986.30
Iva E. Heath	do	2,386.71
Jack W. Watson	Clerk to the minority (to Dec. 15, 1965).	9,591.54
Robert C. Gresham	do	962.85
Stephen T. Adams	Clerk-stenographer	3,681.78
Alex Coffin	do	4,044.12
Jessemine A. Falls	do	4,690.47
Charles H. Fritzel	do	4,690.47
Raymond L. Gooch	do	4,690.47
David Gramling	do	4,690.47
Larry H. Jose	do	3,802.56
Thomas M. McMurray.	do	4,690.47
Neta C. Messersmith	do	4,202.97
Ann L. Obrotka	do	4,327.01
Clara B. Posey	do	4,690.47
Frankie C. Ramage	do	4,690.47
Geraldine E. Rothwell.	do	717.01

Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	$333,142.95
Total amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	333,142.95

GEORGE MAHON,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
(INVESTIGATIONS STAFF)

JANUARY 15, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Leo E. Conroy	Director, surveys and investigations staff.	$9,315.09
Charles Bolz	do	9,315.09
Edward J. Hayes	Assistant director, surveys and investigations staff.	9,067.77
Lillian M. Mackie	Stenographer	4,739.07
Mary A. Sauer	do	4,446.69
REIMBURSEMENTS TO GOVERNMENT AGENCIES		
Agriculture, Department of:		
Kelly, L. L	Investigator	$4,673.61
Mizelle, Dempsey	Editorial assistant	2,360.30
Federal Bureau of Investigation:		
Bader, T. J	Investigator	3,259.68
Bennett, C. L	do	6,832.16
Byrnes, R. C	do	6,716.96
Carson, W. D	do	6,832.16
Currall, W. G	do	6,654.80
Flatley, J. M	do	6,294.32
Franklin, R. M	do	6,294.32
Health benefits		706.27
Ivy, C. M	Investigator	6,294.32
Kunkel, R. G	do	5,333.90
Lanphear, R. L	do	4,888.40
Law, S. W	do	2,224.64
Law, W. C	do	413.84
Life insurance		421.97
McCloskey, J. J	Investigator	6,017.76
McGahey, H. B	do	3,216.56
Magee, E. H	do	569.76
Midkiff, G. L	do	4,754.24
Murphy, P. J	do	6,243.12
Retirement fund		8,141.85
Schafer, C. H	Investigator	2,626.64
Shanley, J. F	do	1,972.32
Shannon, A. J	do	6,700.16
Stewart, J. T	do	4,469.04
Sullivan, J. V	do	6,716.96
Tierney, J. R	do	4,850.72
Torrence, R. E	do	4,008.80
Van Wagoner, R. L	do	6,716.96
Welch, W. H	do	7,009.52
Wood, H. B	do	6,832.16
Interior, Department of the:		
Jervis, S	do	6,237.89
National Aeronautics and Space Administration:		
Healy, J. F	do	1,703.80
Lowry, J. G	do	5,766.08
Small Business Administration:		
Hartman, G. S	do	2,526.72
Tariff Commission:		
Taylor, J. A	do	4,084.64
Travel and miscellaneous expense		40,592.93

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$700,000.00
Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	248,843.99
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	451,156.01

GEORGE MAHON,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

JANUARY 12, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive,

together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
John R. Blandford	Chief counsel	$12,438.21
Philip W. Kelleher	Counsel	12,185.64
Frank M. Slatinshek	do	12,185.64
William H. Cook	do	10,879.44
Earl J. Morgan	Professional staff member.	10,879.44
Ralph Marshall	do	8,657.28
Oneta L. Stockstill	Executive secretary	7,214.22
Kalinowski, Berniece	Secretary	6,326.37
L. Louise Ellis	do	6,326.37
Edna E. Johnson	do	6,326.37
Dorothy R. Britton	do	6,326.37
Doris L. Scott	do	5,224.86
Innis E. McDonald	Secretary (from Sept. 1, 1965).	3,039.88
Shelley J. Pyle	Secretary (from Nov. 1, 1965).	1,218.24
James A. Deakins	Clerical staff assistant.	4,812.87
Benjamin Frasier, Jr.	Messenger	2,547.36
Bertha J. Zinszer	Secretary (to Oct. 16, 1965).	1,767.69
Barbara L. Bullard	Secretary (from July 15 to Aug. 30, 1965).	1,087.22

SUBCOMMITTEE FOR SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS (PURSUANT TO H. RES. 118, 119, AND 526, 89TH CONG.)

John T. M. Reddan	Counsel	$12,185.64
Walton Woods	Investigator	9,825.51
John J. X. Ford	Professional staff member.	8,644.37
Phyllis Seymour	Secretary	6,180.14
William B. Short, Jr.	Clerical staff assistant.	4,812.87
Leslie M. Berman	Assistant investigator (from Sept. 1, 1965).	3,236.95
Adeline Tolerton	Clerk	3,875.04

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures (H. Res. 119 and 526)	$250,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	38,230.53
Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Jan. 1, 1966	50,582.01
Total amount expended from Jan. 1, 1965, to Jan. 1, 1966	88,812.54
Balance unexpended as of Jan. 1, 1966	161,187.46

L. MENDEL RIVERS,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

JANUARY 10, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965 to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

STANDING COMMITTEE STAFF

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Paul Nelson	Clerk and staff director.	$12,081.78
Orman S. Fink	Minority professional staff member.	11,679.12
Norman Leonard Holmes.	Assistant counsel	7,451.53
Charles B. Holstein	Professional staff member.	11,679.12
Alvin Lee Morse	Counsel	8,972.11
Curtis A. Prins	Chief investigator	8,932.83

STANDING COMMITTEE STAFF—continued

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Benet David Gellman	Investigative counsel.	$7,400.90
Jane M. Deem	Administrative assistant.	6,433.95
Mary W. Layton	Secretary to minority.	6,433.95
Donald G. Vaughn	Assistant clerk	5,600.58
Total		86,665.87

INVESTIGATING STAFF (PURSUANT TO H. RES. 133, 134, AND 517, 89TH CONG.)

Karl Robert Bailey	Messenger	$961.40
Charles S. Beller	Counsel	1,737.75
James D. Clark	Research analyst	1,250.72
Timothy Allen Colcord.	Professional staff member.	8,818.51
John Cook	Messenger	229.73
Susan M. Day	Secretary	1,802.40
Dolores K. Dougherty	Assistant clerk	4,318.73
Martin G. Goldman	Research analyst	867.12
Helen C. Hitz	Assistant clerk	4,751.05
Norman Leonard Holmes.	Assistant counsel	1,458.80
Janice L. Johnson	Secretary	4,227.34
Robert Murray Kendrick.	Assistant clerk	1,314.40
Stephen D. Kennedy	Research analyst	1,026.16
Gerald Richard McMurray.	do	3,369.29
Bruce Edward Mason	Assistant clerk	1,463.84
Constance D. Mellinger.	Secretary	2,102.80
Mildred S. Mitchell	Assistant clerk	4,501.59
Jonas V. Morris	Professional staff member.	2,750.36
Margaret L. Rayhawk	Research secretary	3,174.31
Carolyn Virginia Thomas.	Secretary	1,032.67
William E. Turner, Jr.	Staff investigator	1,760.41
James Weighart	Professional staff member.	6,333.62
Total		59,253.00

H. Res. 134	$225,000.00
H. Res. 517	60,000.00
Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	285,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	70,054.80
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	68,782.44
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	138,837.24
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	146,162.76

WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSING, HOUSE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

JANUARY 10, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
John E. Barriere	Staff director	$3,824.20
Kenneth W. Burrows	Housing economist	11,539.59
Richard K. Cook	Minority staff investigator.	8,932.83
Mary M. Edwards	Consultant	$5,232.31
Casey Ireland	Minority staff member.	10,343.00
Margaret J. Leary	Secretary	4,769.81
John J. McEwan, Jr.	Deputy staff director.	11,679.12
Wilhelmina C. Proctor.	Secretary	2,173.48
Alicia F. Shoemaker	do	3,349.92
Patricia A. Taylor	Assistant clerk	2,196.93
Margaret E. Tucker	Secretary	3,713.00
Doris M. Young	Assistant clerk	4,690.47
Total		72,444.66

H. Res. 247	$150,000
H. Res. 516	97,000
Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	247,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	[1] 76,263.63
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	74,801.63
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	151,065.26
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	95,934.74

[1] Revised figure.

WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

JANUARY 15, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Hayden S. Garber	Counsel (P), standing committee.	$10,480.35
Clayton D. Gasque	Staff director (P), standing committee.	8,321.55
Donald J. Tubridy	Minority clerk (P), standing committee.	7,586.79
Leonard O. Hilder	Investigator (P), standing committee.	7,476.24
James T. Clark	Clerk (C), standing committee.	11,679.12
Ellen M. Coxeter	Assistant clerk (C), standing committee.	5,108.04
Jean Quarles	do	4,519.86
Peggy L. Thornton	do	4,446.69
H. E. Yarborough III.	do	3,055.77
Lois Marion Rivers	Clerk typist (C), standing committee.	3,055.77
Total		65,730.18

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$25,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	1,839.87
Amount expended from Jan. 3 to June 30, 1965	1,839.87
Total amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	[1] 10,089.49

[1] Additional clerical stenographic and typing assistance amounting to $10,089.49 in connection with committee work under investigating committee funds.

JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

JANUARY 15, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Louise Maxienne Dargans.	Chief clerk	$12,470.46
Russell C. Derrickson.	Staff director	12,470.46
Grace L. Hewell	Chief of education	12,470.46
Leon Abramson	Chief counsel for labor management.	11,740.53
C. Sumner Stone, Jr.	Special assistant to the chairman.	12,470.46
Donald Louis Anderson.	Counsel (Oct. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965).	3,454.09
Odell Clark	Chief investigator	8,814.75
Louise M. Wright	Administrative assistant (July 1 to Sept. 30, 1965).	2,750.79
Corrine Annette Huff.	Secretary	7,231.63
Minority:		
Michael J. Bernstein.	Counsel for education and labor.	12,470.46
Charles W. Radcliffe.	Special counsel for education.	9,825.51

Amount of expenditures previously reported	$94,811.76
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	106,169.60
Total amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	200,981.36

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

INVESTIGATIVE STAFF

Goldie A. Baldwin	Administrative assistant.	$3,627.42
Donald F. Berens	do	5,600.59
Richard J. Coffey	Assistant counsel for labor management (Aug. 31, 1965).	1,686.66
James B. Freeman	Assistant chief investigator (July 31, 1965).	503.23
Walter James Graham, Jr.	Secretary	4,373.58
Walter B. Huber, Jr.	Clerk-typist (July 1, to Oct. 31 and Dec. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965).	2,188.51
Janet R. Inscore	Secretary (from Sep. 20, 1965).	1,738.34
Ridgely Jones	Administrative assistant (from July 1, to Aug. 31, 1965.)	1,408.14
John R. Kramer	Assistant chief of education (from July 12, 1965).	5,985.92
Cleomine B. Lewis	Secretary	4,087.17
Betty D. Nixon	Secretary (from Sep. 1, 1965).	2,228.23
Francine Nord	Secretary	3,348.96
Olivia F. Reid	Administrative assistant (from July 6, to Sept. 24, 1965).	2,019.58
John D. Schuyler	Counsel	7,387.38
Mary L. Shuler	Secretary	4,330.93
Mary Ellen Terziu	Secretary (to Aug. 31, 1965).	1,205.56
Jeanne E. Thomson	Administrative assistant.	5,600.59
E. Pamela Williams	Assistant clerk (from Aug. 1 to 31, 1965).	325.18
John Everett Warren	Assistant clerk	2,138.79
Theresa M. Zapert	Secretary	3,826.71

INVESTIGATIVE STAFF—continued

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Minority:		
Louise W. Finke	Secretary (from Aug. 1 to Sept. 30, 1965).	$1,096.58
Crawford C. Heerlein.	Administrative assistant (to Nov. 30, 1965).	6,355.07
Will Henderson	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 31, 1965).	1,006.46
Alice R. Hipsley	Research assistant (from Sept. 1 to 30, 1965).	77.97
Ruth Giles Macknet.	Secretary (to Sept. 30, 1965).	1,964.81
Delores Y. Tillman	Secretary (to July 9, 1965).	187.95

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$180,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	71,560.52
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	87,696.53
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	159,257.05
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	20,742.95

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION NO. 1, REPRESENTATIVE CARL D. PERKINS, CHAIRMAN

Elizabeth A. Cornett	Clerk	$4,044.12
Eileen Bailiff O'Haver.	Assistant clerk	760.80
Hartwell Duvall Reed, Jr.	Counsel	10,735.25

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$35,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	13,167.53
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	15,985.67
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	29,153.20
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	5,846.80

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR NO. 2, REPRESENTATIVE JAMES ROOSEVELT, CHAIRMAN, JAN. 3, TO OCT. 20, 1965; REPRESENTATIVE ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, CHAIRMAN, OCT. 21, TO DEC. 31, 1965

Adrienne Fields	Clerk (to Nov. 30, 1965).	$3,889.41
Jay H. Foreman	Counsel	7,378.94
Carol A. Weiss	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 21, 1965).	299.06
Jon C. Bednerik	Research assistant (from July 1 to July 31, 1965).	251.06
Miriam K. Carliner	Staff assistant (from Oct. 20, 1965).	1,536.11
Mertis A. Southerland.	Assistant clerk (from Nov. 1, 1965).	664.24
Ardyce E. Harrison	Clerk (from Dec. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965).	434.08

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$35,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	11,621.45
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	15,034.47
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 1965	26,655.92
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	8,344.08

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION NO. 3, REPRESENTATIVE EDITH GREEN, CHAIRMAN

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Barbara A. Deiss	Secretary	$3,807.33
William F. Gaul	Counsel	8,435.31
Linda Sullivan	Clerk	2,633.76
Charles P. Tobin	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 31, 1965).	1,006.46

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$35,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	12,024.30
Amount expended from July 1, to Dec. 31, 1965	16,780.74
Total amount expended from Jan. 3, to Dec. 31, 1965	28,805.04
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	6,194.96

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR NO. 5, REPRESENTATIVE FRANK THOMPSON, JR., CHAIRMAN

Robert E. McCord	Subcommittee clerk	$10,471.02
Lelia W. Troup	Secretary	2,684.25
Dale Burnham	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 22, 1965).	376.39
Andrew Moore Williamson.	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 15, 1965).	575.89
Anne G. Thompson	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 31, 1965).	783.74
Daniel H. Pollitt	Special counsel (to July 31, 1965; from Sept. 1, 1965).	4,669.35

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$35,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	12,136.55
Amount expected from July 1 to Dec. 31 1965	20,202.82
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	32,339.37
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	2,660.63

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION NO. 5, REPRESENTATIVE JOHN H. DENT, CHAIRMAN

A. R. Kelley	Assistant clerk	$2,227.03
Eleanor Carson Keown.	Clerk	3,725.85
Robert E. Vagley	Director	7,310.55
Lynn C. Myers	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 31, 1965).	607.26
Carol A. Weiss	Assistant clerk (to Aug. 21, 1965).	299.06
Patti L. Noble	Assistant clerk (from Sept. 1 to Oct. 31, 1965).	652.68

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$35,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	13,180.66
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	15,763.09
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	28,943.75
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	6,056.25

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR NO. 6, REPRESENTATIVE ELMER J. HOLLAND, CHAIRMAN

Robert E. L. Knight	Director (to Oct. 4, 1965).	$3,917.45
Susan M. Parry	Clerk	3,652.35
William A. Hoveland, Jr.	do	621.12

SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR NO. 6, REPRESENTATIVE ELMER J. HOLLAND, CHAIRMAN—continued

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
James B. Harrison	Assistant director (from Aug. 21, 1965).	$5,552.78
Austin F. Rinella, Jr.	Assistant clerk (from Oct. 2, 1965).	385.40
Joseph Carl Gerson	Assistant clerk (from Sept. 16, 1965).	208.85

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$35,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	11,573.40
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	15,821.77
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	27,395.17
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	7,604.83

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON POVERTY NO. 7, REPRESENTATIVE ADAM C. POWELL, CHAIRMAN

Donald Louis Anderson.	Counsel	$2,750.79
Loretta A. Barnett	Secretary	2,309.31
Wellington C. Beal	Investigator (from Sept. 21, 1965).	4,248.26
Garrett H. Byrne, Jr.	Chief investigator for accounts and financial records (from Sept. 21, 1965).	4,302.53
Richard P. Crane, Jr.	Legal analyst and investigator (from Nov. 15, 1965).	1,278.89
I. T. Creswell, Jr.	Investigator (from Sept. 2, 1965).	2,783.42
Lloyd J. Elliott	Staff economist (from Dec. 1, 1965).	1,250.26
Dorothy W. Himes	Administrative assistant.	4,886.64
Virginia Randolph Hoffman.	Secretary (from Sept. 15, to Nov. 30, 1965).	927.35
Malcolm R. LaPlace	Assistant director for public information (from Nov. 1, 1965).	2,182.58
James E. McCarthy	Investigator (from Sept. 10, 1965).	4,760.96
Juliet G. McCoy	Secretary (from Sept. 1, 1965).	2,427.49
Phyllis A. Mann	Secretary (from Nov. 18, 1965).	1,038.11
Helen B. Prillaman	Secretary (from Sept. 8, 1965).	2,289.61
James B. Robinson	Staff assistant (from Sept. 1, 1965).	2,055.19
Michael Schwartz	Assistant counsel	5,600.59
Gregory M. Sullivan	Investigator	1,624.21
Emma T. Swann	Receptionist	3,348.96
Warren L. Wilson	Investigator (from Sept. 9, 1965).	2,884.69
Louise M. Wright	Administrative assistant (from Oct. 1, 1965).	2,849.80
Minority:		
Dixie Ann Barger	Secretary (from December 1, 1965).	667.50
John R. Buckley	Chief of Staff for minority (from September 22, 1965).	5,112.77
Louise W. Finke	Secretary (from October 1, 1965).	1,704.09
Patricia A. Goldman.	Consultant	3,854.11
Crawford C. Heerlein.	Administrative assistant (from December 1, 1965).	1,298.08
Will Henderson	Assistant clerk (from September 1, 1965).	2,067.26
Alice R. Hipsley	Research assistant (from October 1 to November 30, 1965).	161.56

AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON POVERTY NO. 7, REPRESENTATIVE ADAM C. POWELL, CHAIRMAN—continued

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Minority—Continued		
Edmund La Claire	Secretary (from September 21 to November 30, 1965).	$1,203.36
Ruth Giles Macknet.	Secretary (from October 1, 1965).	2,079.72
James J. Ryan	Investigator (from December 1, 1965).	1,149.92
William N. Stoltze	Investigator (from September 23 to November 30, 1965).	2,144.38

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$250,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	15,836.55
Amount expended from July 1 to December 31, 1965	91,961.46
Total amount expended from January 3, 1965 to December 31, 1965	107,798.01
Balance unexpended as of December 31, 1965	142,201.99

ADAM C. POWELL,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

JANUARY 12, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Boyd Crawford	Staff administrator	$12,470.46
Roy J. Bullock	Senior staff consultant.	12,470.46
Albert C. F. Westphal.	Staff consultant	12,470.46
Franklin J. Schupp	do	11,939.43
Robert F. Brandt	do	11,818.68
Harry C. Cromer	do	11,708.19
Philip B. Billings	do	9,180.24
Marian A. Czarnecki	do	11,679.12
Melvin O. Benson	do	10,039.95
June Nigh	Senior staff assistant.	8,960.94
Helen C. Mattas	Staff assistant	7,553.64
Helen L. Hashagen	do	7,393.32
Mary Louise O'Brien	do	7,214.22
Mary M. Lalos	do	4,923.54
Doris B. McCracken	do	6,016.26
Jean E. Smith	do	3,905.22
Robert J. Bowen	Clerical assistant	4,781.95

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$118,250.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	33,679.76
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	37,368.79
Total amount expended from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	71,048.55
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	47,201.45

THOMAS E. MORGAN,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

JANUARY 10, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Expenses, July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965:	
Full committee	$882.34
Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee	39,671.37
Military Operations Subcommittee	48,211.94
Government Activities Subcommittee	26,519.12
Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee	43,589.13
Natural Resources and Power Subcommittee	41,555.94
Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee	53,064.82
Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee	29,785.84
Research and Technical Programs Subcommittee	35,651.15
Special Subcommittee on Donable Property	11,998.00
Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy	25.25
Total	330,954.90

SALARIES, FULL COMMITTEE, JULY 1 TO DEC. 31, 1965

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Christine Ray Davis	Staff director	$12,470.46
James A. Lanigan	General counsel	12,470.46
Miles Q. Romney	Associate general counsel.	10,480.35
Earle J. Wade	Staff member	8,304.81
Dolores L. Fel'Dotto	do	5,445.48
Ann E. McLachlan	do	5,335.56
Patricia M. Maheux	do	5,335.56
Charlotte C. Bickett	do	4,855.92
J. Philip Carlson	Minority counsel	9,553.29
Raymond T. Collins	Minority staff member.	8,304.81

EXPENSES, FULL COMMITTEE, JULY 1 TO DEC. 31, 1965

Travel, publications, telephone, stationery, supplies, etc	$882.34

EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION SUBCOMMITTEE (HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON, CHAIRMAN)

Elmer W. Henderson	Counsel	$10,896.75
Louis I. Freed	Investigator	9,292.41
Peter S. Barash	Assistant counsel (legal assistant).	5,108.04
Francis J. Schwoerer	Staff member	6,182.40
Veronica B. Johnson	Clerk	4,855.92
John L. Dodson	Clerical staff	2,737.11
Expenses		598.74
Total		39,671.37

MILITARY OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE (HON. CHET HOLIFIELD, CHAIRMAN)

Herbert Roback	Staff administrator	$12,470.46
John Paul Ridgely	Investigator	7,192.35
Douglas G. Dahlin	Staff attorney	6,852.30
Daniel W. Fulmer	do	6,016.26
Robert J. McElroy	Investigator	5,519.91
Catherine L. Koeberlein.	Research assistant	5,200.29
Mollie Jo Hughes	Clerk-stenographer	4,855.92
Expenses		104.45
Total		48,211.94

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES SUBCOMMITTEE
(HON. JACK BROOKS, CHAIRMAN)

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Ernest Cornish Baynard	Staff administrator	$10,480.35
William M. Jones	Counsel	5,095.74
Irma Reel	Clerk	4,855.92
Lynne Higginbotham	Clerk-stenographer	4,422.33
William David Allred	Research assistant (July 1 to Aug. 15, 1965).	1,171.36
Roland J. Williams	Investigator (July 1-5, 1965)	122.83
Expenses		370.59
Total		26,519.12

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE
(HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN, CHAIRMAN)

James R. Naughton	Counsel	$10,079.97
Delphis C. Goldberg	Professional staff member.	10,079.97
George O. Serini	Investigator	7,553.64
William Donald Gray	Research analyst	6,852.30
Bebe B. Terry	Clerk-stenographer	4,568.61
Lexine Rollins	do	3,899.16
Expenses		555.48
Total		43,589.13

NATURAL RESOURCES AND POWER SUBCOMMITTEE
(HON. ROBERT E. JONES, CHAIRMAN)

Phineas Indritz	Counsel	$10,480.35
Harry V. Lerner	Assistant counsel	8,668.53
William Earl Rasco	Professional staff member.	6,016.26
Catherine L. Hartke	Stenographer	4,855.92
Josephine Scheiber	Research analyst	4,855.92
Francine Shacter	Clerk-stenographer	3,899.16
Richard P. Crane, Jr.	Legal analyst (July 1 to Nov. 14, 1965).	2,477.76
Expenses		302.04
Total		41,555.94

FOREIGN OPERATIONS AND GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE (HON. JOHN E. MOSS, CHAIRMAN)

Vincent J. Augliere	Chief, foreign operations.	$10,480.35
Samuel J. Archibald	Chief, government information.	10,480.35
David Glick	Chief counsel	9,530.61
Jack Matteson	Chief investigator	8,955.30
Johan T. Benson	Investigator (Nov. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965).	1,657.68
Betty W. Baldwin	Secretary (July 15 to Dec. 31, 1965).	3,294.53
Elizabeth Jayne Bodecker	Secretary	3,464.40
Benny L. Kass	Assistant counsel (July 1 to Oct. 31, 1965).	3,786.82
Glenna G. Donat	Secretary (July 1-31, 1965).	680.12
Expenses		734.66
Total		53,064.82

LEGAL AND MONETARY AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE (HON. DANTE B. FASCELL, CHAIRMAN)

M. Joseph Matan	Staff administrator	$10,079.97
Charles Rothenberg	Counsel	9,292.41
Clara Katherine Armstrong	Clerical staff	4,688.00
Millicent Y. Myers	Stenographer	4,446.69
Herbert Lee Goldblatt	Clerical staff (July 1 to Aug. 31, 1965).	684.10
Expenses		594.67
Total		29,785.84

RESEARCH AND TECHNICAL PROGRAMS SUBCOMMITTEE
(HON. HENRY S. REUSS, CHAIRMAN)

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Edna Gass	Staff administrator	$9,163.38
Jonas V. Morris	Chief consultant (Oct. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965).	4,274.07
Harry L. Selden	Consultant	4,867.68
John Handley Betz	Counsel	5,854.95
Royce W. Riehlman	Investigator	5,095.74
Catherine S. Cash	Secretary	3,313.05
Carol Flanagan	Secretary (Aug. 9 to Dec. 31, 1965).	2,422.07
Betty W. Baldwin	Clerk-stenographer (July 1-14, 1965).	272.53
Expenses		387.68
Total		35,651.15

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON DONABLE PROPERTY
(HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN, CHAIRMAN)

Norman G. Cornish	Staff administrator	$7,636.53
Mabel C. Baker	Stenographer	4,330.92
Expenses		30.55
Total		11,998.00

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVASION OF PRIVACY
(HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER, CHAIRMAN)

Expenses (total)	$25.25
Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures (H. Res. 109, 89th Cong.)	$650,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	313,715.94
Amount expended from Jan. 3 to June 30, 1965	313,715.94
Total amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	330,954.90
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	5,329.16

WILLIAM L. DAWSON,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

JANUARY 14, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Julian P. Langston	Chief clerk	$12,379.11
Marjorie Savage	Assistant clerk	9,825.51
David S. Wolman	do	9,825.51
Louis Silverman	do	6,672.93
Gurney S. Jaynes	do	3,444.39
Vivian M. Robinson	do	2,790.66
Mary F. Stolle	do	767.92
Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures		$5,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported		305.50
Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965		453.77
Total amount expended from Jan. 3, 1965 to Dec. 31, 1965		759.27
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965		4,240.73

OMAR BURLESON,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

JANUARY 13, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Sidney L. McFarland	Professional staff director and engineering consultant.	$11,715.48
T. Richard Witmer	Counsel and consultant on national parks and recreation.	11,243.67
John L. Taylor	Consultant on territorial and Indian affairs.	11,243.67
Milton A. Pearl	Consultant on mining, minerals, and public lands (resigned Aug. 1).	1,850.31
William L. Shafer	Consultant on mining, minerals, and public lands (from Aug. 15).	7,789.87
Nancy J. Arnold	Chief clerk	9,942.00
Dixie S. Barton	Clerk	5,194.11
Patricia Ann Murray	do	5,194.11
Virginia E. Bedsole	do	4,954.32
Patricia B. Freeman	do	4,580.76
Susan A. Whitener	do	4,300.44
Salaries paid pursuant to H. Res. 137, 89th Cong.		
Charles Leppert, Jr.	Assistant counsel	6,433.92
Lee McElvain	Assistant counsel (from Sept. 1).	3,464.40
Kathleen Vance	Clerk	3,681.78
Edward Gaddis	Messenger	2,816.40
Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures		$75,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported		9,951.10
Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965		45,156.87
Total amount expended from Jan. 3, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965		55,107.97
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965		19,892.03

WAYNE N. ASPINALL,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

JANUARY 3, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Clerical staff:		
W. E. Williamson	Clerk	$12,470.46
Kenneth J. Painter	1st assistant clerk	9,451.20
Marcella Fencl	Assistant clerk	5,606.79

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Clerical staff—Con.		
Glenn L. Johnson	Printing editor	$7,807.92
Joanne C. Neuland	Clerical assistant	4,629.54
Mildred H. Lang	do	4,629.54
Mary Ryan	do	4,629.54
Elsie M. Karpowich	do	4,629.54
Edwin Earl Thomas	Staff assistant	4,044.12
Marion M. Burson	Staff assistant (minority).	10,148.61
Professional staff:		
Andrew Stevenson	Professional staff coordinator.	12,470.46
Kurt Borchardt	Legal counsel	1,388.72
William J. Dixon	Professional staff member.	11,962.83
James M. Menger	do	11,962.83
Additional temporary employees under H. Res. 35 and H. Res. 235:		
Constance Jane Freeman	Clerical assistant (to Aug. 31, 1965).	796.10
Edwin Benjamin Keith, Jr.	Messenger (from July 1–31, 1965).	380.40
James Edward Harris.	do	380.40
Randy Hardin	Messenger (from Aug. 1–31, 1965).	380.40
Chris McRae	do	380.40
Charles L. Honey, Jr.	Staff assistant	7,686.30
P. Wallace Whiteaker.	do	6,138.60
Lewis E. Berry, Jr.	Minority counsel	11,869.93
Helen M. Dubino	Staff assistant (minority).	9,179.24
Peggy C. Cooke	Clerical assistant (minority) (to Nov. 30, 1965).	3,057.30
Barbara L. Bullard	Clerical assistant (minority) (from Nov. 22, 1965).	820.86
Lola LeMieux	Clerical assistant (minority).	3,405.45
Special Subcommittee on investigations:		
Herman C. Beasley	Research attorney (from Sept. 1, 1965, retired civil service annuitant).	3,054.47
Jonathan W. Sloat	Special counsel (from July 12, 1965).	10,975.86
Daniel J. Manelli	Staff attorney	6,416.04
Edmund M. Sciullo	do	6,416.04
James R. Connor	Staff assistant	6,416.04
Sanford L. Mervis	Attorney	7,686.30
Linda E. Spirt	Clerk-stenographer	3,669.69
Elizabeth G. Paola	Clerical assistant	4,629.54
Victoria Williams	do	4,263.87
Catherine C. McLees.	do	4,629.54
Sally Ann McCaffrey.	Clerical assistant (from Sept. 7, 1965).	1,667.80

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$262,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	85,047.00
Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	106,819.75
Total amount expended from Jan. 3, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	191,866.75
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	70,133.25

OREN HARRIS,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

JANUARY 14, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Bess E. Dick	Staff director	$12,470.46
William R. Foley	General counsel	12,470.46
Murray Drabkin	Counsel (through Dec. 13, 1965).	11,271.87
Stuart H. Johnson, Jr.	Counsel (through Oct. 31, 1965).	7,436.77
Garner J. Cline	Counsel	8,623.53
Martin R. Hoffmann	Associate counsel	5,693.64
Benjamin L. Zelenko	Counsel (as of Nov. 1, 1965).	3,171.48
Carrie Lou Allen	Clerical staff	5,347.86
Lorraine W. Beland	do	5,101.89
Anne J. Berger	Clerical staff (through Nov. 30, 1965).	6,410.13
Gertrude C. Burak	Clerical staff	5,644.02
Jane C. Caldwell	do	6,016.26
Frances F. Christy	do	6,852.30

SALARIES PAID PURSUANT TO H. RES. 19 AND H. RES. 88, 89TH CONG.

Appel, Leonard	Assistant counsel	$9,598.65
Beatson, Robert J.	Legislative assistant (as of Aug. 23, 1965).	4,378.64
Benn, Donald G.	Associate counsel	7,060.80
Breslow, Jerome W.	Assistant counsel (as of Oct. 1, 1965).	3,120.39
Cors, Allan D.	Deputy associate counsel.	5,298.63
Eisenberg, Roberta E.	Clerical	4,690.47
Haardt, Alma B.	do	4,324.83
Harkins, Kenneth R.	Chief counsel, Antitrust Subcommittee.	11,679.12
Hunter, Jane Ward	Clerical (as of Oct. 11, 1965).	1,390.25
James, Raymond J.	do	2,539.72
Jett, R. Frederick	Counsel	9,598.65
Kelemonick, Michael	Clerical	4,568.61
Lee, Charles R.	Messenger	3,289.15
McGrady, Florence T.	Clerical	4,044.12
McGrath, James P.	Clerical (as of Oct. 1, 1965).	2,057.82
Marcus, Philip	Associate counsel (through Oct. 31, 1965).	7,009.73
Martz, Uzal H., Jr.	Legislative assistant (as of Sept. 14, 1965).	4,287.44
Meekins, Elizabeth G.	Clerical	4,690.47
Resweber, Harold J., Jr.	Clerical (as of Oct. 1, 1965).	1,453.61
Shattuck, Patricia H.	Clerical	4,044.12
Sourwine, Mary G.	do	3,529.70
Sutherland, David A.	Counsel (as of Oct. 1, 1965).	5,178.57
Zeifman, Jerome M.	do	4,146.39
Zelenko, Benjamin L.	Counsel (through Oct. 31, 1965).	6,094.74

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$250,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	95,537.96
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	122,908.76
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31, 1965	218,446.72
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	31,553.28

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON STATE TAXATION OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE, SALARIES PAID PURSUANT TO H. RES. 123, 89TH CONG.[1]

Baskir, Lawrence M.	Counsel (through July 3, 1965).	$71.70
Breslow, Jerome W.	Assistant counsel	3,011.97
Cohen, Felice Davis	Counsel (through July 16, 1965).	382.42
Cooley, Alford W.	Clerical (through July 25, 1965).	502.32
Faircloth, John W. F.	Counsel (through July 31, 1965).	1,252.06
James, Raymond K.	Clerical	2,451.48
McGrath, James P.	do	1,986.30
Resweber, Harold J., Jr.	do	1,288.48
Sutherland, David A.	Counsel	4,998.63
Zeifman, Jerome M.	do	4,002.30

[1] As of Oct. 1, 1965, salaries transferred to H. Res. 19 and H. Res. 88, 89th Cong.

Funds authorized or appropriated for subcommittee expenditures	$90,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	65,160.19
Amount expended from July 1 through Dec. 31, 1965	24,839.27
Total amount expended from Jan. 3 through Dec. 31, 1965	89,999.46
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	.54

FUNDS FOR PREPARATION OF UNITED STATES CODE, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CODE, AND REVISION OF THE LAWS

A. Preparation of new edition of United States Code (no year):	
Unexpended balance June 30, 1965	$115,477.62
Expended July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	57,507.32
Balance Dec. 31, 1965	57,970.30
B. Preparation of new edition of District of Columbia Code:	
Unexpended balance June 30, 1965	64,137.13
Expended July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	23,175.99
Balance Dec. 31, 1965	40,961.14
C. Revision of the laws 1966:	
Legislative Appropriation Act, 1966	27,000.00
Expended July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	12,520.46
Balance Dec. 31, 1965	14,479.54

EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

DECEMBER 31, 1965.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
John M. Drewry	Chief counsel	$12,470.46
Bernard J. Zincke	Counsel	11,818.68
Ned P. Everett	Assistant counsel	10,182.93
Arthur Pankopf, Jr.	Minority counsel	8,437.47
W. B. Winfield	Chief clerk	11,742.34
Frances P. Still	Assistant clerk	6,218.85
Ruth A. Brookshire	do	4,855.92
Edith W. Gordon	Secretary	4,855.92
Vera A. Barker	do	4,885.92

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$50,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	10,895.55
Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	15,144.63
Total amount expended from Jan. 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	26,040.18
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	23,959.82

EDWARD A. GARMATZ,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

JANUARY 15, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive,

together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

STANDING COMMITTEE STAFF

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Charles E. Johnson	Staff director	$12,470.46
B. Benton Bray	Associate staff director.	12,197.37
John H. Martiny	Counsel	12,197.37
William A. Irvine	Assistant staff director.	12,197.37
Lillian H. Hanninen	Assistant clerk	6,672.93
John B. Price	do	5,519.91
Lucy K. Daley	do	5,519.91
Elsie E. Thornton	Secretary	5,347.86
Barbara M. Wells	do	5,101.89
Blanche M. Simons	do	4,917.42

INVESTIGATIVE STAFF, PURSUANT TO H. RES. 245 AND 246, 89TH CONG., 1ST SESS.

Barton, Richard	Staff assistant	$5,501.30
Bates, Kathryn E	Secretary	3,914.94
Berner, Joan H	Stenographer	4,324.83
Blewett, Arlene	Clerk-typist (from Sept. 29, 1965).	407.93
Bova, Joyce C	Clerk-stenographer	3,055.77
Carlson, Geraldine N	Clerk-typist (from Dec. 16, 1965).	250.01
Carroll, Patricia G	Staff assistant	5,501.30
Devlin, Ralph J	Staff member	7,382.27
Green, Thelma R	Stenographer	4,324.83
Kazy, Theodore James.	Staff assistant	7,176.85
Keating, Michael M	do	3,567.06
Kennedy, Thomas R	Staff assistant (from Aug. 1, 1965).	4,600.63
MacKay, John W	Staff assistant	5,501.30
Mann, Lawrence	Staff assistant (from Aug. 1, 1965).	4,600.63
Monahan, Jean	Clerk-stenographer	3,669.69
Olian, Victoria L	Stenographer (summer employee).	801.38
Olsen, Margaret Rae	do	1,300.68
Pendleton, Maria R	Stenographer	4,446.69
Peters, Dorothy L	do	3,778.02
Powell, John William	Staff assistant	4,197.76
Richards, James Walsh	do	3,055.77
Schwartz, Harold Alan	Legal intern (summer employee).	734.60
Simons, Jennifer	Clerk-typist (summer employee).	454.35
Snipes, Justine P	Stenographer	4,690.47
Tansill, Helen C	do	2,522.77
Ward, Ella R	Staff assistant	5,501.30
Young, Richard E	Staff assistant (from July 6, summer employee).	499.79

INVESTIGATIVE STAFF, PURSUANT TO H. RES. 595 AND 511, 89TH CONG., 1ST SESS.

Mode, Douglas G	Associate counsel	$788.18

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$175,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	45,244.65
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31	102,173.59
Total amount expended from Jan. 4 to Dec. 31	147,418.24
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	27,581.76

TOM MURRAY,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

JANUARY 14, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

STANDING COMMITTEE

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Edward J. McNeal	Staff director (through Sept. 30).	$5,736.30
Richard J. Sullivan	Chief counsel	11,679.12
Joseph R. Brennan	Engineer-consultant	11,679.12
Clifton W. Enfield	Minority counsel	11,504.67
Stephen V. Feeley	Subcommittee clerk	7,918.47
Audrey G. Warren	do	6,016.26
Helen A. Thompson	Staff assistant	8,026.05
Dorothy A. Beam	do	6,786.00
Meriam R. Buckley	do	4,592.97
Sterlyn B. Carroll	do	4,507.65

INVESTIGATING STAFF—SALARIES PAID JULY 1 THROUGH DEC. 31, 1965, PURSUANT TO H. RES. 142 AND H. RES. 514, 89TH CONG. 1ST SESS.

Maurice B. Tobin	Subcommittee clerk	$7,653.15
John A. O'Connor, Jr.	do	6,016.26
Augusta B. Peters	do	6,016.26
Robert F. Spence	do	6,016.26
Marina M. Gentilini	Staff assistant	3,971.67
Anne C. Kennedy	do	3,693.87
Harvey C. Simms, Jr.	Staff assistant (through Aug. 31).	693.62
Erla S. Youmans	Minority staff assistant.	5,557.17
Randal C. Teague	do	4,587.00
Gerard F. Schiappa	do	3,567.06
Mary Ann Hodges	do	3,055.77

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures:	
H. Res. 142	$150,000.00
H. Res. 514	115,000.00
Total	265,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	53,421.49
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	56,623.11
Total amount expended from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	110,044.60
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	154,955.40

GEORGE A. FALLON,
Chairman.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY PROGRAM

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Walter R. May	Chief counsel	$11,679.12
John P. Constandy	Assistant chief counsel.	10,827.54
Robert L. May	Minority counsel	10,752.57
George H. Martin	Administrative assistant.	9,734.76
Salvatore J. D'Amico	Associate counsel	8,210.05
John P. O'Hara	do	8,210.05
Carl J. Lorenz, Jr	do	7,503.87
Robert G. Lawrence	do	7,168.48
George M. Korecky	Chief investigator	10,228.69
Sherman S. Willse	Professional staff member.	8,210.05
Richard A. Cordasco	do	7,647.59
James P. Boyd, Jr	Professional staff member (as of Aug. 15).	5,815.46
Paul R. S. Yates	Minority professional staff member.	8,065.07
Kathryn M. Keeney	Chief clerk	5,445.49
Stuart M. Harrison	Staff assistant	6,113.55
Mildred E. Rupert	do	4,452.80
Agnes M. GaNun	do	4,300.45
Shirley R. Knighten	do	3,669.69
Sylvia Reppert	Minority staff assistant member.	4,221.24

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures:	
H. Res. 142	$300,000.00
H. Res. 514	15,000.00
Total	315,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	$154,839.88
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	151,442.76
Total amount expended from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	306,282.64
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	8,717.36

GEORGE A. FALLON,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

JANUARY 12, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
T. M. Carruthers	Counsel, standing committee (P).	$8,544.54
Mary Spencer Forrest	Assistant counsel (P).	6,350.40
Robert D. Hynes, Jr	Minority counsel (P).	6,350.40
James Collins Adkins	Staff assistant (Oct. 1, 1965, to Oct. 31, 1965).	557.88

HOWARD W. SMITH,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

JANUARY 12, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Charles F. Ducander	Executive director and chief counsel.	$12,470.46
John A. Carstarphen, Jr.	Chief clerk and counsel.	11,679.12
Philip B. Yeager	Counsel	11,679.12
W. H. Boone	Chief technical consultant.	11,542.04
Frank R. Hammill, Jr.	Counsel	11,107.37
Mary Ann Robert	Secretary	4,825.20
Emily F. Dodson	do	4,617.36
Carol F. Rodgers	do	4,501.59
June C. Stafford	do	4,501.59
Elizabeth M. Fleming	Secretary (to Sept. 15, 1965).	1,842.50
Virginia Robison	Secretary	4,221.24
Investigations Subcommittee:		
Richard P. Hines	Staff consultant	10,792.91
James E. Wilson, Jr.	Technical consultant.	10,645.61
Peter A. Gerardi	do	10,645.61
Harold A. Gould	Technical consultant (from Sept. 1, 1965).	6,956.28
Philip P. Dickinson	Technical consultant.	9,163.38
Katherine V. Flanigan	Assistant clerk	6,323.89
Joseph M. Felton	Assistant counsel	5,600.58

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Frank J. Giroux	Printing clerk	$5,594.37
Elizabeth S. Kernan	Scientific research assistant.	5,445.48
Denis C. Quigley	Publications clerk	3,820.68
Helen A. Thomas	Secretary (Sept. 29 through Nov. 30).	1,069.59
Kieran U. Cashman	Secretary (from Dec. 1).	584.53
Francis Shea	Clerical assistant (July and August).	600.58

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures $250,000.00

Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965 99,471.54

Total amount expended from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965 189,938.65

Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965 60,061.35

GEORGE MILLER,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

JANUARY 13, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

STANDING COMMITTEE

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Hitz, William	General counsel	$12,470.46
McNamara, Francis J.	Staff director	11,376.75
Appell, Donald T.	Chief investigator	9,695.04
Wheeler, William A.	Investigator	9,067.77
Turner, Anne D.	Chief of reference and files.	7,137.51
Joray, Juliette P.	Recording clerk	7,082.73
Purdy, Rosella A.	Secretary to general counsel (retired Nov. 30, 1965).	4,769.15
Gittings, Helen M.	Research analyst	5,954.25
Nagel, Isabel B.	Secretary to counsel	4,690.47
Veley, Lorraine N.	Secretary to investigators.	4,446.69

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE (H. RES. 188)

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Baldwin, Beatrice P.	Clerk-typist	$3,169.44
Berman, Ellen Sue	Clerk-typist (transferred from H. Res. 310, Nov. 1, 1965).	913.93
Buglio, Theresa J.	Clerk-typist	2,784.51
Burke, Gerard F.	Clerk-typist (resigned Sept. 7, 1965).	1,116.44
Butler, Daniel	Clerk-typist	3,085.69
Butler, Eve C.	Clerk-stenographer (transferred from H. Res. 310 on Nov. 1, 1965).	1,054.61
Collins, William R.	Editor	4,501.59
Cunningham, Anniel.	Information analyst	4,862.08
Curll, Jean W.	Secretary to staff director.	4,087.17
Doyle, Florence B.	Clerk-typist	2,327.52
Edinger, Elizabeth L.	Editor	5,108.05
Ellsweig, Rochelle J.	Clerk-typist	2,227.03
Fournet, Adrienne B.	Clerk-typist (terminated Aug. 31, 1965).	847.70
Francis, Emily R.	Information analyst	3,235.29
Gaffney, Metje	Clerk-typist	2,327.52
Gallagher, James L.	Research analyst	5,730.90
Holton, Katherine R.	Research clerk	3,289.15
Huber, Walter B.	Consultant	9,180.25

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE (H. RES. 188)—continued

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
James, Mildred	Clerk-typist (appointed Sept. 13, 1965).	$1,351.96
Joyner, June	Clerk-typist (terminated Dec. 31, 1965).	2,121.99
Kelly, M. Patricia	Research analyst	3,875.04
McConnon, B. R., Jr.	Investigator	6,113.55
McCroskey, David H.	Clerk-typist (resigned Dec. 31, 1965).	2,464.34
McLaughlin, Carol E.	Clerk-typist	2,370.31
Manuel, Philip R.	Investigator	6,113.55
Masumian, Alberta	Secretary	5,347.86
Montelaro, James	Clerk-typist (appointed Sept. 20, 1965).	1,602.17
Monts, Esther L.	Clerk-stenographer (resigned Aug. 31, 1965).	1,221.38
Mouton, J. Camille	Clerk-typist (resigned Aug. 31, 1965).	847.70
Muffley, David E., Jr.	Clerk-typist	3,408.81
Nittle, Alfred M.	Counsel	9,337.78
Pfaff, Alma T.	Research analyst	3,567.06
Phillips, Katherine	Switchboard operator.	3,019.86
Poole, William	Clerk-typist (appointed Sept. 1, 1965).	1,741.18
Randolph, Josephine S.	Research clerk	3,778.41
Rappaport, Toby	Clerk-typist (transferred from H. Res. 310 on Jan. 11, 1965).	913.93
Rector, Lynne M.	Clerk-stenographer	2,291.12
Romerstein, Herbert	Investigator	3,442.23
Rosas, Doris E.	Secretary to chairman, investigating (transferred from H. Res. 310 on Jan. 11, 1965).	1,410.57
Russell, Louis J.	Investigator	7,301.92
Salathe, Doris R.	Information analyst	2,942.10
Stiles, Lela Mae	do	3,609.33
Sweany, Donald I., Jr.	Research analyst	5,519.91
Sweeny, Barbara C.	Clerk-stenographer	3,055.77
Valente, Mary Myers	Administrative secretary.	5,854.95
Vernor, Dorothy	Clerk-stenographer	3,319.04
Voultsides, Carol	Clerk-typist (transferred from H. Res. 310 on Jan. 11, 1965).	913.93
Walton, Stanley F.	Clerk-typist (resigned Aug. 31, 1965).	806.92
Weber, Stephen J.	Clerk-typist (terminated Aug. 31, 1965).	847.70
Wetterman, Neil E.	Investigator	6,119.85
Wheeler, Billie	Clerk-stenographer	2,323.47

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures $370,000.00

Amount or expenditures previously reported 158,889.15

Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965 191,869.34

Total amount expended from Jan. 3, to Dec. 31, 1965 350,758.49

Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965 19,241.51

E. E. WILLIS,
Chairman.

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE (H. RES. 310)

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Beatson, Robert J.	Investigator (resigned Aug. 22, 1965).	$1,734.91
DuRoss, William, III.	Clerk-typist (terminated Sept. 17, 1965).	1,087.88
Rosas, Doris E.	Secretary to chairman investigating (Sept. 2 to Nov. 1, 1965).	2,506.30
Berman, Ellen Sue	Clerk-typist (Aug. 1 to Nov. 1, 1965).	867.12
Butler, Eve C.	Clerk-stenographer (Aug. 1 to Nov. 1, 1965).	1,500.87
Lee, Meyer	Investigator (Sept. 2 to Nov. 1, 1965).	3,274.97
Rappaport, Toby	Clerk-typist (Sept. 1 to Nov. 1, 1965).	$852.67
Voultsides, Carol	do	867.12

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures $50,000.00

Amount of expenditures previously reported 3,431.01

Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965 46,293.01

Total amount expended from Apr. 14 to Dec. 31, 1965 49,724.01

Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965 275.99

E. E. WILLIS,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

JANUARY 11, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Full committee:		
Oliver E. Meadows	Staff director	$11,679.12
Edwin B. Patterson	Counsel	11,679.12
John R. Holden	Professional staff member.	9,592.98
Billy E. Kirby	Professional aid	8,210.04
George W. Fisher	Chief clerk	11,679.12
Helen A. Biondi	Assistant clerk	6,380.16
Carol A. Davis	Clerk-stenographer	1,957.78
Alice V. Matthews	do	5,224.86
George J. Turner	Assistant clerk	5,224.86
Investigative staff:		
Mark L. Davis	Clerk-messenger	934.10
Adin M. Downer	Staff member	8,527.86
Barbara Price Daniel.	Clerk-stenographer	2,683.55
Barbara E. Ehrman	do	3,609.33
Wilma Jean Johnson.	do	4,855.92
John B. Kidd	Research assistant	1,403.88
Marjorie J. Kidd	Clerk-stenographer	3,609.33
Leila W. Osborne	do	2,076.30
David C. Thomas, Jr.	Clerk-typist	2,370.47

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures $100,000.00

Amount of expenditures previously reported 28,906.02

Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965 46,480.91

Total amount expended from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965 75,386.93

Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965 24,613.07

OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

JANUARY 10, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from

July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Leo H. Irwin	Chief counsel (C)	$12,470.46
William H. Quealy	Minority counsel (P).	12,470.46
John M. Martin Jr.	Assistant chief counsel (P).	12,197.37
John P. Baker	Professional assistant (P) (from Sept. 1, 1965).	6,053.24
Thomas P. Kerester	Professional assistant (P).	8,972.16
John P. Baker	Staff assistant (C) July and August.	155.94
Florence Burkett	Staff assistant (C)	4,367.49
Virginia Butler	do	5,761.92
William Byrd	do	2,840.34
Mary K. Daniel	Staff assistant (C) to Oct. 31, 1965.	2,079.42
Grace Kagan	Staff assistant (C)	5,761.92
June Kendall	do	6,248.73
Max Mehlburger	do	4,044.12
Elizabeth Price	do	3,905.22
Martha Sue Ritner	Staff assistant (C) to July 31, 1965.	657.16
Dolores Rogers	Staff assistant (C)	3,820.68
Gloria Shaver	do	5,274.06
Eileen Sonnett	do	4,831.32
Susan Taylor	do	6,553.44
Irene Wade	do	5,323.34
Richard Wilbur	do	6,107.31
Hughlon Greene	Document clerk (C).	4,001.85
Walter Little	do	4,001.85

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$35,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	2,792.93
Amount expended from July 1, to Dec. 31, 1965	14,693.71
Total amount expended from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	17,486.64
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	17,513.36

W. D. MILLS,
Chairman.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE PRODUCTION

JANUARY 5, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Harold J. Warren	Clerk and counsel	$10,480.35
Joseph C. Lewis	Professional staff	9,021.20
George T. Ault	do	7,301.91
C. Oral Lambert	do	6,144.87
Edward Hart	do	804.32

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$80,000.00
Amount expended from July 1, 1965, to Dec. 31, 1965	33,798.91
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	46,201.09

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON,
Chairman.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY POLICY

JANUARY 15, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Edward M. O'Connor	Staff director	$11,679.12

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$24,100.00
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	12,108.84
Balance unexpended as of Jan. 1, 1966	11,921.16

MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN,
Chairman.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL REVENUE TAXATION

DECEMBER 31, 1965.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
L. N. Woodworth	Chief of staff	$12,999.96
Lincoln Arnold	Assistant chief of staff.	11,749.72
Nicholas Tomasulo	Legislation counsel	10,752.58
Robert Smyers	Refund counsel	10,182.94
James H. Symons	Statistical analyst	10,148.62
Grace T. Gunn	do	9,689.37
Alan P. Murray	Economist	9,923.05
Earl V. Willetts	Attorney	8,388.42
James M. LaMarche	Administrative assistant.	7,653.15
Harrison B. McCawley.	Attorney	7,387.80
Anastasia F. Connaughton.	Statistical clerk	6,779.94
Joseph E. Fink	do	6,779.94
Carl A. Nordberg, Jr.	Attorney	6,925.50
Herbert L. Chabot	do	6,925.50
Cleo H. Fonelli	Secretary	4,057.65
James W. McBride	Attorney	4,574.46
Blanche F. Nagro	Secretary	4,032.07
Joanne B. McDermott	do	3,975.56
Jacqueline S. Pfeiffer	do	3,829.29
Nicki Rae Fairfax	do	602.78
Gloria J. McCabe	do	3,217.32
Ila Coe	do	3,091.64
June B. Matthews	do	3,091.64
Cecilia Juarez Grimm	do	2,748.96
Mildred Feldt	do	2,798.77
Janmarie Spangler	do	2,429.83
Marilyn Smout	do	654.89
Michael Fox	Attorney	2,696.16
Total salaries		168,537.51
Contract employee: P. W. Meekins	Tax consultant	4,500.00
Total salaries and contract payments.		173,037.51

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$390,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported (reported for period Jan. 1 to July 1, 1965)	167,776.74
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	$173,037.51
Total amount expended from Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1965	340,814.25
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	49,185.75

W. D. MILLS,
Chairman.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

JANUARY 20, 1966.

To the CLERK OF THE HOUSE:

The above-mentioned committee or subcommittee, pursuant to section 134(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended, submits the following report showing the name, profession, and total salary of each person employed by it during the 6-month period from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, inclusive, together with total funds authorized or appropriated and expended by it:

Name of employee	Profession	Total gross salary during 6-month period
Richard L. Mitchell	General counsel	$12,470.46
Myrtle Ruth Foutch	Clerk	5,347.86
Sylvia U. Keel	Secretary	4,215.12
Bryan H. Jacques	Staff director	12,470.46
Harry Olsher	Consultant	11,035.14
Astrid E. Gram	Secretary	3,450.80
Gregg Potvin	Counsel	11,035.14
Leslie Ann Conway	Secretary	2,206.92
Audrey R. Smith	Research analyst	3,249.30
Charles E. O'Connor	Counsel	10,480.35
Dorothy M. Partin	Secretary	4,087.17
Henry A. Robinson	Counsel	9,292.41
Beth S. Russell	Secretary	3,375.91
Justinus Gould	Counsel	10,480.35
William M. Reddig	Research analyst	6,374.19
Gertrude Maxine Dean.	Secretary	3,375.91
William A. Keel, Jr.	Research analyst	9,180.23
Alan MacDonald	do	928.08
John J. Williams	Minority counsel	8,148.69
Robert D. Zitko	Assistant minority counsel.	3,573.06
Eugene W. Loehl	do	1,650.75
Calvin J. Collier	Minority staff assistant.	1,202.07
Beverly B. Denbo	Secretary (minority).	1,398.78
Maxine M. Porter	do	422.01
Nancy L. Bigelow	do	830.23
Total		140,281.39

Funds authorized or appropriated for committee expenditures	$300,000.00
Amount of expenditures previously reported	134,303.34
Amount expended from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1965	156,005.32
Total amount expended from Jan. up to Dec. 31, 1965	290,308.66
Balance unexpended as of Dec. 31, 1965	9,691.34

JOE L. EVINS,
Chairman.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1914. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of examination of financial statements, fiscal year 1965, Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Department of Justice (H. Doc. 365); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered printed.

1915. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of industrial diamond stones from the national stockpile and the supple-

mental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1916. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1917. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of platinum from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1918. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of bismuth from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1919. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of crude silicon carbide from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1920. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of fused crude aluminum oxide from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1921. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of phlogopite mica from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1922. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of muscovite mica from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1923. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the act of November 8, 1965 (79 Stat. 1295), establishing the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1924. A letter from the Secretary of Defense transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize certain construction in support of military activities in southeast Asia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1925. A letter from the Director, Congressional Liaison, Agency for International Development, Department of State, transmitting a reply to the report of the Acting Comptroller General of October 29, 1965, on the use of dollars rather than foreign currencies to pay U.S. expenses in the Republic of Korea; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1926. A letter from the Archivist of the United States transmitting a report on records proposed for disposal, pursuant to the provisions of 59 Stat. 434; to the Committee on House Administration.

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:

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey: Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers. House Report No. 1217. Report on the disposition of certain papers of sundry executive departments. Ordered to be printed.

Mr. MADDEN: Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. Report on the organization of Congress (second interim); without amendment (Rept. No. 1218). 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. ADDABBO:

H.R. 12202. A bill declaring October 12 to be a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. BOLTON:

H.R. 12203. A bill to restore non-service-connected veterans' pensions which have been reduced or eliminated because of the receipt of increased social security benefits; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 12204. A bill to facilitate the management, use, and public benefits from the Appalachian Trail, a scenic trail designed primarily for foot travel through natural or primitive areas, and extending generally from Maine to Georgia; to facilitate and promote Federal, State, local, and private cooperation and assistance for the promotion of the trail, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.R. 12205. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to mailing privileges of members of the U.S. Armed Forces and other Federal Government personnel overseas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 12206. A bill to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 12207. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction for additions to a reserve for certain guaranteed debt obligations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 12208. A bill to establish a Redwood National Park in the State of California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 12209. A bill to amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act to provide for the exemption of teachers from induction into the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 12210. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide for the free importation of certain specialized educational equipment; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 12211. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to assist States and communities in meeting the initial cost of establishment and operation of programs for the care of patients with kidney diseases and to train professional personnel needed to conduct such programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KREBS:

H.R. 12212. A bill to amend the Social Security Amendments of 1965 to eliminate the provision which denies hospital insurance benefits to uninsured individuals who are members of certain organizations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 12213. A bill to amend the Federal Credit Union Act to modify the loan provisions relating to directors, members of the supervisory committee, and members of the credit committee of Federal credit unions; to increase the unsecured loan limit that a member can borrow from a Federal credit union; to require each Federal credit union to establish an education committee; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 12214. A bill to permit Federal employees to purchase shares of Federal- or State-chartered credit unions through voluntary payroll allotment; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. McDOWELL:

H.R. 12215. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to provide readjustment assistance to veterans who serve in the Armed Forces during the induction period; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.R. 12216. A bill to provide that the fee increases prescribed by Public Law 89-83 shall not be effective in any case wherein the application was filed prior to the effective date of that act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA of Michigan:

H.R. 12217. A bill to establish a Redwood National Park in the State of California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. OLSEN of Montana:

H.R. 12218. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to permit the duty-free entry of gifts not exceeding $100 in retail value from members of the Armed Forces serving outside the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 12219. A bill to provide for the participation of the United States in the Asian Development Bank; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. REUSS:

H.R. 12220. A bill to provide for the participation of the United States in the Asian Development Bank; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 12221. A bill to amend the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, and the Railway Labor Act with respect to emergency labor disputes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 12222. A bill to amend title 35, United States Code (relating to patents), to provide counsel for the defense and prosecution of rights of indigent patentees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 12223. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize certain grants to assure adequate commuter service in urban areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 12224. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to enable the courts to deal more effectively with the problem of narcotic addiction, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12225. A bill to amend section 13a of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to the discontinuance or change of certain operations or services of common carriers by rail, in order to require the Interstate Commerce Commission to give full consideration to all financial assistance available before permitting any such discontinuance or change; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 12226. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code with respect to criminal procedures and sentencing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 12227. A bill to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of

1965 to authorize parts of counties and municipalities to be designated as redevelopment areas; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. SICKLES:

H.R. 12228. A bill to provide educational assistance to certain veterans of service in the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 12229. A bill to authorize the transfer of two inactive Liberty ships to the Santa Rosa County Board of Commissioners, Florida; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 12230. A bill to provide that the fee increases prescribed by Public Law 89–83 shall not be effective in any case wherein the application was filed prior to the effective date of that act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12231. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide for the free importation of certain specialized educational equipment; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 12232. A bill to amend title 1 of the United States Code to provide for the admissibility in evidence of the slip laws and the Treaties and Other International Acts Series, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GOODELL:

H.R. 12233. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to protect any veteran against a loss of pension as a result of enactment of the Social Security Amendments of 1965, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H.J. Res. 806. Joint resolution designating February of each year as American History Month; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H. Con. Res. 553. Concurrent resolution authorizing the Joint Committee on the Library to procure a marble bust of Constantino Brumidi; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. FINO:

H. Con. Res. 556. Concurrent resolution authorizing the Joint Committee on the Library to procure a marble bust of Constantino Brumidi; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H. Con. Res. 555. Concurrent resolution authorizing the Joint Committee on the Library to procure a marble bust of Constantino Brumidi; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MADDEN:

H. Con. Res. 556. Concurrent resolution authorizing the Joint Committee on the Library to procure a marble bust of Constantino Brumidi; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. GOODELL:

H. Res. 679. Resolution creating a select committee to investigate the operation of the Economic Opportunity Act; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KREBS:

H. Res. 680. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on Urban Affairs; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H. Res. 681. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on Urban Affairs; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. THOMAS:

H. Res. 682. Resolution relating to nonproliferation of nuclear weapons; 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. CURTIS:

H.R. 12234. A bill for the relief of Amleto Abbatangelo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 12235. A bill for the relief of Dong Myong Shin Yoo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 12236. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Stefania Scislowicz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 12237. A bill for the relief of Tri-States Construction Co., Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

317. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Clarence E. Whaley, San Diego, Calif., and others, relative to impeachment of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Msgr. John O'Grady

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

MSGR. JOHN O'GRADY

The death of Msgr. John O'Grady, while it has brought sorrow to all who knew him, has also brought rejoicing in the triumphant conclusion of a splendid life. The nature of the man, and the value placed upon him by those who best knew his character and achievements, are well expressed in the editorial with which the Washington Post saluted his passing. Evidently speaking from the heart, the editorial writer began with the memorable exclamation: "What a glorious, triumphant, robust, and joyous Christian life came to a close when the Right Reverend Monsignor John O'Grady died on Sunday." It is a strong temptation to make the eloquent words of this editorial tribute my own, as they compress so tellingly the many and varied contributions of this great man to America and to mankind, and carry over effectively to the reader the qualities of energy and compassion that made Monsignor O'Grady such a fighter for human needs and against injustice and intolerance.

Millions who have never heard of Monsignor O'Grady, and who presumably never will hear of him, are deeply in debt to his labors, and to those who have followed his lead. For more than 40 years he served with distinction as secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, holding the title of secretary emeritus at the time of his death on January 2, 1966. In this office, he was a major organizer of Catholic social welfare work both here and abroad, bringing both his scholarship and his boundless energy to bear on the many enterprises that came within the scope of this organization between 1919 and 1961, when he retired on account of ill health.

Even while carrying out the extensive duties of this position, Monsignor O'Grady became a founder of the National Catholic School of Social Work, in the Catholic University of America, and served as dean of that school from 1934 to 1938.

Monsignor O'Grady's was an effective voice in contributing to the study of legislation in social matters, since he combined the scholar's mastery of details with the executive's grasp of essentials. In housing, in social security, in employment of the physically handicapped, in nondiscrimination in employment, in immigration policies, in the resettlement of displaced persons, in the community approach to social welfare programs, Monsignor O'Grady has been a major contributor in the making of laws and in the establishment of government policy.

We who come of Irish stock take particular pride in the fact that Monsignor O'Grady was one of the great number of fine priests that have been contributed to America by Ireland. He was born in County Clare and ordained in Dublin; at his death he was survived by a brother living in County Clare, and a sister in Limerick.

Monsignor O'Grady's concerns and activities went beyond the borders of this country, not only in matters of the resettlement of refugees, and the liberalization of immigration laws, but in the far-flung benefactions of War Relief Services (later named Catholic Relief Services) of which he was vice president, and in his service as Consultant to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. In this capacity, he visited Africa to work on community development projects, and in 1959 he was cited by Pope John XXIII for his contributions to the welfare of Africa through this work. The Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington, said, upon hearing of Monsignor O'Grady's death: "His influence on charitable works of the church in this country and throughout the world for widespread social reforms will be long remembered. He was truly a modern apostle of Christian charity."

Monsignor O'Grady's theoretical emphasis on community service was also carried out in his life. Despite his national and worldwide interests, in the National Conference of Catholic Charities, and in his services as a consultor to various branches of the U.S. Government and to the United Nations, he was active locally as organizer of the Catholic Charities of Washington, which he headed from 1920 to 1938, and as professor of sociology at Trinity College for many years, besides his continuing interest in the National Catholic School of Social Work.

A great priest, an outstanding American, a valued friend of mine for many years, Monsignor O'Grady was "One of God's noblemen," during his many years of active, progressive, and constructive life. When things looked dark, Monsignor O'Grady was not only a bulwark of strength, but an inspiration to progressive Members of the Congress to fight successfully for the passage of progressive legislation in the best interests of the people.

We may well mourn that such a man has left us, but the occasion of his death is truly, in the long view, the occasion for rejoicing, both in the splendor of his Christian soul, and in the lasting benefits which his career has brought to our Nation and to the world. May his soul rest in peace, and may his example inspire generations yet to come.

In my remarks, I include the text of the sermon delivered by Most Rev. Raymond J. Gallagher, D.D., Bishop of Lafayette, Ind., at the Requiem Mass offered at St. Matthews Cathedral for Msgr. John J. O'Grady and an editorial that appeared in the Washington Post of January 5, 1966.

TRIBUTE TO CHARITIES PIONEER

(By Bishop Raymond J. Gallagher)

With great wisdom Holy Mother Church encourages us to avoid the giving of a eulogy on the occasion of a person's death. This bit of advice is very wise since it enables those of us who are present for the ceremony to succeed in attaining the primary purpose of a funeral mass; namely, a learning of the lesson which death itself teaches us.

Although the church recognizes the value of a life well lived, she endorses as more important the lesson of life taught by death. All of us have witnessed many times the entrance of death into our immediate circle under both tragic and ordinary circumstances. Regardless of how it arrives, attacking youth or old age, it presents us with a teaching unparalleled.

The recommendation that we consider the mystery of life and the inevitability of death provides an additional safeguard to both preacher and listener. By suggesting a relatively impersonal sermon, Holy Mother Church protects us from the caprice or unfortunate choice which a preacher might make among those qualities and characteristics possessed by the deceased.

CHURCH GUIDANCE

On the one hand, some might be selected and emphasized for personal reasons. On the other hand qualities of great significance might be neglected or ignored, presenting a final picture of the individual which is neither true nor balanced.

We can be grateful for this guidance and for the motif of the ceremonies here being performed since they enable us to focus on the true and basic identity of man and help us set a priority on those threads of relationship which typify us. By reason of the very simplicity of these ceremonies, we are reminded of the fact of our creation by God. We are once more complimented by the realization that God created us to help achieve His purposes. We are sobered by the realization that we must give an accounting of our stewardship in terms of what we have accomplished with what God has given us.

No one of us will question the wisdom involved here, for it provides us edifying and compelling encouragement to redirect and reform our lives while we yet have the opportunity. It reminds us of our distinct and precious identity as a being created by God's hand, a matter of proof that we are not the product of some accidental process, in reminding us that even though science, with magnificent competence, succeeds in developing life from primary ingredients, that we, as individuals, represent the miraculous existence out of nothingness which required a God to achieve.

This intimacy in sharing the mission of God among His creatures clarifies not only its importance, but identifies the warmth and affection with which we must pursue this godly objective of prosecuting the needs of our neighbor through love. The talents which God has given to each of us were meant as a means toward this end and our right to share in the perfection of God's company depends upon our use of these talents.

It is significant in the gospel story that the person who received the five talents put all five of them to the advantage of himself and his neighbor. Because of the striking similarity of our deceased friend and colleague to this utility of one's talents, as portrayed in the gospel, I am encouraged to depart from the advice of Holy Mother Church and become a little personal in this eulogy.

I have had the privilege of knowing Monsignor O'Grady for fewer number of years than most of you and I, therefore, anticipate your indulgence if I have not seen everything in proper perspective. What I say is a reflection of the manner in which he affected me.

Here was a man of God who combined many characteristics. He often told me that he was not popular with some of our Irish brothers because he didn't seem to dislike the English sufficiently. Although he was no less our ideal as both Catholic and Irish, he still preserved a sense of proportion that enabled him to love his brother regardless of other characteristics.

We have often characterized him as an opponent of what welfare theorists identified as dramatic new thrust in behalf of the poor. Even with this great motivation, our friend could preserve a balanced mind that measured the costs of these thrusts in terms of personal rights and duties. A man, a student, an educator, and a social reformer are but a few of the facets of his long and arduous priestly life.

He was indeed intense and dedicated, fearless, and courageous. He was blunt and direct, but it seems to me, only in order to dull those thrusts made by individuals or programs which would invade areas of critical importance to individuals, areas of responsibility, self-direction, self-sufficiency and freedom. He knew no equal in identifying those philosophies which would have reduced ourselves and our brother citizens to the stereotype of sameness, dependence, and thoughtlessness.

In retrospect, all of us will conclude that he was ahead of his time in ability to perceive and describe the impact of social change on the character of our Government and upon the lives of its citizens. He was a giant, physically and intellectually, and his tall shadow has been cast over the format of the Catholic charities movement in this country and over progressive social policy abroad.

If it is prudent to single out one goal achieved by this missioner of charity, it would be his contribution in making men in this country and abroad conscious of the inestimable value of self-sufficiency and self-direction. I suppose most of us chuckled and chided him at one time or another as he made the expression "self-help" a byword. As with all great characters, he persisted in his fight until this principle became an accepted device by which people help people and nations aid nations.

KEY TO EQUALITY

The importance of preserving a man's identity as resourceful where his own welfare was involved is today and will remain for many days, a key to full and complete establishment of equality among all people. With the same wisdom as the evangelist in the gospel story, he has taught us that the talents granted us by God are our most cherished possession, our birthright and our basis of admission to the courts of heaven.

It is remarkable what we learn about people as they live their life under changing circumstances. Under pressure Monsignor O'Grady lived with great courage, without fear of criticism, committed to the achievement of commendable goals. Under suffering of handicap and illness he revealed a capacity for humility and patience. Under the hand of God in the fullness of his human and priestly life and under the limits of increasing years and declining health, he has etched on our memories a portrayal of heroic resignation and acceptance of the will of God.

Perhaps Holy Mother Church will endorse my departure from the recommended practice since in the final analysis we have concentrated on characteristics, principles, values, and goals. Perhaps we will be forgiven this venture into the personal because it has demonstrated the successful manner in which one individual's talents have been placed at the disposal and for the improvement of many thousands, if not millions, of his brothers in Christ.

It remains for us who have had the privilege of observing the manner in which his talents were thus exploited to continue them in our own pursuit so that they become solid rules of life for us in the particular apostolate which now involves us.

One further permission I seek of you and I am sure you will grant it to me since we who are gathered here participate in individual ways of the family of charity developed by Monsignor O'Grady. As his associate and disciple, I consider it a privilege to thank some of those who have served him so well. To the sisters of Holy Cross at Dunbarton, to the Carmelite sisters at Carroll Manor, to Monsignor Coady and Archbishop O'Boyle, who have been his special guardian angels, I say a word of gratitude. To Margaret Coffman and Miss Alice Padgett who served him and loved him with great devotion, a simple expression of gratitude. To Jane Gallagher, may all of us be blessed with the affection, service, and devotion of a character as beautiful as yours.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 5, 1966]

MSGR. JOHN O'GRADY

What a glorious, triumphant, robust, and joyous Christian life came to a close when the Right Reverend Monsignor John O'Grady died on Sunday. Ordained in his native Ireland more than half a century ago when he was a lad of no more than 23, he became one of those priests whose whole life was a ministry, a consecration and a testament to the ideals of Christianity. Not for him the cloister. He was in the thick of every major social struggle of his time—and always on the side of the oppressed and the unfortunate, responsive always to suffering and to need, moved always by compassion and generosity.

He was one of the great innovators and developers of professional social service in the United States. Founder and dean of Catholic University's National Catholic School of Social Work, he served for more than 40 years as secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities. He fought for social security, for liberalization of the immigration laws, for enlightened aid to delinquent juveniles and to the indigent aged, for minimum-wage legislation, for interfaith tolerance and understanding and for a host of other measures designed to help his fellow man. He was a great lover of life and of humanity; and he will be mourned and remembered with love and with gratitude.

One of Our Commissioners Is Missing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following communication has been sent by

me to the House Republican conference, but I believe it may prove of interest to all our colleagues:

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION VACANCY—FAILURE TO FILL

For almost 7 months—since July 1, 1965—a vacancy has existed on the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. This vitally important body with an annual budget exceeding $2 billion is functioning at 80 percent of its statutory manpower level. The management of its vast complex of scientific and industrial activities rides heavy on the shoulders of four rather than a proper complement of five supervising Commissioners. The input of thought, judgment, experience and wisdom into Commission decisions affecting both U.S. nuclear defense and American progress in peaceful uses of the atom continues month after month to remain starved by a factor of 20 percent.

Yet the Johnson administration remains totally unconcerned. Washington hears not the slightest rumor whatever of any possibility of a new Commissioner to replace Dr. Mary I. Bunting, who returned to the campus of Radcliffe College last June 30.

This regrettable state of affairs follows on the heels of an equally regrettable body blow to the Commission's force level dealt by the same Johnson administration in 1964. This involved the appointment of Dr. Bunting herself in that year with the understanding and agreement of the White House that she would remain away from her teaching responsibilities only for a year. During her year in Washington, Dr. Bunting proved to be a brilliant, hard working, and able Commissioner. Expectedly, however, most of her year was devoted to learning the job. She left, therefore, at the very moment of emergence into a capability to assume her full share of the Commission's workload.

The administration knew, or should have known, at the time it appointed her that such would be the case. There were other candidates for the 1964 vacancy who were willing and able to serve the full term, which Dr. Bunting was not. Nevertheless, she was selected, because at that moment the administration was going through one of its periodic "appoint women to office" weeks.

All of this is a record of bad government administration. The people should know it. They are entitled to something better. The Commission vacancy should be filled promptly by a person of high competence who will agree to serve the term.

Constantino Brumidi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced legislation to authorize procurement of a marble bust of Constantino Brumidi to be placed in the Capitol's first floor Brumidi corridor.

Certainly the Capitol should somewhere have a bust or portrait of the artist who did so much to beautify it. The Capitol is a far more beautiful place because of Brumidi's murals, paintings, and frescoes.

Constantino Brumidi left mid-19th-century Italy as a political refugee, vowing to find liberty. He found it in America, and beginning in 1855, worked 25 years to make the Capitol the inspirationally beautiful seat of liberty that it is today.

I hope that the Committee on House Administration will give this legislation serious and favorable consideration.

The Memoirs of Senator Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, now that Congress is back in session, I take pleasure in noting the timely publication of the book, "The Memoirs of Senator Brown, a Capitol Cat," as told to Frances Spatz Leighton. Senator Brown, who resides at the Woodner Hotel, is Washington's only independent mouser, and is an advocate of such legislation as a Caticare-Veticare program. He is also passionately in favor of the establishment of a Cat Cultural Center, and believes that a mouse should be the first living creature sent to the moon to investigate certain persistent rumors that it is made of green cheese. Senator Brown originally comes from Montana, and is a descendant of a traveling bobcat and a worthy domestic. He presently lives with his loyal retainers, Reuben and Dorothy Fine, together with his legislative assistant, Blackie, and his AA, Alexander the Great. I have heard rumors that he has an unusually attractive secretary, Kitten Galore, whose parents have been nominated for the Nobel Prize for architecture.

Senator Brown, since arriving in Washington, has shown his political acumen by specializing in that most important Capitol concern: status. His publishers, Fleet Publishing Corp. of New York, describe his book as "the ultimate inside guide to Washington, D.C." The tasteful illustrations, described as "Senator Brown's Status Wall," show our President with his dogs, the Vice President's cat, and a number of Washington personalities with their illustrious retainers.

Washington life, as recorded in these memoirs, is not without its lighter side. Anecdotes, both true and aprocryphal, are recorded of the adventures of Congressmen, Senators, and Cabinet members. There are also certain indirect references, possibly satirical in tone, to lobbyists, social climbers, tax collectors, and members of the press. I particularly commend to Members, Senator Brown's "All Purpose Political Speech" and Senator Brown's "First Press Conference."

Frances Spatz Leighton, whom Senator Brown wisely chose as his ghost writer, originally comes from Geauga County in Ohio. She is a writer of many talents, and has worked with other notables and celebrities on memoirs of the Washington scene. Her coauthored books include "White House Chef," "My 30 Years Backstairs at the White House," "I Was Jacqueline Kennedy's Dressmaker," and "They Call Her Ladybird." She also recently edited a short book, "The Johnson Wit." Look, a New York pictorial magazine of popular nature, has described her as "Washington's classiest ghost" in its "Offbeat Guide to Washington." She is Washington editor of This Week, and other periodical publications.

Included in "The Memoirs of Senator Brown" are words and music of two of her songs, written especially for Senator Brown, "Fling Yourself on the Windowsill," and "Senator Pussycat." I am told that Senator Brown has asked Miss Leighton to write a musical play based on these memoirs.

Senator Brown, as is common with many here in the Capitol, has tried his hand at writing a regular series of reports to the folks back home. A chapter of his book, devoted to these "Mewsletters," embodies much homely wisdom. All in all, I wish to put on record that Senator Brown's view of life in Washington offers a suitable, lighthearted guide to the practical side of political life: how to get elected, how to establish residence and offices, how to deal with the press, and, particularly, how to get on with animals. After all, as the philosopher said, "Man is a political animal."

A Summary of Federal Assistance to All Forms of Education During Recent Fiscal Years in Hamilton County, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, education is the keystone of the democratic arch. It has become increasingly important to our free society as our social and economic structure becomes more complex, more difficult to understand, and less yielding to old and too-simple remedies for its ills.

This Congress has already passed legislation to improve the educational opportunities of our citizens which is truly historic. It is my hope that what we did last session will be supported and enlarged upon by our actions this session.

It is vitally important that the public be informed of how their national tax dollars are being spent. I am sure that many citizens of my district will be astounded to learn that over $32 million was spent during the last fiscal year in Hamilton County on education and public health programs.

In order that the citizens are fully informed, I have compiled the following information, which deals with the size

and placement of national tax funds in the fields of education and public health in Hamilton County. I have used the word education generally, to include research, teaching, administration, along with supporting medical, dental, technical, and food support programs. Statistics have been furnished by departments and agencies of the National, State, and local governments.

I include this information at this point in the RECORD:

A summary of Federal assistance to all forms of education during recent fiscal years in Hamilton County, Ohio

DEPARTMENT OF ARICULTURE

	Fiscal 1964	Fiscal 1965 (preliminary)
Consumer and Marketing Service:		
National school lunch program, cash payments for food assistance	$291,042	$345,075
Special milk program for children	625,118	608,195
Donation of agricultural commodities to schools and welfare agencies	1,741,095	2,644,168
Agricultural Research Service: Contract with University of Cincinnati for research on leather (duration 2½ years)	85,430	
Total, Department of Agriculture	2,742,685	3,597,438

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

(PROGRAMS RELATED TO THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964)

	Grant
Project Head Start:	
Hamilton Board of Education (246 children; 12 centers)	$30,531
Board of Education of Cincinnati (1,720 children; 31 centers)	224,199
Total (1,966 children: 43 centers)	254,730
Neighborhood Youth Corps (through Department of Labor):	
12,000 enrollees	1,460,150
1,050 enrollees	198,713
750 enrollees	148,595
300 enrollees	140,940
830 enrollees	234,270
Total (14,930 enrollees)	2,182,668
College work study program:	
Spring:	
Ohio College of Applied Science	2,268
University of Cincinnati	6,170
Xavier University	4,119
Total	12,557
Summer:	
Ohio College of Applied Science	2,925
Xavier University	5,426
Total	8,351
Fall:	
Ohio College of Applied Science	5,257
University of Cincinnati	29,575
Xavier University	9,485
Total	44,317
Total, college work study programs	65,225
Additional Community Action Commission programs:	
School community center program	145,293
Preschool program:	
Cincinnati Board of Education	121,500
Lincoln Heights, Ohio	33,812
Montessori method preschool program	36,776
Dental care program for schoolchildren	192,064
Recreational therapy programs, institutions for the aged	82,750
Steele subdivision preschool and neighborhood services	55,328
Total	667,523
Total, Office of Economic Opportunity	3,170,146

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GRANTS TO THE STATE OF OHIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FOR CINCINNATI, OHIO, BOARD OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS

	1962–63	1963–64
Smith-Hughes	$24,985.50	$16,152.20
George-Barden:		
Title I	37,256.46	40,545.70
Title II	16,860.59	17,080.49
Total, vocational education	79,102.55	73,778.39

Note.—Totals available from Ohio Board of Education only for 1962-63 and 1963-64. Little variation expected to be shown in expenditures for later years. Information about non-Cincinnati boards of education in Hamilton County not received from Ohio Board of Education.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

	1965
University of Cincinnati	$417,000

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

	1965
University of Cincinnati (research grant)	$59,597
University of Cincinnati (teaching grant)	20,000
Total, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration	79,597

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION, DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS' BENEFITS

	1965
Education and training allowance, veteran	$25,100
Vocational rehabilitation, veteran	19,800
Total	44,900

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

	1963	1964	1965
Educational contracts and research:			
University of Cincinnati	$52,000	$12,000	$9,000
May Institute for Medical Research		15,000	15,000
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Cincinnati		49,000	
Xavier University	1,000	15,000	
Total, Atomic Energy Commission	53,000	91,000	24,000

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY, COMMUNITY FACILITIES ADMINISTRATION—TOTAL LOANS APPROVED

	1963	1964	1965
Cincinnati area:			
Xavier University	$1,250,000		
University of Cincinnati	6,160,000		
Deaconess Hospital of Nursing			$700,000
Total	7,410,000		700,000

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—OFFICE OF EDUCATION

	1963	1964	1965
Xavier University:			
Training grants, fellowships, and loans	$55,697	$87,300	$118,044
Construction grants			572,608
College of Mount St. Joseph on the Ohio: Training grants, fellowships, and loans	27,731	42,968	50,000
Ohio College of Applied Science: Training grants, fellowships, and loans	6,061	10,550	20,714
Our Lady of Cincinnati College: Training grants, fellowships, and loans	6,756	10,210	(1)
University of Cincinnati: Training grants, fellowships, and loans	301,000	305,163	323,890
Greenhills Exempted Village School District: Project grants	13,387	13,641	20,580
Loveland Exempted Village School District: Project grants	2,476		
Southwest Local School District: Project grants	29,154	29,650	28,349
Mount Healthy City School District: Project grants	5,266		
Princeton City School District: Project grants	32,761	15,381	
Finneytown Local Board of Education: Project grants	23,946	11,854	
Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County Northern Hill Branch: Construction grant			75,000
Total			1,209,186
FUNDS TRANSFERRED FROM DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACTIVITIES			
Training grants, fellowships, and loans:			
Stowe Adult Center	84,030		
Central Vocational High School		21,503	
Cincinnati Board of Education			170,166
Norwood Evening School			7,464
Norwood Technical High School			10,422
Central Adult High School			21,316
Total			209,368

[1] Figures not available.

A summary of Federal assistance to all forms of education during recent fiscal years in Hamilton County, Ohio—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—OFFICE OF EDUCATION—Continued

	1963	1964	1965
WELFARE ADMINISTRATION ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN THE UNITED STATES, CUBAN LOAN PROGRAM			
Training grants, fellowships, and loans:			
Ohio College of Applied Science			$1,939
Our Lady of Cincinnati College	$1,500	$1,023	2,716
University of Cincinnati			750
Xavier University	2,350	3,045	6,500
Total			11,905
Total, Office of Education			1,430,277

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Grants to colleges and universities in Hamilton County	$27,000

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Recipient	Research and demonstration grants	Construction grants	Training grants, fellowships, and loans	Project grants	All other	Total
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE DEPARTMENT						
Children's Hospital, Cincinnati	$53,567					$53,567
Children's Hospital Research Foundation	709,337	$1,724,000	$53,017			2,486,354
Cincinnati Bureau of Air Pollution Control	12,600					12,600
University of Cincinnati	2,122,402		1,702,651	$34,002		3,859,055
University of Cincinnati, College of Medicine	287,157				$8,559	295,716
Family Services, Cincinnati	63,788					63,788
Institutum Divithomae	13,800					13,800
Jewish Hospital of Cincinnati	278,964		27,968			306,932

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE—Continued

Recipient	Research and demonstration grants	Construction grants	Training grants, fellowships, and loans	Project grants	All other	Total
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE DEPARTMENT						
College of Mount St. Joseph on the Ohio			$29,276			$29,276
Rollman Psychiatric Hospital			24,000			24,000
Xavier University	$6,900		2,995			9,895
Community Chest and Council of Cincinnati, Inc.				$42,850		42,850
Bethesda Hospital School of Nursing			7,234			7,234
Deaconness Hospital		$350,000	3,407			353,407
Good Samaritan Hospital School of Nursing			14,219			14,219
Cincinnati General Hospital		2,333,198				2,333,198
Riverview Home		385,000				385,000
St. George Hospital		500,000				500,000
State health department					$1,500	1,500
Taft Sanitary Engineering Center					12,087,371	12,087,371
Total, funds appropriated to the Department	3,548,515	5,292,198	1,864,767	76,852	12,097,430	22,879,742

SUMMARY BY DEPARTMENT AND AGENCY—FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO EDUCATION

	1965
Department of Agriculture	$3,597,438
Office of Economic Opportunity	3,170,146
Vocational Education	73,778
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	417,000
Vocational Rehabilitation Administration	79,597
Veterans' Administration	44,900
Atomic Energy Commission	23,000
Housing and Home Finance Agency	700,000
Office of Education (HEW)	1,430,277
National Science Foundation	27,000
HEW (Public Health Service)	22,879,742
Grand total	32,643,886

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY P. SMITH III
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, today, amidst our preoccupation with a struggle being waged by South Vietnamese and United States forces in the jungles and rice paddies and cities of Vietnam, we pause to remember the fate of another people—who also struggled, who lost, but who have not given up hope. January 22 is the 48th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, an occasion not for celebrations but for tributes to the valor of Ukrainian martyrs and to the noble efforts of a long-suffering people. Indeed, 5 years ago, when we observed the centennial of the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, we were reminded that by eloquent words as well as by valorous deeds, Ukrainians have contributed to the cause of freedom and independence everywhere.

For over 300 years, the people of the Ukraine dreamed of independence while suffering under the oppression of Russian czars. Then as the czarist regime crumbled during 1917, the long-awaited opportunity came. A group of Ukrainian patriots declared their intention to seek independence in December 1917, and declared it achieved on January 22, 48 years ago. The newly independent Ukraine was a war-torn country, however, surrounded by aggressive and feuding neighbors. The preservation of independence was to prove impossible. The Red army invaded the Ukraine in the spring of 1920. In 1923, the Ukraine was made a constituent republic of the Soviet Union; the Ukrainians were among the first victims of a new imperialism.

The Ukraine experienced no respite during World War II. As in World War I, the country became a battlefield for the contending forces of East and West. The Soviets withdrew only to be replaced by other cruel masters—the Nazis. Following World War II, Soviet authority was reasserted, and tightened. Cruelest of ironies, the Ukrainians, on Soviet insistence were given a delegation to the United Nations. But this delegation is a sham. The facade of independence cannot disguise the ugly fact of subservience.

The Ukraine has a population of more than 45 million, and a territory which exceeds in area that of several Western European nations combined. The Ukraine is rich in human and material resources; the history and culture of the Ukraine are more than a thousand years old. In an era which has seen the rise of many new nations, some of them throwing off colonial bonds after long periods of subjugation, is it not a singular injustice that the Ukrainians along with their neighbors in Eastern Europe continue to be subject to exploitation by the worst colonial system of modern times?

Today, as we fight in southeast Asia on behalf of a small, brave people striving to maintain its freedom and independence, let us not forget that there are many areas of the world where the cause of liberty has yet to prevail, and that we must not relax our vigilance or abandon our struggle until that cause has prevailed.

Restore Veterans' Pensions Cut by Social Security Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to restore nonservice-connected veterans' pensions which have been reduced or eliminated because of the receipt of increased social security benefits.

Last year when the badly needed increase in cash social security benefits was enacted many of our veterans were moved into a higher income bracket. Since non-service-connected pensions are based on income limitations, some of our ex-servicemen and their widows had their pensions reduced or terminated entirely.

The income test for pension purposes is made up of only a few broad income brackets with very sharp drops in pension amounts as one moves to a higher bracket. The result is that the additional money received from the higher social security payment does not offset the loss in pension payments suffered by those pushed into a higher income bracket, to say nothing of those whose pensions were terminated entirely.

Most of the group whose pensions have been cut are disabled, on limited incomes, and in their advanced years. A reduction in their pension is a real hardship and the situation should be corrected. I hope the Committee on Veterans' Affairs will take action in the very near future.

Education Is the Real Answer to Poverty and Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, this week the minority leader of the House came out wholeheartedly in favor of education. He said what the House majority—and the Senate majority and the President—have been saying all along: that education is the real answer to the problem of poverty and unemployment.

This may represent a change in Republican policy—or it may not. It cannot be forgotten that 3 out of 4 of the Republicans in the House and nearly half of the Republicans in the Senate voted against the Elementary-Secondary School Education Act of 1965. But, if the Republicans have had a change of heart on this issue, they propose a rather strange way for solving the problem.

The only firm proposal in last night's speech was for a Federal income tax credit for college students and their parents. What they will do, in other words, is to make it easier for the well-to-do to send their children to college by transferring part of the burden to all the taxpayers. To the family whose entire income may be little more than the cost of a year in college, the Republican proposal would give nothing whatever. Such a tax break would reduce Federal taxes by perhaps a billion dollars annually. Yet, it could not guarantee that so much as one boy or girl who does not now go to college would be added to the rolls. Most emphatically, it would do nothing to guarantee that every youth should pursue his education as far as his talents would take him. The talented boy from an impoverished family would be no better off than he is today.

Our real aim in education must be to improve educational resources and to provide opportunities for every student whose family cannot afford to send him to college. The best methods are scholarship, fellowships, loans—money placed at the disposal of those who need it, and not by providing tax windfalls to those families whose children already have access to college programs.

Orange County, Calif., Honors David Baker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD T. HANNA
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the President in his state of the Union address made abundantly clear the importance of "a creative federalism to best use the wonderful diversity of our institutions and our people to solve the problems and to fulfill the dreams of the American people." The essential cooperation between officeholders on the city, county, State, and Federal levels has been the foundation of our system of government.

Since being elected to public office I have worked on numerous projects that could not have been brought to successful conclusion without the dedicated and talented help of various Orange County city and county officials. The working relationship between Orange County's local leadership and the county's State and Federal representatives has produced a working model that can easily set an example for the Nation.

Tonight the citizens of Orange County are honoring one of the men who really make the federal system work—David Baker.

Mr. Baker serves as one of the five members of Orange County's board of supervisors. In the fastest growing county in the Nation, Mr. Baker, working in concert with all levels of government, has been instrumental in meeting the myriad of complicated problems faced by the area. Orange County's success in effectively meeting the challenge of its phenomenal growth rate is to a great extent due to the creative and energetic talents of David Baker employing creative federalism.

Mr. Baker moved to Orange County in 1950 and soon was proving his skill in a position with the county's department of building safety. Ever interested in all aspects of community and civic life Mr. Baker has been active in the YMCA and the various Scouts' organizations, as well as being a charter member of the Orange County Chapter of the American Institute of Building Design.

Elected to the Orange County Board of Supervisors in 1962, David Baker quickly assumed a role of prominence. He has served as chairman of the board's committees on probation, building services, parks, fish and game, forestry-fire control, and the Coastal Projects Water Committee, among others. He also serves on the Inter-County Committee on Roads, and the Community Action Committee.

His farsighted vision in the area of regional development has been recognized by his southern California colleagues, for he serves as chairman of the Southern California Association of Supervisors' Committee on City-County Relations, and as the interim vice president, secretary-treasurer of the all-important Joint City-County Committee for Southern California Associated Governments Formation.

Mr. Baker has also been prominent in the County Supervisors Association of California, and the National Association of Counties, as well as recently serving as a panelist on Gov. Edmund G. Brown's conference on beauty.

Mr. Baker's tireless effort on behalf of the more than 1 million Orange County residents is evidenced by his recent trip to Washington to meet with me, Secretary Udall and numerous other Government officials in order to obtain additional recreational facilities for the expanding population of Orange County.

Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to join with my fellow Orange Countians in paying tribute to David Baker. He is an outstanding example of talented, and vigorous young America. His service to Orange County has been guided by the principle that President Johnson so eloquently articulated when he said:

> It is the genius of our Constitution that under its shelter of enduring institutions and rooted principles there is ample room for the rich fertility of American political invention.

We Are Overcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that the gremlins are loose again and this time they have joined the civil rights movement—at the expense of the overburdened and usually infallible corps of proofreaders in the Government Printing Office.

On the other hand, I may have uncovered a new style of subversive activity designed to unnerve both sides in the current struggle for equal rights. It may be that the Committee on Un-American Activities should consider placing this matter on its agenda for investigation when it has completed its current work on the Ku Klux Klan.

At any rate, you can understand my surprise and dismay when I looked in the 1966 Congressional Directory table of contents to find the page on which the Civil Rights Commission is listed. I was directed to turn to page 84. I was shocked, Mr. Speaker, to discover that page 84 contains the biographical listing of the Mississippi delegation.

Founding Convention of Hawaii State Federation of Labor, AFL–CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARNOLD OLSEN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, on January 8, 1966, Congressman SPARK MATSUNAGA, of Hawaii, delivered a speech at the Founding Convention of Hawaii State Federation of Labor, AFL–CIO, in Honolulu.

I would like to share the thoughts expressed in this speech with my colleagues:

SPEECH OF HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA BEFORE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF HAWAII STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, AFL–CIO, HONOLULU, HAWAII, SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1966

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, it is indeed a great honor for me to be here today, on the eve of the opening of the 2d session of the 89th Congress, and to share with you some of the thoughts which come to mind as you engage in the deliberations of this important convention.

The job for which you are assembled here is a monumental one, as you are well aware, but it also represents a significant milestone in the labor movement in Hawaii.

We know, of course, that the promotion or fostering of cooperative effort is a difficult task at best. If the various unions of the Islands can forget their differences, however real or imagined they may appear to be, and unite into a resolute federation as labor has done on the mainland, then real progress will be assured.

It has taken time, patience, and skill to bring this meeting together. The purpose and objectives in bringing a State federation into being must not fail.

Samuel Gompers, the man who brought the American Federation of Labor into being and who guided the federation through the sometimes brutal and tough years of formation until it was an established entity in labor's own behalf, was a great believer in cooperation. Gompers was more than aware of the value of the federation presenting a united front to the State legislatures in the States where the American Federation of Labor had the unions and the membership to be effective.

John L. Lewis, the founder of the CIO and leader of the United Mine Workers for three decades, and Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the United Steelworkers of America, both strongly stressed a united approach when dealing with State legislatures. Both of these men could relate some sad experiences they encountered in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, through the tragic failure of a disunited labor movement in the Commonwealth.

Dan Tobin of the Teamsters, Dan Tracy of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, John Lyons of the Ironworkers, Dick Gray of the Building Trades Department, Al Hayes of the Machinists, and President George Meaney, who came out of the New York State Federation of Labor, can all attest to the crying need for a united labor movement within the various States.

In the days before the Wagner Act the employer completely dominated labor relations. Employees were forced to sign "yellow dog" contracts which bound them not to join unions. They either signed or got fired. Those who were fired often were blacklisted. Individual working men and women were helpless.

Despite such intimidation unions managed to emerge, but many employers refused to bargain with them. Management resorted to all sorts of tactics to break up unions: threats, intimidations, physical violence, use of spies, scabs, and strikebreaking detective agencies. State and Federal courts were asked to issue injunctions.

The decisive big step toward legal recognition of the rights of organized labor was section 7(a) of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. This section affirmed the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing without interference, restraint, or coercion on the part of employers.

The next big step was the Wagner Act of 1935. It provided an agency, the National Labor Relations Board, to administer and to enforce the legal rights of labor. The law protected the right of working men and women to organize unions of their own choosing and to bargain collectively through those unions. It also set up election machinery for democratically selecting the bargaining representative.

Industry bitterly opposed the Wagner Act. The National Association of Manufacturers and leading corporation attorneys advised employers not to comply with the law because they claimed it was unconstitutional. When the Supreme Court in 1937 established the constitutionality of the Wagner Act in five separate cases, most employers grudgingly began to comply.

The NAM and reactionary employers began an intensive campaign against the Wagner Act. The campaign consisted of appealing slogans, half-truths, misinterpretation, and misrepresentation.

This campaign succeeded in deceiving part of the American public into believing that unions and labor leaders had too much power.

Strikes in a number of industries during 1946 and 1947 played into their hands. The Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 was the result of this campaign, with other factors playing a contributing role.

The major item of labor legislation in the 86th Congress was the Labor-Management Reporting Act of 1959.

The impact of this law, along with the so-called Taft-Hartley Act, has impaired the effectiveness of organized labor in many areas. It is generally conceded that the restrictions placed upon organized labor by this law have placed obstacles in the way of unions organizing the unorganized.

As we all know by now, our State legislature and the Congress can set terms for collective bargaining, can fix minimum wages and maximum hours, and can vitally influence working conditions. They can even determine whether there shall be unions.

It was Congress which outlawed the closed shop, and State legislatures which, in many States, outlawed the union shop. Nineteen States now have misnamed right-to-work laws.

Today, we are concerned with the direction our economy is taking. To the economists this is a matter of academic concern. To the building tradesman on the job site or the factory worker in the plant it is a matter of bread and butter, clothes, and shelter for himself and his family. It means the difference between meeting payments on his car or arguing with the repossessor, between meeting payments on the television set or watching it being toted out of the house.

What government policy is, and what it will be in the next few months, will hit each of us in the bread basket whether we like it or not. We may agree or disagree with the theory that government should or should not exercise control over economic policy, that it should be left to the businessmen. Whatever theory we hold, the inescapable fact of life today is that government does determine economic policy and thereby the amount of food in the family pot.

Nor is our Government some vague group of people called "they." It is composed of men and women elected to public office for specified periods of time by each citizen who avails himself of the right to register and vote. (I can vouch for the specified time—which is 2 years for Representatives to Congress, and which means that before too long you will be hearing from me.) You prosper or struggle depending upon their wisdom, foresight, prejudices, and capacity.

Sometimes I hear trade union people tell me that, through their trade unions, they can set rates and determine conditions that will affect the lives of their members and that is the limit of their responsibility as trade unionists.

I don't quarrel with that statement. There is nothing wrong with self-interest. It may be—although I doubt it—that there was a day when this was so, but it is emphatically not so today. The trade union movement is composed of 18 million members in a sea of upward of 186 million people in the United States, and more than 2 billion people in the world. We cannot live our lives apart from them, nor are we pursuing that course as a nation in the world today.

As President Theodore Roosevelt stated: "When a band of 150 or 200 honest, intelligent men, who mean business and know their business, is found in any district, whether in one of the local organizations or outside, you can guarantee that the local politicians of that district will begin to treat it with a combination of fear, hatred, and respect and that its influence will be felt."

Trade unions are instruments intended for the improvement of the welfare of its members. When so much of the welfare of your members is determined in the field of politics and government it is impossible for trade unions to ignore it. That is why we must have in Hawaii a united federation of all the unions on the islands which will stand ready and able to see to it that when labor speaks in Hawaii it does so for all labor, and not just one or two unions.

The record of Congress, though not the 89th in its 1st session, reveals many attempts to restrict the rights of our trade unions, and the same is true of many of the State legislatures, though, thank God, those conditions don't apply in our State of Hawaii. But we must remember that eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty, but also the price of true progress.

A strong united federation of all the unions in Hawaii can and will make a real contribution not only to all union members, but also to our growing State and our Nation in this difficult and changing era upon which we are now entering.

I thank you for your invitation to be here today, and I wish you every success in your endeavors for a strong united trade union federation in our own State of Hawaii.

Thank you very much.

Cooperative Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD T. HANNA
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, we will hear increasingly in the days ahead from

skeptics who will speak scoffingly of programs that attempt to alleviate the problems of other countries. It will be said, and in some respects demonstrated, that our demands at home and the urgencies of Vietnam, preclude a continuing effort in foreign assistance.

May I point out a source of strength and a potential for multiplying our performance which has so far not been widely acknowledged? The people we have helped are now in a position to themselves assume some of the burdens of improving world conditions. We have for some time been urging greater participation in this great calling from our European allies. Let us not disregard the emerging capabilities of our friends in the Pacific community.

The free Chinese of Taiwan are now extending technical assistance to 20 nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The effectiveness of these technicians freshly recruited from the ranks of a country just beginning to realize the benefits of adapting to newer methods and improvements, cannot be underestimated. The underdeveloped nations which must be encouraged to stretch into the mainstream of modern industrialization can relate far more readily to those who have just gone through the experience of the major shift than they can relate to the arrived giant, America.

We can magnify at least fivefold the effectiveness of our dollars in the foreign assistance field by cooperating with technical assistance programs from Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines whenever, and to the degree, it is possible and feasible. In my view, Mr. Speaker, it is the next logical step in the evolution of our international aid programs. At the same time it can answer positively the carping critics who maintain we cannot solve all the world's ills alone. The answer is clear. We are not alone, and we need not be alone. Let us commence a dynamic program of cooperative effort. Not only, mind you, from the most advanced countries to the least advanced, but from the more developed areas to the less developed areas. Free China has given us a classic showcase that should be duplicated and expanded.

Truth In Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in the Senate the other day, Senator WILLIAMS of Delaware made some interesting comments, following President Johnson's state of the Union message. He referred to the President in his message having advocated new legislation to provide truth in packaging and truth in lending. The Senator suggested a third recommendation; namely, truth in government. He said that if the President wanted to protect Americans from misrepresentation he might well include protection of American taxpayers from misrepresentation with respect to the true cost of his administration's proposals and the truth about the Federal budget. The people, Senator WILLIAMS said, should know that the expenditures of this administration are the most extravagant in history.

President Johnson's request this week for a supplemental appropriation of more than $12 billion for financing of the war in Vietnam is a case in point with regard to budget juggling and withholding of information from the American people.

In other words, the President's request for these essential funds was deliberately delayed last year until all the Great Society programs had been funded. Now, Congress gets this emergency request for defense which must be funded when it is too late to make cuts in existing nonessential, nonmilitary programs.

As to truth in budgeting, the proposal of the President for a speedup in tax collections in this election year is another example of juggling the figures. The acceleration of corporate and individual income tax payments and the payment of self-employed social security taxes on a quarterly instead of annual basis will make the fiscal picture look better prior to the election next November, but by the fiscal year's end, the true situation will be apparent, when it is too late for voters to do anything about it.

Mr. Speaker, as pointed out by the minority party congressional leadership, Republicans intend to fully support needed appropriations for defense. On the other hand, it is our responsibility to scrutinize the administration's spending and, especially on nonmilitary appropriation requests, Mr. Speaker, we Republicans intend to do just that. We are frank in saying that, in this time of stimulated prosperity and high employment, we think the public debt during the past 5 years should have been reduced instead of planned deficits exceeding $31,500 million. This present fiscal year, which ends June 30, will increase our huge national debt by another $6 billion and the legal debt ceiling will have to be increased again.

Of course, President Johnson did not admit this in his message, but instead predicted the deficit for fiscal 1967 would be reduced to only $1.8 billion.

As to this prediction, let me recall that a year ago, in his 1965 state of the Union message, President Johnson talked about continuing along the path toward a balanced budget. Actually, that 1965 path is now estimated to be a deficit of $7 billion for that year alone, not including $2,687 million resulting from accelerated corporate taxes approved last year.

But getting back to truth in government, the taxpayers of America have a right to know the facts. Indeed, the Treasury's own figures show the estimated deficit for 1967 will not be $1.8 billion, but rather it is given as $9.2 billion.

The difference in these two estimates is due largely to some nonrecurring items, which are shown as general revenue by the President. One of these is the $2.5 billion which the Government expects to receive over and above cost in the coining of new silver quarters and 50-cent pieces with a new low silver content. Also the President includes as revenue the proceeds from the sale of millions of dollars worth of materials from the defense stockpile. Good bookkeeping and truth in government, it seems to me, should require this income to be listed separately as special receipts. The President should have explained that his figure of a $1.8 billion deficit was based on Congress acceding to his request that tax collections in fiscal 1967 be accelerated so that $3.2 billion in taxes from corporations would reach the Treasury in fiscal 1967 instead of fiscal 1968.

The withholding tax acceleration for individuals suggested by the President would add another $400 million to this amount ahead of regular schedule.

This new juggling proposal is the same as obtaining an advance payment on a worker's next week's salary. In the end his finances are not improved. He is just as badly off.

Under these planned tax accelerations, plus the estimated profit on coinage, the Treasury would collect an extra $2,687 million in fiscal 1966 and $7,440 million in fiscal 1967; and, as I said, these are nonrecurring items. This situation should be shown and explained to the American people. Certainly, this information should not be withheld until after an election. Furthermore, right now when Congress is considering the advisability of a "guns and butter" policy, the true facts should be known. President Johnson, in asking Congress to continue his Great Society programs and at the same time to support the huge cost of the Nation's war in Vietnam, should spell out the truth as to our overall financial condition.

The Commodity Credit Corporation has had billions of dollars of losses that have not been reimbursed. Likewise, the civil service retirement fund is owed approximately $40 billion by our Government. Obligations such as these are covered up and not openly mentioned.

So, Mr. Speaker, I fully support our Republican minority leader in calling for truth in budgeting and likewise in questioning the President's wisdom in calling for increased Federal spending on domestic, nonmilitary programs. The American people have always supported austerity in wartime and the United States is at war, whether the administration cares to admit it or not. I do not mean cutting health research, or education, or funds for the care and needs of the elderly. I mean cutting down on duplication and waste and delaying new low-priority programs that can just as well wait until peace comes in southeast Asia.

The honest thing to do is to forgo political boondoggling, Mr. Speaker; the country cannot afford it in peacetime, but even more so in time of war.