

## MISSISSIPPI

Bessie Y. Swedenburg, Mayhew, Miss., in place of M. B. Morris, retired.  
Maxine A. Hodges, Toccopola, Miss., in place of K. Y. Patton, deceased.

## MISSOURI

Alva C. Clark, Ballwin, Mo., in place of K. E. Feldmann, retired.

## NEBRASKA

Dale O. Dallegge, Bartlett, Nebr., in place of E. M. Ball, retired.

## NEW JERSEY

Richard M. Degnan, Glen Gardner, N.J., in place of R. C. DeRemer, deceased.

## NEW YORK

Thomas L. Mooney, Bolivar, N.Y., in place of H. F. Sackinger, deceased.  
Edwin P. Kennedy, Cazenovia, N.Y., in place of L. E. Hendrix, retired.

## NORTH CAROLINA

John R. Nichols, Jacksonville, N.C., in place of W. H. Willis, retired.

## OHIO

Homer L. McCarty, Cheshire, Ohio, in place of Phyllis Hawley, retired.  
Josephine A. Price, Jacksonville, Ohio, in place of H. J. Seckinger, retired.  
Henry J. Climer, Londonderry, Ohio, in place of V. L. Dett, resigned.  
Tom I. Murray, Novelty, Ohio, in place of E. C. Schumaker, retired.  
Barbara J. Walters, Saint Johns, Ohio, in place of Eileen Martin, retired.

## OKLAHOMA

Virgil G. Frey, Amorita, Okla., in place of B. J. Platts, retired.  
Elwood O. Mallow, Geronimo, Okla., in place of Lucretia Dickson, retired.  
Robert R. Stephens, Purcell, Okla., in place of D. S. Williams, retired.

## OREGON

D. S. Rogers, Government Camp, Oreg., in place of J. L. Hagen, transferred.

## PENNSYLVANIA

William J. Gardner, Howard, Pa., in place of D. B. Gardner, retired.  
Walter L. Wheaton, Warren Center, Pa., in place of L. F. Jones, deceased.  
Marvin S. Felst, White Haven, Pa., in place of S. M. Braybrook, retired.

## PUERTO RICO

Jose A. Ramirez, Caguas, P.R., in place of Angel Socorro, retired.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

James R. Carter, Longs, S.C., in place of G. L. Shaw, deceased.

## TENNESSEE

Marie S. Sampson, Fall Branch, Tenn., in place of Annie Bacon, retired.  
Paul L. Hicks, Joelton, Tenn., in place of M. B. Reasoner, retired.

## TEXAS

Lowell L. Nafe, Argyle, Tex., in place of L. M. Thompson, retired.

## VIRGINIA

Ruth H. Pruden, Crittenden, Va., in place of N. H. Mason, retired.  
Marvin B. Howell, Red Ash, Va., in place of O. M. Brooks, retired.  
Charles B. Snyder, Woodstock, Va., in place of J. S. Clower, retired.

## WASHINGTON

Orville R. Amondson, Centralia, Wash., in place of F. M. Moses, retired.  
Mary J. Petterson, Eastsound, Wash., in place of E. B. Gibson, deceased.  
Lydia Roosendaal, Southworth, Wash., in place of Dick Roosendaal, deceased.

## WEST VIRGINIA

Arlene F. Chambers, Bolt, W. Va., in place of A. A. Farmer, resigned.  
Joseph D. Corns, Davin, W. Va., in place of Ruth Corns, retired.

## WISCONSIN

Charles T. Lydon, Kendall, Wis., in place of Q. B. Collins, transferred.  
Alice M. Tourtillott, Neopit, Wis., in place of V. E. Sickler, retired.

## WYOMING

James E. Poelma, Carpenter, Wyo., in place of V. M. Pacheco, retired.

## IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of major general:

Hugh M. Elwood	Marion E. Carl
Donn J. Robertson	Arthur H. Adams
Lowell E. English	Louis Metzger
William G. Thrash	

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of brigadier general:

George C. Axtell	Foster C. LaHue
George D. Webster	Charles F. Widdecke
James A. Feeley, Jr.	Louis H. Wilson, Jr.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of colonel, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Robert V. Anderson	Sherwood A. Brunnenmeyer
Clark Ashton	George W. Callen
Louis Baeriswyl, Jr.	George G. Chambers, Jr.
Roscoe L. Barrett, Jr.	Allen B. Clark
Arthur C. Beverly	Morris D. Cooke
Herbert J. Blaha	Clifford D. Corn
Charles H. Bodley	James M. Cummings
William W. Eldridge, Jr.	William M. Cummings
Dean E. Esslinger	Bertram H. Curwen, Jr.
William S. Fagan	Clarence G. Dahl
Alfred F. Garrotto	William J. Davis
William F. Gately, Jr.	Edmund G. Darning, Jr.
Donald E. Gilman	Jack N. Dillard
John C. Boulware	James W. Dillon
Lawrence J. Bradley	
James T. Breckinridge	

Earl C. Dresbach, Jr.	Herman L. Mixson
Edward W. Dzialo	Donald E. Morin
William F. Harrell	Thomas E. Mulvihill
James M. Hayes	Arthur A. Nelson, Jr.
James S. Hecker	Joseph A. Nelson
Gilbert R. Hershey	Noah C. New
Marvin M. Hewlett	Thomas P.
Ralph A. Heywood	O'Callaghan
Twyman R. Hill	Frederic O. Olson
Kurt L. Hoch	Owen L. Owens
Frank X. Hoff	Thurman Owens
Donald E. Holben	Robert E. Parrott
Joseph J. Holicky, Jr.	William C. Patton
Louis S. Hollier, Jr.	Clifford J. Peabody
Glenn R. Hunter	Eddie E. Percy
David G. Jones	Richard F. Peterson
Edward H. Jones	William Plaskett, Jr.
Douglas T. Kane	William D. Pomeroy
John H. Keith, Jr.	Albert R. Pytko
James P. Kelly	Richard H. Rainforth
Walter C. Kelly	Walter L. Redmond
William A. Kerr	Jack L. Reed
Robert Kling, Jr.	James H. Reeder
Charles S. Kirchmann	Robert V. Reese
Frederick M. Klepp-sattel, Jr.	Carroll D. Rowe, Sr.
John C. Scharfen	George R. Scharnberg
Wilson A. Kluckman	Richard J. Schening
Francis R. Kraince	Robert B. Sinclair
Frederick S. Knight	Clyde H. Slayton, Jr.
Robert J. Lahr	Joris J. Snyder
James M. Landrigan	Walter E. Sparling
John J. Leogue	Charles R. Stephenson
Dean W. Lindley	III
Verle E. Ludwig	Thomas J. Stevens
Joseph W. Malcolm, Jr.	Richard M. Taylor
Andrew V. Marusak, Jr.	William W. Taylor
Donald L. May	William G. Timme
Gene M. McCain	Henry A. F.
Alfred F. McCaleb, Jr.	Vonderheyde, Jr.
Stewart B. McCarty, Jr.	Charles M. Wallace, Jr.
James McDaniel	Marshall A. Webb, Jr.
Gordon D. McPherson	Raymond J. Weber
George A. Merrill	Paul Weller
Edward B. Meyer	Wallace Wessel
George F. Meyers	Charles T. Westcott
Jack L. Miles	William J. White
Richard R. Miller	Royce M. Williams
Robert T. Miller	Robert L. Willis
John F. Minicler	Howard Wolf
John F. Mitchell	Kermit M. Worley
	Robert E. Young
	Wilbur K. Zaudtke

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 13, 1968:

## U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE

William J. Holloway, Jr., of Oklahoma, to be U.S. circuit judge, 10th circuit.

## U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE

Lawrence Gubow, of Michigan, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Michigan.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## PUBLIC PRINTER ANSWERS WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE

## HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 13, 1968

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, recently the Government Printing Office was the object of a series of allegations by the Urban League of Washington and the Council for Negro Progress in Government. I should like to insert in the RECORD Public Printer James L. Harrison's

reply to these allegations, which in my view is wholly responsive to the charges of bias and discrimination leveled at the Government Printing Office.

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

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE,  
Washington, D.C., September 13, 1968.

Mr. JOHN E. JACOB,  
Acting Executive Director, Washington Urban League, Inc.

Mr. ALONZO C. BARNETT,  
Council for Negro Progress in Government,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. JACOB and Mr. BARNETT: I received your letter of September 5, 1968, and

read it with a sense of disillusionment—disillusionment in the fact that the Urban League and the Council for Negro Progress in Government are apparently unaware of what has been done and is now being done in the Government Printing Office to develop career opportunities for all of our employees without regard to race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or political affiliation.

I would first like to point out that the Government Printing Office is one of the few agencies in the Washington, D.C., area that provides a substantial amount of employment where the greatest need exists—at the unskilled level. We hire and offer unlimited opportunity for the under-trained to learn marketable skills and to advance to salary levels virtually unreachable in other places

of employment. Few employers, Federal or otherwise, open such great avenues of opportunity to the unskilled.

The relative position of the Negro minority in the Government Printing Office is apparent when the Civil Service Commission "Study of Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, 1967" is carefully examined. Significantly, the rate of upward progress for Negroes for several years has been greater in this Office than in the total Federal establishment, and our position has improved even more since that report was issued.

There is no established system solely for progression of Negro employees to higher level positions. However, there are a number of plans in the Government Printing Office for the progression of untrained persons (most of whom in the Government Printing Office are Negroes) to journeyman status—the stepping stone to most higher level positions. Since my appointment in 1961, through these programs over 200 Negroes have attained craft positions paying an average of \$10,000 per year, not including night differential or overtime. Gross incomes of \$14,000 to \$15,000 per year, including night differential and overtime, are not unusual in this group. Other programs have permitted many to rise to other well-paid positions.

The progress made by Negroes since 1961 may best be illustrated by the increase in Negro employees in graphic arts training programs. In 1961, there were 53 employees in training programs other than the apprentice program, few of whom were Negroes; today 143 are in such programs, 93 of whom are Negroes.

The vast majority of the best-paying jobs in this agency are held by craftsmen, and the opportunity to achieve craftsman status is open to everyone. We operate an apprentice training program which in five years or less produces journeyman craftsmen in such fields as composition (printing), bookbinding, presswork, and offset lithography. Apprentices qualify for appointment by a competitive nationwide examination given by the Civil Service Commission.

In 1967, I initiated the practice of reassigning a limited number of Government Printing Office employees to the apprentice program each year non-competitively. This was done to provide added opportunity to those employees of this Office who were unable to score high enough for selection on the apprentice competitive examination. Thirty-eight were so appointed; 27 were Negroes. Now, almost one-third of our apprentices are Negroes.

Since I have been Public Printer, of 286 graduated from this program, 86 (one-third) have been Negroes. Some of those who entered training during my administration have already advanced beyond journeyman status and are now planners and printing cost technicians. These are premium positions with pay scales approximately equivalent to GS-12, and are paid incidentally at the same rate as assistant foreman positions.

I have also instituted an in-house career development program. In this program, more than 70 percent of the trainees are Negroes. Not only does this program include graphic arts crafts, but also offers training for positions as electricians, carpenters, pipe and sheet metal workers, masons, and many similar occupations. For those who successfully complete these programs, there is no limit to advancement save their own ability.

It is true that there are no Negroes employed in the Government Printing Office above Grade GG-12, but many of our Negro journeymen, almost all of whom were trained at the Government Printing Office (there are very few opportunities for such training outside Government) are developing to the point where they are now contenders for promotion to higher level positions. Some have already been promoted to planner positions. Also, the percentage of Negro employees at the Government Printing Office in Grades

GG-9 through 11 is higher than the governmentwide average and I might point out that there are a significant number of Negroes in this Office whose annual income exceeds that of Grade GG-12.

Supervisory positions fall into three categories: (1) supervisors of journeyman employees, (2) supervisors of wage board employees, and (3) supervisors of professional, administrative, and clerical employees. At the present time there are 127 Negro supervisors in the Government Printing Office supervising wage board and professional, administrative, and clerical employees.

We have a pre-supervisory training program, and have been pleased to note that a number of Negro journeymen have successfully completed the program and are now being considered for supervisory positions as they become vacant. Due to the fact that the ratio of supervisors to employees in the printing industry is generally very small, and our turnover at the Government Printing Office is very low, there are relatively few opportunities for promotion to supervisory rank for the over 2,000 journeymen on the rolls. A number of Negro employees, who would be very fine supervisors, have elected to accept planner positions rather than to wait for an opening. The planner position pays a rate equivalent to that of assistant foreman.

At the present time, there are 102 Negroes occupying supervisory positions over wage board employees.

As of this date, there are 25 Negroes occupying supervisory positions over professional, administrative, and clerical employees.

Basically, the Office is an industrial establishment employing craftsmen and a large force of non-journeyman printing plant workers. Over 80 percent of our employees fall into these categories. All appointments are made under Civil Service procedures. Almost all the persons certified for appointment as printing plant workers are Negro.

In 1961, approximately 20 percent of these employees were in grades at, or above, the equivalent of Wage Board Grade 3. As a result of a classification program which I instituted, today this percentage has increased to more than 40 percent at, or above, the equivalent of Wage Board Grade 3. In addition, grades equivalent to Wage Board Grades 1 and 2 were combined to provide that all these employees were guaranteed the top step of Wage Board Grade 2 by the end of their second year on the rolls. Classification surveys are continuing, and may result in further upgradings.

All printing plant workers have the opportunity to rise through the nonjourneyman grades based on Federal Merit Promotion Program procedures. In addition, all have the opportunity to enter craft training. Almost all of our Negro journeymen were trained in our programs. The fact remains that any industrial plant such as ours will have a very large percentage of its employees in the lower grades. Our exceedingly low turnover prevents most from being promoted beyond these levels at a more rapid rate.

Under Executive Order No. 11246 and its amendment, Executive Order No. 11375, all persons, regardless of sex, may compete for any Civil Service position for which they qualify. Assignment of printing plant workers is made without regard to applicant's sex or color. At the present time, it is estimated that approximately 50 percent of the eligibles on the Maintenance and Service Workers Washington Metropolitan Area Register (Announcement No. WA-7-01, dated January 10, 1967) are females. (See Attachment 1.)<sup>1</sup> Out of 100 female printing plant workers on our rolls, 99 are Negroes. It is rare that a white printing plant worker is certified to us by the Civil Service Commission.

As part of the Civil Service examination, all applicants for these jobs must lift and shoulder an 80-pound mail sack to demonstrate their capability to lift heavy weights. Applicants are informed of both the test and the type of work which they will do via a mimeographed sheet. (See Attachment 2.)<sup>1</sup> The letter of request for applicants to take the strength test again notes this requirement. (See Attachment 3.)<sup>1</sup> Upon verbal request, applicants are taken to the work site to see working conditions.

In all cases, by the time of entrance-on-duty, these individuals have been well informed about the type of work they will be doing, and particularly that they might be expected to lift heavy weights continually during the day. Only employees who specifically apply for this type of work are assigned to these duties. The 180 to 190 pounds that is referred to here is lifted by two printing plant workers and falls within those general guidelines. The Office has been conducting an engineering survey to determine whether better equipment is available for handling heavy materials.

A Negro has been serving for nearly a year and a half as Deputy Equal Employment Opportunity Officer in this Office, and is a member of my staff. He is exceptionally well qualified, and has brought an all-important minority viewpoint to our program for development of career opportunities. As a sidelight, our Deputy Equal Employment Opportunity Officer entered this Office as a laborer in 1950, and rose to a journeyman craftsman through an in-house training program before being appointed to his present position.

With regard to your demands, I say as honestly and firmly as I can that all employees without regard to race, creed, sex, national origin, or political affiliation will continue to be treated with equal fairness in all personnel matters. The principle of merit shall be maintained. I shall continue to provide the maximum in opportunities for the disadvantaged and under-trained consistent with the mission of the Office.

In these matters, it is easy to be misled by capricious reports of bias and discrimination. As you can see, however, the policies of this Office are designed to eliminate the possibility of such practices. Moreover, most of our employees are members of organizations which have been granted exclusive recognition, and which help us prevent such practices. The printing plant workers are represented by such an organization.

Every employee has the opportunity to utilize the procedures provided by Executive Order No. 11246, which include appeal to the U.S. Civil Service Commission, if bias and discrimination of the type reported to you is alleged. Although some employees have made such allegations and have availed themselves of these procedures in the past, the record will show that when the allegations have been fully examined by the Civil Service Commission, they have invariably been found to be without merit.

I hope that this letter will give the Urban League and the Council for Negro Progress in Government better insight into the true position of Negroes in this Office. I also hope you will apply the same principles of justice and fairness which motivates your organizations to your evaluation of the accomplishments of the Government Printing Office in developing viable career programs and maintaining an honest sensitivity to the progress of Negroes in this agency.

We have tried very hard to make this Office a model of Negro career development. But we know there is still work to be done, and with your cooperation we shall see that our Negro employees continue to be afforded opportunities to reach their full potential in the Government Printing Office.

Sincerely,

JAMES L. HARRISON,  
Public Printer.

<sup>1</sup> Attachments not printed in Record.



## URBAN LEAGUE'S LETTER

Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. President, for the purpose of presenting the full story, I also ask unanimous consent to include the letter which was sent to the Public Printer.

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

WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE, INC.,  
Washington, D.C., September 5, 1968.

Hon. JAMES L. HARRISON,  
Public Printer, Government Printing Office,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: Nine months ago the Urban League began receiving complaints from your employees of extreme conditions of human fortitude under which Negroes were working at the Government Printing Office. Since that time we have been conducting a continuing investigation in order to satisfy ourselves whether the allegations were true, and we now share with you our findings in order that these matters can be immediately rectified.

We do not want to go through the awesome task of singling out every individual case at this time although there are some outstanding examples of events that have transpired, and some still taking place in the GPO, in which we believe you would be interested. The ones listed here will merely serve to alert you that the Urban League in conjunction with the Council for Negro Progress in Government, Inc. is greatly disturbed over these incidents of discrimination and is anxious for a quick transformation of the system under which the GPO currently conducts its official governmental functions. We are opposed to all pockets of discrimination and repressive measures against black personnel in the Government Printing Office as we are indeed concerned and opposed to similar practices elsewhere in agencies of the Metropolitan area. Among our findings at the GPO are the following:

1. We found that of the nearly 8,000 employees at the GPO only white persons occupy the higher grade positions and there is no established system for progression of Negro employees to those grades. We found that almost 90% of the Negroes at GPO are in grades not above the equivalency grades of GS-5 according to Civil Service rating standards and reports. (See attached.)<sup>2</sup>

2. We found that 44% or slightly less than one-half of your work force in the Government Printing Office are Negroes and as reported by your office there is only one Negro supervisor appointed among this labor force. Contrary to the fair and equal employment practices provided for by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Executive Order 11246 all supervisory positions from Assistant Group Chief, Group Chief to Foreman, are given to white personnel. Appointment of persons to these supervisory positions of course means better pay and better opportunities for advancement of those who work under them, yet these considerations have never been extended to Negro personnel of the GPO.

3. We found that although there are Negro technicians who are as capable as any white employee under your jurisdiction, nearly all promotions made in the GPO go to white personnel. We are greatly concerned with the lack of an a priori policy in the Government Printing Office governing all employees, and more specially we are concerned with your policy on promotions with respect to persons engaged in the crafts.

4. We found that nearly all low grade jobs are assigned to blacks, many having been assigned in these grades for the past 20 to 30 years without opportunities for training or advancement. This particular existence is not only shameful but disgraceful.

5. We have received most disturbing reports of the slave labor tactics being used in the Off-Set Press Room on the second floor to force work out of Negro women employed on those heavy press machines. Our representatives visited that section and observed the situation first hand. We found that Negro women are assigned to lift reams of paper weighing from 180 to 190 pounds and as a result of this heavy dirty work some of the ladies have developed poor health.

The ladies are being used as grease monkeys, for hauling skids of paper and raw material around which only men and machines perform in other sections of the GPO. Negro male employees assigned to the Printing Office resent Negro women being used in this slave type job when white women are spared this type of heavy, dirty and strenuous laboring job. We must make it clear that there are no white women assigned to this duty in the Off-Set Press section.

We could list the countless cases and examples of discrimination in the Government Printing Office that have turned up during the course of our investigation including many pending since 1966, to which no remedy has been offered, but it would be repetitious to do so. We hope these examples listed will give you an idea of the variety and the broad spectrum over which these incidents of discrimination lie.

(We should be happy to supply you with individual allegations upon request).

Consistent with these complaints and resultant findings, we:

1. Demand that Negro employees of the Government Printing Office be given their due share of the higher grade positions. Namely grades GS-9 through GS-16, as we understand that at the moment there are no Negroes assigned in Grades above GS-12 (where there are 104 whites) and only eight blacks between GS-9 and GS-12 (where there are 98 whites).

2. Strongly urge that you establish a permanent promotion system through which Negroes as well as other employees can progress to the upper grades. We strongly urge that this new system be one that brings about equilibrium in grade between Negroes and whites assigned in all grades but especially those assigned in Grades GS-4 and GS-5. We further urge that all Negroes who have been assigned in Grades GS-1 through GS-5 for more than five years be immediately promoted as follows: GS-1 to GS-3, GS-2 to GS-4, GS-3 to GS-5, and be promoted annually until their grades fall in line with that of white employees of the Printing Office.

3. Demand the immediate appointment of black supervisors to Assistant Group Chief, Group Chief and Foreman in all crafts and in all sections. We also demand the assignment of more black employees as Planners.

4. Demand a higher quota of journeymen trainees commensurate with the Negro population of the Printing Office and that these employees be given equal opportunities to complete their programs and be assigned as journeymen.

5. Demand that all women presently assigned to the Off-Set Press Room on the second floor be immediately upon receipt of this letter transferred to the Bindery Section or to other sections where white women are assigned and that they be given similar duties and opportunities to work.

6. Urge that those employees who were arbitrarily stopped at certain percentage rates of their journeyman's wage, be immediately restored to full journeyman's pay.

7. Urge that those Negroes who were dropped from their training programs this year be restored to their programs and that every opportunity be given them to complete the training and make progress.

8. Urge that a Negro be appointed Equal Employment Opportunity Officer and following his appointment, that special efforts be made to wipe out all vestiges of discrimina-

tion in the Government Printing Office, and that a workable grievance procedure be established.

If you fail to act within a reasonable period of time on behalf of the nearly 4,000 Negroes in the Government Printing Office, the Urban League and the Council on Negro Progress in Government intend to act. We therefore respectfully request a reply by September 20, 1968 of corrective action taken or contemplated in transforming your personnel system of operation at the Government Printing Office.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN E. JACOB, ACSW,  
Acting Executive Director.  
ALONZO C. BARNETT,

Council for Negro Progress in Government.

## COMBAT—A NEW AND SORELY NEEDED PUBLICATION

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK, Mr. Speaker, with the proliferation of groups and individuals in this country advocating violence and revolution, the average citizen is utterly confused as to who are the "guys in the white hats" and just who are the people who would create strife and chaos among us. For us whose job is to keep abreast of developments in this area, the necessary resources are at hand. However, adequately getting the news to the public is a monumental task. For instance, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 22 extensive material under the heading, "Violence Caused by Agitation and Design," which was later reprinted in two parts: one dealing with the spreading of terror, violence, and rebellion, and the other with the distortion of the term, "police brutality." While this material is serving its purpose, the need for more reliable sources of information on this subject is undeniably urgent.

Fortunately, on September 1 a newsletter which seeks to keep the public informed about the revolutionary struggle in America today, *Combat* by name, was made available to the public with its first issue. Edited by the very knowledgeable Theodore Lit and Ruth I. Matthews, both with long histories in the field of combating revolution and subversion, *Combat* has as its editorial adviser Eugene Lyons, of the Reader's Digest, the author of various books on international communism and the Soviet Union. It is published twice monthly by Communications Distribution, Inc., Box 182, Murray Hill Station, New York, N.Y.

J. Edgar Hoover, in his comments on law and order, repeatedly stresses public concern and involvement as a prerequisite to reestablishing domestic tranquility in our Nation. Surely, information concerning those groups and individuals whose dedication to disorder is a matter of public record is a must for responsible citizens. I believe that *Combat* will contribute greatly toward airing for public review the identities and designs of those elements whose activities to date have caused general alarm today, and possibly increased havoc tomorrow.

For a better idea of the format and

<sup>2</sup> Not reproduced.



content of this new and welcome newsletter, I place the first issue of *Combat in the Record* at this point:

[From *Combat*, Sept. 1, 1968]

**NEWLEFT ELATED BY CHICAGO, PLANS FUTURE DISRUPTIONS—CZECH DEVELOPMENTS SPLIT U.S. COMMUNISTS, DAILY WORLD SUPPRESSES PARTY DISSENT—HIPPIES TRIED LSD ON WATER SUPPLY—CLEVER GUEST OF XEROX—PROFILE OF THE REVEREND JESSE JACKSON**

**Far Left Wins Victory in Chicago Streets:** Convention city of majority party turned into armed camp, a first in U.S. history and a propaganda plus to world Communist movement. Now being used (along with Vietnam) to fuzz world image of Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Demonstrations created tremendous opportunity to recruit young people into far Left, especially idealistic, disappointed McCarthy followers. Recent splintering, fracturing of Left (break between Trotskyite and Communist youth) in Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam not yet a weakness; anti-war camp still a place for everyone to "do his thing." In the crunch (as in Chicago) differences fade and Newleft joins in solid phalanx against police. Street demonstrators mainly white radicals. Negro leaders impressed by whites' willingness to take on police in major confrontation. Decentralized targets all over Chicago taught the rank-and-file comrades what to do back in their own communities. All in all, it was valuable learning experience for Newleft.

**Terrorism planned for all future political spectacles:** The big question now is: Who will own the streets? The youthful revolutionaries ("the kids," "the dissenters") are open about their plans in months ahead: (1) increase number of followers (around a hard core of 10,000 semi-professional revolutionaries); (2) Combine conventional street demonstrations with guerrilla-type street fighting under slogan, "the streets belong to the people"; (3) Prevent traditional out-of-door campaigning by non-radical candidates, especially in slum, campus and liberal neighborhoods, which will be "theirs"; (4) Create pervasive fears of violence at all large political gatherings, such as the Inauguration; (5) Form a new political organization, the National Liberation Front for America, for agitation to stop Vietnam war. These tactics designed to convince American people that The System is inherently brutal, must be changed to permit "dissent." United front will be forged by the Oldleft, Newleft, Yippies, and (later) some black nationalist groups. Revolutionaries not lacking for sympathy from media, intellectuals, respectables, chorusing the cry "police brutality." Recent examples: (1) the behavior of the media during the Chicago convention; (2) vote of American Sociological Association at Boston to boycott Chicago for 10 years in protest against "Gestapo-like Chicago policemen." (This means cancelling sociological conventions planned for summers of 1969, 1972 and 1976); (3) Mrs. Perle Mesta cancels party for Democratic unity in Chicago because of "beating up kids by the Chicago police."

**Chicago: report on the "Shapeless" Revolution—The following was received at press-time with *Combat* correspondent who was with rioters in Chicago day and night for three days—**"The army of saintly and cynical walfs besieging their Conrad Hilton Bastille constitutes a kind of grisly argument for birth control. It was an epitome of all youth styles, strong on rhetoric, short on real violence, all too ready to suffer, hypnotized with the obscene incantations of revolution, and on their way to achieving just that despite their own half-seriousness. It was Che and Bobby and Ho and John Lennon; carnage and Carnaby Street. It was hours of taunting, minutes of cloudy fighting, tear-gas puffed out and out like the respirations of some chemical dragon; obscenities and

antics, and—behind it all—a new revolution taking shape. Or, rather, shapelessness. A revolution based on innocent new kinds of hate. Hatred of parents, of country, and of self. Of money, which they burned, of The System, which they imagined everywhere in shivery paranoia. Of modern technology, which they used effectively against The System. The children's main impulse was to destroy—in the name of Love, of course. It is 'what's happening.' Which is always a good thing to oppose."

**Combat Exclusive:** In Chicago, hippies poured fortune in LSD into reservoirs, expecting to turn convention on. Dismayed at lack of results. Reason: Chlorinated water instantly neutralizes LSD. Contaminators caught by police and arrested, but news not given out, fearing panic in city.

**Czech Crisis Causes Dissension Inside U.S. Communist Party:** CP boss Gus Hall criticized by Party's New York chairman Gil Green, California chairman Dorothy Healey, for his support of Soviet invasion. Green and Healey (plus some Red youth leaders) back Czech democratizing trend. New CP paper, *Daily World* (old *Daily Worker*), though pro-Kremlin, tried to play it cool, reported both Soviet, Czech positions, called for Moscow-Prague rapprochement. Healey criticisms not reported, however. Czech problem intensified serious fight at New York party convention. Dorothy Healey concerned over effects in U.S. of Kremlin's suppression of Soviet intellectuals seeking freedom of expression. She argues that CPUSA support of Kremlin policy makes Party work difficult among anarchist-libertarian elements in Newleft. Hall's apologia for Soviet invasion increases difficulties.

**Miniskirted Czech girls and longhaired, mod-dressed youth shook invading Russians.** Young troops especially demoralized, some units replaced after only few days in streets. Prague so Westernized (in just eight months of comparative freedom) it resembled nothing Red Army had seen before. Top brass worried about longterm effects on morale: elite troops were told to crush "counterrevolution," found none, and know it.

**Xerox Host to Snarling Black Panther:** Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the revolutionary Black Panther Party and presidential candidate of newleft Peace and Freedom Party, has served prison term for rape. Now awaiting trial for attempted murder in "shoot-out" with Oakland police last spring. This summer, Xerox Corporation invited Cleaver to lecture young trainees (mostly Negroes) at Rochester plant; talk was peppered with profanity, received at first with nervous titters, then robust laughter and applause. Cleaver suggested trainees "liberate one of those [Xerox] machines . . . one of those great big ones . . . and give it to the Black Panther Party." He added: "Maybe we'll come and burn [Rochester] down, or we'll go down to Xerox and blow it up." Cleaver also wants "a black finger on the nuclear trigger." After the nation's blacks are organized by Black Panther Party ("there's a world of difference between 25 million armed black people and 25 million unarmed niggers"), Panthers "can walk on any army base and take [a hydrogen bomb]." Peace and Freedom Party praised by Cleaver as white ally in fight against "this decadent bourgeois system." The only way Negroes can get the "good life" is to use their power to disrupt The System—"to destroy it if we don't get it." Xerox executives remained silent. One Negro trainee whispered to *Combat*'s source: "Nothing is too insulting for white liberals to take!"

**Briefly:** New York *Daily News* reporter Bill Federici said Chicago police could use lessons from New York's Finest on mob control ("New York cops contain the crowds, then go after the agitator . . .") and treatment of press ("They said: 'Get out of here, you bastards, what the hell are you looking at?'" . . . Under continuing attack

from organized Left re his civil rights record, *Spiro Agnew* let bitterness show in Cleveland speech: "Dr. Martin Luther King, Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins [after Detroit riots] said the same thing I say. Yet I'm called a white racist." \* \* \* **Gun Control** laws opposed by Black Panthers \* \* \* Dallas Morning News reports increase in gun sales to people who "want to protect their homes" \* \* \* Syndicated columnist *Flora Lewis* (in *Newsday*) greets *Combat*: "Appearance of a revived McCarthyite publication looks ominous . . . may have more to do with the future shape of politics than the hullabaloo in Chicago . . ." \* \* \* From *Wallace Johnson* (Berkeley, Cal. mayor): "I am quite familiar with what *Combat* will be dealing with . . . We in Berkeley have been wrestling with the problem of radicals and anarchists who would like to overthrow this community . . ." \* \* \* **Black Power Conference** now meeting in Philadelphia (watch for *Combat* report) \* \* \* **Andrew Cordier**, new acting president of Columbia University (replacing Grayson Kirk, forced out by student sit-ins) was one of Otto Otepka's State Dept. security cases, onetime defender of Alger Hiss, also involved in Bang Jensen case \* \* \* Oakland jury to get *Huey Newton* case after Labor Day.

**Galamison Charged With Sabotage of NYC School Board:** Plans to decentralize New York City schools result in violent controversy; president (Mrs. Rose Shapiro) accuses the Rev. Milton A. Galamison (pastor of Siloam Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn) of fomenting "sabotage and vilification" of board; three stormy public meetings (one audience speaker arrested) since Galamison's appointment last July by Mayor John V. Lindsay. Even elements sympathetic to experiment fear that independent schools would promote racism, black separatism, revolution. Galamison's background: arrested 9 times since 1963 in school demonstrations; leader of four school boycotts; keynote speaker in 1964 at founding convention of W.E.B. DuBois Clubs (declared by J. Edgar Hoover as "Communist spawned"); speaker in April 1961 at mass meeting of Brooklyn Fair Play for Cuba Committee (Castro-financed agit-prop organization also promoted by Lee Harvey Oswald).

**Police feud in California:** Oakland police angry with San Francisco Police Commissioner Washington E. Garner. Reason: Garner presented gold star to Charles R. Garry, (white) defense attorney for Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton now on trial for murder of Oakland policeman. (Gold star makes Garry honorary member of San Francisco department.) Commissioner Garner (a Negro) justifies action on ground that Garry has been his friend for twenty years. Would do same even if Garry were defending "accused assassin of Martin Luther King, Jr." Garry invoked 5th Amendment in 1957 when named as member of Community Party. Long active in Communist causes, Garry has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild, cited as Communist front by Senate (1957) and House (1950) committees, since he was admitted to bar 30 years ago. In Newton trial, Garry argues that justice is impossible for black revolutionaries in U.S. racist courts.

**Incredible Leftist Penetration of Catholic Organizations** exemplified by annual National Liturgical Conference in Washington (run by James Colaizzi, former managing editor of *Ramparts*). Among featured speakers: open Communist Herbert Aptheker, urban troublemaker Saul Alinsky, former CORE director James Farmer, Harlem's Isiah Robinson (upcoming National Black Power Conference chairman) told delegates racism is "ingrained in Christian society." Conference issued "Liturgical Week" statement calling for unconditional Viet bomb halt, protection for rights of conscientious objectors. NLC leadership controlled by New Breed ideologues. Few innocent (and bewildered) delegates told "don't ask" how conference got sidetracked from Mass to masses.



**Plebiscite on Black Republic in U.S.:** Newly formed, Detroit-headquartered Republic of New Africa (RNA) is planning poll of American Negroes: Do they want separate black republic in U.S.? (In '30's, this was pet project of U.S. Communist Party.) Plebiscite idea ok'd by RNA's recent Legislative Assembly in Chicago (the 100-plus delegates got physical search before sessions). RNA claims:

Negroes are not voluntary citizens of U.S.; citizenship forced upon them. Negroes deserve separate republic in "subjugated areas"—Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, So. Carolina. RNA will negotiate takeover of these areas with Washington. If U.S. refuses, states would be grabbed by "any means necessary."

Minimum of 3 million American blacks favor separate republic idea.

Plebiscite should be jointly administered by RNA and UN (RNA wouldn't trust U.S. to conduct honest vote).

U.S. owes Negroes \$200 billion in reparations for "sufferings" during and since slavery.

Black republic would adopt socialist system, with "major means of production and trade placed in trust" to state.

Meanwhile RNA plans paramilitary units: a first-line Black Legion backed by a youth auxiliary ("Junior Legion") and "ready reserves" (including women). If arrested in street fighting, RNA "citizens" will declare allegiance to black republic, demand prisoner-of-war treatment under Geneva convention. RNA leaders include big names in black nationalist movement: President (in exile) is Robert F. Williams.\* H. Rap Brown is Minister of Defense. Milton R. Henry is 1st Vice President; his brother Richard (who calls himself "Imari"—Swahili for strength) is Minister of Information. (Henry brothers are active in Detroit area, founded Malcolm X Society). Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, is 2nd VP. Minister of Justice is Joan Franklin, also an NAACP attorney—which will come as a surprise to NAACP. Ismael Flory, Communist director of Afro-American Heritage Association, was also delegate.

Henry brothers flew to Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, after convention, reported to RNA president Williams. African port is entry point for Red Chinese and Soviet influence and money into Africa. Communist support of RNA may follow same route.

**Lysistrata on the Left:** "And if you young ladies think it is wrong to kill and war is wrong, you can say yes to the young men who say no to the draft."—Joan Baez (quoted last month in New York City concert leaflet).

"Now I got something for the women, for all the fine sisters out there . . . you tell that man if he can't be a warrior in time of trouble, get out . . . Until he ready to pick up a gun and be a man, don't give him no sugar . . . You can always get a real man . . . they're plenty of warriors out there who know how to relate to you. And if them others come around, . . . you let us know and we'll kill 'em."—Eldridge Cleaver (in California speech).

\*Robert Williams became prominent in 1959. Advocated Negro violence while head of NAACP in Monroe, North Carolina. Later escaped to Cuba from kidnapping charge following violent demonstration in Monroe (FBI "Wanted" signs still in post offices). From Cuba, via his newsletter the Crusader and Radio Havana, agitated for black revolutionary violence in U.S. Also leader of Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a Negro organization for guerrilla warfare in U.S. cities. In 1961, Williams moved to Peking, worked with top Communist leaders to foment racial unrest in United States. Recently, he shifted operations to Dar Es Salaam.

[From Combat, Sept. 1, 1968]

#### JESSE JACKSON: THE MAN TO WATCH

(By Lionel Lokos, author of the forthcoming book, "House Divided: The Life and Legacy of Martin Luther King," the September selection of the Conservative Book Club)

He was talking with Martin Luther King at the moment of the assassination in Memphis. Ralph Abernathy embraced him before going to jail, following the ill-starred march on Washington. The New York Times considers him "one of the emerging leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference." Tuesday, the Negro magazine supplement, considers him most likely to become "the nation's chief proponent of nonviolent protest." He calls moderate civil rights leaders "sick," and applauds Stokely Carmichael as "a rock crying out with truth." For inspiration he looks to Jesus, Malcolm X, James Bevel and Martin Luther King. He is Rev. Jesse Jackson, the man to watch—in the S.C.L.C.

In a year of humiliating defeats for the civil rights movement, Jesse Jackson heads the one S.C.L.C. program that has been a continuing success—the boycott campaign, Operation Breadbasket. Jackson took charge at the personal request of King. Referring to white store owners in Chicago's ghetto as "the colonial powers," Jackson declared: "Black people must have control of eleven per cent of Chicago." Through threats of Negro boycotts in a 15 month period Jackson negotiated agreements with Chicago food chains, soft drink firms and dairies that opened some 2,000 jobs to Negroes. He forced stores to stock such Negro products as Mumbo Barbecue Sauce (sales increased a staggering 600% in four months). Perhaps most far-reaching was Jackson's war of attrition against A & P which pledged 770 new jobs to black people; "fair" shelf space for black-manufactured products; use of black banks and black scavenger service in ghetto stores. Jackson exulted: "If this policy is carried out with honesty and determination, A & P will cease to be the Man's store and will become our store." Presumably, A & P was not quite ready to turn its board chairmanship over to the S.C.L.C. Last July, Jackson furiously charged that A & P had reneged on the agreement and he organized picketing teams to march on five stores. Jackson said the pickets would remain "until we close them down." He was seconded by Ralph Abernathy at this summer's annual convention of the S.C.L.C. "I have news for A & P," Abernathy said. "Get your house in order, or we are going to close you down, not only in Chicago but all over the country." The voice was Abernathy's—but it seemed more obvious who wrote the script. (Perhaps not coincidentally, A & P earnings were down 30.7% in the 2nd quarter of 1968.)

#### AFTER BIGGER GAME

Jackson took a brief hiatus from the march on A & P to bag bigger game, in the march on Washington. Of all the officials of S.C.L.C., only Jesse Jackson emerged relatively unscathed from this monumental fiasco. Abernathy himself introduced Jackson as manager of Resurrection City—the same day the Interior Department granted a permit for the Poor People's Campaign to use the West Mall near the Lincoln Memorial. Jackson's reaction was that S.C.L.C. had not sought the permit, and would have camped on the ground anyway. A group led by Jackson ate in the Agriculture Department cafeteria and ran up a bill of almost \$300. When the bill was presented, Jackson said it would be compared with what "the Government owes to the poor people of this nation" because of its failure to feed them. "Whoever owes the other will pay," he said.

Later, one of the more malevolent headlines was made by Jackson when one of his

marchers, Arthur Easton, died on a walk from Resurrection City to the Agriculture Department cafeteria. Jackson charged that Easton "died begging for a plate of food"—a lurid falsehood, ignoring the fact that almost from the very beginning Agriculture had supplied the meals for Resurrection City. An Agriculture official, Rodney E. Leonard, said that the Federal Government had been feeding one hot meal and two cold meals a day to more than 3,000 people at the campsite and that he expected the feeding to go on indefinitely. The Government stepped in with ample food, at Abernathy's own request, after the S.C.L.C. had run out of money for meals. As for Easton's death, it was later attributed not to hunger but to diabetes.

Jackson went on with his protests—again leading a group of marchers to the cafeteria. On Jackson's assurance that he would pay as much as he could on the spot and the rest within 24 hours, the government officials permitted him and his followers into the cafeteria. Again the cafeteria bill came to nearly \$300. Jackson paid \$72 and accepted a bill for the rest. "We'll pay it when we can," Jackson said. "We're poor people, you know." For once, the toothless tiger of the Justice Department, Ramsey Clark, was equal to the situation. Attorney General Clark ordered the Community Relations Service to tell Abernathy that unless the cafeteria bill was paid before the close of business that day, Jackson might be taken before a grand jury on charges of theft by fraud. Abernathy was privately critical of Jesse Jackson, and Jackson, in conversations with other S.C.L.C. leaders, questioned the leadership of Abernathy. Reportedly, his remarks were relayed to Abernathy, who became angry. Jackson was reported to have been among the handful of young staff members actually living at Resurrection City who felt that most other staff officials—excluding Abernathy—should vacate their comfortable quarters at the Negro-owned Pitts Motor Hotel and "stop goofing off." At a staff meeting, Jackson was reported to have commented: "We have two staffs—the working staff and the S.C.L.C. staff."

On June 1st, there was a major shakeup in S.C.L.C. Jackson was removed as mayor of Resurrection City. It was called a "shifting of gears" but most observers saw it as a demotion. William Raspberry, Negro columnist for the *Washington Post*, thought Jackson had been reassigned "because a personality cult had started to build around him." Presumably, the cult had dues-paying members inside the Administration. The *New York Times* reported that Jackson had made a strong impression on an Administration admirer, who called him "a man who knew the limits to which a demonstration could go, and could pull it back quickly if it was going too far." Other S.C.L.C. officials privately deplored Jackson's "banishment" by Abernathy. One dissatisfied member said: "If Jesse Jackson was in charge, we'd be moving by now."

On June 3rd, Jackson reportedly returned to Chicago. But a week later was back in Washington, heading The Action Committee, an outgrowth of the March on Washington. A few days later, he was photographed at Abernathy's side, before the latter was whisked off to jail.

The Jackson cult enrolled a new member in Mary McGrory of the *New York Post*, who wrote: "The Poor People's March, which yielded so little in the way of results at least brought to the fore the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who in the eyes of some observers is a black hope who might eventually succeed King as head of the S.C.L.C., if not as a national leader."

In Chicago especially the Jackson cult has zoomed into orbit. Ordained a Baptist minister last June, Jackson preaches Saturday mornings to 3,000 people in a ballroom, a combination worship service and weekly

meeting of National Operation Breadbasket. "Parishioners" include Sidney Poitier, Bill Cosby, France Nuyen, Dick Gregory and TV star Robert Culp, who flies 3,000 miles weekly to film Operation Breadbasket activities free.

#### WROTE MAYOR DALEY

Jesse Jackson proves that out of the mouths of the nonviolent come some of the most violent threats in the English language. Just before the Democratic convention opened, Jackson wrote Mayor Richard Daley that Chicago was on the brink of a racial "eruption." He urged Daley to "remove the white policemen from the black neighborhoods now, to insure their personal safety and to insure black people's collective security . . . Remove white policemen, white firemen and other white employees now." Jackson said he made the demand "not out of hate for white people but out of respect for ourselves." This may well have been one of the reasons why National Guardsmen were in Chicago during the convention. Jackson compared activating the Guard with the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. "The only difference is that he [Daley] is too embarrassed to have them walk down the streets."

Jackson's activities have come to the ecstasitic attention of *Political Affairs*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which delightedly quoted Jackson as saying: "Sometime before the night is over we are going to talk not just about jobs but we are going to talk about capitalism itself. For a long time people did not talk about capitalism because of the McCarthyism. People have been afraid of using the word because the alternative is supposed to be communism. Whether or not that is the alternative, capitalism is a bad system."

*Political Affairs* rhapsodized that Negroes "may not be ready to accept Socialism, but no segment of the population is so ripe for it." Apparently the comrades think Jackson riper than most, whether or not he's quite ready for plucking.

#### NEED FOR NUCLEAR TREATY

### HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 13, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Nuclear Treaty Still Needed," published in the Newport News, Va., Daily Press of September 12, 1968.

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

#### NUCLEAR TREATY STILL NEEDED

The nuclear non-proliferation treaty is coming before the Senate at the worst possible time. The Soviet Union joined with the United States in devising the draft of the multi-nation pact, and anything Moscow has anything to do with must be particularly unpopular in this country now, because of what has happened to Czechoslovakia.

Some senators feel, perhaps justifiably so, that if they favor the treaty aimed at preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons, voters will think they are condoning Soviet aggression—and this is, after all, an election year.

But Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. doesn't think that way, and while he isn't up for reelection this November, it is significant that a legislator with such firm anti-Communist credentials has come out four-square in behalf of the treaty's ratification.

"As strongly as I condemn the action of the Soviet Union and its satellites against Czechoslovakia," Senator Byrd said on Monday, "that action serves to remind us that the Soviet Union has not forsaken its aggressive policies in the world and that the risk of nuclear war is still very much with us."

He contended that it is advisable to take all reasonable precautions in the fact of the possibility that more nations, some "under irresponsible leadership," might acquire nuclear weapons. Perhaps Senator Byrd's remarks will persuade some others that the treaty is in the best interests of the United States, and has nothing to do with "appeasement" of the Soviets.

Little or no progress has been made toward ratification thus far; yesterday the Senate Foreign Relations Committee again failed to muster a quorum to discuss the treaty. And the administration has given the impression of not pushing very hard for a showdown vote, because of the risk of a negative reaction that might permanently rule out the possibility of U.S. participation in a ban on the spread of nuclear weapons.

The Republicans in the Senate, with some Democratic help, hold the power of decision if the threat of a filibuster materializes, and what the GOP legislators do must depend largely on the attitude of Richard M. Nixon toward the treaty. Yesterday the Republican candidate for the presidency reemphasized the doubts he had previously expressed, and evidently he intends to carry his opposition to the point of creating a campaign issue. If that turns out to be the case, the wisest course will be to defer action until next year, when the atmosphere will hopefully be more conducive to calm consideration of the nuclear non-proliferation proposal. After this much delay a few more months shouldn't make much difference.

#### THREE ARTICLES ON THE STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

### HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, in June of this year, Mr. Ray Cromley, who writes for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, wrote three articles on the Students for Democratic Society and their efforts to mount disruptive operations in this Nation based on the riot demonstration technique of Adolph Hitler, Che Guevara Mao Tse-tung, and Ho Chi Minh. Mr. Cromley was especially suited for such an assignment for he was in Army Intelligence during World War II and was assigned to Mao and the Chinese Communists in Yenan for a period of time that educated him on their aims and operations.

In the light of the latest outrages, the three articles of Mr. Cromley will be most enlightening to the general public, and it is a pleasure to place them in the RECORD for study by the Members:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, June 24, 1968]

#### DRIVERLESS SDS

(By Ray Cromley)

There is a tendency to credit the Students for a Democratic Society with a great deal of strength because of the part it played in the Columbia University riots, the anti-Vietnam march on Washington in 1967, the harassment of Dow Chemical Co. recruiters on

college campuses and in the public burning of draft cards.

It is true that this inter-campus collegiate group grew so rapidly the past eight years that its leaders haven't been able to keep track of its chapters (estimated at over 150) or its membership (estimated at over 35,000).

It is true also that SDS so far has had considerable success in violence and the use of strong-arm power.

Like an auto out of control on a main street, the SDS can do a great deal of damage. But until it gets a driver that can control it, like the runaway car the SDS will inevitably end wrapped around a light pole or halfway thru a store window or stalled out of gas on a side road. The driver can be a man, or an ideology.

Tho the SDS has stirred up local whirlwinds, and tho its leaders have spoken at length about what they're going to do, most of their words have been cliches. There is no sign yet that the SDS knows where it is going.

In fact, a study of the SDS indicates it is going in several unco-ordinated directions at once. All of these actions have one thing in common; they are opposed to what is. None seem to aim at a substitute for what's being attacked.

That is, despite its historical connection with socialism and its publicized minority membership of avowed communists, the SDS has no clear ideology.

Its leaders are against all candidates for the presidency. They are against the American system of national and local elections, which they say are a means of keeping in power the men and the system already in power. They oppose the draft which they say is a means of preserving the rulers in their positions at the expense of the underprivileged. SDS leaders attack "capitalism," the "power structure" the U.S. system of "racism," and "U.S. imperialism."

But when it comes to solutions, the best its leaders can offer ran like this:

"A primary objective would be to develop and present a radical political and organizational alternative to existing institutions."

"We must evaluate our stance toward electoral politics so that we can create a clear radical alternative to the capitalist-racist system . . ."

"As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation (in which) . . . the individual shares in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life . . ."

Even within the SDS there are growing complaints that these are just words. "What do they mean?" says one member challenging the leaders.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, June 25, 1968]

#### THE BASIC TARGETS

(By Ray Cromley)

Despite their emphasis on the draft and the Vietnam war, Students for a Democratic Society leaders say the draft and the war are not the issues.

Anti-draft and war riots and demonstration, they say, are means to an end:

"The draft is not the issue . . . but rather the means by which we can involve large numbers of people, organize collective resistance . . . and, most importantly, educate and politicize . . . about race wars, electoral politics, imperialism . . . Politically, the draft makes possible broad-based coalitions that could foment unity on the left . . . and allow for mass tactics."

"Among the poor, draft organizing is one way to gain entry into the community . . . (extend) organizing around other community issues (and) . . . Inject anti-imperialism and anti-racism into those struggles."

We see our main effectiveness in working (on) . . . the draft as building consciousness about the nature of this society.



"Our analysis must . . . tie the draft into the uses of the draft: for imperialism; for Vietnam; for Watts; for Berkeley and Oakland. We can show why the U.S. must suppress people internationally and domestically—must exploit people in imperialism's constant search for higher profits . . ."

"We must link the draft with the trend toward militarism and fascism . . ."

"We must use this . . . struggle (against the draft) to raise basic questions about the capitalist system."

The SDS leaders see candidates like Senator Eugene McCarthy and the late Senator Robert Kennedy—and slum programs aiming at jobs, better living conditions and more equality of opportunity—as compromising palliatives which tend to hide the need for throwing out the whole present U.S. capitalist system.

"We would show how the politics of this country are a function of capitalistic economic interests. And we would show that our country's problems cannot be resolved within the existing political, economic and social institutions because they are essential elements of those institutions."

SDS leaders regard today's stage in their development as an organizational and propaganda phase. Tho they say a violent revolution will be necessary to remold American society, the time is not yet ripe. Too many people still believe in American institutions and the American election system.

First, work must be done to educate and arouse numbers of people and to organize them into active groups. Demonstrations, violent protests and riots for now are "educational" and "training" projects to make people aware of their own strength and of what type of "power structure" they are up against. The leaders tell their cadre that Viet Cong, Algerian, Castro-Che Guevarra type "freedom fighting" will come later.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, June 26, 1968]

#### RED TECHNIQUES

(By Ray Cromley)

Some Students for a Democratic Society operations show evidence of a thorough study of the riot-demonstration techniques of Adolph Hitler, Che Guevarra, Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh:

In the Columbia University riots the students made repeated vicious personal physical attacks on police to insure a police reaction. Ho's men used these tactics repeatedly in his buildup to enable his people to charge police brutality and win sympathizers.

Some SDS leaders have consistently attempted to involve as many young people as possible in illegal actions. Once they have a police record, or have been in a strong emotional confrontation with the police or other authorities, the Mao theory runs, the students are committed to fighting "the establishment." They have no other place to go.

In some demonstrations, goon squad types strongarm those not in sympathy with the SDS and its allies. This is straight from Hitler's operations.

These are three examples. There are many more.

It is one thing to study the tactics of Mao, Ho, Che and Hitler and to use some of their techniques successfully; it is quite another to be able to build a successful revolutionary movement.

SDS men have learned from Vietnam, Cuba, pre-war Germany and China that a few men, using a few standard techniques, can raise a lot of havoc and create situations very difficult for government, college administrators and police to handle. It is especially difficult for a government which lives by democratic, Christian rules if the rioters are young students and women, for whom most people have a great deal of sympathy.

But successful insurgencies require a great

deal more than techniques. Mao and Ho, for example, have shown a genius for organization, a persistence and a ruggedness that is phenomenal. They have shown the ability to sacrifice personal comforts, to live in want and isolation and to go to prison for long periods to accomplish their aims.

The major weakness of the SDS is that neither its leaders nor its members have thus far shown the ability to discipline themselves or to sacrifice for what they say they believe in.

For the most part, SDS leaders and their members have not been able to become one with the people whose causes they espouse. They respond like bureaucrats. Their own instructions to their cadre carefully point out that it will not be necessary to suffer in order to go down and work with people in the slums.

SDS planners are forced to urge their people to help in the poor city areas by sugar-coated urgings: "... students will learn that organizing in poor and working class neighborhoods is not the ascetic, austere, monk-like trip that (they imagine) . . ."

Even with this promise, however, the SDSers are finding their people more ready with riots and demonstrations than with the slow, unglamorous hard work among ordinary people. Says one SDS leader:

"We talk of going in to organize neighborhoods or factories, or relating to those projects with some professional skill, but too few of us have moved."

Numbers of these SDS activists are enamored of words. As one says, "We create symbols which have no content. . . . What does it mean to 'expose the bankruptcy of electoral politics?' . . . What does 'anti-imperialism' mean? . . . We have great difficulty using these terms that are bandied about too freely."

In short, many of these SDSers are children playing at revolution. Many are playing only so long as they're certain they won't be hurt seriously.

#### RAIL-WATER COORDINATION

#### HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 13, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, recently I had called to my attention an excellent paper delivered by Mr. Charles E. Walker, president of the Union Barge Line of Pittsburgh, Pa., to the Nebraska Transportation Institute at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln. Speaking on "Regional Dividends From Rail-Water Coordination," he offered some important thoughts on the subject of regional development and the benefits to be gained by a decentralization of industry made possible, in part, by a greater emphasis on the implementation of multipurpose water resource programs. Mr. Walker's industrial experience has given him an especially good background on this subject. I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### REGIONAL DIVIDENDS FROM RAIL-WATER COORDINATION

(Address by Charles E. Walker, president, Union Barge Line Corp., Nebraska Transportation Institute, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr., May 14, 1968)

It is both a privilege and a pleasure to be invited to speak on the role of the water

carriers in improving regional development. You have heard from the other principal means of transportation—airlines, motor carriers, pipelines and railroads. It is now my turn to talk about river navigation, the means of transportation which first helped open up the great plains region.

Only 100 years ago in Nebraska it was still a risky business transporting freight up the Missouri River. Boats were likely to be attacked by Sioux war parties. The Indians could fire directly into the pilot house when the steamboat ran close to the shore at the bends.

The difference in freight rates is interesting. A hundred years ago, the steamboats charged 70 cents a hundred pounds for service between St. Louis and Omaha. Today grain is shipped by river at eighteen and a half cents per 100 pounds over the same distance.

The great lesson taught us by the long sweep of American economic development is the simple fact that an economy doesn't come alive unless it has good air, highway, rail, pipeline and water transportation. The river barges keep the railroads honest, the railroads keep the river operators and the truck lines honest and the pipelines keep us all honest. I guess the airlines are just naturally honest.

The late Wendell Berge, a former Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust enforcement—and a Nebraskan—in a book entitled "Economic Freedom for the West" stressed that transportation rates make the difference between success and failure in regional development. He wrote that without artificial barriers or discrimination in rates, capital in Maine, California or Nebraska will have equal opportunities for investment in new industry.

And the one reliable force guaranteed to keep artificial trade barriers low and discrimination in rates at a minimum is the force of healthy competition.

Most of us think from year to year. But a few of us in the water carrier industry have been standing back a bit from the rush of every day life and looking ahead. When you do that, you see in better perspective the remarkable rate of growth of the economy and the extraordinary demands that will be placed on the transportation industry in the next few years. Secretary of Transportation, Alan S. Boyd, has warned us that we must be prepared to double the capacity of the transport plant by 1980. William B. Johnson, president of the Illinois Central, speaking in Alabama last week, said that he thought transport capacity might have to quadruple by the end of the century.

Many people are beginning to question whether it makes sense to continue to concentrate the expansion of the economy in a few megalopolises. There is a growing belief that in concentrating production in a relatively few centers in the country, all the social ills are also concentrated at great human and material cost.

Those who are thinking in 30 and 50-year terms about our country are urging a speeding up of the present gradual rate of decentralization of industry. This was the great vision of Senator Robert S. Kerr. He saw in canalization of the Arkansas an opportunity to industrialize a new region. He said he thought there would be a rush of industry into the Arkansas Valley, with the completion of the river, that would make the land rush of the last century look like a walk. This is similarly the vision of those who back the development of the Missouri River.

There is a new dimension in what we are trying to do in this country. To affluence, we want to add improved quality of living. The multi-purpose water resources development programs are providing one of the strong counter-influences to all the powerful forces which are over-concentrating the economy and the population into such megalopolises as are to be found in the northeast. These

programs will have a decisive influence in relieving the pressures building up in the huge metropolitan centers. The sparkling lakes and streams, the forests and parks of the Mississippi Valley are making possible a quality of living unavailable in the crowded urban centers and this may one day be as important as freight rates in regional development.

Major General Frederick Clark of the Corps of Engineers noted this point recently. "Supplying the utilitarian needs of the American people is not enough today . . . Urban dwellers want to be able to emerge from their high rise apartments, get off the paved streets, and find green fields, wooded hill-sides, and clear, free-running streams somewhere nearby. . ."

They can find them most easily in the relatively undeveloped regions of the country, provided also of course they can find jobs in decentralized industry.

This may seem somewhat off the subject of transportation, but it is very much on the subject of the purpose of this meeting to "assess transportation's broader role in the development of the regional economy." With balanced transportation services, the region can have balanced economic development. Without water transport no region's transportation services can be said to be balanced.

If we consider the overwhelming need of the economy for greatly expanded transport capacity and the need for decentralizing the economy, unquestionably river navigation is high on the list of those who do the long range planning for this region.

It will interest you to hear some of the new technological developments in the barge industry. The drive in river transportation is toward more and more economical services. We are proud of the fact that the average rates for the barge lines today are 3/10th of a cent per ton mile, about the same as they were in 1922. Very heavy investment in new technology has made this possible.

Our basic thrust has been to develop larger volume tows. On the lower river we are now exceeding 40,000 tons in a single flotilla of barges. Two technological break-throughs have made this possible. The first was the development of successful methods of reduction gearing so that more powerful, faster running and lighter engines could be employed. Parallel to this came the development of a system of positive steering control through improved mechanisms. The net result is that the higher volume has made possible lower unit cost. The barge lines have been able to reduce average rates 10 percent since 1960. Along with larger tows have gone larger barges, up from 500 tons capacity in the 1950's to 1,800 tons and more today. The technology is being developed for increasing horsepower by one third to 12,000 or more and barge tows to 60,000 tons. With further economies around the corner, the barge lines can be relied upon as an ever more powerful force in stimulating regional economic development in the future.

We are temporarily disconcerted by the effect of an obsolete section of the Interstate Commerce Act. Before modern river technology was even dreamed of a law was passed partially regulating river traffic. Careful research reveals that the restrictions placed on river traffic at that time were based on Great Lakes practice and had little or nothing to do with the rivers. But today, because Great Lakes bulk ships have only three holds, river tows of bulk commodities—coal, grain, bauxite and the like—are limited to no more than three bulk commodities. By a later interpretation, the ICC even stated that non-bulk traffic, steel, bags of sugar, paper, could not be mixed with the bulk commodities. If applied, the ruling against mixing could turn back the technology clock on the river 15 years. Without the right to mix regulated non-bulk and unregulated bulk commodities, the barge lines cannot accumulate the volume made possible by

the larger towboats and the economies, which the barge lines have already passed along to the public, will have to be cancelled.

The matter, as the ICC has stated in testimony before Congress, is largely an internal barge industry concern with little if any intermodal effect. A bill to cure the problem has universal support from farmers, labor, industry, shippers, the industrial development departments of major states and from regional industrial development organizations. The various government departments have examined the proposal and given it enthusiastic endorsement—Transportation, Agriculture and Justice. The issue is very simple; are the customers of the barge lines to continue to enjoy the benefits of technological advance?

Unfortunately, the mixing rule has become the battle ground for much larger issues. The railroads are concerned with what they believe to be inequality of treatment under the present transport statutes. If there is to be a change in the law affecting barge lines, however meritorious and minor its effect on railroads, they say, let the Congress also consider deregulating bulk commodities by rail. The truckers are alarmed at this prospect and want to be sure that all the antitrust laws as they now work are applied to deregulated traffic carried by any mode.

It all too frequently happens in Washington that an otherwise non-controversial measure—as ours should be non-controversial—is used as a lever by one or other of the very powerful lobbying machines to serve a purpose having little to do with the object of the particular legislation. The barge lines are not without sin in this popular Washington game. But all of us have got to learn—and soon—that the old days when each mode lived inside its own fortress are gone.

If the for hire or common carrier branch of the transportation industry spends all its time on harassment, we are simply going to encourage further erosion of traffic to private carriage and possibly nationalization of all transportation.

The mixing of regulated and unregulated traffic on the river has made possible major efficiencies which have offset the rising costs of materials, labor and equipment. It is universally agreed in government, in agriculture and in industry that mixing is in the public interest. The issues raised by the railroads are legitimate issues deserving of careful and sympathetic study. So are the issues raised by the truckers. But the barge mixing rule bill is no proper place to fight them out. They should be considered and settled separately and on their own merits.

Cooperation between the modes will greatly stimulate regional development. In the great expansion of capacity ahead of us, it is essential that the capital outlays we have to make are used in the most efficient manner possible. This is in our business self-interest. It is also very much in the national interest that the most efficient use possible be made of the nation's transport resources. Joining the best efficiencies of railroading, water carriers, trucking and pipelining can produce substantial savings for the economy.

The barge lines maintain excellent relations with the trucking industry. We have complete cooperation. Whenever we need a connecting service we get a connecting rate representing the best efficiencies of trucking and we work together to give the customer the best combined service possible.

Our trade group, the Water Transport Association, is beginning to work on a series of individual case studies showing how the best efficiencies of rail and water transportation may produce important savings. There has been a reluctance on the part of railroads to work with water carriers, but we expect to break this down with a sophisticated appeal to the enlightened business self-interest of both rail carriers and shippers.

Let me give you just two examples, which together, have a potential of about one third of a million dollars in savings in a year.

Freight rates are complex and it is essential to try to compare like with like. Please bear with me as I go into some detail.

Our objective here is to start a business dialogue on the public benefits which can result from better cooperation between water and rail services. If we are successful, we believe better water-rail coordination could have great meaning for the Plains States.

My first example involves synthetic rubber which moves in large volume—about 220,000 tons a year, between the Gulf States and the Northeast. We have chosen a movement from Baton Rouge, New Orleans to New Haven, Conn., an all-rail distance of 1,494 miles. We believe this movement to be typical of many from the Gulf area into New England.

The factors are as follows:

	Per ton
Present all-rail rate, Baton Rouge to New Haven (minimum weight 70 tons) -----	\$22.00
Barge rate, Baton Rouge to proposed interchange at Leetsdale, near Pittsburgh -----	7.75
Interchange, barge to rail -----	1.98
Rail rate Leetsdale to New Haven (well above fully distributed costs) -----	8.40
Total barge-rail -----	18.33
Indicated saving of barge-rail route or 17 percent -----	3.67

Let us assume for the sake of argument that the saving so achieved would apply to a third of the tonnage moving from the Gulf to the so-called "official territory" of the railroads, the northeast. In that case the total saving would be in the neighborhood of \$275,000 a year.

Another example involves skelp, the steel plates of which pipe is manufactured. A large volume moves from Pittsburgh to Lone Star, Texas, 1123 rail miles. Savings could be achieved by a connection over Vicksburg and the factors would look like this:

	Per ton
Present all-rail rate, Pittsburgh to Lone Star -----	\$14.01
Barge rate at 1/10 cent per ton-mile for 1,513 water miles -----	6.25
Interchange, barge to rail at Vicksburg -----	1.84
Rail rate for 254 miles, Vicksburg to destination (well above fully distributed cost) -----	3.78
Total barge-rail -----	11.88
Indicated saving from barge-rail route (15 percent) -----	2.13

The annual tonnage moving between Pittsburgh and Lone Star is in excess of 20,000 tons. Thus the annual indicated saving from this move would be about \$42,600. From both movements taken together the annual savings are indicated to be \$318,000.

In the case of synthetic rubber, the proposed rail rate from the port appears to be more than a reasonable division and on skelp it is precisely the same as the division that would be accorded a barge line if it were another connecting railroad. In addition, the interchange cost has been increased to include the cost to the railroad of obtaining a car and switching it to the barge dock.

We do not intend to take the railroads to the ICC or to the courts over these instances. We merely expect to start a meaningful dialogue. We simply want a business answer to a business question, why are these two movements not in the interests of the railroads, and the shippers?

I do not specify that the substantial savings indicated should all accrue to the shipper. Perhaps it may make economic sense to allow the railroad a larger division and a



better return on its portion of the movement. That would all depend on future discussions.

I think it goes without saying that the factors cited represent an arms-length relationship with the railroad. They assume that a particular railroad would treat a barge line just as if it were another railroad, no worse, and no better. If, however, the marketing department of a particular railroad or the traffic department of a particular shipper were to become intrigued with the potential for both more economical service to the public and higher earnings from the rates, then in my opinion still greater savings could be achieved. If the best efficiencies of railroading, multiple car rates reflecting the 1,000-ton barge volumes, and the best efficiencies of terminalling were applied on hundreds, perhaps thousands of such cases, a major bite might be taken out of the nation's freight bill.

The barge industry began circulating case studies last week. My paper suggests two new ones. Additional case studies are in the pipeline for distribution in the near future as they are developed. We need help from shippers and rail carriers to suggest ideas for further study. The Plains States could particularly benefit from improved rail-water coordination.

The development of greater efficiency in the nation's transport network is critically important at this time. Freight transportation represents about 10 percent of the gross national product—about \$70 billion dollars—hence the cost of transportation has an important bearing on the productive efficiency of the economy and the nation's advantage in competing for overseas customers.

Equally important, perhaps, a rate that represents the best true efficiencies of the different modes is most likely to bring a proper rate of return to the carrier.

As we begin to build a transport system in the next 12 years having a capacity equal to that now in place, the most urgent need is for a flow of capital from retained earnings and depreciation sufficient to give us financial elbow room for further technological innovation and growth.

No industry can more quickly drag down the productive efficiency of the economy than an under-nourished transport industry. By the same token, as the barge lines have demonstrated, with the improved efficiency of the big towboat technology, no industry can make such constructive contributions to the nation's economy as can a vigorous, competitive, innovative transport industry. Achieving an economically healthy, technologically progressive and competitively balanced transportation network of all modes is vital to the interest of every region of the country seeking further development.

## THE NATION'S WELFARE PROBLEM

**HON. LEE H. HAMILTON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 13, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of the fourth in a series of radio broadcasts to Ninth District residents:

There is really nothing good to be said about the welfare system in the United States today.

The poor who receive aid from it say that it subjugates and demeans them. The taxpayers who pay for it say they are subsidizing and perpetuating lack of incentive.

Even the head of the New York City Welfare Department has said recently—"the welfare system is designed to save money

instead of people, and tragically ends up doing neither."

And almost everyone can agree that the system traps its participants—creating generation after generation of hopeless and helpless poor people.

The time has come, then, to straighten up the welfare system—for the benefit of the recipient and the taxpayer.

### THE PRESENT WELFARE SYSTEM

1. There are several categories of welfare: old-age assistance to help persons over 65; aid to the needy adult blind; aid to dependent children; aid to the permanently and totally disabled; medical assistance to the medically needy of every age—that is, persons not poor enough to be on welfare, but still not able to afford adequate medical treatment. Under all these welfare programs, the states have wide latitude in shaping public policy and in the administration of that policy. In most cases, the Federal Government's main role is to reimburse the state for part of the cost.

2. In 1967 the total cost of public welfare was somewhere between 7 and 8 billion dollars. About 3/4 of this total, or about 4 to 5 billion dollars represented the federal share of welfare payments. In May of 1967, about 7.7 million persons received cash payments from federally aided public assistance programs. About 2 million of these persons were 65 or over, 700,000 were blind or permanently or totally disabled, and about 5 million were families with dependent children.

3. Aid to families with dependent children has become one of the most criticized and expensive welfare programs. The cost in 1967 amounted to about 1 1/2 billion dollars. This 1 1/2 billion dollar federal contribution amounted to about 55% of the total cost of the program. This cost is increasing every year, and the number of persons seeking this aid is growing every year.

4. Aid to Dependent Children money in 1967, was distributed among approximately 5 million persons, the vast majority of whom are essentially unemployable. Of this total, 3,729,000 were children and the majority of the remainder were mothers and only about 50,000 to 60,000 were adult males.

### WEAKNESSES IN PRESENT WELFARE SYSTEM

1. The need to help less fortunate persons is an obligation of a wealthy society. But nationwide statistics show that federal, state, and local welfare programs reach only about 1/3 of the 21.7 million below the age of 65 who have incomes below the poverty level. And those who do receive money receive no large sums. For example, in 1967 the total cost of the Aid to Dependent Children program including federal, state, and local contributions was approximately 2 billion dollars and thus this nation provided an average of about \$36 per month for each welfare recipient. This amount is well below the poverty subsistence level. Thus our present welfare system, although mounting in cost, reaches only a small part of the nation's poor and those it does reach, it often fails to provide with even a subsistence payment.

2. In the past, our welfare system has provided no incentives to encourage needy persons to earn their own living. For instance, until only recently all wages earned by adult welfare recipients who took jobs, except for small allowances for expenses, were deducted directly from the welfare payments they would otherwise have received. In other words, if men would begin to earn their living, their welfare payments were immediately reduced by the amount of their earnings. Such a procedure constitutes a 100% tax on a person's income. And that is no incentive to work.

3. Until only recently, this country's welfare system encouraged the breakup of the family structure of those it was designed to help. In most states, the benefits were available only when a parent was absent from

the home. Thus, in these states an unemployed father whose family needed public assistance in order to survive had to abandon his family or see them go hungry.

### THE PROBLEM

The problem this country faces is that it has a welfare system which is costing more and more money but producing fewer and fewer productive and self-sufficient citizens.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Public assistance should be based upon a uniform, simple plan for Federal-State sharing in costs of all public assistance programs. This plan should provide for equitable, reasonable fiscal effort by the States and should recognize the relative fiscal capacities of the Federal and State Government.

If the cost of welfare were based on a single comprehensive public welfare formula, it would assure more equity in the system and sharply reduce administrative complexities. The administration of the programs would still reside with the states.

I would simplify the administration of welfare by calling for a simple declaration of income rather than requiring family investigations and involved means test as the procedure to establish welfare eligibility now does. A pilot project has already shown that in such a system cheating rarely occurs. In that project, only one case of cheating was discovered out of the 1600 cases spot-checked. At the same time, the project showed that a system of unchecked eligibility declarations could reduce paperwork by 900% and free staff workers to aid rather than to spy on welfare recipients.

2. I believe we should put a minimum floor under Social Security for the aged and the disabled and the widows and the orphans—those people who are outside the labor market. This would reduce by another 5 or 6 million the number of people in poverty in this country.

3. I support greater incentives to encourage welfare recipients to go to work. I believe we should substantially increase the amount of earnings that a welfare recipient who goes to work may retain before his welfare payments are reduced.

4. In the final analysis, welfare in most states is a callous handout. It encourages dependency on public charity and it undermines an individual's self-respect.

5. I believe the goal of our welfare programs should be to get citizens off the dole and into a job—to change them from tax eaters into taxpayers. Therefore, both the government and private enterprise should actively create new job opportunities and train new workers in areas of high unemployment. As part of our public policy we should place greater emphasis on making available the capital, credit, and insurance needed to help disadvantaged people get on their own feet, start their own businesses, and become self-supporting.

4. Far more welfare research is needed into the causes of social problems, the forces in a community that generate them, and ways to deal with them more effectively. Equally important is that the results of this research be made immediately available to local directors and officials.

Also because the shortage of qualified personnel for social welfare programs is critical, concentrated efforts must be made to increase social workers, social work aides, auxiliary personnel, and to explore ways of using these persons to maximum advantage. Federal and State support for undergraduate and graduate social worker education is essential, including funds to enlarge faculty, research staff, and facilities.

### CONCLUSION

I believe our present welfare system can be improved.

I believe that we can use our substantial economic growth to create jobs for the poor, instead of relying on handouts.

I believe, as serious as the welfare problem is in this country, that drastic solutions are not called for.

There are those who would have us do away with the present welfare system and replace it with the guaranteed annual income or the negative income tax. I reject that approach because it is too expensive and it is uncertain what its effects would be.

But I believe modifying our present welfare system along the lines I have suggested and creating jobs for all those who can, and want to work is the better way—the steadier, surer course for this country to follow.

We are a nation blessed with abundance. We have no right, and there can be no justification for us, to ignore the poor. But our policies must not only be generous, they must also be compassionate and wise.

# VOTING RECORD OF CONGRESSMAN THOMAS M. PELLY ON EDUCATION IN THE 90TH CONGRESS

## HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 13, 1968

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as the House enters its final days of this second session of the 90th Congress, I feel its membership can take considerable satisfaction in the legislation it enacted to advance the cause of education.

I have said before in the well of this House, and I repeat, the solution for the problems of mankind, at home and abroad, lies in education. It is not the only answer, but it is the foundation of world peace and the well being of mankind.

The urban problems here in America will require many answers and many well-conceived programs in different fields, but basic is the need of adequate schools and recreational facilities as well as good teachers and well-trained supervisors and counsellors.

Right now, I think it is appropriate to point with some pride to the record of education bills passed in this Congress.

I think, Mr. Speaker, I am correct in saying the following constitutes a complete list of education measures of a national scope which came to the floor of the House for votes during the 90th Congress. This list shows my support for all of them:

**H.R. 11276:** A Bill to authorize appropriations to carry out the Adult Education Act of 1966 for 2 additional years. *Mr. Pelly voted for.*

**H.R. 7819:** A Bill to strengthen and improve programs of assistance for elementary and secondary education by extending authority for allocation of funds to be used for education of Indian children and children in overseas dependents schools of the Department of Defense, by extending and amending the National Teacher Corps program, by providing assistance for comprehensive educational planning, and by improving programs of education for the handicapped; to improve authority for assistance to schools in federally impacted areas and areas suffering a major disaster; and for other purposes. *Mr. Pelly voted for.*

**H.R. 10943:** A Bill to amend and extend Title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The purpose of this bill was to improve the quality of teaching and to help meet critical shortages of adequately trained educational personnel. *Mr. Pelly voted for.*

**H.R. 12257:** A Bill to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend and expand the authorization of grants to States for rehabilitation services, to authorize assistance in establishment and operation of a National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults, and to provide assistance for migrants. *Mr. Pelly voted for.*

**H.R. 6736:** A Bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television

and radio; and for other purposes. *Mr. Pelly Voted For.*

**H.R. 16819:** A Bill to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend the authorization of grants to States for rehabilitation services, to broaden the scope of goods and services available under that Act for the handicapped, and for other purposes. *Mr. Pelly Voted For.*

**H.R. 16729:** A Bill to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs. *Mr. Pelly Voted For.*

**H.R. 17872:** This Bill authorized the use of up to \$100 million per year in customs receipts for three years for additional financing for breakfasts and lunches for needy school children. *Mr. Pelly Voted For.*

**H.R. 17873:** This Bill proposed various revisions in the school lunch program, including requirements for future state government financial support, and provisions to prevent embarrassment of children receiving free or reduced cost meals. *Mr. Pelly Voted For.*

**H.R. 18366:** A Bill to amend the Vocational Educational Act of 1963. The purpose of this legislation was to consolidate, broaden, and strengthen existing vocational and technical education programs.

**H.R. 15067:** A Bill to Amend the Higher Education Act of 1965, the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, and related Acts. *Mr. Pelly Voted For.*

The bills described above constitute a complete list of education measures coming to the Floor of the House for vote during the 90th Congress.

## THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 13, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 235th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

## SENATE—Monday, September 16, 1968

The Senate met at 12 noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Dr. James M. Moore, pastor, First Baptist Church, Mannington, W. Va., offered the following prayer:

O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is Your name in all the earth. You have set Your glory above the heavens. Accept our humble praises and hearty thanks for the many mercies and blessings which You have bestowed upon us. For these who have gathered here today, under the weight of many decisions, illuminate their minds with the divine precepts of Your word. We pray for America. We pray for our boys, our men, and our women in the Armed Forces. Forgive us, God, of our trespasses, as we now forgive those who have trespassed against us. Help us to seek peace. Peace for the individual. Peace for the world. Peace through Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, who said, "My peace I leave with you." Remind us that every knee shall bow before You and everyone confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God,

the Father. For Yours is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever, through Jesus Christ, the Lord. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, September 13, 1968, be dispensed with.

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

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

### REPORT OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADULT BASIC EDUCATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 384)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message

from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

### To the Congress of the United States:

It is with a sense of pride, but also with a sense of urgency, that I transmit to you the First Annual Report of the National Advisory Committee on Adult Basic Education.

Today, more Americans are in school than ever before. More are receiving high school and college degrees. More go on to graduate school.

However, despite these encouraging advances, more than 24 million of our adult citizens, one adult out of every five, still do not have the equivalent of an eighth-grade education.

With the establishment of the Adult Basic Education Program, the Congress created a vital tool for the building of a better America. Since 1965, the program has sought out and served more than a million undereducated adults.

Many participants in the program