HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Tuesday, May 6, 1969*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Carl Peacock, Edgewood Baptist Church, Columbus, Ga., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God and Father of all mankind, we approach Thy throne with hearts filled with gratitude.

We bring to Thee, for Thy consideration, our Nation, yes our world. Wilt Thou guide the destiny of all men.

Bless all in the service of our Government, in assuming their responsibilities in our national affairs.

Grant us peace in accordance with divine wisdom.

Help us to be a people who love Thee and who walk according to Thy precepts. May we seek Thy face and turn from our wicked way, that You will hear from heaven, forgive our sins and heal our lands.

Help these Congressmen to lead us in righteousness for righteousness exalteth a nation. In Jesus' name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills and a concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 3548. An act for the relief of Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miquel;

H.R. 4064. An act for the relief of Ana Mae Yap-Diangco; and

H. Con. Res. 165. Concurrent resolution designating the year 1969 as the "Diamond Jubilee Year of the American Motion Picture."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 150. An act for the relief of Dr. Orlando Fajardo Vargas;

S. 244. An act for the relief of Cristina Bangcawayan;

S. 245. An act for the relief of Blandina Salvador;

S. 278. An act to consent to the New Hampshire-Vermont interstate school compact;

S. 330. An act for the relief of Dr. Konstantinos Nicholas Babaliaros;

S. 354. An act for the relief of Foo Ying Yee;

S. 464. An act for the relief of Dr. Jaime E. Lazaro;

S. 465. An act for the relief of Dr. Lydia L. Lazaro;

S. 684. An act for the relief of Hon Chun Eng;

S. 738. An act for the relief of Hector Enrique Gonzales;

S. 882. An act for the relief of Capt. William O. Hanle;

S. 1104. An act for the relief of Thi Huong Nguyen and her minor child, Minh Linh Nguyen;

S. 1438. An act for the relief of Yau Ming Chinn (Gon Ming Loo);

S. 1655. An act to change the limitation on the number of apprentices authorized to be employed by the Government Printing Office;

S.J. Res. 13. Joint resolution to provide for the reappointment of Dr. John Nicholas Brown as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution;

S.J. Res. 35. Joint resolution to provide for the appointment of Thomas J. Watson, Jr., as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution;

S.J. Res. 45. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the period beginning September 1, 1969, and ending September 7, 1969, as "Adult Education Week";

S.J. Res. 46. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period beginning November 16, 1969, and ending November 22, 1969, as "National Family Health Week";

S.J. Res. 77. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period beginning June 8, 1969, and ending June 14, 1969, as "Professional Photography Week in America";

S.J. Res. 81. Joint resolution in honor of Amelia Earhart and Joan Merriam Smith;

S.J. Res. 99. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue annually a proclamation designating the first week in June of each year as "Helen Keller Memorial Week";

S.J. Res. 100. Joint resolution to proclaim the week beginning May 1 as "Youth Week"; and

S.J. Res. 104. Joint resolution to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1969.

FAREWELL TO THE FRIEND OF A LIFETIME, GENE KINNALY

(Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who may desire to do so may extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD for a period of 5 legislative days in relation to the passing of our dear friend Eugene T. Kinnaly.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I profoundly regret that I must announce to the Members of the House, to its officers, and to its employees, the death of Eugene Kinnaly, my administrative assistant for 41 years, and the friend of a lifetime.

Advancing years have many bitter penalties and pains to inflict upon us all, but if there is a deeper grief than the loss of a friend with whom one has made the long march through life together, I have not experienced it. And yet, I can take as my model, in this moment of unutterable sadness, the example of the man whom I mourn, a man whose composure, in times of crisis and tragedy, was unshakeable, a man whose courage in adversity was infinite, a man whose loyalty and steadfastness under stress were ever strong as New England granite.

Fifty-one years ago, Eugene T. Kinnaly came to our Nations' Capital to serve as assistant to the Member from the then 12th Massachusetts District, the late James A. Gallivan. During the many, many years since then, Gene Kinnaly won the liking, admiration, and respect of friends and associates on the Hill and throughout the executive departments. His intelligence, his tact, warmth, poise, and dedication, all endeared him to those who carried the heavy responsibilities of transacting the public's business.

He was not merely Mr. Gallivan's or my assistant; he was every Member's assistant. For over half a century, Members of this House knew that he could be helpful because he had demonstrated so often that he not only knew the House and its ways but that he had an ingrained respect for each and every Member, a respect that shone through, brightly and clearly, everything he did. In the administration of my own office as a Member, and in the performance of my duties as Speaker, he was that priceless asset of the legislative process, the omnicompetent assistant who was completely loyal and thoroughly dedicated to the well-being of his Member's district and to the country that he loved so well.

He brought to everything he undertook a breadth of experience and a depth of understanding of the needs of colleagues and constituents, of his city of Boston, of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and of the U.S. Government, that were both remarkable and unique. I always knew that whoever came to my office as a Member or as Speaker would be greeted with a friendly smile and a warm welcome, probably friendlier and warmer than any I could muster myself. I never knew him to turn away anyone who had a problem. He listened to those who sought his help with patience and full attention. He well realized that, to those afflicted by a seemingly irremediable combination of circumstances, nothing on earth was of greater importance than what they wished to tell him. Therefore, he treated such matters with the gravity attached to them by those who bore their burden, and, in so doing, he instantly offered the kind of surcease from care and travail that was needed.

My revered former colleague, the Honorable Barratt O'Hara, of Illinois, said of Gene in 1964:

> The wealth that man accumulates is not in the gold that is mined from the earth, but in the gold that is in the friendships engendered by his words of gentleness and sympathetic understanding, his deeds of helpfulness, his spirit of humility and humanness. By this measure, Gene Kinnaly is one of the richest men on Capitol Hill.

On this occasion, I wish that it were possible to make "full disclosure" of Gene Kinnaly's kind of wealth of which O'Hara spoke. But you must take my word for it that Gene Kinnaly was held in the fondest regard by tens of thousands in and out of Boston. He had the universally respected qualities that made for genuine human greatness. He was a man of deep faith. To me, Gene was more than a friend; he was like a brother.

As the dean of congressional employees, his presence among us was an asset and a pleasure of incalculable value. Incontestably, his absence will be difficult

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to remedy. The House of Representatives of the United States has suffered the loss of a loyal and faithful servant to whom it now accords the Scriptural praise "well done."

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

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the disguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, over the years we have a great many times saluted Eugene T. Kinnaly, one of the most respected senior staff members on Capitol Hill. I am grieved to salute him today for the last time. The Speaker has lost the chief lieutenant of his long years of service in this House, his steadfast right arm whom he has generously shared with us throughout many years. Gene was the most loyal, competent, and kindly aide a Member could hope to have. There is no reliable measure of his contributions to the office of the Speaker, the State of Massachusetts, or this body. On July 18 Gene would have completed 52 years of service. His knowledge and experience acquired over five decades were unrivaled. He not only knew how to get things done, he knew how they used to be done, and by whom. His knowledge of the processes of the House, their history and evolvement, were invaluable to the Speaker and to us all. There are only a handful of employees of this rank in the entire Congress.

Exceptional capability, rare and important as it is, can be replaced but there is no replacement for the quality of a man's character or the goodness of his heart. Gene's uncritical attitude toward his fellow man, his quiet and friendly compassion and understanding, are irreplaceable. I am grateful to have had Genes help and friendship. He had tremendous demands and pressures to meet, occupying as he did for many years the principal post in the office of the Speaker. Yet he always stretched himself to handle every request I ever made of him. I am certain that Gene rests now in the mansion of his Father, where the faith and goodness of his temporal life have earned him life everlasting.

I extend to his sister-in-law, his nieces and nephews, the Speaker, and his coworkers, my deepest sympathy.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, all of us deeply, and I mean most deeply, regret the passing of your dear friend Gene Kinnaly. I did not know him too well until the last few years. But in the last 4 years, plus, I have had many occasions to have contact with him in one way or the other. He was always most helpful and certainly most considerate. He was a real gentleman.

Let me reemphasize, he was a gentleman if there ever was one. I believe his impact among all other employees of the House was tremendous. He was a shining light for them to follow. Those of us on both sides of the aisle who have been the beneficiaries of his kindness, his help and his assistance, will miss him very greatly. There is no way that we can in any way whatsoever find a replacement for Gene Kinnaly. We simply say to our beloved Speaker that we will miss Gene Kinnaly, but we cannot miss him nearly as much as the Speaker because, as he has said, he was his dearest friend.

We extend to his family and to his friends our deepest condolences.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the touching remarks of my dear friend, the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD).

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

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate our distinguished Speaker yielding to me, and I join with the distinguished gentleman from Michigan and our distinguished Speaker in expressing admiration for the Speaker's late administrative assistant, Gene Kinnaly.

Mr. Speaker, I first came to know Gene Kinnaly when I came to this body 29 years ago. As the Speaker so beautifully pointed out, Gene Kinnaly not only served our distinguished Speaker as a Member, as majority leader, and as Speaker of the House of Representatives, but he also served each Member of this body, regardless of which side of the aisle he may have sat on. Mr. Speaker, he was indeed the very epitomization of a dedicated public official who worked for his fellow man, for his Member, for his State and for his Nation. He was devoted to you as you were to him.

I subscribe wholeheartedly to the beautiful tribute paid to Gene Kinnaly when he was alive by our former Member, the Honorable Barratt O'Hara.

Even after Gene Kinnaly had suffered a very severe heart attack he never complained, and one never knew that he had been ill because he never discussed it.

We shall all miss Gene Kinnaly very, very much.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I deeply appreciate the very touching remarks of my friend, the distinguished majority whip, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. BOGGS).

Mr. Speaker, I will now yield to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. RIVERS).

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to extend my sympathy to our distinguished Speaker, and to associate myself with the remarks made by the Speaker and others who have lamented the untimely passing of Gene Kinnaly.

As the Speaker knows, I have had a lot of dealings with Gene Kinnaly as the representative of the Speaker. He has taken from the broad shoulders of our beloved Speaker many burdens about which we rank-and-file Members of the House will never know.

I know how heavily the Speaker depended on Gene Kinnaly because of his being such a dedicated man. His passing will leave a void in the life of our great Speaker that will be indescribable, and about which he will have to suffer long. But I want our Speaker to know that those of us who knew Gene Kinnaly loved him, even as our Speaker loved him, because he was selected by the Speaker and he fulfilled that confidence of the Speaker with a distinction seldom equaled and which he never failed.

I extend the sympathies of Mrs. Rivers and myself to the family of Gene Kinnaly, and also to our beloved Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I value very much the thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend from South Carolina.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. FLYNT).

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the remarks that have been made on the occasion of the death of the administrative assistant to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Eugene T. Kinnaly.

Gene Kinnaly served the gentleman from Massachusetts as a Member and in the capacity as administrative assistant to the majority leader, and as administrative assistant to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, long and well. Through serving the Speaker he also served all the Members of this body and the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I share the grief and sense of sadness expressed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, our beloved Speaker, (Mr. McCORMACK).

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I value very much the very thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend from Georgia.

I now yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. EDMONDSON).

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in extending our deep sympathy to you and to your family and to the many friends and loved ones of Gene Kinnaly.

From my first visit in your office, Mr. Speaker, and my first experience with his kindness and with his consideration, I have treasured the relationship that I had with this fine man. I know he was a man of great heart and a man of compassion and of great understanding—a man who accepted responsibility and met his responsibilities bravely and tirelessly. I know how much of a role he played in the important business of the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and I join my colleagues in extending our deepest sympathy to all who loved him.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma.

I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROBERTS).

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the distinguished Speaker of the House yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I first met Gene Kinnaly when I came here in 1940 with Speaker Rayburn and my first instructions were to see Gene Kinnaly and let him tell me what I ought to be doing for Speaker Rayburn.

He was my friend and close associate during all these years. I deeply appreciate the contributions he made to this country, and particularly to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the very thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, it was very sad to hear this morning of the death of your dear friend and long-time administrative assistant, Eugene Kinnaly, who so competently served his congressional district, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Nation for more than a half century on Capitol Hill.

I know what a tremendous loss this is for you, Mr. Speaker, and for your beloved wife; because Gene Kinnaly was not only your loyal and efficient assistant, but a warm and constant companion to you and Mrs. McCormack.

Gene Kinnaly loved the House of Representatives and Capitol Hill where he had labored for 51 years. He first came here in 1918 as secretary to the then Congressman James A. Gallivan, and remained here with you after Mr. Gallivan's death in 1928.

Over this long period of years, Gene Kinnaly earned the liking, respect, and the admiration of his friends and associates on Capitol Hill and in the executive departments downtown. His loyalty, tact, warmth, poise and dedication will long be remembered.

A brilliant man, Gene was remarkably well versed in all matters touching on Government and politics. He was a member of the Massachusetts bar, and was admitted to practice before the Federal courts and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Gene Kinnaly had a breadth of experience and depth of understanding of the problems of constituents and colleagues, of his beloved city of Boston, and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. At his fingertips was a wealth of knowledge about what makes Washington run and the intricacies of dealing with Federal agencies. He had a genius for getting things done which endeared him to everyone beset by the complexities of Government.

Every visitor to the Speaker's office was greeted by Gene with the same friendly smile and warm welcome. I never knew him to turn away anybody who had a problem. He listened patiently and his very manner gave quiet assurance that every effort was being made to answer each request, resolve each issue, or solve each problem.

Through the years Gene Kinnaly was dependable, trustworthy, sincere, always willing to lend a hand to the new Members of the Congress, and always quick to offer his time, talents and encouragement in behalf of others.

Mr. Speaker, it was a great privilege and a pleasure to have known and worked with Gene Kinnaly. He was a devoutly religious man, who attended daily morning Mass and strolled away from the busy clamor of the Speaker's office each noontime for private prayer in nearby Saint Peter's Church on Capitol Hill.

Although we shall miss him and we mourn his death, Gene has gone to join his beloved wife, Alice Louise—Mulholland—Kinnaly, who was separated from him by death in 1948.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, like all of my colleagues here, I was deeply grieved to learn of the sudden passing of that great, good, and kind gentleman, Eugene T. Kinnaly, who spent some 50 years in dedicated service to his country and to the U.S. House of Representatives.

For some 40 of these 50 years, he was the chief assistant to our beloved Speaker, and if ever there was a supremely capable, intensely loyal, and devotedly patriotic congressional assistant, it was Eugene Kinnaly.

To the great majority of us, he was affectionately known as "Gene." He personified the highest traditions and ideals of patriotic service; his superior talents, his modest personality, his kindly nature and cooperative disposition have become a legend on Capitol Hill.

He has left, for all of us to follow, an inspiring example of honor and excellence in memorable service to his country and his fellow man. No man can do more and each of us should strive to do as much. We pray that the Lord will grant him eternal peace.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the death of Gene Kinnaly and I am proud to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to this outstanding public servant.

I have known Gene since coming to the Congress and I always found him to be knowledgeable, resourceful, and above all cooperative. He was not only a strong right arm to our Speaker in his congressional career of 41 years, having also served Mr. McCormack's predecessor for 11 years, but he also rose to the rank of personal and affectionate friendship and I commiserate with the Speaker in the knowledge that Gene's passing is a personal loss to him much more than a professional one.

There is one other facet of Gene's character which bears reference. In a world which is increasingly dominated by material considerations and regard for wealth and temporary things, Gene retained the religious devotion unfortunately more characteristic of another day. I have often seen him at noontime making his way from the Capitol to nearby St. Peter's church where he paused each day in the midst of his busy load to attend a service of divine worship.

This then was the friendly, devoted, and saintly man whom we all remember with such affection. His passing is a loss not only to the Speaker and his family, but to the House of Representatives itself.

REV. CARL PEACOCK, TH. M.

(Mr. BRINKLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, may I express the appreciation of the House to our visiting Chaplain, Rev. Carl Peacock, Th. M. He serves at Edgewood Baptist Church in Columbus, Ga., and is my friend, as well as my pastor, there.

His love for people dominates his life and is the pilot for his ministry. When I think of him, the picture which comes to my mind most clearly is of him standing in front of the Sunday school building and leaning over to shake hands with my 8-year-old perpetual motion machine, Freddie, and saying on a man-to-man basis, "How are you today, Freddie?" And to Fred's standard response of "All right, sir," Brother Peacock would always have a rejoinder, "My, what a handsome jacket you have on," and the like, and so it always went on each Sunday morning.

You can see why it is that we love Carl Peacock. To know him is to trust him and respect him—as a man, as a teacher, and as a minister.

He demonstrates by Biblical example, the ministry he teaches and preaches.

Henry Adams once said:

> A teacher affects eternity. He can never tell where his influence stops.

Certainly this is true of the Great Teacher. It is also true of those who follow in His footsteps.

THE NEED FOR AN INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY THIS YEAR

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of the 91st Congress, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and as a member of the Democratic caucus, I expect to use every strength I can muster to insure action this year on an adequate increase in social security benefits.

The critical inflation-created needs of our elderly retired must be considered in this session of Congress. The will of the majority of Congress to meet these critical needs must not be suppressed.

Our elderly retired should not be allowed to become the scapegoat for an inflationary condition which engulfs all segments of our economy. They must not be left out.

Next year is too late to prevent millions of our elderly retired to fall from levels of self-sufficiency to despair and poverty. The inflationary impact of the last 2 years has driven several millions of our senior citizens below poverty levels of subsistence.

MR. EUGENE T. KINNALY—A GRACIOUS MAN, A KNOWLEDGEABLE ADMINISTRATOR

(Mr. PEPPER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is a sad occasion today in which I join with my colleagues in expressing my sincere sense of sorrow for your loss of an able assistant and a devoted friend, Mr. Eugene T. Kinnaly. The only solace to come from the passing of a trusted and loyal adviser is through the remembrance of association. I am mindful that the 41 years in which Gene Kinnaly served yourself and this House faithfully will remain with us forever. He was a gracious man and a knowledgeable administrator. More qualities than these you cannot ask. I share your loss.

A COMPARISON OF MODERNIZATION OF RAILROAD SYSTEMS

(Mr. WEICKER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, it was interesting to see a recent news release from the World Bank and the International Development Association announcing a $17 million loan for the modernization of the Tunisian railroad system. Since our total share of World Bank-IDA funds is about 33.8 percent, it would seem that our contribution toward improvement of Tunisia's railroads is on the order of $5,670,000.

Of course I am delighted to hear that this fine north African country will soon have the most modern of transportation facilities, but it does seem ironic that while the desert will flower, commuters in Connecticut and New York are but crushed petals doing battle to gain Federal assistance for modernization of rail facilities.

Mass transit in the Northeast is a national disgrace. I wonder if Connecticut could apply to the World Bank for a railroad modernization grant.

THE SUPREME COURT QUESTION

(Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the shocking disclosures this week regarding a member of the U.S. Supreme Court have already stimulated great public controversy. I certainly have no desire to use this incident as a weapon with which to bludgeon the entire Court for its actions of the past, present, or future.

It seems to me that the really fundamental question is whether we will take any action or attempt any action to prevent a recurrence of such incidents. What is truly sad in the aftermath of the Fortas affair is that doubts inevitably have crept in and been created in the mind of the public as to the integrity of the judicial process itself. This is something that far transcends partisanship or even the reputation of any single member of that Court. It is doubly tragic because it must be viewed in the context of the crisis of our times, which is the growing disrespect for law and contempt on the part of some for our basic institutions. Therefore I am today introducing legislation which would have the effect of repealing the tax-exempt status of any foundation which makes or offers to make a payment of any kind or description either under the guise of honorariums, grants, payment of trips, retainers, fees, and so forth, to any public official either at the Federal or at the State level or to any member of the courts, either Federal or State courts, while such public official is in office, or which makes any such payments to a Federal or State official during the 2-year period following his retirement from such public office or position on our courts.

It seems to me that the public expects some affirmative action from the Congress and that this is one direction in which we can and should move.

SECRETARY OF NAVY DECISION ON "PUEBLO" AFFAIR

(Mr. MAYNE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, as a Navy veteran of World War II, I have followed the *Pueblo* affair very closely and read this morning's statement by Secretary of the Navy Chafee with great interest.

I concur with the Secretary's conclusion that no useful purpose would be served by further legal proceedings against the personnel of the *Pueblo*, either individually or collectively. The facts surrounding the loss of the *Pueblo* have been fully aired, and our principal concern should be to make sure that such a tragedy is not repeated. The court of inquiry was properly convened, and should be commended for proceeding in a thoroughgoing yet dignified manner, leaving no stone unturned to insure a complete historical record. However, I agree with the Secretary of the Navy that to carry out the court's recommendations as to punishment would merely protract and inflame this unfortunate chapter in our otherwise proud naval history.

JUSTICE SHOULD ACT NOW

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, according to the newspapers, Louis Wolfson, whose family foundation gave Associate Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas $20,000, which Fortas nursed for 11 months before returning, has made some statements which ought to be of prime concern to the U.S. Department of Justice.

According to the Washington Post, Wolfson, only days before beginning a 1-year Federal prison sentence for his financial manipulations, alleged that his Federal prosecution had been full of "shocking double standards and injustices," and that he had turned down high-level offers of political assistance.

The Wall Street Journal says:

> If Louis Wolfson is to be believed, he could have obtained a Presidential pardon last December, sparing him the anguish of a one-year jail sentence . . . for the illegal sale of stock.

According to the Journal:

> Through political connections, the millionnaire industrialist says he could have secured a pardon from President Johnson if he had asked for it. Wolfson says he received this assurance "from somebody who is as close as anybody could be" to Mr. Johnson.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that the Justice Department will move immediately to answer the charge that it is guilty of "shocking double standards and injustices," and Wolfson's highly interesting and reported claim that he turned down high-level offers of political assistance that would have kept him out of a Federal prison.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S MESSAGE ON THE GROWING PROBLEM OF OBSCENITY THROUGH THE MAIL

(Mr. RAILSBACK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday President Nixon, in a message to Congress, proposed a three-pronged attack to alleviate a growing problem of major national concern. The problem is obscenity and the mail and its deleterious effect upon the youth of America. J. Edgar Hoover has commented:

> It is impossible to estimate the amount of harm to impressionable teenagers and to assess the volume of sex crimes attributable to pornography, but its influence is extensive.

It has, of late, grown to such proportions that it can no longer be ignored and in this regard President Nixon's proposals are extremely timely.

The major problem concerning obscene matter and the mail is the fact that almost all of the pornographic mail traffic is unsolicited, unwanted and offensive to those who receive it. Furthermore, it is almost impossible for a citizen to stem this unwarranted invasion and prevent the repeated intrusion into his home of this obscene objectionable matter. Existing legislative provisions provide no effective method for a concerned parent to protect his home from being continuously bombarded with sex-oriented material.

By such an intrusion into the home, the purveyors of obscenity create an effective opportunity for minors to come in contact with this objectionable matter. Minors, who but for this unwarranted intrusion, would not have come in contact with this material, are, in effect, pandered in their own homes.

Mr. Speaker, no person or organization should be so allowed to impose this corrupting influence upon an objecting household and family.

The legislative proposals contained in the President's message to Congress represent a major initial step toward the protection of our youth from obscene materials coming through the mail by reinforcing a man's right to privacy in his own home. The problem is real and Congress must accept its responsibility to enact legislation designed to alleviate it.

REREFERENCE OF H.R. 393 AND H.R. 3682 TO COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Agriculture be discharged from the further consideration of the bills (H.R. 393 and H.R. 3682) to authorize and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to classify as wilderness the national forest lands known as the Lincoln Back Country, and parts of the Lewis and Clark and Lolo National Forests, in Montana, and for other purposes, and that those bills be rereferred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

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

There was no objection.

JOHN FISCHETTI AWARDED PULITZER PRIZE FOR 1969

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the very welcome news reached us late today that John Fischetti, editorial cartoonist of the Chicago Daily News, has been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for 1969 for excellence in editorial cartoons.

This is a richly deserved honor which has been bestowed on Mr. Fischetti, for he has brought to the world of editorial cartooning a new style and technique.

While the Pulitzer Prize Committee awarded this highly coveted honor on Mr. Fischetti for the "body of his work," with no particular cartoon selected, I would have singled out Mr. Fischetti's excellent portrayal of the military-industrial complex in a cartoon on April 7 which showed retired military brass on the payrolls of defense contractors. The caption on this timely cartoon was: "Old soldiers never die; they just fade into defense plants."

The ability of a great cartoonist to pierce the balloons of pretense and make us laugh in common understanding at human failings and at our imperfect institutions is one of the most redeeming features of our civilization. With a few artful strokes of his pen and a succinct caption, the editorial cartoonist makes all our lives richer and more rewarding. John Fischetti is one of the great cartoonists and he well deserves this outstanding distinction.

I believe the Chicago Daily News, one of America's foremost newspapers, should also be commended for its historic excellence in recruiting an editorial staff which has consistently won Pulitzer Prizes and the tributes of the journalism profession. The Chicago Daily News has encouraged men like John Fischetti to develop to their fullest potential. I congratulate Mr. Fischetti and the Daily News for this Pulitzer Prize and wish them continued partnership for the future.

PRIVATE CALENDAR

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

MUTUAL BENEFIT FOUNDATION

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2214) for the relief of the Mutual Benefit Foundation.

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

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

There was no objection.

FRANK KLEINERMAN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3377) for the relief of Frank Kleinerman.

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

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

There was no objection.

PEDRO IRIZARRY GUIDO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5000) for the relief of Pedro Irizarry Guido.

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

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

There was no objection.

REDDICK B. STILL, JR., AND RICHARD CARPENTER

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6400) for the relief of Reddick B. Still, Jr., and Richard Carpenter.

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

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

There was no objection.

NOEL S. MARSTON

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6378) for the relief of Noel S. Marston.

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

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

There was no objection.

JOHN VINCENT AMIRAULT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2552) for the relief of John Vincent Amirault.

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

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

There was no objection.

PAGONA ANOMERIANAKI

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5133) for the relief of Pagona Anomerianaki.

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

H.R. 5133

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Pagona Anomerianaki may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon the approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Olga and George Staats, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That, for the purposes of sections 203(a)(1) and 204 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Pagona Anomerianaki shall be held and considered to be the natural-born alien daughter of Olga and George Staats, citizens of the United States: *Provided,* That the natural parents or brothers or sisters of the beneficiary shall not, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

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

MISS ELIZABETH SCHOFIELD

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5134) for the relief of Miss Elizabeth Schofield.

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

H.R. 5134

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Elizabeth Schofield, the fiancée of Bradley Curry, a citizen of the United States, shall be eligible for a visa as a nonimmigrant temporary visitor for a period of three months: *Provided,* That the administrative authorities find that the said Elizabeth Schofield is coming to the United States with a bona fide intention of being married to the said Bradley Curry and is found otherwise admissible under the immigration laws. In the event the marriage between the above named persons does not occur within three months after the entry of the said Elizabeth Schofield, she shall be required to depart from the United States and upon failure to do so shall be deported in accordance with the provisions of sections 242 and 243 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. In the event that the marriage between the above named persons shall occur within three months after the entry of the said Elizabeth Schofield, the Attorney General is authorized and directed to record the lawful admission for permanent residence of the said Elizabeth Schofield as of the date of the payment of the required visa fee.

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

MARIA CAMILLA GIULIANI NIRO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5615) for the relief of Maria Camilla Giuliani Niro.

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

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

There was no objection.

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

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking and Currency may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

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

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington makes the point of order that a quorum is not present, and evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 54]

Abernethy	Edwards, Calif.	Morton
Alexander	Foley	Murphy, N.Y.
Anderson, Tenn.	Ford, William D.	O'Hara
Ashley	Fulton, Pa.	Ottinger
Baring	Fulton, Tenn.	Passman
Bates	Gallagher	Pepper
Bell, Calif.	Giaimo	Pettis
Blackburn	Gray	Podell
Blatnik	Grover	Pollock
Boland	Hansen, Idaho	Powell
Bow	Harvey	Ronan
Burleson, Tex.	Hébert	Rumsfeld
Button	Helstoski	Ruppe
Cahill	Kirwan	Sandman
Carey	Landgrebe	Saylor
Celler	Leggett	Scheuer
Chisholm	Long, La.	Smith, N.Y.
Clark	Lowenstein	Steiger, Ariz.
Clay	Lujan	Stuckey
Conte	McClure	Sullivan
Conyers	McFall	Ullman
Dawson	McMillan	Widnall
Dent	Mathias	Wilson, Bob
Diggs	Minshall	Wolff
Dingell	Mollohan	Wright
Eckhardt	Morgan	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 356 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

EXTENSION OF CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, and on behalf of my colleague the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. ANDERSON), I call up House Resolution 379 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 379

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 5554) to provide a special milk program for children. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATTA), and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, as evidenced by the reading of the resolution, House Resolution 379 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 5554 to provide a special milk program for children.

In many instances, the only whole fluid milk which many of our school-age children receive is through the special milk program.

The program has had the dual effect of encouraging increased consumption of milk by 17 million children as a nutritional measure and reducing purchases of dairy products by the Commodity Credit Corporation. Historically, dairy commodity programs under CCC have diverted between 4 and 5 percent of the Nation's milk production, and it therefore follows that eliminating the appropriation necessary for continuation of the special milk program in the interest of economy is a specious contention.

No imported milk or milk products are utilized in this program.

The volume of milk consumed under the program in 1968 amounted to more than 3 percent of the total nonfarm consumption of fluid milk. This was in addition to more than 3.1 billion half pints used in national school lunch program type A lunches; that is, lunches which include a serving of milk and which meet certain other nutritional requirements.

Each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia are currently participating in the program.

H.R. 5554 would extend indefinitely the special milk program authorization contained in section 3 of the Child Nutrition Act. Additionally, it would increase the appropriation authorization for the fiscal year 1970 and ensuing years by $5 million—from $120 to $125 million.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 379 in order that H.R. 5554 may be considered.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the remarks just made by my friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. SISK). I would like to further point out that this bill does make the act permanent. It was instituted in 1955 under the Commodity Credit Corporation. In 1961 the Agricultural Act authorized appropriations for the program, and this procedure was continued until 1966, when the present act was passed.

The current authorization for fiscal 1970 is $120 million. The bill will increase this fund by $5 million for 1970 and for all succeeding fiscal years.

In fiscal 1969 an estimated 17 million children in all 50 States and the District of Columbia will participate in the school milk program. The estimated cost for this fiscal year is $103,314,000.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, this program is a very popular one, popular with the general public as well as with the milk industry.

My purpose in taking a few minutes of time is to point out that even though it is a popular program it does not seem to be exactly what the last administration or the new administration had in mind, and apparently both of them had in mind a better use of the resources provided by this program for nutritional aids, especially to needy children.

To support that contention I would direct the attention of the Members to page 226 of the Budget of the United States presented by the Johnson administration. On that page it is clearly indicated that the special milk program is stricken completely from the budget. The Johnson administration did not ask for one dime to extend into the 1970 budget the special milk program.

It is also a fact that the Nixon administration has not requested the reinstatement of this program or any part thereof.

I made inquiry of the Bureau of the Budget yesterday to find out the attitude of that agency, and was told that the Bureau of the Budget opposes this program for two reasons: One is that the money provided in it is not sufficiently directed toward the needs of needy children. They stated to me that last year only $7 million of the $104 million spent under this program provided special benefits to children of the poor—and they define poor as families with an annual income under $3,000.

They also said that they oppose the program because the U.S. Department of Agriculture had not asked for it. The Department of Agriculture is the agency that has carried forward the administration of this special milk program.

From this, it is very apparent to me that at the administration level at least, there is a desire to see a redirection—and with that in mind, at the appropriate time I plan to offer an amendment to the bill that will come on page 2 which will strike out the language which has the effect of tying down the administration of this program to the same rules and procedures that were followed in the past years and gives the Secretary of Agriculture the flexibility to direct as nearly as practicable this program as a nutritional aid to needy children.

Now just how much change in the program this language would effect, I do not know. But I think whatever change it does effect, it would be to the good.

I would point out further to this body that my amendment would leave intact the program at the amount specified and it is not a cut in funds.

Nor does it impair its permanency.

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

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Is there any sense of priority in the gentleman's amendment—because evidently there is not any in the bill. Although you are talking about the poorer children not being given prior consideration, is it your intention that those children who under title I of the education law will get priority, and even those schools that get priority, that the impoverished children in these schools get priority? And from then on that all of the children shall be given the benefit of the program. Is that the purpose of your amendment?

Mr. FINDLEY. It is indeed to give the Secretary of Agriculture first of all greater flexibility. Second, to direct him to redirect this program as much as possible as nutritional aid to needy children.

This would mean needy children whether they live in a wealthy school district or in a poor school district. Pres-

ently, there are some school districts where needy children can get milk under this program without cost, but this is not true uniformly throughout the United States. It would be my expectation, if this amendment does get into the bill, that the Secretary of Agriculture would indeed redirect it more to the needs of the needy children.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. If the gentleman will yield further, to me the word "expectation" is not strong enough. I would like a stronger word than the word "expectation"—that the Secretary of Agriculture will direct these priorities.

Mr. FINDLEY. The door is still open.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) has expired.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would draw the attention of the gentleman to the language of the bill as revised by my proposed amendment and it would read this way:

> The Secretary shall administer the special milk program provided for by this section to the maximum extent practicable as a nutritional aid to needy children.

So the needs of needy children would come first and the needs of others would be met only after the needs of the needy children had been satisfied. That is how I would interpret this.

If the gentleman from New York has a better amendment to accomplish more directly and more completely the nutritional needs of the needy children under this program, I would be glad to hear it.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I thank my colleague very much.

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

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RYAN. How does the gentleman define the word "needy"?

Mr. FINDLEY. The amendment does not define it, but it is a well understood word. I think it is also a term of legal art—meaning those families with annual incomes under $3,000 a year.

Mr. RYAN. In other words, is it the gentleman's intent to apply his amendment to children from families having an income of less than $3,000 a year?

Mr. FINDLEY. It would be directed toward meeting their needs first before the needs of others would be met under this program. It would not, however, mean that these other children would be without milk because the testimony in the hearings showed very clearly that even if this program were abolished, the Department of Agriculture would not expect the consumption of milk in these schools to go down at all.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I am deeply concerned about any provision which would establish any kind of means test, which would differentiate the children in the schools and label one child as needy and another as not.

Mr. FINDLEY. I share the gentleman's concern on that point, and while I am not an expert in this field myself, I have been told that school leadership has found means, to use that same expression, of dealing with this problem without casting any onus upon those who are classified as qualified for the help.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. GRIFFITHS).

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, I intend to support Mr. FINDLEY's amendment. If that amendment should fail, I intend to vote against this bill. This bill is not necessary at this time. Most other authorizations on other subjects that have come from the Agriculture Committee have been 1-year authorizations. This is a permanent authorization, unlike most others.

The Johnson adminstration did not intend to have this bill at all. I think that Mr. Nixon has every right to look over this bill and his welfare plans and make his determination of whether or not he wants this bill or whether or not he wants the money put into the school lunch program.

As you are aware, today milk is supplied in the school lunch program. This milk program is in addition to that. It is not directed toward needy children. The Johnson administration wanted the milk program directed toward needy children. In my opinion, while all children who want the milk should have it, certainly the needy should get it.

There is no rush whatsoever for this bill. There is an authorization extending now through 1970, so that you do not need to vote for this blil. No child is going to be hurt.

Give the administration, which is already having a difficult enough time, an opportunity to set up its own school lunch program and its own welfare program. Let them come in here and say what they like. I think they are owed that right and that respect.

I am going to vote with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) and if he does not prevail, I am going to vote against this bill, and I would certainly urge anyone else who is for giving the administration a chance to make its recommendation to oppose this bill.

(Mrs. SULLIVAN (at the request of Mrs. GRIFFITHS) was granted permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am not against giving needy children in this country enough milk to drink. I think everyone here knows that my record reflects a strong desire to assure adequate nutrition for every child, and for every American. The reason I am appearing here this morning is to make some comments which I think deserve to be made about this legislation—what it reflects and represents on the part of the Committee on Agriculture.

Ever since the start of the 90th Congress, the Committee on Agriculture has taken the position that programs of Government which it authorizes should be extended for only 1 year at a time, and thus be made subject to mandatory review every year to see if they should be continued, expanded, reduced, or eliminated. Both in 1967 and in 1968, the House Committee on Agriculture adamantly insisted on this policy as it affects the food stamp program, which is not one of its favorite Government programs. Whenever the House has overturned the recommendations of the House Committee on Agriculture on the food stamp program, as we did in 1964, 1967, and 1968, the conferees from the House put up such a strong fight in conference for the House position that for some strange reason we always lost or had to suffer a severe setback from what the House had actually passed.

But when the peanut industry or the dairy industry or any other commodity group comes to the House Committee on Agriculture to ask for legislation, it seems to have very little difficulty in getting what it wants, even if it runs counter to the policy of the committee itself, as this bill, H.R. 5554, appears to do. This is not a 1-year extension of the milk program—it is an indefinite permanent extension of the special milk program.

We asked for the same thing for the food stamp program in 1964 and in 1967 and in 1968 but we were turned down by the Committee on Agriculture. So perhaps one might say that I am appearing this morning in order to cry over spilled food stamps. That is not exactly it.

Time after time, the Members of Congress who do not have any farms in their districts have voted—as I always have—for legislation to aid the farmer. In recent years, however, we have had to withhold our votes from time to time in order to impress upon the House Committee on Agriculture that there was some legislation we were interested in that also deserved their support or at least their permission to let us vote on it. It is no secret that food stamp bills were enacted in recent years only because the House Committee on Agriculture let them out of committee in the hope that advocates of the food stamp program would then vote for some pending farm bill; it is also no secret that farm bills in recent years have been enacted only because those of us who were strong for the food stamp program voted for both pieces of legislation. Every time I mention that connection, however, some people express great shock over this kind of legislative logrolling and dealmaking. Nevertheless it has been a fact of life about the food stamp legislation and about farm legislation for the last 5 years.

I think the Committee on Rules should be aware of the fact that there is no urgency whatsoever about the enactment of H.R. 5554. The Johnson administration did not ask for this legislation—President Johnson's budget for the 1970 fiscal year shows that he wanted the special milk program ended on June 30 of this year and the money which now goes into the special milk program be added to the school lunch program so that every school could have hot lunches.

The new administration has not made up its mind yet whether it wants the special milk program continued, as this bill proposes into the indefinite future, or eliminated, as President Johnson's budget recommends. I understand that the spokesman for the Department of Agriculture who appeared before the Committee on Agriculture said they would need about 3 weeks in which to

make up their mind about their policy position on this matter. So why the rush on this bill?

Apparently it is being pushed through only in order to give the House some legislation on which to act. But this bill, as of right now, is completely unnecessary. The special milk program authorization enacted in 1966 continues through the 1970 fiscal year for the amount of $120 million. This bill would raise that authorization for fiscal year 1970 and all succeeding fiscal years to $125 million. But the special milk program has never spent more than about $100 million. So I think we can wait at least for 3 weeks or so for the new administration to make up its mind whether it wants to adopt the Johnson position on this matter or the one put forward by the House Committee on Agriculture and the dairy industry or some new position of its own.

And if the House has no legislation on which to act because this bill is held up, it is not the fault of the House. The new administration has been in office for 2 months and had 2 months before that to make up its mind about any of the basic and fundamental issues on which Congress will have to legislate, but there have been virtually no recommendations as yet for legislation from the White House. The fact that there is little legislation on the floor should not embarrass us as long as the committees are holding hearings and working on legislation as they are doing.

I do not remember any Congress in which I have served which made much of a record during the first 3 months of the first session. But some of them made excellent records before they were finished. And I think that is the test.

But to get back to H.R. 5554, I think it should cool off a few weeks until we know what the new administration wants to do about this $100 million special milk program, and perhaps by then we might have some indication out of the administration whether it is going to send up a supplemental budget request for the $40 million authorized but not yet appropriated for the expansion of the food stamp program for the remainder of this fiscal year and whether it is going to ask for changes in the food stamp act to remove the extremely restrictive ceilings agreed upon in conference last year for the food stamp program for the 1969 and 1970 fiscal years after the House had voted overwhelmingly to remove any ceilings on appropriations under the program.

So, to repeat, H.R. 5554 is not necessary at the present time because funds have already been authorized for the 1970 fiscal year for the special milk program, and the figure is higher than the Department of Agriculture has ever spent for this program in the past. Furthermore, the new administration has not had a chance to decide whether it wants to continue this program at all. I might add that the dairy industry, which is so anxious to push through this legislation to assure a $100 or $125 million market in the schools for milk, over and above the large amounts spent for milk in the school lunch program, has a history of opposing the food stamp program because the spokesmen for this industry were afraid if people had food stamps which enabled them to buy any kind of food they wanted to—domestically raised food—in the grocery stores—the market for surplus butter and cheese would be reduced and the Government would have difficulty in getting rid of all of its surplus dairy products which are purchased under price support. Also, they were afraid that people in the food stamp program would buy margarine instead of butter, and therefore they should not be permitted to have a food stamp program unless they were required to buy butter with their food stamps.

I do not think this is the kind of attitude that should be rewarded with the hasty enactment of a special interest bill.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI).

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will look very carefully at the Findley amendment and realize what he proposes to do. I hope it will be defeated. I hope the committee's recommendations will prevail. I think we should look at the genesis of this bill. Originally the milk program was passed to provide enriched nutrition or improved nutrition for all youngsters in America. This bill is one of the few instances in which the middle-income American, who today is having a really rough time trying to make ends meet, gets some assistance from his Government. In Chicago we serve 150,000 half pints of milk every day in our elementary schools. Some of this milk is served in schools where they do not have a lunchroom, where they give the youngsters a milk supplement during the midmorning. Underprivileged children get the milk for nothing. Those children from families who are not indigent, pay 4 cents. These children would be paying 15 cents for a half pint of milk without the benefit of this program.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics recently reported $9,700 a year to keep a family of four in Chicago, and the figure is comparable in other cities of the country. Who is going to speak for the middle-income American who is paying for all these programs?

There is much discussion around here about all these programs going to the needy. I yield to no one in my support of programs for the needy. My record of concern for the needy is deep rooted. The White House has just issued a report that it will issue an additional $€00 million in food stamps for the needy of this country. This is great, fine, wonderful. However, I do not think we ought to take milk away from the little child whose father happens to make $6,000 or $7,000 a year and who already has a tough enough time providing for his family. I think it would be a great retrenchment if this Congress would go along with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY). I join in his concern for the poor and for the undernourished and for the needy, but I think somewhere along the line we ought to give all American kids a break.

This bill was originally passed to help all the children in public and private schools to get a midmorning lift from fresh milk. Children all over the country are benefiting from this. I say it would be a great disservice to them to kill this program.

It is bad enough that both the Johnson administration and Nixon administration have cut the funds for this program drastically. If this authorization is approved today, we hope we can persuade the Appropriations Committee of the need for full funding.

I must point out to the gentleman from Illinois that the middle-class American is in revolt. He is watching all these programs going one way and he gets nothing. I say this milk program is one little enclave where he does get a little help for his own children. Do not take this away from his kids.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Moss).

(By unanimous consent, Mr. Moss was allowed to proceed out of order.)

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I read in the newspaper yesterday the following article:

UNITED STATES EASES FAT LIMIT IN SAUSAGES

The Agriculture Department has backed down on its proposed 30 percent fat limit for hot dogs, vienna sausages and bologna, and now is thinking of allowing up to 35-percent fat. But it hopes to force manufacturers to say on the label what percentage of the product is fat.

The Department announced yesterday that a proposed regulation with the 30-percent fat limit, issued in the waning days of the previous Administration, was being rescinded and hearings on the issue scheduled for June 18 to 20.

The meat packing industry has strongly opposed the 30 percent limit. The fat content of hot dogs has been oozing steadily upward over the past generation—partly because fat is cheaper than meat for the packers, partly because, the packers claim, the public likes its hot dogs not so dry. In the 1930s, the average fat content was 18.6 percent; today it is about 31.2 percent.

Mr. Speaker, if that recession from the order of the previous administration was for the purpose of lowering the fat content, I would be most enthusiastic, because I think 30 percent approved by the previous administration was a shocking imposition on the consumers of this Nation, and I think it has an adverse effect upon the health of the people who buy these products.

We all know there is a certain amount of controversy in the medical profession over the country over the question of cholesterol, but no doctor recommends we eat fat to the extent of more than one-third of the meat we consume. I strongly urge the Department of Agriculture to reconsider and look toward a revision of the fat tolerance in these products to be more closely in line with that of the 1930's than the outrageous figure of 30 percent and what would become a shockingly outrageous figure of 35 percent.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I simply want to say that this special milk program has done an outstanding job over the years. There is no question that tens of thousands of children who have had a glass of milk to

drink every day in our private and nonprofit schools and many other areas particularly outside the public school area have benefited greatly in those areas where they have not had the school lunch programs. As far as I am concerned, I hope this resolution will be adopted and this bill will be passed.

To me, to oppose this bill or to vote against it, would simply be to oppose tens of thousands of youngsters having a glass of milk.

The SPEAKER. The time yielded by the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 5554) to provide a special milk program for children.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 5554, with Mr. OLSEN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas, (Mr. POAGE), will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER), will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I listened with interest to the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) on the motion he proposes to offer, and on his talk with the Bureau of the Budget—whomever he talked with—where they set a figure of $3,000 as determining a "needy" family.

As I listened to the gentleman, the thought entered my mind, is $3,000 a correct figure for a family of four, or five, or six? What about some concern for a family of one child?

I make this brief observation for the benefit of my colleagues. What is "needy" in the case of one family might be one thing, and what is "needy" in the case of another family might be another thing.

Some families have six or eight or 10 children. Picking out the arbitrary figure of $3,000, as to where the need would be, I would think could be particularly depressive upon large families.

I make that observation for the benefit of my colleagues.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the Speaker for yielding. I am glad to have this opportunity for clarification.

First, I should say that the definition of "needy" in terms of $3,000 a year was my own. I believe my assumption is correct. The term "needy" was the one expressed in my conversation with the Bureau of the Budget.

I do believe that this is accepted as meaning $3,000 a year for a family of four. Naturally, the money level would go up or down depending upon how many people were in the family.

I do thank the Speaker for this opportunity for clarification.

Mr. McCORMACK. I wanted to call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that the question of need is a very flexible one in accordance with the size of the family. What might not be a needy family in one case would certainly be an extremely needy family in another case. I wanted to make these remarks so that my colleagues would have them in mind.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the contribution by the Speaker.

I yield myself 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 5554, a bill to extend and to expand the special milk program for schoolchildren does two things. It increases by $5 million the amount authorized to be appropriated each year from the present $120 to $125 million. It makes the program a permanent one, thus continuing indefinitely beyond its present expiration date, June 30, 1970.

No changes are made in the handling of this program. The administration of the program remains exactly the same under this bill as it is at present.

With the growing interest and research in nutrition and the increasing concern over the role poverty plays in malnutrition, this House might consider for a moment the development of the special milk program in the overall framework of the Federal public feeding programs.

Food aid as a Government function grew out of the depression period of the 1930's when, through such agricultural "adjustment" agencies as the Federal Farm Board, and later the Surplus Relief Corporation, surplus farm commodities were donated for relief purposes. One of the earliest measures designed to aid agricultural adjustment and simultaneously to distribute food was a 1935 amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. That amendment—section 32 of the act of August 24, 1935—has become a landmark in the Federal food-aid programs. The special milk program originated under section 32 as did the school lunch and the early food stamp program.

Under section 32 the Secretary of Agriculture was given authority by the Congress to encourage the domestic consumption of major agricultural commodities through diversion, by payment of benefits or otherwise, from the normal channels of trade and commerce. The financing of this and the other provisions of section 32 was provided by appropriation of an amount equal to 30 percent of gross receipts from customs during the period January 1 to December 31, preceding each fiscal year.

Through the years specific and more detailed legislative authority was given for the donation by the Secretary of Agriculture of foods for school lunch programs by the act of June 4, 1946, Public Law 346 and succeeding agricultural measures. This act, and Public Law 78–129, the Department of Agriculture Appropriations Act of 1944, which for the first time authorized a specific amount of funds for the operation of school lunch and school milk programs, followed by several years' actual delivery of fluid milk to the schools purchased under section 32.

Beginning in 1954—Public Law 83–690—funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation were authorized to be used to provide fluid milk for children in nonprofit schools of high school grade and under. The program was extended and enlarged in subsequent years. By Public Law 84–465 in 1956 the milk program was extended to nonprofit nursery schools, child care centers, settlement houses, and similar nonprofit institutions devoted to the care and training of underprivileged children on a public welfare or charitable basis. By Public Law 85–478 in 1958 summer camps were added to the list of eligible child care institutions, the program was extended for 3 more years, and the authorization was increased to $75 million per annum. The Agricultural Act of 1961—Public Law 87–128—extended the milk program through June 30, 1967.

Through enactment of the Child Nutrition Act in 1966—Public Law 89–642—the Congress incorporated in one measure the special milk program, a pilot school breakfast program, authority to aid in the purchase by public and nonprofit schools in low income areas of equipment necessary to initiate school lunch and school breakfast programs, and extension of school food assistance to preschool groups where operated as a part of a school system. All of these programs by that act were to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture and remain so now. H.R. 5554 would affect only section 3 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966, the special milk provisions.

Since this section of Public Law 89–642 expires next year, on June 30, 1970, it is understandable that the persons responsible for programing the expenditures of educational institutions now participating in the milk program have requested early action on this measure to assure adequate budgetary consideration.

This special milk program is one of a very few Federal food aids which is able to reach such a wide segment of our population—nearly 10 percent of our entire population and one-third of our schoolchildren. It provides incentives in the form of reimbursement payments for schools and other nonprofit child care institutions to supply their pupils with fluid milk. The payments are made by the Consumer and Marketing Service either to inaugurate school milk services or to expand it by offering milk at lower prices or at additional times. These milk

payments apply only to the second and third half pints and do not include the initial half pints served as a part of the school lunch program. Any public school or any child educational institution which has been declared tax exempt is eligible.

Needy schools may, upon application, receive special assistance under this program so that they may serve milk without charge to needy children. In this case the reimbursement payments cover the total cost of the milk. Under the regular phase of the program the maximum Federal reimbursement payment is 3 cents per half pint of milk.

Within the States, the State educational agencies administered the special milk program in all public schools. In many States, this same agency also administers the program in nonprofit private schools and child-care institutions. A number of States are prohibited by State statutes from administering the program in eligible nonprofit private schools and institutions. In such States the Consumer and Marketing Service administers the program directly through agreements with these schools and institutions. The Consumer and Marketing Service also administers the program in outlets for which no State agency has assumed administrative responsibility.

Beginning in fiscal year 1968, available funds were apportioned among the States on the basis of payments made to schools and child-care institutions for program reimbursement during the preceding year. Each State agency is advised of the amount of funds available to it for program reimbursement during the preceding year. Each State agency is advised of the amount of funds available to it for program reimbursement during the entire fiscal year.

A letter-of-credit procedure permits State agencies to obtain funds to pay claims on hand by filing appropriate documents, through normal banking channels, with the Federal Reserve banks. Funds are available to the States for prompt payment of claims. Federal funds are withdrawn from the Treasury only as needed by the States for payment of claims. No Federal funds are used by the State agencies for administering this program in the States.

From fiscal years 1955 to 1968, the number of outlets participating in the program has more than doubled, and the number of half pints served has increased more than six times.

In fiscal 1968, 94,422 schools and child-care institutions served an estimated 2,987.5 million half pints of milk. Of these, 88,042 were schools and 6,380 child-care institutions.

Nutritionists have long contended that children of school age need a minimum of one quart of milk per day to insure sufficient calcium intake. The special milk program has made good inroads toward correcting this deficiency.

Progress continues to be made under the special milk program—since 1960 the number of students served has increased by one-third, from 13 to 17 million, and the number of participating outlets has been increased by nearly 15 percent.

The above is further strengthened by the fact that, in many instances, the only whole fluid milk which many of our school-age children received is through the special milk program.

With 17 million schoolchildren participating, the current annual program consumption is approximately 3 million half pints in 94,500 institutions. These are spread over the 50 States and the District of Columbia. The volume of milk consumed by this program represented more than 3 percent of the total nonfarm consumption of fluid milk in 1968. Certainly, this program, in addition to encouraging increased consumption of milk as a nutritional measure has also had the effect of reducing purchases of dairy products by the Commodity Credit Corporation. It is suggested that passage of this measure, making the program permanent and increasing the maximum authorization from $120 to $125 million, is in the interest not only of child nutrition but of the dairy industry.

As I have pointed out, this bill proposes to do just two things: First, it extends the existing special school milk program for schoolchildren. The second thing is, it raises the authorization by $5 million a year. The present authorization is $120 million, and this bill would fix it at $125 million. This is just a little leeway to take care of new institutions, new demands, and new requirements on the program.

The other part of the bill simply makes a permanent program out of this bill. This program has not been a 1-year program as I understood was suggested a while ago by one of the speakers although possibly I was incorrect in my understanding. This has most recently been a 4-year program. This present program does not expire until next June 30, 1970.

The reason for extending it now is that both producers and students may make their plans with some degree of certainty for some time in advance. If they are not given this opportunity, there is a great deal of wasted motion and wasted money both from the standpoint of the milk producers and the standpoint of the schools themselves. We can have a better program if we can rely on this program existing for some time to come.

Mr. Chairman, we have used a temporary program for a number of years and we have used it for what seems to the Committee on Agriculture to be a good, sound reason; namely, because we wanted to know that the program was working well and that we had any correctable defects taken out of the program before we made it permanent. I think that it is a rather sound system to let any of these new programs work for a few years on a temporary basis and then possibly extending them from 1 year to 3 or 4 years, and then, after a number of years' experience with the programs, before making them permanent programs. That is exactly what we have done in this case. We have had the school milk program functioning for many years. It actually started back with the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. The amendment of 1935 authorized that section 32 funds be available for this and for other uses. We have found this program works well. Frankly, it is one of the most popular programs we have ever had in the way of providing nutrition for the people of the country and not just simply for needy children. It is for needy children, of course, but it is also for other children.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I go along with the position taken by the gentleman that this has benefited all of the children and not only the needy children. However, does the gentleman see any possible objection to priorities in this situation, that is, first of all, that the needy children who are unable to obtain the nutrition or the milk necessary for them practically to survive should be given the milk first? Then, if there is any milk left over or any money left over, it should be distributed to those families and those children who can pretty well afford to purchase it for themselves. Can the gentleman see any objection to this priority?

Mr. POAGE. Yes, I do.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I would like to know what it is.

Mr. POAGE. Because this milk is not distributed, as the gentleman seems to indicate, to families. The distribution is made in the lunchroom and at the schoolhouse. The distribution is not made on the basis of poverty and it does not single somebody out as being a mendicant at the bar of the U.S. Congress.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. POAGE. If the gentleman will let me answer his question, I will yield to him.

It is a program that is available to all children. It is available whether their families are worth $1 million or whether they have absolutely nothing. It helps everybody. And, if we have learned one thing as a result of the recent discussions on nutrition which have been so widespread—and a good discussion all over the country—I hope that we have learned that malnutrition is not a phenomenon confined to any one wage or property level. It it is a phenomenon——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, we are seeking here today to deal not simply with hunger. We have gone through this on this floor several times and this committee has been upbraided for talking about hunger but, yet, when someone else talks about hunger that is something else. However, we are talking about nutrition. A child from the wealthiest home is just as subject to malnutrition as is a child from some other home, and we are seeking to deal with all of them. I want to answer the gentleman's question, but I wonder if the gentleman would answer a question of mine?

Does the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN) believe in providing free textbooks for all children or for only the needy?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, insofar as I am concerned I would supply text-

books to all the children. However, I would give priority to those schools that have the most needy children attending those schools.

Mr. POAGE. No. I decline to yield further to the gentleman. This is surely a similar situation to that of textbooks. The gentleman states that certain children should be given priority in the distribution of milk. However, he has not offered to give any such priority in regard to textbooks. He recognizes that all children need textbooks and I think they need textbooks. However, it is my opinion that all children need proper nutrition while they are going to school. If they are going to get the benefit of an education, they need to have the benefit of a strong and well-nurtured body, children from the most prosperous families as well as those from the most poverty stricken families.

Mr. Chairman, we are simply asking that we continue a program that has worked well for a good many years.

Now, no one found this fault until they found that the Washington Post was interested in publishing anything that anyone wanted to say about nutrition.

Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Agriculture, by a unanimous vote of all of us on both sides of the aisle reported this bill. So, we were not working to get in the headlines in the Washington Post or the Chicago papers because we are not running against Senator DIRKSEN, you understand, but we were interested in all the children and we are still interested in all the children. We have got a good program that we believe is good for all the children and we believe that it should be extended. That is what this bill does, if passed. It does provide a opportunity for nutrition to every child that goes to school in America, if they want to take advantage of it.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Mr. MAYNE).

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I wholeheartedly support H.R. 5554 which is designed to encourage the consumption of fluid milk by children throughout the United States through the setting up and continuation of a special milk program for children.

This legislation will materially improve the likelihood that our Nation's schoolchildren will be provided with an adequate supply of fresh, wholesome milk.

Last year through this program, 17 million children in 94,422 schools and institutions consumed 1.6 million pounds of milk provided by the people of the United States under a similar special milk program. Relying upon this program which is already underway, many schools and institutions which have been participating in the program have gone to the expense of providing the necessary equipment and personnel to provide and serve this milk.

In many instances they have changed and adapted class schedules to accomodate milk breaks for children at appropriate periods in their schedules.

Recent testimony before the House Committee on Agriculture, and surveys which have been done for the Office of Economic Opportunity, establish without question that proper nutrition is an absolute prerequisite to the educational process. It is imperative that children receive adequate nourishment while they are still in their most formative years, and that includes the early school years.

It has been demonstrated without any doubt that children who are gnawed by the pangs of hunger are frightfully handicapped in school, and that this is a very major reason for the retardation of the educative process among the poor.

The special milk program is a direct attack on this problem of malnutrition in our country. In view of recent studies which have so vividly illustrated the problem of hunger and malnutrition in so many areas of our country, it would be a very great mistake to eliminate or to weaken this program. While we of course want to continue to place principal emphasis on adequate milk for needy children, it is important that the bill be broad enough to improve the nutrition of all school children. It would be a great tragedy to weaken and undermine a successful ongoing program which has proved its worth so thoroughly. The scope of the bill should not be limited as proposed by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. QUIE).

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5554. This is a program that has operated well for a number of years and, as the previous speakers have indicated, a program that has been beneficial to all children.

Mr. Chairman, I very strongly favor improving programs which assist the poor or needy individuals of this country, and especially with respect to their nutrition, but here is a program that was intended to help provide adequate nutrition for all children in order that not only would they drink the necessary amount of milk, but also learn to consume what we consider as nature's most perfect food.

The problem of poor nutrition is not limited to the poor people of the country. There are a number of individuals—and we have seen articles concerning this, especially concerning young girls who, because of their diet, do not have the nutrition to become good mothers. And while 2 years ago there was testimony indicating that the nutrition of a mother did not affect the mental capability of a child, and the nutrition of the child in those early years did not affect the later mental development of the child, this year in the testimony before the other body on malnutrition and hunger, it was indicated in a number of studies that malnutrition does have a bad impact, and that poor diet or inadequate food does have an impact upon the mental development of the child, both prenatal and in the early years of the child.

Now, it is true that it is not as important after they get to school age as it is in those early, formative years, but it is still of tremendous importance.

We have had this special school milk program that has been operating a number of years, not only in conjunction with the school lunch program but for the children who do take part in the school lunch program, and bring their own lunches, and receive the added glass of milk. The milk is available to those who not only bring their own lunches but those who participate in the school lunch program. All students receive milk at a lower cost than commercial costs, but poor children may receive it free.

I share the feeling of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY). There ought to be special emphasis on needy children and we must continue to do this. I think this country should never permit a situation to occur where some people lack an adequate diet because of poverty or ignorance. This is a problem I hope we will continue to address ourselves to, to make certain that, first, there are adequate programs to feed the needy, and, second, that there is enough money for it. Later this Congress will consider such legislation.

But I do not think it is wise to limit this program for only the poor. One hundred and twenty-five million dollars is authorized here. Do not say, "Well, we will not make this program available to all children in the schools any more." We should not limit milk to any one group of children.

We have the financial means to give special emphasis for any program for the needy without taking it away from an ongoing program that is important to our schools.

At one time schools felt their only responsibility was to teach the three R's and that they did not have any other responsibility for the children to develop fully to assimilate their education.

There are other responsibilities that have been accepted by some of the schools, and one of them has been in nutrition.

So the expansion of the Child Nutrition Act, with its special milk program should now be made permanent rather than bring this up from year to year for an extension. I believe it was a wise move that the Committee on Agriculture took to make this program permanent. It is no longer on a trial basis, it is one that is proven worthy and ought to be continued into the future for as long as we can imagine. This is an ongoing program and someday I would like to see the authorization increased over $125 million when the need is there.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Is the $125 million inadequate? Or is it enough to meet the needs of all the underprivileged children we are talking about and also provide enough for the other children?

Mr. QUIE. I think it is adequate for now, so far as the amount the Federal Government would expend in this program. But I think we will soon be back here again for an expansion of this authorization because as we learned through the Child Nutrition Act, the special needs of children in some communities, especially in some cities, I think is

going to require some additional amount of money in the special milk program.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI).

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I think it would be important for us to just remind ourselves very briefly and quickly of the original purposes of this act.

When it was enacted, it stated:

SEC. 2. In recognition of the demonstrated relationship between food and good nutrition and the capacity of children to develop and learn, based on the years of cumulative successful experience under the national school lunch program with its significant contributions in the field of applied nutrition research, it is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress that these efforts shall be extended, expanded, and strengthened under the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture as a measure to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children, and to encourage the domestic consumption of agricultural and other foods, by assisting States, through grants-in-aid and other means, to meet more effectively the nutritional needs of our children.

Mr. Chairman, this is a good bill.

The only problem with this bill is that it does not have enough money. The $125 million that the committee is recommending will take care of all the needy children and then take care of additional children.

The gentleman from Illinois has spoken about and is concerned about the needy children. I do not question at all his motives. I am sure he is moved by the highest ideals. But I do question his judgment because if we were to have this program operated in the manner in which he proposes, he would provide milk only for the needy children and each little youngster walking into a school would be a walking personal advertisement that he is poor and so he is getting free milk—when all the other children are not getting milk.

The only other condition under which the other children can get milk, if the gentleman's amendment were to prevail, would be if a father or mother gave each of their children 15 cents a day and said, "Buy a half pint of milk during the milk break."

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, I have heard ample evidence and testimony before our subcommittee about the value of the morning milk break. That is what we are talking about here—a milk break in the morning when they give these youngsters a half pint of milk. This milk break is a great aid to education. It gives these youngsters a boost. For all sorts of reasons, poor children, rich children, and children of middle income frequently come to school after having a very meager breakfast or no breakfast at all. I think I know something about the subject. Most of the Members of the House know something about it if they have children. Very often it is difficult to get a child to eat his breakfast even if it is placed before him. So teachers in both private and public schools have welcomed this milk program, because the milk program does give them an opportunity to nourish the youngsters, provide a little more energy, and then they spend the rest of the morning in learning.

We have the hot luncheon program also. There again we provide aid for needy children except that many of our schools do have facilities for a hot lunch. The gentleman intends to disrupt the morning milk break with his amendment. It occurs to me we are doing a great injustice to the needy by stigmatizing them as needy, by identifying them, by saying, "We have a milk program only for the very poor children." We also hurt the youngsters who are not benefiting from it since they would have to pay for it under the amendment.

In Chicago we serve 150,000 half pints of milk every morning. All the needy children get it free. Those who can afford it pay 4 cents a half pint. The City of Chicago School Board subsidizes part of the cost of that milk and the Federal Government subsidizes the other part of that cost. But we do not distinguish those who receive the milk. The tray of milk is brought to the classroom and all the children get the milk. There is no distinction between rich and poor, the middle income or the needy.

I might tell my colleagues that the needy are everywhere. I have in my district Taft High School which is generally considered to be a school of middle-income people. Yet we found there were 87 children in that school that desperately needed financial assistance and got it under the Neighborhood Youth Corps. They were children whose own parents were dead and they were living with their grandparents who were on social security, or children whose parents were separated, with only the mother providing for the family's needs. One does not always easily identify existing need. That is why I suggest that this program has been a real bulwark, a real strength, a tremendously popular program because it has never publicly separated the rich from the poor.

This is not a partisan issue. Mr. Johnson recommended that this program be cut down to $20 million. The present administration, I believe, has not yet taken a position. So no one can say here that it is a partisan issue. I think Mr. Johnson was wrong. He was badly misadvised, and those who advised him said, "We will cut this program out because we are going to supplement it with the hot lunch program. We are going to supplement this program and give these youngsters the additional nutrition they need during the lunch hour."

What Mr. Johnson's advisers completely ignored was that all over America there are thousands of elementary schools that do not have facilities for hot lunches, do not have a cafeteria, do not serve a hot luncheon in school, and the morning milk break is really one of the great programs for bringing extra nutrition to youngsters. I would hope that we would make it a permanent program.

As we said when we originally passed this bill, there is a correlation between nutrition and the ability of a child to retain his interest in his studies and absorb his studies.

I certainly commend my colleague from southern Illinois for his concern about the poor, and I think that anybody who examines my record around here will see my support and deep concern for the poor. As the gentleman from Minnesota just said, however, I do not think we ought to set up this program only for the needy, because I think to do so would defeat its purpose. My judgment is that if you were to make this program only for the needy, the needy children would be too embarrassed to benefit from it, and we could forget the whole program.

So in all good conscience, and with all sincerity, I hope my colleague will not offer the amendment, and if he does, I hope it will be defeated, simply because, in my judgment, the present program is working well. It is one of the most popular programs in America. Talk to any father or mother and you will find that he or she is grateful that his youngster gets a half pint of fresh milk during the morning break. I say to you it would be an act of cruelty to take this help away from the people who are today struggling all over this country. As I said earlier, the man who is trying to bring up a family of six or seven children is having a rough time and needs this little help.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. STAFFORD).

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5554, a bill to provide a special milk program for children.

During the previous 8 years that I have served the people of Vermont in the House of Representatives, I have supported the special milk program for children and have taken the floor of the House to speak in favor of this very important and meritorious program. On occasions I have also appeared before the Committee on Agriculture to indicate my support for the school milk program and to urge expansion of the program to include nonprofit institutional use of milk in such places as summer camps, nursery schools, child care centers and so on.

This additional step was taken under the provisions of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966.

I wish to commend the chairman of the committee, Mr. POAGE, and his colleagues on the committee for bringing out the bill in its present form which increases the authorization for the program for the next fiscal year to $125 million and more importantly puts the program on a permanent basis with a similar authorization for each succeeding year.

I urge the adoption of the bill.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. FEIGHAN) such time as he may consume.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the legislation sponsored by the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE) to provide a special milk program for children.

H.R. 5554 would amend section 3 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 by establishing a permanent milk program for our school cihldren and by authorizing an

expenditure of $125 million for fiscal year 1970 and each succeeding fiscal year.

The advantages of the school milk program are obvious to all of us who are concerned with the intense problems caused from malnutrition and lack of a proper diet. It is a known fact that a child's diet has everything to do with his progress, development and future performance in society. Since its inception in 1954, the school milk program has expanded to serve 94,422 schools and child care institutions and 17 million youngsters in all 50 States and the District of Columbia. In my city of Cleveland, approximately 20,000 children in 30 schools and three child day-care centers enjoy the benefits of the school milk program. Over 5,000 schools in the State of Ohio participate in the program.

Nutritionists contend that children need a minimum of one quart of milk a day to insure sufficient calcium intake. Youngsters in low income areas are particularly in need of the nutrients contained in milk and although much progress has been made in expanding the program, there continues to be a real need in many areas throughout the country for increased services and school participation.

Not only must we approve an additional authorization today, but we must work for the full appropriation adequately to fund the program. The future of our society is at stake and we have an opportunity to fulfill the need that exists here. I urge my colleagues to join in supporting this most worthy legislation.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DE LA GARZA).

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the committee, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the amendment which will be offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

Mr. Chairman, I would like to clarify one thing said earlier, that out of respect for the present administration we should not proceed with this legislation. It is well known that the committee cooperated fully with the administration and we proceeded only after the administration agreed we should continue even though they had not as yet formulated their plans along this line. They offered no objection to it and offer no objection to our continuing with the legislation. They offer no objection now. I sincerely believe, because this legislation will fall into the sphere of their planned programs in this field.

Also, I would like to bring up the fact that for too long too many people have tried to make everything that comes before this House into a welfare program. We hear too much of the poor and hear too much of the disadvantaged from those who speak of it on the floor of this House or in front of television cameras or newspaper reporters, but whose actions are vastly different. The actions of those individuals are sometimes vastly different from actions that will provide for those in need.

I believe we should keep this as a program of health and not welfare. This is not a welfare program. This is a technical aid in nutrition for particular schools which like to avail themselves of it.

It is very difficult—possibly in my area more difficult than in many others, because we have so many poor people and many who try to take advantage of this legislation—but we cannot physically and technically say in the school, "You get this milk and you do not." We cannot do that when we go into the classrooms. It cannot be done. This is an aid to the schools which avail themselves of it.

So that the Members may be apprised of how the program is administered I would like to inform you that it is done by the School Lunch Division, Consumer and Marketing Service, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture under provisions of section 3 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. Locally, the program is administered in all public schools within a State by the State educational agency. In many States, this same agency also administers the program in nonprofit private schools and child-care institutions. A number of States are prohibited by State statutes from administering the program in eligible nonprofit private schools and institutions. In such States the Consumer and Marketing Service administers the program directly through agreements with these schools and institutions. The Consumer and Marketing Service also administers the program in outlets for which no State agency has assumed administrative responsibility.

And as to the success of said program, I would like to inform the Members that the effect of the special milk program on consumption was especially pronounced in low-income areas. In these low-income areas per capita intake of whole milk during the survey period averaged nearly 4 ounces more for children attending special milk program schools than for those attending other schools. The 4-ounce average represented rural and urban areas combined; the difference between low-income urban schools under the special milk program and those not under the program was even larger. The impact of the special milk program was smaller in schools serving medium-income areas. Children in high-income areas drank milk at about the same rate whether or not their schools participated in the special milk program. Also, children from high-income areas attending special milk program schools drank nearly one-fifth again as much milk, and those attending other schools drank almost half again as much as children from low-income areas.

Progress continues to be made under the special milk program—since 1960 the number of students served has increased by one-third, from 13 to 17 million, and the number of participating outlets has been increased by nearly 15 percent.

The above conclusions are further strengthened by the fact that, in many instances, the only whole fluid milk which many of our school-age children receive is through the special milk program.

I therefore, respectfully implore the Members of the House who agree with me to support this legislation and not to support the amendments that will try to do away with these programs that have worked so well in all the schools for all the children, wherever they want to avail themselves of it and where they need this program.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, my good friend from Illinois is leaning on some pretty thin reeds in his argument.

For example, the gentleman asserted that the genesis of this program was the nutritional needs of children. Nothing could be further from the truth. As the hearings of the Congress testify, this program began because the milk industry at that time had heavy surpluses and it was recognized as an industry program, not as a program to help the children.

Frankly, it has been of great help to the children, but if the gentleman is leaning on that reed, it is a pretty thin one.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlemen yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I will yield, if the gentleman will yield me some time if I need it.

Mr. POAGE. I yield the gentleman another minute.

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. POAGE. I just wanted to know if the gentleman felt the program was to be condemned because possibly it had helped children in the country. Is that something with which we should condemn the program?

Mr. FINDLEY. No, but I should like to see us be a little more precise and accurate in the labeling we put on our proposals and in our reciting of history, because this clearly began as a surplus dumping program.

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI) also placed special emphasis on the danger, if my amendment should take effect, that this would be a program just for the needy. Well, how about that?

One would have to assume from that that a lot of needy children, therefore, are not getting the benefit of this program today. And that of course is true.

There is nothing in this program which assures that a poverty-stricken child is going to get some milk at school. There are a few exceptions. There are some schools which have a program under which the poor children get their milk free, but not all schools, by a long shot. A lot of needy children are simply foreclosed because they do not have the money.

So that is a pretty thin reed to lean on, too.

If the argument really means there is so much unmet need among the schoolchildren of the United States that this amendment would sop up the $130 million or whatever is provided annually by this program, with nothing left for the people who have money, then we do indeed have a serious problem, and this makes all the more important the amendment I expect to offer.

Furthermore, there is no need for any

stigma whatever to be attached to a child who gets milk free under this program. In carrying out the free programs in some of our schools today there has been no stigma; at least, I have not heard of any at all. There is a provision of tickets for milk. Of course they use tickets instead of cash, and free distribution can be handled in such a way that there is no stigma whatever.

I hope we will consider this on the merits. This is not a program to take milk away from wealthy children. They will continue to get but conceivably will have to pay a little more for it. It is to redirect the resources as far as practicable to the nutritional needs of the poor children.

What could be more perfectly in harmony with the objectives of our Government today?

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI).

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, my colleague from Illinois obviously did not hear me read to the House the preamble to the law approved by Congress when we started this milk program. I do not know how the gentleman draws his conclusion from the hearings about a surplus of milk and an effort to help the milk industry. I presume that when this great body, this deliberative body, incorporates a preamble in a bill, it means something.

Is the gentleman prepared now to suggest that the House did not mean what it said, that somehow or other it was engaged in some sort of hypocrisy and sweet and clever words to obscure or conceal the fact that we wanted to help the milk industry? Or were the Members of Congress who voted for this bill honestly and sincerely interested in helping provide better nutrition for the children in this country?

I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FINDLEY. I am sure the gentleman will agree there are many instances in which this Congress has put excessively attractive labels on legislation intending to make it look really better than the content would justify.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I hope the gentleman is speaking only for himself, because he is certainly not speaking for me in that conclusion.

So far as the need is concerned, obviously the amendment the gentleman would offer would limit this milk program only to the needy. Nothing in what I said would mean there are a lot of needy now not getting this help. Does the gentleman know of any child in the State of Illinois who is needy, where there is a milk program in the school, who is not getting free milk?

Does the gentleman know of any such child? I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Frankly, I do not have the details, but I have been informed by the Department of Agriculture that there are select schools through which children without money can receive milk under this program, but the Bureau of the Budget has stated only $7 million of the $104 million provided last year went to the benefit of these children. I think that is answer enough.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Resuming what I said before, our colleague from southern Illinois has gone all around, but the fact of the matter is if his amendment were to prevail, only poor children would be able to participate. That means every child having a carton of milk in a classroom during a morning break would automatically be identified and labeled as a member of the poor. I submit to you even at that tender age children have pride and honor. I submit to you that many children would pass up the milk simply because they would not want to be stigmatized the way my colleague proposes to do. Right here in the Washington, D.C., area I studied public schools and we found that they had a program where children had to get a special ticket for free lunch. We saw that children were not accepting the free lunch because they were embarrassed and ashamed that they were on relief and needed public aid. Do you think that there is no pride among young people? There is. I suggest that the bill we have is a good one. I respect my colleague for offering his amendment but certainly question his judgment in offering it.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. CARTER).

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, what is milk? Why, it is a lacteal fluid extracted from the udder of the female of the bovine species and highly prolific to the *n*th degree. Milk contains approximately 4.5 percent butterfat, which may or may not be healthful because of its content of cholesterol. On the whole, however, I think it is extremely healthful and in fact the most complete food we have. It lacks only one element, and that is iron.

The mewling and puking infant comes into the world completely sustained by nourishment provided by his mother's breasts or by the overflowing generosity of the udder of the contented Jersey, Guernsey, or Holstein.

When a man's days become few and his eyes dim, sans eyes, sans teeth, sans everything, the most easily assimilated and digested food is milk. It is a boon to the ill and fortifies the elderly.

In our school systems throughout our land the milk program has proven helpful and healthful. As an observer of the school lunch and milk programs, it has been my experience at the beginning of school in poor areas that youngsters can be seen coming in with skinny forms, scaling skin, sore lips—which are called rhagades—if you please. After a few weeks one sees the forms fill out, the skin grow pink, and the eyes grow brighter.

I strongly support this legislation and would not limit its scope.

One nuclear submarine costs more than the entire program. Which will help our country more, our $125 million milk program or one $125 million nuclear submarine? Personally, I should like to see the program doubled. Suffer little children to have all the milk they want and deny them not.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge the adoption of this legislation.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BURLISON).

Mr. BURLISON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture yielding this time to me.

I would like to observe that it seems there are two areas of contention in this debate. One seems to me to be whether or no the bill should be made permanent or whether it should be temporary. There has not been a single statement or allegation here that the program has not worked in the past. Therefore, I think we all should be able to agree, at least on the basis of the debate here this afternoon, that the program should be permanent.

The second issue is whether we should provide the milk to all the people in our schools or whether it should be merely to the needy.

We have already run into a lot of difficulty as to what "needy" constitutes. The distinguished gentleman from southern Illinois said he believes that a $3,000 income or anything below that is "needy." I would question whether "needy" means the same to a rural family in Missouri as to a family in an urban area in Illinois or any other State.

Mr. Chairman, I further question whether we need to draw the line on the recipients of this program as having to come under the definition of "needy." Is there something inherently wrong about a middle-class American, for instance, receiving some benefit from his Government? He is the one paying for it. If there is something inherently wrong about it, it has not been disclosed on the floor of this House today. For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I speak in support of the bill.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. TEAGUE).

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman, I shall offer a motion to recommit this bill primarily for one reason. In my district there are eight or 10 nonprofit private schools entirely aside from the Catholic and parochial schools. The parents of the children attending these schools are wealthy people—some of them very wealthy. I see no reason in the world why the small taxpayers should be asked to subsidize a milk program for the children of these private schools which obtain students from very wealthy families.

Mr. Chairman, I shall offer a motion to recommit the bill.

Let us not deceive ourselves. This is another farm subsidy program—not a welfare program for the needy and undernourished.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. KLEPPE).

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation. I think we have heard this afternoon some very excellent remarks from various Members as to the real good aspects of this pro-

gram and I wish to join in those remarks and those observations. Particularly, I think the explanation given by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI) was very timely and very much in order and very explanatory regarding this bill.

In my opinion it is a terrible mistake to think about doing anything that would jeopardize this program. The ongoing part of it, Mr. Chairman, has been such a wonderful program for so many.

I am very strongly in support of this legislation, and urge that the Members who are present will see to it that this bill passes, and passes with an overwhelming majority.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. ZWACH).

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5554 to make the child nutrition program permanent and to increase the authorization by $5 million. Since its inception in 1954, this program has made noteworthy progress on the twin goals of providing a highly essential and nutritious source of nature's most nearly perfect food, and also providing a new outlet for a nutritious product which has been in surplus.

Under this program, the total consumption of milk during this past year was nearly 3 billion half-pints, or about 2 percent of the total milk production in the United States. This is one of the very best methods of making the greatest use of a product that might otherwise find itself in Government storehouses.

In my home State of Minnesota, we have accomplished a great deal under this program, not only because this is a food which we produce in abundance, but also because the program allows a high degree of participation by State and local people.

This year in Minnesota, we have 1,968 public and private schools participating in this program. Last year there were 428 private schools on the special milk program and they consumed 10,425,082 half-pints of milk. In the public schools, it is estimated over 5 million half-pints per month are used by 798,961 students in 1,553 schools. This means that 99.8 percent of the public school enrollment is getting milk daily through either the special milk or school lunch program.

I strongly recommend that until all schools are able to participate in the school lunch program, this program should be extended by passing H.R. 5554.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. STEIGER).

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation. There are some aspects of it that concern me about some of what has been said.

First of all, this does not relate solely to the schools, and the Committee on Agriculture I believe, has done an exceptionally fine job in bringing this bill to the floor. I am sure that the Members have received letters and messages from such groups as the YMCA. For instance, the director of community affairs for the National YMCA in New York wrote as follows:

> This is to express my deep concern for the current legislation now in committee regarding reimbursement of non-profit organizations for additional milk to be served children and youth in summer camp.
>
> Over 500,000 boys and girls participate in the 1620 day camp and 490 resident camp operations of the Young Men's Christian Association annually. The extra quantities of milk made available by the federal government in recent years has been a real boon to the food nutrition for these children and youth campers. The current major thrust of the YMCA to meet the needs of children in low income families within our large urban areas has been visibly supported by the healthy inclusion of added quantities of milk on camp menus. Many of our children from inner city areas just do not have access to an essential milk supply. This legislation would insure continuance of this vital milk source.

It seems to me that this is one of the points which deserves to be considered as the Committee today wrestles with the question as to the portion available to those in low-income families. We would actually reduce the amount of milk consumed by approximately 2 billion half pints annually if we don't pass this legislation.

It has been estimated that some 66 percent of the 51 million schoolchildren have benefited from the milk program. Only 44 percent will benefit from the school lunch, special assistance, and breakfast programs, even after they are expanded. Approximately 94,500 schools and institutions have participated in the milk program. Under the proposed expanded nutrition programs only 82,000 schools will be included.

It seems to me that we should remember "Their Daily Bread," a study that was conducted by a number of women's organizations in which they stated the following:

> The federal government reimburses more than half the cost of the first pint of milk served with lunch and slightly more on every half pint served after that. This means that out of what the children pay on the balance, plus special reimbursement based on the number of half pints served free, there is enough money to serve milk free to needy children—a far higher percentage than receive a free lunch.

This study goes on to say:

> It is easy to see that the milk program is working well.

I trust the action today on the floor will give some support to the Committee on Appropriations as they consider the budget submitted both by the Johnson administration and by the Nixon administration.

Mr. Chairman, at a time when we are accumulating an ever-increasing body of knowledge indicating severe problems of hunger and malnutrition, I believe it is vital to continue the special milk program.

This body recently passed a measure which will do a great deal to improve the school lunch program. I was an active supporter of that measure, and I will continue to work for substantial improvements in all of our nutrition efforts.

One of the problems we face with the school lunch and breakfast programs, however, is that even under an expanded program such as anticipated in the 1970 budget, many of the children, who so desperately need to participate, attend schools which lack the financial resources and food service equipment necessary for them to take advantage of school lunch and breakfast. These same children are frequently able, however, to take part in the milk program. Given this situation, it would indeed be unwise to eliminate one of our most effective and nutritious programs. Our aim should be to insure that all of the Nation's schoolchildren, and particularly those living in poverty, will receive nutritionally adequate and nourishing diets. The special milk program plays a vital part in this effort.

Mr. Chairman, this program has my complete support and I urge its continuation by Congress.

I heartily urge this bill be supported as being a program which has worked successfully for the benefit of the American dairy farmer and for the school and camp children in the United States.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I am wholeheartedly in support of this program. I think it is a program that has served many purposes.

I think it has helped to promote the sale of milk and which has helped one of the segments of agriculture that has been hard hit during the past number of years because of inflation and the high cost of everything that the farmer has to buy.

In addition to that, I think it has had a tremendous nutritional value for school children. It has been very popular among the schools. It has been very popular among the dairy interests.

I have heard very little criticism of this program, which is not true of many of the farm programs that we have.

Mr. Chairman, I am in complete support of the bill.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I want to commend the gentleman for his statement, Mr. Chairman, and also for his recognition of the distress that affects large elements of our milk producing industry in the country today. I support this bill.

Unlike my good friend, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY), I do not see any great harm in benefiting an industry as important to our country as the milk producing industry.

It seems to me that the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER) has made a fine statement in pointing out the problems that confront this industry today and in urging that this bill be advanced not only because of its benefit to children, but because it aids a major American industry as well.

I agree with the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. CARTER) that we ought to double the program as soon as we can afford to do it because the children need it.

I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma for yielding to me.

Mr. BELCHER. I appreciate the remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington (Mrs. MAY).

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5554, to extend indefinitely the special milk program authorization contained in section 3 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966.

The Special milk program has been a highly successful and effective supplement to the diets of young Americans since 1954. When first started, the program reached only nonprofit schools of highschool grade and under, but now, children in other nonprofit child-care institutions such as nursery schools, summer camps, and settlement houses are also eligible for the benefits of the program.

Over the years, the program has been expanded to reach more and more children, and the amount of milk served has increased significantly. As our committee report points out, during the first year of program operation, 41,094 schools participated. Since then, the number of outlets has more than doubled, and the number of half pints served has increased more than six times.

The results of this program, Mr. Chairman, provide more than ample justification for extending it permanently and increasing its appropriation authorization to $125 million. The program has made, and is continuing to make, a significant contribution to the health and nutrition of our young people. What better inheritance can this Nation give its children than strong and healthy bodies and minds?

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to approve this legislation.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time, and reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN).

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I do not oppose this legislation, but I think the legislation can be improved and made better.

We have heard that there is opposition to the bill because those who are wealthy are being benefited by it. We have heard on the other hand that the bill should not be restricted to the poor.

Well, I offer you a middle road. I am going to offer an amendment to the effect that there will be priorities in the distribution of milk—first, the milk shall be given to schools participating in the expenditure of funds under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1969.

Under that act there is a provision that requires funding for schools attended by poor children to enable them to obtain education equal to wealthier children.

These children, in my opinion, should come first. Even ahead of them, when the milk gets to these schools, are to be the children whose households have incomes below the poverty index as established by the Social Security Administration.

After this priority has been taken care of, then I am satisfied that milk be given to everybody. It is a good food. It is a wonderful food. It is a blessing for all children, but I believe this situation calls for priorities and I shall offer an amendment to the bill at the proper time which shall provide for this priority.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, we have just been advised that we are going to have a second Findley amendment—to do the same thing. Both amendments would achieve the same result.

I do not know why we cannot have just one vote and determine which way the House wants to go—whether we want to make a relief program out of this or whether we want to maintain a nutrition program for all the people of the country. I think that is really going to be the only question involved here—that is whether we are going to try to maintain a nutrition program that will help every schoolchild in this country or whether we want to channel this off into another program or numerous other relief programs, by destroying the kind of program that has worked so well for everybody else for years.

If you feel that the program has been a failure and that you ought to have a new relief program, then you want to vote for one or both amendments because they do exactly the same thing. But if you do not feel that way, then you want to vote against these amendments and pass the bill.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5554, a bill which would make the special milk program for children a permanent part of the Child Nutrition Act.

From the testimony of witnesses before the Agriculture Committee, and from the various statistics released by the Department of Agriculture, I believe that the special milk program has been nothing less than an overwhelming success. Special milk for children is one program of substantial magnitude directed toward the prevention of malnutrition. The Department of Agriculture released a report in 1967 on American diet deficiencies, and concluded that the major problem was not actual starvation among our people but a considerable amount of malnutrition throughout the entire United States.

During hearings before the House Committee on Agriculture, Mr. Glen Lake, president of the National Milk Producers Federation, testified as to the increased benefits of the milk program over generalized feeding programs. He stated that more nutrition was provided through the special milk program than by any other single program. Though the school lunch and child nutrition programs, in general, strike at hunger, they do not provide in a single form the best weapon against malnutrition. When milk is available to children in the schools, a total cross-section of youngsters has the opportunity to receive such important and vital nutrients as calcium, vitamin A, thiamine, vitamin B_{12}, proteins, carbohydrates, and other dietary essentials. Many children, not only those from the more economically disadvantaged sectors, do not have the opportunity to decide at home whether or not they have good nutrition. The milk program improves the diet of every child.

If the special milk program were eliminated, thus raising the cost of each pint of milk sold through the schools, it seems inevitable that the consumption of milk by the needy, who most benefit from the additional nutrition provided by the program, would significantly drop. According to Edwin Christianson, vice president of the National Farmers Union, studies by the University of Illinois substantiate the fact that the price of milk has a very direct bearing upon participation in the milk program.

The Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Illinois reported that—

> A 40% drop in milk consumption occurred in Chicago public schools as a result of an increase from 2 to 3 cents in the cost of a half-pint of milk to the children. But while milk consumption dropped sharply in Chicago, which raised the prices, consumption gained in the remainder of Illinois where the price had not changed.

Today we are more aware than ever of the hidden poverty existing in America. Poverty seems to have a predilection for families with four or more children and, according to Mr. Charles Lowe, chairman of the Committee on Nutrition of the American Academy of Pediatrics, "one-third of all families in the United States with four or more children live in poverty." This is indeed a frightening figure. Not only for present humanitarian concerns but for the future of the American people. Evidence is constantly being brought to our attention linking malnutrition in children to mental retardation.

> It is well known that people who lack sufficient food cannot learn well, work well, or endure as well as people adequately nourished—

States Aaron Altschul, Special Assistant for International Nutrition Improvement in the Department of Agriculture—

> No program of economic development which depends so heavily on learning and performance can succeed in the face of such handicaps.

Poor nutrition is the primary cause of a number of medically serious conditions. One to which children are particularly vulnerable is anemia, and according to health specialists, anemia or iron deficiency results in fatigue, listlessness, and inability to perform optimally in physical and mental activities. The added nutrition whole milk provides to the sometimes inadequate diet of schoolchildren can reduce the extent of anemia.

Studies show that in many cases the only milk school age children receive is through the special milk program. Many farm children leave early in the morning for school, without adequate breakfasts. Many urban youngsters come from families with working parents who have no time to prepare a nourishing meal in the mornings. The special milk program is of significant value to both rural and urban children for it makes up for a skimpy breakfast and supplies needed vitamins and protein.

The school milk program has unquestionably been successful in improving

the health of American children. It has developed dietary habits for citizens of the future and has been economically beneficial to the dairy industry. Since 1955 the number of children participating in the program has jumped from 2½ million to 17 million in 1968. This program reaches children not only in elementary school, but in secondary schools, nonprofit schools, child-care centers, settlement houses, and summer camps.

Many valid objections have been voiced to the proposal which would combine the special milk program with the national school lunch plan. It is my understanding that many schools and institutions have gone to some expense for equipment and personnel, and that they have adapted their schedules to accommodate the milk break for students. A large number of school administrators, principals, and parents throughout the country believe that the program should not only be retained but made permanent with sufficient funds appropriated to carry out its important goals.

The National Milk Producers Federation claims that by combining the milk program into an enlarged school lunch plan, the net result will be less milk per child. They reason that even with an increase in the number of type A lunches served, the distribution of milk would be limited to a half pint per child as provided by the school lunch formula. Many children eligible for both programs today are receiving midmorning milk as well as the half pint with lunch; to eliminate the special milk program would be to reduce by half the amount of milk available to hungry children.

Another valid objection to ending the milk program comes from the dairy farmers. Mr. John C. York, general manager of the Eastern Milk Producers Cooperative Association, testified before the committee that the termination of the milk program would result in an annual loss of $45 million to dairy farmers. Last year the program, according to the National Milk Producers Federation, provided a market for 1.6 billion pounds of milk. The representatives from the federation testified before the House Agriculture Committee that the milk supplied to the program provided a return to farmers substantially higher than would have resulted had that milk been made into manufactured dairy products.

Certainly we are all aware of the need to improve the nutrition of our young people and we should be very proud of the efforts made in this direction by Congress. The special milk program reaches a wider segment of undernourished children than any other nutrition program. By approving the extension of this program as proposed by H.R. 5554, we will be assuring better health and added learning ability to every schoolchild in the years to come.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, last January I expressed my dismay at the recommendation in President Johnson's proposed budget for fiscal year 1970 which requested only $14.7 million for the special milk program. In fiscal year 1969 the appropriation was $104 million. I said on January 23 that, instead of phasing out this program, the Congress should insist that it be funded at a level commensurate with the need. Therefore, I support H.R. 5554 which increases the authorization from $120 to $125 million for fiscal year 1970 and each succeeding fiscal year.

The special milk program is now being utilized in some 95,000 schools throughout the Nation and in 1968 served over 3.1 billion half-pints of milk to an estimated 17 million children. It is presently available to nonprofit institutions, including child-care centers, nurseries, summer camps, and settlement houses. In New York State alone, 6,369 schools and other nonprofit institutions distributed 269 million half-pints of milk during the fiscal year 1968.

This is one of the few Government programs which reaches a sizable portion of the population, and its nutritional value should be available for all schoolchildren.

Because the amendment to be offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) would draw a distinction between needy children and nonneedy, it would have the effect of imposing a means test, which is a potentially harmful way of stigmatizing those children whose families have incomes below $3,000. There will be needy youngsters and nonneedy youngsters in the same class, and the needy should not be singled out.

Regrettably, the nutritional benefits of the special milk program as well as the school lunch program have been denied to some schoolchildren because of racial consideration made on the part of the distributing agency. I have repeatedly urged the Department of Agriculture to enforce title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act with respect to the school milk and lunch programs.

The extension of the special milk program and the increased authorization for funds for its implementation contained in this bill would assure the continuation of this vital program and make clear to the administration that Congress does not intend to see it phased out.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly urge and hope that the House will speedily and overwhelmingly adopt this bill before us, H.R. 5554, fundamentally designed for the health and well-being of the schoolchildren of this country.

The purpose of this bill is to enable the various States, with Federal assistance, to more effectively meet the basic nutritional needs of our schoolchildren. It is axiomatic that a healthy child is a happy child and that a happy, well-nourished child tends to exercise his learning capacity to the maximum, with good will.

The record shows that since the start of the original special milk program it has, by legislative encouragement, been expanded so that there are now, throughout the Nation, more than 94,000 participating outlets projecting this special milk program for the benefit of more than 17 million schoolchildren, with a great number of these children coming from impoverished or low-income families.

In summary, this measure simply extends indefinitely, with an annual appropriation authorization increase from $120 to $125 million, the special milk program for children contained in the Child Nutrition Act resoundingly adopted here in 1966, less than 3 years ago.

Mr. Chairman, at a time when this country and this Congress is vitally concerned about the challenging problems of hunger and malnutrition; when we are planning to greatly enlarge the food stamp program and are spending untold millions to rehabilitate school dropouts, it certainly seems prudent to approve this comparatively small appropriation authorization which will unquestionably go a long way toward eventually and entirely overcoming our hunger and malnutrition problems close to their source.

Undoubtedly, this bill represents a wise investment in the future of America through the encouragement of a well-nourished, wholesome American youth. Let us wholeheartedly approve it without extended delay.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further requests for time? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 5554

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for each succeeding fiscal year, not to exceed $125,000,000, to enable the Secretary of Agriculture, under such rules and regulations as he may deem in the public interest, to encourage consumption of fluid milk by children in the United States in (1) nonprofit schools of high school grade and under, and (2) nonprofit nursery schools, child-care centers, settlement houses, summer camps, and similar nonprofit institutions devoted to the care and training of children. For the purposes of this section 'United States' means the fifty States and the District of Columbia. The Secretary shall administer the special milk program provided by for this section to the maximum extent practicable in the same manner as he administered the special milk program provided for by Public Law 89-642, as amended, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969."

Mr. POAGE (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MATSUNAGA

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MATSUNAGA: On page 2, line 4, immediately after "fifty States" insert the following: ", Guam,"

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Hawaii is recognized in support of his amendment.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I

offer this amendment upon the request of the ever-alert delegate to the Congress from Guam, the Honorable Antonio Won Pat. Although he is without official recognition, Mr. Won Pat has certainly been an effective ex-officio member of this House. My offering this amendment is a case in point.

Mr. Chairman, all that my amendment intends to do is to include the Territory of Guam in the well-accepted school milk program. By adopting the amendment, we will be extending the proven nutrition program to deserving American children living on American soil. I cannot foresee anyone objecting justfiably to this amendment, so I urge its adoption by a unanimous vote.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I yield to the distinguished chairman of the committee.

Mr. POAGE. As far as I am concerned, we accept that amendment.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. We will accept it also.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Hawaii.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: On page 2, on line 7, strike all after the word "practicable" and strike all of lines 8, 9, and 10 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "as a nutritional aid to needy children."

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, it has been a little bit hard for me to believe my ears here today when I reflect upon the language in my amendment and the disastrous consequences that some of my colleagues say it would bring about. I just have trouble believing my ears, because my amendment does nothing more than to direct the Secretary of Agriculture, to the extent practicable, to use the resources of this program as a nutritional aid to needy children.

Well, there has been a lot of talk that this program ought to make milk available to all children who want it. Those who really believe in that gospel ought to support my amendment, because my amendment would bring this a lot closer to reality than it is today.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Is the $125 million provided in the bill not meant for the needy? Why should not the opponents increase the amount instead of trying to limit the bill to this way.

Mr. FINDLEY. I will have to answer the question in this way. I do not know. This represents a substantial increase, and it is 100 percent more than the Johnson administration wanted or that the Nixon administration has requested. I think it is also important for us to reflect on this fact, that this program does not give the assurance of benefit to poor children. It simply does not. It provides the assurance of benefit to children if they have the money. It does not provide benefit to children who may not be able to afford even the subsidized price. So those who really believe in this idea, which I certainly share, that every school child who wants it should be able to have a half pint of milk during the morning break, should certainly support my amendment, because it is going to bring that ideal condition a lot closer to reality than it is today.

I do not want to rehash the arguments we have gone through here, but I just hope that those who are sincerely interested in the nutritional needs of young people will support the amendment.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman's amendment were adopted, it would mean, of course, that the milk under this program would not be available to the institutions I referred to a few moments ago—in other words, the private schools, and we are not talking about the parochial schools, but the schools where parents pay tuition fees of $1,500 to $2,500 a year for their children to attend. I assume the gentleman would agree they are not needy children.

Why should a taxpayer, who has an income of, let us say, $3,000 or $4,000 a year, paying $200 or $300 a year in income taxes, have part of his taxes go to pay for subsidized milk for children in this category, those attending private schools whose parents are wealthy? Would the amendment offered by the gentleman eliminate that?

Mr. FINDLEY. I will say it will not necessarily eliminate that, but it will require the Secretary of Agriculture to give priority to the needy children first, and then if there is any money left over in this fund through which milk to wealthy children could be subsidized, that would be permissible and, no doubt, would occur.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me this item was discussed by the gentleman in general debate. I wonder, if there is no one who feels he just has to make another speech, if I might move that all debate close.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I will withdraw that and I yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI).

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, my colleague from Illinois would have the House believe his amendment is a very innocent little thing and is just intended to make some minor changes in the program. I think the House should know what the amendment does. The language in H.R. 5554, as reported by the committee, reads—and if the Members have a copy of the bill, I refer them to line 5 on page 2, which says:

The Secretary shall administer the special milk program provided for by this section to the maximum extent practicable in the same manner as he administered the special milk program provided for by Public Law 89-642, as amended, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

What the committee is doing now is continuing the program as it has been practiced, providing milk to needy children and providing milk to those who are not needy at reduced rates.

What does our colleague propose to do? He proposes that we strike the words "in the same manner as he administered the special milk program provided for by public law" and so on, and it would read, if his amendment were adopted:

The Secretary shall administer the special milk program provided for by this section to the maximum extent practicable as a nutritional aid to needy children.

What the gentleman's amendment would do—and let there be no question about this, even though I saw him stand in the well and say he did not see what we were all getting excited about because the amendment does not do anything, but the fact is the amendment offered by the gentleman cuts the guts out of this program and makes this a welfare program for supplemental milk to needy children only.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentlewoman from Michigan.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Chairman, again the gentleman has said, as others have said, that this program reaches all poor children. No, it does not. It reaches all children who can pay or for whom their own districts provide the payment.

I would like to point out to the gentleman from Chicago that not all of us are from Chicago and not every child in America is getting this milk, contrary to the opinion that is being expressed here.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully regret I cannot yield any further for I want to have a moment to say that if all children are not getting milk, then the gentleman from Iowa gave her the answer. If the gentlewoman from Michigan and the gentleman from Illinois are interested in assuring that every single youngster in this country will get fresh milk if he is in need, then the answer, as the gentleman from Iowa said, is to increase the authorization, but do not cut it out.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Chairman, that is not true. They already have more authorization than has ever been used.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I cannot yield any further.

Mr. Chairman, the language the gentleman is substituting in his amendment simply reads, "as a nutritional aid to needy children." That is all. Let there be no question about what the gentleman is proposing here. Adoption of this amendment will mean that millions of children would be denied fresh milk at reduced rates in their classroom.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. FINDLEY.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FINDLEY) there were—ayes 8, noes 85.

So the amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FARBSTEIN

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FARBSTEIN: On page 2, line 5, after the period, insert the following new sentence: "Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall be made available on a priority basis to schools participating in the expenditure of funds under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1969; and within those schools shall first be made available to children from households which have no income or have incomes below the poverty index as established by the Social Security Administration."

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I am not angry with anybody. I want to help everybody.

I want to help the poor kids, and if there is something left over let it go to the rich ones. I think everybody should have milk.

But I say that the poor kids should get it first. If, after they have had it, there is some left over, let it go to the YMCA. The poor kids are the ones whose families are unable to afford the milk; the nutrition that is necessary.

This is fine. We have $125 million in the budget. I do not know what the population explosion is going to do. I do not know what the Appropriations Committee will do. Suppose that is cut down to about $75 million. I think the milk should not be divided equally under those circumstances. I think there should be priorities, and the priorities would be those which were read in the amendment.

First the milk would go to those schools under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969. That provides funding for the schools attended by poor children to enable them to attain education equal to that of the wealthy children.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. As I understand the amendment, it would eliminate the YMCA, because the YMCA is not a school, from the program. It would eliminate those 5,000 very poor children sent to summer camp by the YMCA in New York City; is that correct?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Under the terms of this amendment of mine the schools would get it first, and particularly those schools that are preferred because of the education law. We presume that these kids will go to school, and go to school in the areas that are depressed. Hence they would be primarily entitled to milk.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. But the YMCA is not a school, so it would not be included in the priorities.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. They would get the milk when they went to the school.

They would have their milk in the morning and then if there was some left over and they wanted some in the afternoon, they could get it by going to the Y. They would not be deprived. However, we come back to the original premise.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. The gentleman from Iowa asked a question which is a fair question. Under the language of your amendment you are in fact saying that the funds shall be allocated to schools which receive title I money and in those schools to those who are eligible under the poverty line established by the Social Security Administration. For all practical purposes you are then eliminating those participating in other programs other than a school from receiving the benefits of the special milk program. That includes those in the YMCA and it includes those in such programs as——

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Just a moment. I understand what you say.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. And others now enjoying the benefits.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Please. I refuse to yield. Let me answer you.

Under the terms of the amendment it says "shall remain available on a priority basis." All I do now is repeat what I said earlier. After the poor school kid and the poor kids in the poor schools get their milk, if there is any left over, it will go to the others. The way you cure that is by appropriating sufficient funds to see that everybody is taken care of, but so long as you restrict the amount of funds insofar as the purchase of milk is concerned, I say that these priorities do not prevail.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Of course, the gentleman from Texas was recognized on this amendment a while ago when it was under the name of the Findley amendment. I hardly think it is proper to speak on the same amendment twice, and I do not believe there is any real occasion for any of us speaking on it twice.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment now close.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN).

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. OLSEN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 5554) to provide a special milk program for children, pursuant to House Resolution 379, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. TEAGUE of California. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TEAGUE of California moves to recommit the bill H.R. 5554 to the Committee on Agriculture.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 384, nays 2, not voting 48, as follows:

[Roll No. 55]

YEAS—384

Abbitt	Byrne, Pa.	Duncan
Adair	Byrnes, Wis.	Dwyer
Adams	Cabell	Eckhardt
Addabbo	Caffery	Edmondson
Albert	Camp	Edwards, Ala.
Alexander	Carter	Edwards, Calif.
Anderson, Calif.	Casey	Eilberg
	Cederberg	Erlenborn
Anderson, Ill.	Chamberlain	Esch
Andrews, Ala.	Chappell	Eshleman
Andrews, N. Dak.	Chisholm	Evans, Colo.
	Clancy	Evins, Tenn.
Annunzio	Clark	Fallon
Arends	Clausen, Don H.	Farbstein
Ashbrook		Fascell
Ashley	Clawson, Del	Feighan
Aspinall	Clay	Findley
Ayres	Cleveland	Fish
Barrett	Cohelan	Fisher
Beall, Md.	Collier	Flood
Belcher	Collins	Flowers
Bennett	Colmer	Flynt
Berry	Conte	Ford, Gerald R.
Betts	Conyers	Ford, William D.
Bevill	Corbett	
Biaggi	Corman	Foreman
Biester	Coughlin	Fountain
Bingham	Cowger	Fraser
Blanton	Cramer	Frelinghuysen
Boggs	Culver	Frey
Boland	Cunningham	Friedel
Bolling	Daddario	Fuqua
Brademas	Daniel, Va.	Galifianakis
Brasco	Daniels, N.J.	Gallagher
Bray	Davis, Ga.	Garmatz
Brinkley	Davis, Wis.	Gaydos
Brock	de la Garza	Gettys
Brooks	Delaney	Giaimo
Broomfield	Dellenback	Gibbons
Brotzman	Denney	Gilbert
Brown, Calif.	Dennis	Goldwater
Brown, Mich.	Dent	Gonzalez
Brown, Ohio	Derwinski	Goodling
Broyhill, N.C.	Devine	Green, Oreg.
Broyhill, Va.	Dickinson	Green, Pa.
Buchanan	Dingell	Griffin
Burke, Fla.	Donohue	Gross
Burke, Mass.	Dorn	Gubser
Burlison, Mo.	Dowdy	Gude
Burton, Calif.	Downing	Hagan
Bush	Dulski	Haley

Hall	Mayne	St. Onge
Halpern	Meeds	Sandman
Hamilton	Meskill	Satterfield
Hanley	Michel	Schadeberg
Hanna	Mikva	Scherle
Hansen, Idaho	Miller, Calif.	Schneebeli
Hansen, Wash.	Miller, Ohio	Schwengel
Harsha	Mills	Scott
Harvey	Minish	Sebelius
Hastings	Mink	Shipley
Hathaway	Minshall	Shriver
Hawkins	Mize	Sikes
Hays	Mizell	Sisk
Hechler, W. Va.	Monagan	Skubitz
Heckler, Mass.	Montgomery	Slack
Henderson	Moorhead	Smith, Calif.
Hicks	Morgan	Smith, Iowa
Hogan	Morse	Snyder
Horton	Mosher	Springer
Hosmer	Moss	Stafford
Howard	Murphy, Ill.	Staggers
Hull	Myers	Stanton
Hungate	Natcher	Steed
Hunt	Nedzi	Steiger, Wis.
Hutchinson	Nelsen	Stephens
Ichord	Nichols	Stokes
Jacobs	Nix	Stratton
Jarman	Obey	Stubblefield
Joelson	O'Hara	Stuckey
Johnson, Calif.	O'Konski	Symington
Johnson, Pa.	Olsen	Taft
Jonas	O'Neal, Ga.	Talcott
Jones, Ala.	O'Neill, Mass.	Taylor
Jones, N.C.	Ottinger	Teague, Tex.
Jones, Tenn.	Patman	Thompson, Ga.
Karth	Patten	Thompson, N.J.
Kastenmeier	Pelly	Thomson, Wis.
Kazen	Pepper	Tiernan
Kee	Perkins	Tunney
Keith	Philbin	Udall
King	Pickle	Ullman
Kleppe	Pike	Utt
Kluczynski	Pirnie	Van Deerlin
Koch	Poage	Vander Jagt
Kuykendall	Poff	Vanik
Kyl	Pollock	Vigorito
Kyros	Preyer, N.C.	Waggonner
Landgrebe	Price, Ill.	Waldie
Landrum	Price, Tex.	Wampler
Langen	Pryor, Ark.	Watkins
Latta	Pucinski	Watson
Leggett	Purcell	Watts
Lennon	Quie	Weicker
Lipscomb	Quillen	Whalen
Lloyd	Railsback	Whalley
Long, La.	Randall	White
Long, Md.	Rarick	Whitehurst
Lukens	Rees	Whitten
McCarthy	Reid, Ill.	Widnall
McClory	Reid, N.Y.	Wiggins
McCloskey	Reifel	Williams
McCulloch	Reuss	Wilson, Bob
McDade	Rhodes	Wilson, Charles H.
McDonald, Mich.	Riegle	Winn
McEwen	Rivers	Wold
McFall	Roberts	Wolff
McKneally	Robison	Wright
McMillan	Rodino	Wyatt
Macdonald, Mass.	Rogers, Colo.	Wydler
MacGregor	Rogers, Fla.	Wylie
Madden	Rooney, N.Y.	Wyman
Mahon	Rooney, Pa.	Yates
Mailliard	Rosenthal	Yatron
Mann	Rostenkowski	Young
Marsh	Roth	Zablocki
Martin	Roudebush	Zion
Matsunaga	Roybal	Zwach
May	Ruth	
	Ryan	
	St Germain	

NAYS—2

Griffiths	Teague, Calif.

NOT VOTING—48

Abernethy	Diggs	Mollohan
Anderson, Tenn.	Edwards, La.	Morton
	Foley	Murphy, N.Y.
Baring	Fulton, Pa.	Passman
Bates	Fulton, Tenn.	Pettis
Bell, Calif.	Gray	Podell
Blackburn	Grover	Powell
Blatnik	Hammer-schmidt	Ronan
Bow		Rumsfeld
Burleson, Tex.	Hébert	Ruppe
Burton, Utah	Helstoski	Saylor
Button	Holifield	Scheuer
Cahill	Kirwan	Smith, N.Y.
Carey	Lowenstein	Steiger, Ariz.
Celler	Lujan	Sullivan
Conable	McClure	
Dawson	Mathias	

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Bates.
Mr. Abernethy with Mr. Blackburn.
Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Cahill.
Mr. Celler with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Fulton of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Grover.
Mr. Podell with Mr. Bell of California.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mr. Saylor.
Mr. Holifield with Mr. Pettis.
Mr. Burleson of Texas with Mr. Burton of Utah.
Mr. Gray with Mr. Button.
Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Hammerschmidt.
Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Lujan.
Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Morton.
Mr. Foley with Mr. Conable.
Mr. Passman with Mr. Ruppe.
Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Smith of New York.
Mr. Ronan with Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin.
Mr. Lowenstein wth Mr. Rumsfeld.
Mr. Mollohan with Mr. Mathias.
Mr. Helstoski with Mr. McClure.
Mr. Baring with Mr. Scheuer.
Mr. Dawson with Mr. Diggs.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RESIGNATION FROM UNITED STATES-CANADIAN INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication:

MAY 5,1969.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House,
House of Representatives,
Washington. D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: It is with deep regret that I find I must resign my position on the United States-Canadian Interparliamentary Conference.

I want to thank you for your kindness in appointing me to this conference. My participation on it during the last ten years has been a most enriching experience. The United States and Canada have many common interests and goals. It was my privilege to have had the opportunity to work closely with this Conference which aims at fostering trust and cooperation between our two countries.

With best regards, I remain
Sincerely,

WILLIAM T. MURPHY,
Member of Congress.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 1, Public Law 86–42, the Chair appoints as a member of the U.S. delegation of the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. MORGAN, to fill the existing vacancy thereon.

AMENDMENT OF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

(Mr. DENT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, today I will introduce a new Fair Labor Standards Act.

This is necessary because Congress has failed to follow suggestions, made by some of us, to put the fair labor standards on an escalating rate of increase tied to Federal pay raises and cost-of-living index.

This morning's paper carried a story out of the White House entitled "$4½ Billion Pay Increase for the Jobless." It does seem reasonable, Mr. Speaker, if we recognize the need to raise the income for the jobless, then workers that have to work for the minimum wage must be given consideration, by this Congress, for increased income.

The White House, in April, announced that the living cost increase was the highest in 18 years. The last cost-of-living increase since the Korean war in 1951 took place in March of this year. It cost $12.56 in March to buy what $10 bought in the 1957–59 period. The substantial rise in cost of living was for food, clothing, and gas, three of the daily consumer items necessary for the people's health and welfare.

During the first 3 months of this year the consumer prices rose 1.5 percent, the sharpest rate of advance for any 3-month period since May–July of 1966. The index now stands 5.1 percent above a year ago. In the face of this, as well as, the President's message to Congress calling for a $3,500 tax exemption for a family of four, it makes a new Fair Labor Standards Act, by this Congress, essential and compelling.

In order that there be no question in the minds of any Members, as to the extent of these changes, I present to you the background on fair labor standards, and a summary of the bill being introduced.

Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS, Democrat of New Jersey, who heads up the counterpart committee in the Senate will be introducing this bill at the same time.

I want to add the contents of a release issued yesterday by AFL–CIO in a conference held in the Capitol by leaders of labor, Senator WILLIAMS, and myself.

The Gallup poll for April 17 made the following revelation on weekly living cost:

By personal assessment of living costs, the typical American figures it now costs $72 more per week to get along that it did 32 years ago.

The median average amount that the nonfarm public believes is the minimum that a family of four needs to get along today is $102.

In 1937, when this index was first started, $30 was the median average amount specified.

Non-farm persons whose family income is more than $10,000 per year say that $126 weekly is the minimum amount needed.

Those whose incomes are $3000 per year or less cite $99 as the minimum figure, which when projected to one year, exceeds their present earnings by at least $2000 per year.

A national sample of 1510 Americans representing all income levels in the proper proportion, was asked this question: "What is the smallest amount of money a family of four (husband, wife, and two children) need each week to get along in this community?"

Following are the highlights of the 32-year trend on this question:

	Amount per week
1937	$30
1947	43
1957	72
1967	101
Today	102

Mr. Speaker, even a $2 an hour minimum wage, as proposed, will not give the family of four the amount that the public feels it should have to satisfy its needs, but it will help. It will give the head of the family, regardless of the size, some justice. For these reasons I believe the Congress should act on the new proposed amendments as expeditiously as possible.

The release referred to follows:

BACKGROUND PAPER ON FAIR LABOR STANDARDS, 1969

The major purpose of the Fair Labor Standards Act as outlined in its Declaration of Policy is to "correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate the conditions," "detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."

To fulfill the intent of FLSA it has been necessary to increase the floor under wages as the costs of "living necessary for health, efficiency and general well-being of workers" increases over time. Such an increase is necessary today—for all workers.

For too long the Minimum Wage and Hour law excluded millions of working men and women. There are today, over 13 million workers denied the protection of minimum wage coverage—the law must be extended to as many of these possible to afford workers protection from poverty wages.

This bill would add to the law's protection nearly 13 million additional workers, employed as household domestics, or in establishments now exempt because of dollar sales volume restrictions, or other special exemptions, or because of employment by state or local governments. Many of these workers are among the poorest paid and most exploited in our society.

The "working poor" in our country number 2 million. These are the working fathers and mothers of millions of children who are either denied coverage under FLSA or are making the present below-poverty minimum wage of $1.60 an hour. The working poor need help two ways.

First, they need to be covered and secondly, they need a statutory wage rate that will provide their families and their working efforts with something more than poverty.

The responsibility of providing a "living wage" to workers lies not with the taxpayers but with the employers who benefit from the productivity of their employees. The "working poor" are not the old, lame, and unmarried mothers who require public assistance, but the able-bodied working men and women who contribute to the profits of many companies.

What do the working poor need?

Updating the 1966 poverty line figure for price increases and the increased tax burden shows that a family of four needs almost $4,000 a year. Thus, workers need $2 an hour immediately.

This bill would provide for an immediate increase to $2 an hour for all workers currently at a $1.60 minumum wage. For workers covered initially by the 1966 amendments, the step-ups in the minimum to $1.60 are maintained with their minimum going to $2 in 1972. Newly covered workers would be on the same step-ups as those intially covered in 1966.

In addition to the increase in coverage and the increased statutory rate necessary to protect "the well-being of workers," it also becomes necessary to ensure that workers not be exploited by long working hours on a daily basis. Presently, most workers are guaranteed time and a half for weekly hours over 40. But the hardships of working over 8 hours in a single day are such that employees also need protection from those employers who would demand long working hours out of convenience to themselves. This bill provides a premium rate of time and a half for all hours worked over 8 in a single day.

SUMMARY OF FAIR LABOR STANDARDS, 1969

Following are major provisions in the 1969 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act:

The bill would raise the minimum wage to $2 per hour and broaden coverage to 13 million workers now excluded from protection:

MINIMUM WAGE

1.—Increase the minimum wage from $1.60 an hour to $2 an hour immediately for those covered before 1966.

2.—Raise the minimum wage in steps to $2 an hour effective February 1, 1972, for those newly covered in 1966.

3.—Make farm workers equal to all other workers newly covered in 1966.

4.—Cover domestic, federal, state and local government workers and employees of small retail and service businesses on the same step-ups as those newly covered in 1966.

5.—Increase Puerto Rican and Virgin Islands workers' wages by a sum equal to those of other workers.

6.—Raise those covered by wage boards and non-appropriated funds to $2 an hour immediately.

7.—Eliminate clauses excluding employees of linen supply houses from full coverage.

MAXIMUM HOURS

1.—Pay overtime after 8 hours in a day as well as 40 hours in a week.

2.—Bring all workers under the overtime provisions.

3.—Eliminate special maximum hour exemptions for agricultural processing workers and hospital workers.

EXEMPTIONS

Eliminate all special minimum wage, maximum hours exemptions which exclude any or all of the following groups of workers from protection: retail and service; seasonal amusement and recreational; motion picture, logging, farm, railroad, pipeline and air carrier workers, fish processors, transit workers, hotel, motel, restaurant and nursing home workers; motor vehicle partsmen, cotton ginning workers; taxi drivers, catering employees and bowling establishment workers.

CHILD LABOR

Increase the age limit for children employed in hazardous farm work to 18, the present age limit for other hazardous work. Restrict the employment of children on farms outside school hours.

ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS

1.—Penalize cheating employers by permitting the Secretary of Labor to sue for unpaid minimum wages or overtime compensation and to collect liquidated damages, as well as such unpaid minimum wages as overtime compensation, in such suits.

2.—Repeal the provisions which permit tips to be offset against the minimum wage.

STATEMENT BY ANDREW J. BIEMILLER—AFL–CIO

AFL–CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller today issued the following statement as a top AFL–CIO delegation met with Senator Harrison Williams (D.-N.J.) and Congressman John Dent (D.-Pa.), authors of bills to be introduced in both Houses to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act:

The AFL–CIO, which has declared its determination to wage a major drive to improve the Fair Labor Standards Act, is delighted today to publicly salute Senator Williams and Congressman Dent.

The measures which they will sponsor in their respective Houses fully meet the test of our time. They are well-constructed legislative vehicles designed to fulfill the humanitarian goal of the Fair Labor Standards Act by bringing it up to date and making it all-inclusive. Equally important, these are achievable bills, carefully drafted to do precisely what should be done in America—eliminate the economic problem symbolized by "the working poor".

Time and again we in the AFL–CIO have called the Fair Labor Standards Act the nation's best weapon against poverty. A decent job at a decent wage level is the answer to poverty and that we intend to achieve in America.

To Senator Williams and Congressman Dent, I extend the AFL–CIO's heartiest thanks for sponsoring these measures and our pledge to wage a successful fight for their adoption.

CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO LAUDS FRANK N. CATRAMBONE ON REACHING HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY

(Mr. ANNUNZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on April 27, 1969, my very dear and old friend, Frank N. Catrambone, of Chicago, Ill., celebrated his 75th birthday.

Frank is a lifelong resident of Chicago, having migrated to the United States at the age of 18, and has worked hard in his adopted country, so that today he has become one of our community's most successful businessmen and civic leaders.

He has served as president of the Central Civic Club of Chicago, as president of the North-Austin Chamber of Commerce, as director of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, as vice president of the Citizen's Traffic Safety Committee, as a member of Chicago's Senior Citizens Hall of Fame, as Man of the Year for the 1967 Columbus Day parade, as charter member of the West Area Council of Chicago Motor Club, and as a member of the Legion of Mary—St. Giles Church.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the program outlining the events of Frank Catrambone's 75th birthday celebration. The program follows:

FRANK N. CATRAMBONE: APRIL 27, 1969

One of the most important events in our history took place in 1491, when an obscure Italian sailor . . . Christopher Columbus set forth to discover a route to the Far East. After months of journeying on the high seas, while he failed to discover a new route, he discovered something far more important to all of us—the country we now know as the United States.

An equally important event, in our lives, took place in Calabria, Italy on April 26, 1894 . . . when Dominick and Marianne Catrambone were blessed with the birth of a son, Frank. Although a member of a large family, it became evident early in his life that he was indeed destined for greatness. His interest in music and the lively arts as well as his concern for his fellow-man became apparent to his parents early in his childhood and this indeed was the "mark" that was to follow him the rest of his life.

Not content to remain in Italy, where his

opportunity for advancement was limited, he emigrated to the United States at the young age of 18. Realizing that the most important thing for him would be to learn the language of his newly adopted country, he immediately attended night school, which was just the beginning of his pursuit of knowledge—which has never ceased. His first employment in his new country was that of a section quality tailor with Hart, Schaffner & Marx. His ability, knowledge, and hard work enabled him to begin the climb on the ladder of success, at an early age.

He also went into business with his brother, George, and opened a tailor shop, which he continued after their partnership was dissolved after several years of being in business together.

After being in this country several years, an event occurred in his life that was to shape his future destiny more than any other single event in his life. What started out as an introduction from his niece, Theresa, to a beautiful young girl, Helen Cosentino; blossomed into love and courtship . . . which climaxed in their becoming husband and wife on April 25, 1920. Their love and understanding for one another flourished, and enabled them to rear six children (Dominick, Marianne, Eleanor, Frank, Annette, and Elaine), during the difficult depression and war years. During World War II, he accepted a position with the Quartermaster Corps of the U.S. Army and was responsible for quality control of the uniforms worn by our servicemen. He maintained the Tailor Shop and, working many long hours, provided for their family, and the education of their children.

In 1947, the business was moved to its present location at 5850 West North Avenue, where he was one of the first far-sighted businessmen to realize the great opportunity that existed in the rental of formal wear. Though he encountered many problems in life that could be solved, his biggest setback in life occured in 1964, upon the death of his beloved wife Helen, after a prolonged illness. Her contributions to the lives and accomplishments of her husband and children can only be measured by their devotion to her memory.

Though now retired from his business in order to devote time to his civic and charitable activities, he remains one of the most dynamic and respected businessmen in the city of Chicago. Some of the honor and recognition that he has received includes:

President: Central Civic Club of Chicago.

President: North-Austin Chamber Of Commerce.

Director: Joint Civic Committee Of Italian-Americans.

Vice President: Citizen's Traffic Safety Committee.

Member: Chicago's Senior Citizen Hall Of Fame.

Man Of the Year: 1967 Columbus Day Parade.

Charter Member: West Area Council of Chicago Motor Club.

Member: Legion Of Mary—St. Giles Church.

Frank N. Catrambone remains one of the most loveable and well-liked men that any of us have had the privilege to know. His manner, bearing, and stature is that of a giant among men. In spite of his busy schedule he finds time to enjoy his family, relatives, and twenty grandchildren. He also enjoys his music and his greatest relaxation is that of playing the mandolin.

We, his Sons and Daughters, take this occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday to express our love and devotion to our Father.

STATEMENT OF SUMNER G. WHITTIER ON VETERANS' HOSPITALS

(Mr. ROBERTS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, Veterans' Administrator William J. Driver has submitted his resignation. He will be most difficult to replace. The Nation can ill afford to lose the excellence in public service represented by Bill Driver. A great Veterans' Administrator, it is most unfortunate that he should become a victim of the vagaries of partisan politics.

The White House is presently reviewing a long list of names to be the new Administrator. One of the names, which it is stated is receiving strong consideration, is a former Veterans' Administrator who served 1958 to 1960 during the last years of the Eisenhower administration, Sumner G. Whittier.

Many may recall that back in 1965 the President announced the closing of 32 VA facilities, one of which was McKinney Hospital, which is located in my district. Despite an allout protest, McKinney was one of the VA facilities that was permanently closed, although I still do not believe there was sufficient justification to take away this hospital which has served veterans in my area so successfully for a long period of time.

Since the name of Sumner G. Whittier has been mentioned as a possible successor to Administrator Driver, I am bringing to the attention of my colleagues his statement which he voluntarily made before the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs on March 29, 1965, at which time he strongly supported the hospital closings. As he stated at that time:

I support strongly the closing of the Veterans Administration hospitals announced earlier this year.

The text of his complete statement follows:

STATEMENT OF SUMNER G. WHITTIER (ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS 1958–1960) BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOSPITALS OF THE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

For four years I worked for the Veterans Administration—one year as Director of Insurance and three years as Administrator of Veterans Affairs—during the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Although still in the health field, I am now in no way associated with the Veterans Administration or government. I appear here at the request of this committee only as an interested citizen and veteran.

VA NONPARTISAN AND NONPOLITICAL

It has been the policy of all administrations and this committee to keep partisanship and politics out of VA. This policy was followed under President Eisenhower, and it was my experience working with this committee to find that all the members of this committee of both parties maintained that nonpartisan approach. Many times since I have left government, I have complimented this committee and its Chairman, Congressman Olin Teague, for whose integrity and dedication I have high regard.

I have observed with interest and pleasure that my successors as Administrator under two other Presidents have also followed such a policy of non-partisanship. John Gleason was an able Administrator, and I am pleased to make this public acknowledgment of my regard for him. I was especially pleased and so wrote President Lyndon Johnson concerning his appointment of William Driver, the present Administrator. I knew Mr. Driver well and favorably when I worked at VA.

If anything has impressed me about present policy in VA, it has been the continuing appointment and promotion in VA of career people of recognized competence.

SUPPORT HOSPITAL CLOSINGS

I support strongly the closing of the Veterans Administration hospitals announced earlier this year.

VA's long-range policy and plan as enunciated by Congress and by all Presidents is to provide every eligible veteran the best possible care this government can provide.

To carry out that commendable policy several Presidents and this Congress have supported the regular annual construction of new VA hospitals. All familiar with the VA hospital system recognized that it is not a declining system but a dynamic and expanding one—that it will not meet its maximum growth of patient load until nearly the year 2000. Basically this is because the veterans are aging and persons over 60 require far more bed time than those who are younger.

MUST CLOSE OLD IF NEW ARE TO BE BUILT

Such a system must be kept dynamic if the policy of first-class care for the nation's deserving veterans is to be implemented. This Committee and the Subcommittee on Appropriations under the chairmanship of Congressman Albert Thomas, a great and able member of this Congress, worked out and have consistently supported an orderly and businesslike 15-year plan calling for 90 million dollars worth of new hospital construction every year. This plan has been in effect for several years and should and will continue into the future. New, fine hospitals are being constructed for veterans, as they should be, but they are being built in locations selected according to standards that will provide first-class medical care.

MUST BE BUILT WHERE PATIENT LOAD IS

They are built, first, where the veterans are and will be . . . where the patient load is now and where it will be. It is apparent to all that there is strong population movement from country to city, and from some areas of the nation to other areas, that veterans—especially older ones—are moving to California and Florida. It is not enough to consider only today's situation; it is essential to make projections as to the patient load tomorrow.

It makes no sense not to move forward with the construction of hospitals where the greatest number of veterans are today and where an even greater concentration of veteran patients will be tomorrow. It makes less sense to attempt to maintain obsolete hospitals that have declining patient loads.

BUILT WHERE MEDICAL STAFF IS AVAILABLE

The second standard for a hospital location should be availability of medical staff, of top medical staff. Where can that staff be found? It will be found near medical schools and medical centers. This is a period of medical revolution. It is a time of fabulous and swift change, of amazing new medical discovery and miraculous new life-saving and life-prolonging equipment. This march of medicine is fueled by research, both government and private, in the amount of billions of dollars.

America's veterans should have the best equipment and the newest. Such equipment is very expensive, and it simply cannot be provided everywhere—nor can it be adequately provided in obsolete hospital settings.

America's veterans should have the finest available medical skills—diagnostic and therapeutic—medical teams, and a wide array of specialists.

Such provision may mean the difference of life or death. Correct diagnosis is extraordinarily important.

America's veterans must be treated by the doctor who knows and is familiar with the latest techniques and the newest research.

These men are not found in great numbers in antique hospitals with old equipment in remote areas.

MEDICAL CENTERS ATTRACT EXCITING DOCTORS

VA must attract and keep the excited and exciting young doctors. It is in the neighborhood of the medical center, of the medical school, of the research programs that such doctors are most readily available. It is just obvious that in an age of specialization, and increasing specialization, that there is a wider choice of specialists at hand in the medical center—and any veteran ought not only to have the best specialist available but to have him promptly if the need be immediate.

This is what dictates the building of the VA hospitals near medical schools and hospital complexes. I approved the moving of a VA hospital in Nashville, Tennessee, from the outskirts of the community to the medical school grounds at Vanderbilt at the cost of an additional million dollars because it was and is VA policy to give the veteran the best possible care.

SPECIALISTS TEND TO BE NEAR MEDICAL CENTERS

You need only look at a map showing the doctors of America by quantity and by specialty, and you can see at once that they are in the main in the metropolitan areas where centers are located although a few such centers are not in urban areas. In short, hospitals should be built where there is patient load and where there is staff . . . and where, projected into the future, patient and staff will be concentrated tomorrow and tomorrow.

GOVERNMENT MUST BE ABLE TO CLOSE HOSPITALS

It makes absolutely no sense to permit VA to build 90 million dollars worth of new hospitals a year in areas that follow the trend of patient load and available medical doctors and staff, and then say that no VA installation can ever close. It is only common sense to build the new hospitals where and how they ought to be built and to phase out the old that can no longer fill their beds or provide first-class care.

Is the policy to be: build, build, build the new, but never, never, never close one that is old—however antique or ancient it may be?

MOST OF THESE HOSPITALS ARE OLD

It is interesting to observe that over 30 of the buildings at hospitals the VA is trying to terminate go back to the period of William McKinley.

But, speaking directly of the hospitals, one of those structures in Illinois was built in the time of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Over 17% of the hospital space was built in the time of President Wilson or before, nearly a third during or before President Harding's time, and another third about the period of Calvin Coolidge.

In other words, 85% of the hospital space here recommended for closure goes back over 40 to 60 years. Is that really adequate for America's veterans in the space age? How adequate a service can such structures provide?

Of the 19 services considered essential to a fully serviced hospital, only one of the closing hospitals has as many as half of the services, and several have only three or four.

Five of the hospitals are old TB hospitals, built for a special purpose when the theory and practice of treating this disease were far different from today's methods.

And one of those is only a small TB division of a large VA psychiatric hospital four miles from a VA medical hospital.

Another is a large cantonment type hastily built to meet immediate post World War II needs and intended for use for only 15 years. Many similar hospitals have long since been abandoned or fallen into disrepair. This hospital is built of non-fire resistant material.

Another is near a large old-age home that is being closed and that has provided half of the hospital's patient load.

Another is near an Air Force base which provided part of its patient load and which is being closed.

FIVE WERE BUILT AS TB HOSPITALS

Consider TB-Sunmount was built in a remote upstate area, and a lovely one, because Dr. Edward Livingston Trudeau believed that outdoor living in such country areas helped cure TB. Many such hospitals were so built. But that theory is no longer followed. The nation has made tremendous strides in conquering the white plague, miraculously reducing the time for cure or arrest of the disease, and cities and states all over the nation have been closing TB hospitals. Must VA keep it open?

VA attempted at the urgent request of the communities involved to convert Sunmount and other such hospitals to other uses when the TB patient load drastically declined. Such a program may have helped in phasing them out, but such hospitals were built for one purpose and are simply not suitable for modern day medicine. It would cost a fortune to make them comparable with a new hospital. At what point do we face the issue?

To provide maximum utilization, a hospital should maintain a waiting list, not a long one, but a waiting list. Most of these hospitals have a growing number of vacant beds, and disappearing waiting lists. In most cases there is no waiting list, and in some instances there has been none for some years.

EMPTY BEDS LEAD TO OVER-USE AND LONG STAYS

In public and private hospitals the most serious question raised today is over-use of beds—prolonged or unnecessary stay. The biggest factor in lengthening stay is the number of empty beds in any hospital. In order to determine if there is a sound reason for existence of a hospital, one need only examine length of stay in these hospitals, or look at a telltale figure—how many of those who apply are admitted? In some instances, nine out of every ten who apply to these hospitals are admitted. Compare that with a busy area such as New York City or Florida or with private hospitals, and the test of proper use and length of stay will begin to show up.

But more serious than overstay in such a situation is that aged veterans begin to fill the beds, veterans who do not need medical care in the hospital sense but need only custodial care and minimal medical attention. What happens to the doctor who desires challenging patients, who desires to attend sick people, not be an attendant in a custodial ward? He soon leaves for a more demanding post in another hospital where he can practice medicine in the manner for which his training fitted him.

The net effect in the long run is to condemn the truly sick patients who remain in such a hospital to less than the best care. This is exactly the end result of efforts to force the VA to keep open old hospitals with a declining patient load.

I believe all VA hospitals are accredited by the American Hospital Association and other major accrediting groups so that I think it can be said that in all hospitals care is good and is adequate, even in those hospitals that are here recommended for closing. But certainly in the larger hospitals near medical centers the care is better, superlative, is first class. The VA hospital system is run by doctors today with the advice of splendid medical advisory groups made up of the best medical men in this nation.

KEEPING OLD OR LIMITED HOSPITALS CONDEMNS VETERANS TO SECOND-CLASS CARE

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare said of VA medical practice in 1951, and this is a strong statement from Congress—(It is an) "indisputable fact that first-class medical care is possible only in those medical institutions and programs which engage in teaching and research."

To insist then upon a policy of maintaining obsolete hospitals with limited medical specialities is to condemn some veterans to less than first-class care, and no American veteran should be given less than the best this government and VA can offer.

DOCTORS FAVOR CLOSINGS

Doctors recommend the closing of these hospitals because such closing is in the interest of providing better medical care and treatment for veteran patients. And I have never known VA's medical department or the advisory board to stint on recommending increased expenditures where better care was essential.

RESISTANCE RISES TO ANY CLOSINGS

Unfortunately, whatever policy the government intends, the real policy in practice becomes one of approving expansions and openings of new installations—with much local cheering of such openings—and of being stopped from any closings with vehement objection and outcry from local sources. The government is permitted to open and to expand. It is never permitted to close or to contract—at least not comfortably or easily.

OBJECTIONS SINCERE ENOUGH

Any installation automatically sets up vested interests—and perfectly proper ones, obviously: employees, businessmen serving the installation, patients served by it, and others. Their strong protests sometimes stop government completely from closing installations, however obsolete or unnecessary, or at best slow down the process to a lag of years and decades.

Almost every Administrator of VA has tried to close hospitals and has met with extremely strong resistance. Protests sometimes arise in clamorous and mountainous proportions if you even attempt to close a clinic or a two-man office.

OBJECTIONS CAUSE LAG IN ALL GOVERNMENT

Unfortunately, this situation in VA is in microcosm the very illustration of what is wrong with government control of any activity. Government can open a new installation, but it can never close the old without a huge wall of delaying actions from vested interests, however sincere.

We are talking here about some millions of dollars of the VA budget, but it is my belief that this pattern so evident in VA exists throughout all government and that this nation could save in its budget eight billion dollars—eight billion dollars—by cutting unnecessary plants, buildings, people, and not lose a thing—indeed, improve and make more efficient the service to the public. Such a course, if followed in private industry, would bankrupt any company before long. The U.S. Federal installation is filled with programs and buildings it cannot stop though the real need for them has long since ended.

I cannot compliment the President of the United States too highly for his willingness to support the program of obvious common sense that is here represented.

MONEY SHOULD NOT BE PRIMARY FACTOR

But money is not primary in dealing with veterans, or should not be . . . care is what is important, and money should follow to support final care.

POLITICAL CLIMATE FACTOR IN CLOSINGS

I think all of us who have been elected or appointed officials—and I was over 20 times on a ballot, usually successfully—know that it is axiomatic that you cannot close out any activity, however tiny, during an election year. Indeed, the closer the election comes, the more quo must the status be. If ever the VA has a chance to approach correcting its monumental lag, it has to be in a political climate such as the present, immediately following an election with an administration elected by a huge margin and therefore secure enough to take such corrective action even though some individuals and groups will be irritated. I believe also that, if any of these actions could be put to a referendum in the states involved, the margin of voter approval would be astounding.

Why should there be resistance? Who are the vested interests?

First, are the employees of the hospital. VA employees are outstanding and dedicated. These are as fine a group of employees as can be found in public or private activities, and I have had a rather broad experience in both sectors.

No one of us would like to move his home, especially if he is middle-aged or beyond. An employee may have to sell his home, uproot his family, move the children from school. Such a personal upheaval is not easy or pleasant. It is not difficult to understand the vocal resistance of those who will be so personally inconvenienced and have their lives changed so markedly by such a move.

These employees who have given years of dedicated service deserve every consideration and thoughtful understanding of the serious problem that hospital closings impinge upon them. But they cannot be the judge of overall VA policy as to what brings about the finest care for veterans. They simply do not have the background or knowledge to make such a judgment.

The primary question should be how to obtain the best possible care for veterans, not maintaining expensive and inadequate hospitals to accommodate employees' convenience.

Of course, individuals or groups of such employees will protest. I'm sure they can present reasons that seem to them perfectly good. If you suggested that these were rationalizations to preserve their personal status, they would be offended. Nonetheless, such factors must be weighed—reasons or rationalizations.

EMPLOYEES MUST GET EVERY CONSIDERATION

The pain and problems for displaced employees are real. A company cannot employ people for years and suddenly discharge them without every possible consideration being given to human dignity.

Government has the resources to do that. It can give employees adequate notice so they can have time to change their lives, find new homes or new positions.

VA's practice has been: to freeze all new employment throughout the system; to offer to the displaced employees from closed installations; first choice of any other openings, and to pay cost of moving.

More, if I remember the agency's practices, VA's personnel department went far beyond that. VA personnel took a personal interest in each individual, not only agreed to transport the man and his family to a new city for a new position but sought, if he chose to remain in his old homestead, to find a new position for him with other government agencies or some private company. If he moved, VA's personnel department provided him assistance in finding new housing, school information, and even sought job opportunities for his wife if she had been working in the first community.

I do not believe VA has changed. Its personnel department was as interested in its employees as any in government, and more than many private industries.

The second vested interest is the local Chamber of Commerce. The smaller the town, the more acute the problem, for VA's hospital payroll is often the largest in the community. It is apparent that the withdrawal of a hospital is going to hurt many of the small businessmen in town—merchants, theater owners, hotel keepers, and others.

LOCAL BUSINESSMEN AFFECTED

It is obvious that the protest is going to be strong from the local Chamber of Commerce. This really raises a serious schizophrenic attitude on the part of the poor Chambers of Commerce. Nationally, the Chamber insists upon reduced federal budgets, and National Chamber presidents use strong words demanding that Congress and VA cut expenses while local Chambers are just as strong in wanting the VA hospital kept open in their town. In most of the communities involved in these closings, however, the damages to the community will not be severe for the VA closing will represent only a small fraction of community resources.

KEEPING OBSOLETE HOSPITALS OPEN NOT BEST ANSWER

Some towns will have a problem, and government has some resources that can be helpful in trying to assist in the economy of the community. But it is an expensive procedure to keep open a costly and unneeded VA hospital. To hold back progress is not really to assist the economy but only to preserve obsolescence, and the local Chamber of Commerce and merchants should join in trying to find a true and dynamic answer to the economic problems such closings may bring about.

VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS DEMAND GOOD VETERANS' CARE

Then there are the veterans' organizations. As Administrator, I found the veterans' organizations supportive. They insist wisely that veteran care be primary. Once convinced, they support right courses of action. I am aware that in this instance they are deeply concerned and in opposition to these closings, at least to some of them. Of all the protests you will receive, I think these deserve the most detailed review for their protest is based on the fundamental issue involved—are these closings right and in the interest of the veterans?

That is the real question that has to be answered, and I think can be with careful detailed reassurance, not only of the national officials of the veterans' organizations, but of their local posts.

The problem is that we must answer the main question—what course will permit the best possible care for the veterans, not only immediately but in the days ahead? I think the closings of outmoded hospitals and the openings of carefully planned new ones will do that.

Will individual veterans be inconveniently affected? Some, perhaps, but all of these hospitals are immediately or relatively close to other VA installations, and closeness in this day of ready transport and air ambulance is a lesser requirement that it might have been in an older age.

But if not as close as desired, VA can contract beds for service-connected veterans in convenient first-class hospitals.

It is true that in carrying out the VA primary mission properly there will be some dislocation and some protest, but is any course going to please everyone? Each person involved in dealing with this problem must attempt to find the larger answer, the most statesmanlike position, must do all he can to alleviate the problems that change brings about for all concerned. But, when every consideration has been finally given, when every voice has been finally heard, every suggestion finally weighed, then the issue must be faced and the proper course followed.

Knowing as I do the officials in the executive branch of this government, VA and its dedicated leadership, the members of Congress and this Committee, the veterans' organizations and their leadership, I am sure such a proper course will be found and followed.

POLITICAL IMAGE IS DECEIVING WHEN IT COMES TO ACHIEVEMENTS

(Mr. HUNGATE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, members of the Judiciary Committee regularly observe the legislative skill and dedication of the committee chairman, EMANUEL CELLER, and the ranking minority member, WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH.

Their ability to harmonize conflicting views and to achieve conciliation without compromise is outstanding.

Electoral college reform is simply the latest chapter in a long and continuous story. It is good to find someone else who appreciates their work and their ability to be effective without affectation, as David Broder recognized in his article of Tuesday, May 6, 1969, the Washington Post, copy of which follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 6, 1969]

POLITICAL IMAGE IS DECEIVING WHEN IT COMES TO ACHIEVEMENTS

(By David S. Broder)

The gap between appearance and reality in politics was nicely illustrated last week by the contrasting performances of the Republican Governors and the leaders of the House Judiciary Committee.

To all outward appearances, the Republican Governors are the kind of men who should be managing the affairs of the country—young, vigorous and tuned in to the contemporary problems of the kind they find in running 30 states with three-fourths of the American people. Or so it would seem.

To all outward appearances, 80-year-old Rep. Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn and 67-year-old Rep. William McCulloch of Ohio, respectively, the Democratic chairman and the ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, are a pair of fusty fuddy-duddies, symbols of the well-known decadence of the Congressional seniority system. Where the Governors stride, Celler and McCulloch shuffle. Where the Governors speak in well-modulated television tones, Celler and McCulloch tend to mumble.

And yet last week it was the old men who furnished an outstanding example of political leadership in bringing the constitutional amendment for direct, popular election of the President out of committee with a bipartisan 4-to-1 majority, while the Governors were again making a spectacle of themselves.

Their three-day session in Lexington and Louisville, designed to bring the GOP Governors to Kentucky at the height of the Derby social season, was a pinnacle of political irrelevance. As usual, the Governors' meetings produced not one statement of substance on any significant issue before the country.

These semi-annual junkets by the Repub-

lican Governors have become something of a political scandal. As they have frolicked their way through the country's plushest resorts, from Palm Beach to Palm Springs, smiling their satisfied smiles and graciously allowing themselves to be entertained at the homes and clubs of the local white business aristocracy, the Governors have systematically undercut any claim to serious consideration as officials concerned with or capable of handling the problems of this country.

When these men come out of the country club just long enough to assert—as they did again last week—that the Federal Government deal with the cities, city dwellers and city problems only through the Governors themselves, it is hard to believe that they are not knowingly inviting ridicule.

So one turns with relief from them to Celler and McCulloch, the two old men devoid of the stuttings of ambition, who showed last week what a splendid thing the committee system of Congress can be when it is employed to encourage the play of argument and the clash of ideas on a fundamental issue of public policy.

At a time when the Governors were golfing and the campus radicals were playing the politics of confrontation, Celler and McCulloch and their Judiciary colleagues showed the vitality of the tradition of non-violent political discourse.

Expert testimony, reasoned argument and careful weighing of evidence changed men's minds, as the Judiciary Committee considered what to do about the way the President is elected. The result was, as Celler said, "the first bold step" in many long years toward a fundamental reform of our system—a reform which now stands a far better chance of final passage because of its conspicuous quality of procedure that produced it.

The Republican Governors showed that some politicians can frolick while their country is being torn apart. Celler and McCulloch showed there are politicans who know how to act when the situation cries out for action. One can hope the voters will treat them with the contempt or the respect their conduct deserves.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS OF SUPREME COURT

(Mr. ICHORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, democracy is the most cumbersome and most inefficient form of government there is but still it is the most desirable form of government ever devised by the human mind. It requires not only an intelligent and active body of the governed, but also requires the governing to be men of unimpeachable integrity, high competence, and great dedication.

It is my hope that the Committee on the Judiciary will not take lightly its responsibilities to initiate reform legislation affecting the U.S. Supreme Court in view of the recent exposures of Life magazine concerning the legal fees received by one member of the Court. Without discussing the facts of the exposure as my only source of information is what I have read in newspapers and magazines, I do feel the responsibility of admonishing the Congress not to give forth with a crescendo of condemnation and then proceed to wink its eye at the incident, forgetting its own responsibilities.

The conduct and behavior of the members of the highest body of one of our three branches of Government is of vital concern to the American people. This is particularly true at a time when the Supreme Court has assumed an activist role in bringing about broad social, political, and economic changes in our society. No student of the law today can seriously deny that the Supreme Court has little reluctance to intrude into the field of legislative responsibility. Rather than interpret the law and the Constitution, they have chosen in several cases to amend the law by judicial decree. With the Court assuming these powers, we are justified in demanding higher standards of conduct than may have been required in the past. The power of five appointees on the Supreme Court to overrule the unanimous decision of 535 elected officials is great indeed, and when the people of the United States acquiesce in the Court's assumption of legislative responsibilities, however limited the acquiescence may be, we need to take all necessary steps to make certain that the appointees are men of the highest qualifications. I do not feel that the power of confirmation exercised by the Senate over Presidenial appointments to the Court is sufficient to assure the Nation of the best qualified justices. History has shown the Senate to be reluctant to veto the Presidential selection. The politics of the situation ordinarily inhibit the Senate from exercising the kind of close and diligent scrutiny required.

It has long been my belief that members of the Supreme Court should have prior judicial experience. I have long advocated this in the Congress. In one of my first speeches in the Congress a number of years ago, I pointed out that there was only a total of 13 years prior judicial experience on the U.S. Supreme Court if one includes service of 1 year as a police judge. Seven of the 13 years were lodged in one man, Justice Brennan. Today the situation has improved to a small degree with the addition of Justice Marshall who has 4 years' prior experience on the U.S. Court of Appeals. Four of the present members have no prior experience at all, including the Chief Justice. I believe that the members of the Supreme Court should be the most learned lawyers in the land and they should not only be learned in the law, they should have some prior judicial experience. We should remove the pressure from our Presidents to make political appointments rather than judicial appointments. A review of the qualifications of the members of the Court reveals that our Presidents have considered prior judicial experience of little import. For these reasons I am today introducing legislation that will require all appointees to the Supreme Court to have prior judicial experience in our Federal court system or the highest appellate State courts. This legislation, I believe, will be very helpful in avoiding a recurrence of the incident recently related by Life, as well as assuring the American people that the members of its highest judicial tribunal will be among the best qualified in the land.

I am not here to criticize the Committee on the Judiciary. I am here to petition it. Our highly respected and distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee in closing his remarks said this of the former House Committee on Un-American Activities on February 18, 1969:

> It is what the committee has done that has caused all the contention and difficulty.

Without arguing that point, I would paraphrase the remarks of the distinguished gentleman and state, in regard to the responsibilities of the Committee on Judiciary to give this body the necessary reform legislation, let it not be said that "it is what the committee has not done that caused the difficulty. Errors of omission can be just as serious as errors of commission."

ROGERS QUESTIONS MIT'S RESPONSIBILITY TO NATION

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, many college presidents, under threat from militant minorities, have indicated they will review and perhaps eliminate certain Federal research projects from their institutions, and other activity such as the Reserve officer training program and military recruiting on campus.

It is interesting to note that the No. 1 beneficiary of Federal college assistance, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is one of those considering such cutoff of help to the Nation which has poured its tax dollars into its educational program.

MIT received $70,585,000 in direct funds to operate programs for the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense, and an additional share in some $85 million which went to various associations of universities in which MIT participates.

Apparently MIT, bowing to pressures from a militant few, is suspending consideration of any additional contracts for research and development, and may seek to discontinue those already in progress.

Yet, MIT also receives $96,047,000 in direct assistance from the American taxpayers aside from the $70 million direct R. & D. programs. This $96 million represents almost 3 percent of all Federal higher education assistance, and places MIT at the top of the list of 2,100 colleges and universities which receive Federal aid. This included $11 million from the National Science Foundation, $8 million from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, $24 million from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, as well as $46 million from the Department of Defense.

MIT may no longer wish to participate in the Nation's defense effort, and as a private institution, it has the right to make such a determination. If so, the $166 million plus per year the American taxpayers have spent at MIT can be allocated elsewhere. And, perhaps, some

of the excellent staff that MIT has attracted with this large Federal appropriation will move also.

But what of the remaining tens of millions of tax dollars going to this private institution?

MIT has the right to establish its own policy regarding Federal aid. But do not the American taxpayers have an equal or greater right? I believe they do.

I believe that any university or college which cancels a commitment to the Federal Government should be required to reimburse the Government for the costs of any buildings or equipment paid for from Federal funds for those projects, and further, that they should lose all other funds, from whatever source, that they may still be receiving.

On new contracts or agreements, the refusal to bid or accept a project should not subject an institution to loss of existing Federal grants-in-aid, but it should certainly be taken into consideration prior to any new grants from the Federal Government.

The American people are entitled to a return on their investment. They are entitled to expect that those who receive their tax dollars are just as willing to help develop defense systems as they are willing to spend tax dollars on ground transportation or education systems. Those colleges and universities which are willing to look at the total needs of a Nation of 200 million people should receive priority consideration when Federal aid funds are given out. Those who refuse to consider the needs of the Nation, and insist on limiting their interest are certainly free to do so with their own funds, not those of the taxpayers of the Nation.

On a Federal budget of over $170 million a year, it is not difficult to see how MIT became No. 1 in the Nation. I can think of many others which could do equally well with that kind of Federal aid, and which could then perhaps attract some of the MIT faculty as well.

THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND PERCENT IS A NICE PROFIT

(Mr. GONZALEZ asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous mattter.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the Boston Globe consistently lives up to one of the highest responsibilities of a free press in a democratic society—to scrutinize the performance of public institutions. I commend to my colleogues the latest editorial in the Boston Globe, for May 2, about deficiencies in our military procurement system:

[From the Boston Globe, May 2, 1969]

THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND PERCENT IS A NICE PROFIT

To the argument that the proposed Sentinel anti-missile system would be useless as well as provocative, there must now be added some breath-taking profit figures which accrue to the contractors who build such systems. The Washington Post has dug them out of a document buried for five years in the Old Senate Office Building, entitled "Profits and costs in the missile procurement industry."

The report deals with the $7 billion Sentinel's predecessor, the Nike. It reveals that, on one contract for the production of a launcher-loader device, Western Electric, the prime contractor, made a profit of 6684 percent. Another, the Douglas Corp, did even better. It earned $1.2 million on costs of $3000, which is approximately 36,000 percent. A total of $23 billion in such projects, offensive and defensive, has been junked.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) repeatedly has warned that he has found nowhere either the desire to hold down defense costs or an effective means to check on them. Now comes a government auditor to verify this shocking charge. He has testified that when he expressed concern at what he found, he was told that "it was not the auditor's responsibility to comment on profit rates."

It had better be somebody's responsibility—and soon.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FACTFINDING INVESTIGATION IN CHARLESTON, S.C.

(Mr. CONYERS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I have talked recently with the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, and he has asked that I and several other Members of Congress join him for a fact-finding investigation of his crusade now going on in Charleston, S.C. I have notified the chairman of the Armed Services Committee of our intentions and I would invite any of the Members who are concerned about this matter to contact my office.

I would like to insert the following article from the Sunday, May 4, New York Times, which gives a brief summary of the situation in Charleston:

CHARLESTON'S STRIKE: NEW TESTING GROUND IN THE RIGHTS STRUGGLE

(By James T. Wooten)

CHARLESTON, S.C.—In this city of cool, graying courtyards and ornate balconies overlooking narrow, cobbled streets, dreamy preoccupation with yesterday is a way of life.

But now Charleston is caught up in a struggle of today—and tomorrow. Two of the nation's most dynamic forces for change—labor and civil rights—are challenging this seaport's hallowed status quo.

The drama began in two hospitals, Negro women workers there thought they saw racism in their meager pay stubs. They decided that, if they could do nothing else, they could at least get together occasionally and listen to each other gripe.

STUBBORN STRIKE

Today the women are banded together in a full-fledged union, staging a stubborn strike with national and international support. Their cause is championed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the organization of the late Dr. Martin Luther King; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and several other groups.

The strikers want recognition, higher pay and new fringe benefits—demands unacceptable to the South Carolina Medical College Hospital, the Charleston County Hospital, Gov. Robert E. McNair, the State Attorney General and the State Legislature. In six weeks, the strike has produced 500 arrests, a $10-million law suit by the strikers against the two hospitals, a court order limiting picketing, a state of emergency, a curfew, firebombings, looting, a few stray shots and a horde of newsmen from all around the country.

The word has spread quickly. Ralph David Abernathy, Dr. King's successor, went to jail; the Negroes are holding meetings and staging marches; the National Guard is in the streets with tear gas and bayonets and loaded rifles—and Charleston will never again be the same.

Dr. William M. McCord, president of the medical college hospital, dismissed the first confrontation between him and union representatives with a few jokes and a memo to the staff which included anti-union cartoons.

ILLEGAL UNION

The recognition of the union is regarded as illegal by the hospital officials, who in turn base their view on an opinion drafted by the State Attorney General. Since there is no specific, enabling legislation allowing state agencies, such as the hospitals, to negotiate contracts with unions, it cannot be allowed, the Attorney General said. Governor McNair agrees with this opinion.

The involvement of the S.C.L.C. in the strike followed what has now become a typical pattern. In the last year, the organization has taken part in several labor disputes in which Negroes were involved in struggles with private and governmental employers.

Dr. King was murdered in Memphis last April while mobilizing support for striking city sanitation workers.

When the strike began, prompted by the firing of the union president and 11 other members from Dr. McCord's hospital, a lawyer convinced a local judge that an injunction against picketing would serve the best interests of the state and the city. A subsequent court order limited the number of pickets at both hospitals to 10, spaced 20 yards apart. The union's pickets were ineffective as a defense against their arch enemies, the scabs.

The strikers' jobs were filled within two weeks and the hospitals went about their business as usual. Then began the arrests of those union members who defied the anti-picketing injunction.

THEY WILL RETURN

Mr. Abernathy was followed by Mrs. Coretta Scott King, who led the 10th march in six days last Wednesday, and promised to return this week.

The impact of the strike and its proliferating base of public support has altered the face of Charleston. It is not only the sight of National Guardsmen patrolling the streets and scores of grays, state patrol cars wheeling about with their riot-helmeted passengers—it is also the overpowering atmosphere of tension threatening to get out of hand.

There is little doubt that the city could explode. Many in Charleston, black and white, have purchased pistols. There is the sound of sirens, an air of commotion. Some merchants are guarding their stores at night with shotguns and rifles. The Negro slums remain awake through the night. Few people in this tense city would be surprised if it erupts.

So starkly have the lines been drawn that there is little hope that the old city can, by itself, resolve its dilemma. And no help from the outside is being volunteered.

SHORTAGE OF TIMBER

(Mr. HAGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 min-

ute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am very much concerned about the growing shortage of timber and the corresponding higher prices of lumber. This, of course, has the direct result of increasing the cost of home and building construction. I know that many of my colleagues are also concerned about this situation and have seen the problems being created for the construction industry and for those of our citizens who wish to buy new homes or build new business plants.

In this regard, I am introducing today, a bill entitled "The National Timber Supply Act of 1969" which calls for a larger role for the Nation's Federal forest lands in supplying commercial lumber. Almost two-thirds of the Nation's softwood timber is on Federal public lands. Industrial and other private timber holdings are already being harvested at close to maximum justifiable rates compatible with sound forest management.

This is not true of national forest commercial timberlands, principally because the Federal appropriation process does not provide a system for assured investment of funds for the purpose of improving timber growth and yield, and partly because timber management policies are not firmly and permanently oriented to improvement of timber growth and yield.

It is the purpose of this bill to create a responsible and continuing method for the Federal Government to provide the competence necessary to increase timber growth so that forest products can be harvested at rates that will meet public requirements for building and other needs.

This act would establish a special fund to assure long-term financing of the management and development measures essential for maximum timber productivity in the national forests. The fund would be called the high timber yield fund and would be financed from national forest timber sale receipts.

I would like to add that the enactment of this proposal will in no way decrease the recreational value of our forests. Our outdoor enthusiasts will find that many areas of our national forests will open up, for under this act new roads will be built and formerly impenetrable wilderness will become a source of interest and pleasure.

These roads will also make it possible to reach timber stands that need care, forest fires can be prevented or stopped more easily, insect control would be possible throughout the commercial lands and the dead and dying trees could be removed before they block and spoil the streams.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this bill will provide benefits to our country that are not only needed but desirable and I strongly urge my colleagues to give their support to this important legislation.

FEDERAL PROGRAM TO REDUCE PORNOGRAPHY

(Mr. HUTCHINSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States is to be commended for his recent message which outlines the Federal program to reduce the widespread distribution of pornography in our country.

I personally take strong objection to one aspect of the obscenity problem—the practice of inducing minors to purchase lascivious materials. The distribution of this offensive material to young people must be curbed.

Equally objectionable is the practice of mailing unsolicited, unsavory advertisements to the homes of decent Americans. I am sure every Member of this Chamber has received complaints about this material from his constituents.

The President has proposed a plan of legislative action. We will soon have the opportunity to act on these proposals and I urge every Member of Congress to afford President Nixon his complete cooperation. Hopefully, this outrage we call obscenity can be removed from the American scene.

GRANT CONSOLIDATION ACT

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to cosponsor a piece of legislation requested by President Nixon in a special message to Congress last week, the Grant Consolidation Act of 1969.

This legislation would give the President the authority to consolidate Federal assistance programs to improve the delivery of the hundreds of Federal programs whose numbers—not to mention conflicting and confusing requirements—presently baffle local government.

I enthusiastically endorse the concept of grant consolidation. We are surely all aware of the disturbing consistency in the reports from local government leaders who complain about the difficulty of matching Federal Government programs to peculiar local needs. There are estimated to be over 1,200 Federal grant-in-aid programs, but they are often too specialized to be of any real help. While intentions and aims in passing many programs has been commendable, our enthusiasm has led us into passing so many programs that successfully making use of this assistance has been difficult. And all too often, the program has been designed to accomplish some Federal purpose and not to meet a real local need. In spite of good intentions, the ironical result has all too often been paralysis rather than performance.

This proposal would allow the President to recommend, within certain limits, consolidation of assistance programs. No consolidation proposal would thwart the purpose of the program or offer assistance Congress did not authorize originally, however.

I do see some technical problems in this legislation, but am confident that we can solve these difficulties through hearings in the Government Operations Committee, on which I am proud to serve.

Because of the relationship between the purpose of this bill and another piece of legislation which I have cosponsored, the Program Information Act, which would create a catalog of Federal assistance programs, I am recommending to the chairman of my committee that we consider the Program Information Act at the same time. At the present time there is no single comprehensive and up-to-date catalog of the more than 1,200 Federal assistance programs.

I feel that enactment of both these programs, grant consolidation and a program catalog, would do a great deal to accomplish not only Government efficiency, but program effectiveness while saving the taxpayers dollars at both Federal and local levels of government. The multitude of programs we presently have available is obviously of little use if the people who are to benefit from them cannot take advantage of them.

FORTAS AFFAIR EMPHASIZES NEED FOR CONTROL AND SCRUTINY OF FAMILY TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, any explanation Justice Abe Fortas now offers can only aggravate the mistrust through lack of public confidence he has inflicted upon the Supreme Court of the United States.

For certain, without even considering the question of judicial ethics, his tender of a self-serving defense amounts to a personal recusation from fair and impartial justice. By his clandestinely wedding himself to an activist group promoting race relations, who could now have confidence in Justice Fortas sitting on a case relating to race? How can a full-time judge separate such controversial activity from his "official, judicial and legal functions"?

The Fortas affair, coming at a time when tax reforms are under consideration, emphasizes the need for effective control and public scrutiny of family tax-free foundations heretofore tolerated because they claim humanitarian advances in education, health and welfare.

But certainly no tax-free foundation was ever intended to be tolerated as a source of tax-free gifts to win favoritism from judges. Justice Fortas' only conscionable action in the interest of good government can be but to resign.

In addition to inflicting irreparable damage on the already tattered solemnity of the U.S. Supreme Court, his actions have tarnished the image of American justice in the eyes of the world.

I include a summary of the Wolfson Family Foundation, Inc., from the foundation directory and the text of House Resolution 39:

SUMMARY OF THE WOLFSON FAMILY FOUNDATION, INC.

Address: 1500 Universal Marion Building, Jacksonville, Florida 32202.

Incorporated in 1951 in Florida.

Donors: Louis E. Wolfson, Sam W. Wolfson, Saul Wolfson, and Cecil Wolfson.

Purpose and Activities: Broad purposes; grants, primarily local, for higher education and hospitals, including buildings and equipment, Jewish welfare funds, community funds, and temple support.

Financial Data (year ended 30 September 1964): Assets, $1,814,422 (L); gifts received, $26,825; expenditures, $174,587, including $169,607 in grants.

Officers and Trustees: Louis E. Wolfson, Chairman; Saul Wolfson, Vice-Chairman; E. B. Gerbert, Joseph M. Glickstein, Rabbi Sidney M. Lefkowitz, Cecil Wolfson.

H. RES. 39

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of nine Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of organizations which have been granted exemptions from Federal income taxes under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, for the purpose of determining whether such organizations comply with the provisions of such section, and whether modification of such provisions would be in the public interest by restoring to taxable revenue the incomes presently declared tax free.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

ON THE NEED FOR MASS TRANSIT

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like again to bring to the attention of this House the critical subject of mass transit and to give a small example of how the lack of it can affect the public as it did affect me last week.

Last week I took the 3 o'clock shuttle at National Airport here in Washington to New York. There was, as is so often the case, a half-hour delay, 15 minutes on this end and 15 minutes in New York. Considering the much longer delays that often ensue, I could hardly quarrel with a delay of a half hour. After landing, I took a taxi from LaGuardia to my congressional office in Lower Manhattan. That trip turned into a combined taxi and subway ride and took 1½ hours—imagine, 1½ hours to go about 10 miles from LaGuardia to Lower Manhattan. The first hour and 20 minutes was spent in a taxi; the cost of the taxi ride was $7, more than one-third of the entire cost of the plane fare. The taxi only took me to 68th Street and Lexington Avenue, when, because the traffic at that time was still bumper to bumper, I left the cab and took the subway for the balance of the trip. The subway trip was only an additional 10 minutes. The reason I raised this subject in the House is not to call attention to a personal inconvenience, but rather to point up the problem which besets, not only the Members of this House, but more important, the millions of people in this country who use the airports and who, when they do arrive safely at the airport find, there is no mass transit facility to take them to the heart of the city, whatever the city may be. In major cities, bumper to bumper traffic has become the rule rather than the exception.

Most cities have not planned direct mass transit facilities to the airports. One brilliant exception is Cleveland where people are carried to the Hopkins Airport by an efficient rapid rail system.

Lack of planning is not limited to the local jurisdiction, we are guilty of that same failure here in Washington. Consequently, we have National Airport overworked and overloaded while Dulles Airport, which cost millions of dollars, lies practically empty and unused because there are no mass transit facilities to hasten the trip to that airport from Washington, and the public simply refuses to spend close to an hour on the road to get there. So that great unused Dulles Airport sits there like a great retired white elephant. That situation could be corrected if this Congress were to use the opportunity to experiment with the several new forms of mass transit now available, such as the pneumatic tube or the monorail, which cannot be employed by the metropolitan areas because they simply do not have the moneys necessary to experiment with.

Mass transit and the availability of it has an impact far greater than that of merely serving one's conveniences. It opens job opportunities; it makes the cities more habitable; it makes industry thrive; and yes, it does indeed make it easier to get from one place to another. This Congress should consider, as one of its priorities, the need to provide a mass transportation trust fund to do for mass transit what the highway trust fund has done for the highways of this country. A bill which I have introduced to provide such a mass transportation trust fund, to be financed by the automobile excise tax and to provide $10 billion for mass transit over the next 4 years, now has 60 sponsors. I invite my colleagues to join as cosponsors of this legislation.

AN ANSWER TO OUR TIMBER SHORTAGE: THE TIMBER SUPPLY ACT OF 1969

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OLSEN). Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from California (Mr. HANNA) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to represent a constituency of metropolitan dwellers. These American citizens are highly productive contributors to our national economy, participating in the various manufacturing enterprises in Orange County. They represent another important segment of our economy as well—they are American consumers. It is significant that I hear from them more frequently in their roles as consumers than I do in their part as producers. One topic they are concerned about is the price of homes. Many of my constituents have indicated to me that they feel that they, the average American homebuyers, are being priced out of the new housing market. Due to inflationary pressures, their purchasing power is being diminished to such an extent that the purchase of a new home becomes a luxury. This situation is unfortunate. I think the Congress of the United States should take steps to correct it.

Today I am introducing a bill to deal with the situation. It is the direct product of consumer interest hearings which were conducted by the Banking Committee under the able leadership of the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. PATMAN). Oddly enough, the bill concerns itself with products which many of us would not normally consider consumer goods—softwood lumber and plywood. Because these products are basic to the production of houses, their increase in price is a major concern to consumers. There is no question that the largest single purchase any consumer will ever make is the structure in which he lives with his family.

Numerous factors contribute to the present high cost of new and rehabilitated housing. A major one is the increase in the cost of building materials. Lumber and plywood are singled out for consideration because the rise in price of these two materials was infinitely more dramatic in 1968 than that of other building materials. During 1 year, the cost of plywood increased by 100 percent and the cost of softwood lumber products increased by 50 to 80 percent.

This dramatic rise is caused principally by two factors. One factor is the way the price of logs is determined. They are sold by auction, but at prices sometimes much higher than the true market value of the logs. The Government contributes to the problem by refusing to accept a bid which is below the appraised value, but it readily accepts bids well above the appraised value base. In some cases the Government sells timber at prices 2½ times higher than its true value. Because the Federal Government is the largest single seller of logs, the prices it gets establishes a trend for other sellers. Thus, most logs are sold for inflated prices.

A second factor causing the rapid increase in lumber prices is the extreme shortage. Persons involved in the homebuilding industries tell us that the current annual shortage amounts to between 2 and 3 billion board feet.

Steps must be taken to increase the

supply of lumber and bring the prices down. Such action is necessary if we are to build houses at the rate necessary to achieve the goals established under the National Housing Act of 1968 and at reasonable prices. That act set a national aim of building an annual average of 2.6 million homes in each of the next 10 years. To reach the objective, we must increase housing starts by 1 million over the 1968 figure. Frankly, in view of present construction cutbacks we will probably need to increase our efforts by much more than that amount.

To build these homes we will need to increase the present production by 15 billion board feet of softwood lumber and plywood by 1978. In order to increase the production of these end products, it is necessary that trees be harvested, replanted, cultivated, fertilized, thinned, protected, improved as species, and thus become established in the endless chain of superior crop management.

I was optimistic during the Banking and Currency Committee hearings because forestry authorities from all interests—public, private, and academic—and representing all sections of the country, believe we can achieve this remarkable increase in productivity if we practice scientific modern forest management.

As the largest single manager of softwood timber in the United States, the Federal Government holds the key to increased productivity and improved management. The Forest Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture is responsible for 54 percent of the standing softwood sawlog inventory. This inventory is not being harvested to capacity; even though more than half the national supply of softwood and plywood is located on Federal lands, only one of three logs harvested for plywood comes from our national forests. Meanwhile, industrial and other private timber holdings are already being harvested at capacity or a little over capacity. Such a practice of overharvesting can be extremely harmful to our natural resources in the long run.

The Forest Service has not utilized its timber supply to the fullest extent. Principally because it cannot be sure Congress will appropriate enough money to finance replanting. Our national forests are also underutilized because our management practices and policies are not as sound and modern as they should be. If we can increase the harvesting of timber from Federal lands and improve forest management by supplying a steady source of funds for these purposes, I believe Congress should find a way of accomplishing this.

The National Timber Supply Act which I introduce today specifically provides that 65 percent of all Federal timber sale receipts shall be put into a high-yield forestry fund. From it appropriations shall be made, upon proper justification by the Forest Service, to improve the management of Federal commercial timber lands.

It has been predicted by the Chief of the Forest Service that the proper application of funds in the management of Federal producing timber lands—and let me remind you that this does not in any way involve harvesting of timber on parks, wilderness or primitive areas—will return an estimated $215,000 annually for every $1 million invested. That means that the original investment will be returned within the span of 5 years and will continue to pay dividends of that order forever. As a private investor, I would welcome the opportunity to put my money in such a venture and the U.S. Government should not hesitate to do so, particularly when the people of the Nation will benefit not only as owners of the timber but as beneficiaries of better and less costly housing.

I firmly believe that since the Congress has established a 26-million-unit goal for housing within the next decade, it must assume responsibility for making available the materials needed to do the job. The National Timber Supply Act affords logical and effective ways to achieve better housing, increased volume of timber-based materials, greater returns to the taxpayers on their timber investment, and direct dollar savings to the American homebuyer. Everyone gains and nobody loses through legislation such as this. I strongly urge expeditious action to make this bill into law.

FEDERAL FUNDS MUST NOT SUBSIDIZE COLLEGES THAT TOLERATE CAMPUS DISORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MINSHALL) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the old school tie is bloodied and torn at some of our Nation's oldest, most respected universities. A handful of militants, composed of 3 or 4 percent of the student body aided and abetted by off-campus rabble-rousers, are trying to topple the ivy towers American tax money helped build. But the real guilt must be borne by those college administrators who wring their hands, gulp out cliche-ridden excuses for their own permissiveness and who surrender, sometimes at gunpoint, to irrational demands from punks who have no concept of academic freedom nor any desire to get down to the serious business of learning.

We have heard every alibi in the book from cloistered educators for the savagery which is turning our campuses into jungles. I have heard the riots dismissed, by people who should know better, as a phenomena comparable to the goldfish swallowing fad of a generation ago.

Anyone is a fool who thinks these are "campus capers" we are witnessing. They are at best, attempts to diminish academic standards of conduct and curriculum. At worst, they are attempts to wipe out our institutions of higher learning comparable only to Communist-Fascist college takeovers in this century and attacks on universities in earlier history which signaled attempts at a complete overthrow of government.

We are fools if we sacrifice the best interests of the overwhelming majority of college students who seriously want a higher education.

It is past time we gave those students a break. We may applaud their efforts to restore order to their campuses, but vigilante law-and-order is not the answer. Maturity and judgment and maintenance of an orderly academic community is the responsibility of the college administrators and too many of them are failing to meet those standards.

The situation is intolerable. In March alone there was strife at 38 colleges. The arrogance of the so-called Students for a Democratic Society, identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and by its own membership as Marxist, is intolerable. The victimization of thousands and thousands of decent students is intolerable.

But most intolerable of all is the cringing negativism of college administrators who fail to enforce high standards of conduct or to maintain excellence in curriculum.

In the recent words of Bayard Rustin, who has never been described as an ultra-conservative:

> A multiple society cannot exist where an element in that society, out of its own sense of guilt and masochism, permits another segment of that society to hold guns at their heads in the name of justice.

We must call a halt. America has too great a stake in the future of its young people. It is impossible to estimate how much time already has been lost to decent, academically minded students because of campus turmoil which has shut down classes or interrupted serious study.

Whether or not they are parents of college students, all taxpayers have a vested interest in the kind of higher education, the quality of higher education and the conditions under which American youth receives that education. American taxpayers have a multibillion-dollar investment in tax money.

Since coming to Congress in 1955 I have consistently voted funds for assistance to higher education. Federal support for colleges and universities reached a peak of $4.6 billion in 1969. Requests for fiscal 1970 are slightly more than $5 billion. These funds will be used for student assistance, building construction, operational support, research grants, and a wide range of other programs.

Those funds should not go to institutions whose administrators melt under the fiery demands of a tiny percentage of the student body, who lower educational standards, who refuse to call for proper law enforcement when property and personal safety are jeopardized.

Federal controls are an intrinsic part of Federal assistance. That determination was made long ago by the U.S. Supreme Court. It is only commonsense. It is time to exercise that control.

Dr. Dwight L. Dumond, professor emeritus of history at the University of Michigan, presently professor of American Institutions at Colgate University and a longtime liberal, has this to say:

> University administrators, totally unprepared and uninformed, were paralyzed into inactivity when the riotings began. Students

who seize university officials and buildings, disrupt faculty meetings and conferences, resort to arson and bombings, and make it impossible for law-abiding students to go about the business of getting an education for which they paid, are guilty of crimes sufficient to send them to prison for life. Every one of them who attacked police, security officers and National Guardsmen with weapons could have been killed in the melee and it would have been due process of law.

And the New York Times of April 22, 1969, states:

Now arms have been introduced into the campus controversy at Cornell, and only blindness to the lessons of history can shut out the fundamental nature of the threat the development poses. The threat is doubly frightening because it arose on a campus whose liberal administration has carefully listened to, and even anticipated, legitimate demands for student and faculty participation in campus administration. If agreements extorted under duress are to be honored by campus authorities, the American university is embarked on a course of self-destruction, not self-government.

Boards of trustees, contributors to endowment funds and the Federal Government are going to have to make themselves heard loudly and clearly. The administrators of too many colleges have been unresponsive to all the arguments reason and sanity can produce. It is not an easy decision to make, it is not a pleasant action to take, but I am convinced that a cutoff of financial support from colleges and universities which do not take reasonable steps to assure an orderly academic climate is perhaps the only means by which we can assure college students of their rights and the universities themselves of their preservation as genuine institutions of learning.

In introducing my legislation today, which would suspend Federal aid to colleges and to faculty members who violate laws in connection with such disorders, and universities which fail to take appropriate corrective measures I do so in the spirit of academic freedom. I wish to point out that my legislation calls upon the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to immediately draw up guidelines for suspending such funds and that such guidelines be immediately applied. It is no secret that guidelines have not been drawn up, either by the former or present Secretary, for application to legislation enacted by the 90th Congress to suspend Federal funds to students participating in riots. I want there to be no question as to the serious intent of the legislation I am introducing as a mandate to the Executive to take action forthwith.

COMPARABLE PAY FOR POSTAL WORKERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from New York (Mr. HALPERN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, there has been a lot said in the past year or so about what is wrong with our Nation's postal service: It is too slow; it is inefficient; it loses money; it costs too much. No doubt some of these things are true, and for a variety of reasons, some of which probably can be ascribed to the structure of the Post Office Department. However, it seems to me that there is a much more basic cause for certain deficiencies in the U.S. postal operation; very simply, because of poor pay, inadequate promotion opportunities, and unpleasant working conditions, the Post Office can neither retain the good employees it has nor recruit competent new workers to take their places. Frankly, the postal service, to many jobseekers, just does not represent a very favorable employment opportunity.

An efficient and rapid postal service is vital both to our economy and to our Government. Although perhaps other steps can also be taken to improve the structure of the postal service and to speed up its operations, I think we should start by improving the status of the very foundations on which the postal service rests—the letter carrier and the postal worker.

For these reasons I intend to support a bill designed to meet the Nation's commitment to the U.S. postal employee.

In 1962 we in the Congress approved legislation endorsing the principle of achieving comparability between the salaries of Federal Government employees and those earned by workers in private industry. In 1967 we adopted another law, whose purpose was to reach that magic goal of comparability in July 1969, by means of a three-stage increment in wages. Yet here we are in April 1969, and despite all of our fine intentions, it appears that comparability, at least as far as postal workers are concerned, has escaped us once again.

A preliminary schedule of pay increases to take effect this July was released in February. It recommends raises averaging 4.1 percent for postal employees, a percentage that James Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, says, "does not even offset taxes and the cost of living" and "cannot be tolerated." I am inclined to agree that a 4.1-percent increase does not mean much when the cost of living has gone up 4.7 percent in the past year alone.

Certainly the postal employee, whose starting salary even with the 4.1-percent increase is still substantially less than that earned by busdrivers, policemen, and sanitation workers in our Nation's largest cities, deserves better.

This bill is designed to give him something better. Under this proposal no employee in the postal service will receive less than $5,000 per year; at present the minimum for PFS–1, step 1, is $4,324. The lowest six levels of the postal field service will be upgraded by one level, and the starting salary for level 5, at which 80 percent of the postal work force is employed, will be increased to $7,500. In addition, annual step increases of $500 will be provided for level 5, so that a postal worker may reach the top salary of $10-000 in 5 years instead of the 20 to 25 years it sometimes takes under the current structure.

Longevity pay increases are also provided by this legislation, after 8, 11, and 14 years. These will help to retain the more experienced workers who otherwise will leave the postal service because they can see it is a dead end road.

Three other important provisions of this proposed legislation should be mentioned: First, it rectifies the provision of the 1962 law, inadvertently included, that caused many postal employees to lose time they had earned toward their next step increase; it would place these employees in a pay step commensurate with their services; second, it includes increases in pay for rural letter carriers; and, third, it would raise the present 10-percent pay differential for nightwork, which is necessary but unpleasant, to 20 percent.

This bill is not a wholesale restructuring of the postal pay system, nor is it intended to be. Rather, it provides to the long-suffering postal employees a modest increase in salary to help bring him back into the mainstream of Government—and private—employment. It represents a realistic wage raise which should help to improve incentive and morale in the postal service. It is a small step to take when one considers that the future of our postal system may depend on it. Those who are calling for strikes to enforce their demands for improved wages and working conditions will not be held off forever by their leaders if some action is not taken soon. And the idea of our postal communications network completely broken down as a result of an illegal strike is not an appealing one to contemplate.

I would hope that Congress in its wisdom will see fit to act on this legislation with alacrity, so that its benefits will soon be felt by the thousands of postal workers and their families who depend on the Post Office Department for their livelihood. It is the least we can do.

JUSTICE HAS BEEN SERVED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. CUNNINGHAM) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I was terribly thrilled to be present on April 24 of this year at a "welcome home" ceremony at Boys Town, Nebr., for Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, U.S. Navy captain of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, and his lovely wife. As I have said before, Commander Bucher, an orphan, attended and received his schooling at this world-famous "city of little men" known as Boys Town, Nebr. Following his graduation from Boys Town High School, Commander Bucher enlisted in the U.S. Navy and after serving his tour of duty returned to Nebraska where he graduated from our State university. It was in Omaha, Nebr., our Commander Bucher met his charming wife.

A copy of the program which was held in his honor on April 24 follows:

Invocation, Archbishop Gerald T. Bergan.
National Anthem, Boys Town Band.
Welcome Home, Father Wegner.
Greetings from Boys Town Citizens, Victor Steele, Mayor of Boys Town.
Message from his Class Mates, Harlan Vogt.
Presentation of Gift, Dave Davis, President, Omaha Chapter, Boys Town Alumni Association.
Address, Senator Roman Hruska.
Reminiscences and Report, U.S.S. *Pueblo*, Commander Lloyd M. Bucher, USN.
Blessing, Rev. Carl Goldenstein.
Master of Ceremonies, Harold Crawford.

Also, a statement by the Right Reverend Monsignor Nicholas H. Wegner entitled "Welcome Aboard, Commander" appeared in the program. His statement follows:

We at Boys Town, twelve thousand fellow alumni, and friends in all parts of the Country have been awaiting this day for many months. Thank God it has finally arrived. All of us share our joy with you, "Pete", as you were fondly called at Boys Town, your courageous hearted wife, Rose, and your two sons, Mark and Michael. Long may you live. May your name go down in the history of our County as one of our outstanding Naval Officers and brave patriots who conscientiously performed his duties on the U.S.S. *Pueblo* which was sequestered on the high seas by the North Korean Red Government on January 23, 1968. We salute you as a true, high-minded and spirited citizen of the United States and a top flight Naval Officer.

I am extremely happy and pleased that I have just been notified today by the Honorable John H. Chafee, Secretary of the Navy, that Commander Bucher and his crew will be relieved of any further torture, and that Mr. Chafee has decided that no disciplinary action will be taken against any of the personnel involved in the *Pueblo* incident. Mr. Chafee's statement follows:

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. CHAFEE, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

The Court of Inquiry convened by the United States Navy to inquire into the seizure of U.S.S. *Pueblo* by North Korean forces on 23 January 1968 has completed its proceedings. It has carried out this complex and difficult assignment with commendable thoroughness, objectivity, and professional skill. Its report has been submitted to higher naval authorities for review.

The record of the Court of Inquiry will be of continuing value in the Navy's reexamination of concepts, policies, regulations, and procedures which had a bearing on the *Pueblo* incident. A variety of corrective actions have flowed and will flow from it.

Higher naval authorities have completed their review of the disciplinary aspects of the record, as I personally have also done. My review was of course limited to the evidence and to the findings, opinions, and recommendations of this Court of Inquiry and the recommendations of the subsequent reviewing authorities.

As a result of my review, I have decided that no disciplinary action will be taken against any of the personnel involved in the *Pueblo* incident. I will first give you the conclusions of the Court of Inquiry, the Convening Authority, and the Chief of Naval Operations, then explain the basis for my decision.

Based upon its findings of fact and the formal opinions which it derived from those findings, the Court of Inquiry recommended that Commander Lloyd M. Bucher, U.S. Navy, the Commanding Officer of U.S.S. *Pueblo*, be brought to trial by General Court-Martial for the following five alleged offenses: permitting his ship to be searched while he had the power to resist; failing to take immediate and aggressive protective measures when his ship was attacked by North Korean forces; complying with the orders of the North Korean forces to follow them into port; negligently failing to complete destruction of classified material aboard U.S.S. *Pueblo* and permitting such material to fall into the hands of the North Koreans; and negligently failing to ensure, before departure for sea, that his officers and crew were properly organized, stationed, and trained in preparation for emergency destruction of classified material.

The Court of Inquiry also recommended that Lieutenant Stephen R. Harris, U.S. Naval Reserve, the Officer-in-Charge of the Research Detachment aboard U.S.S. *Pueblo*, be brought to trial by General Court-Martial for three alleged offenses of dereliction in the performance of his duties, in that he failed to inform the Commanding Officer of *Pueblo* of a certain deficiency in the classified support capabilities of the Research Detachment; failed to train and drill the Research Detachment properly in emergency destruction procedures; and failed to take effective action to complete emergency destruction after having been ordered by the Commanding Officer to dispose of all remaining classified materials.

It was recommended by the Court of Inquiry that Lieutenant Edward R. Murphy, Jr., U.S. Navy, the Executive Officer of U.S.S. *Pueblo*, be given nonjudicial punishment in the form of a letter of admonition for alleged dereliction in the performance of his duties as Executive Officer, in that he negligently failed to organize and lead the crew on the day of seizure, especially in the ship's major internal task of emergency destruction of classified material.

The Court of Inquiry recommended that Rear Admiral Frank L. Johnson, U.S. Navy, and Captain Everett B. Gladding, U.S. Navy (Retired), each receive nonjudicial punishment in the form of a letter of reprimand. The Court alleged that Rear Admiral Johnson, then Commander Naval Forces Japan, was derelict in the performance of duty in negligently failing to plan properly for effective emergency support forces for contingencies such as occurred during the execution of *Pueblo*'s mission, and negligently failing to verify effectively the feasibility of rapid emergency destruction of classified equipment and documents carried by the *Pueblo* Research Detachment. In the case of Captain Gladding, then Director Naval Security Group Pacific, it was alleged that he was derelict in the performance of duty in negligently failing to develop procedures to ensure the readiness of *Pueblo*'s Research Detachment for the mission assigned, and to coordinate other services and agencies to provide intelligence support to *Pueblo* during the mission.

The completely objective approach of the Court of Inquiry to its duties was clearly reflected in its full presentation of factors which would have mitigating effect with respect to the offenses alleged. Note was taken of such matters as the recent change in policy which resulted in the last-minute installation of armament aboard *Pueblo;* the limitations and deficiencies of that armament installation and of *Pueblo's* other defensive capabilities; the emphasis placed by superior commanders upon the importance of restraint and nonprovocation under harassment; the limitations and deficiencies of *Pueblo's* facilities for emergency destruction of classified materials, and of the Navy's planning therefor; the absence of centralized control of the amount of classified materials required to be carried by intelligence-collection ships; the failure of other responsible authorities to provide proper support; and the 160 years of precedent which was shattered when *Pueblo* was seized by an act of piracy on the high seas in clear violation of international law.

The Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, as Convening Authority, declined to accept the recommendations of the Court of Inquiry that Commander Bucher and Lieutenant Harris be brought to trial by General Court-Martial. He recommended instead a proceeding of lesser measure—namely, the institution of formal procedures with a view to the nonjudicial punishment of each of those officers through issuance of a letter of reprimand for his alleged derelictions of duty. The Convening Authority concurred in the recommendation of the Court of Inqury that Lieutenant Murphy be processed with a view to nonjudicial punishment in the form of a letter of admonition. He likewise concurred in the recommendation of the Court of Inqury that procedures be instituted with a view to the issuance of a letter of reprimand to Rear Admiral Johnson—but only for the alleged dereliction of failing to verify *Pueblo's* capability for rapid emergency destruction of classified materials. The Convening Authority recommended against the institution of procedures with a view to the issuance of a letter of reprimand to Captain Gladding.

The Chief of Naval Operations concurred in the recommendations of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet.

I have reviewed the record of the Court of Inquiry and the recommendations of the Convening Authority and the Chief of Naval Operations. I make no judgment regarding the guilt or innocence of any of the officers of the offenses alleged against them. Such judgment could legitimately be reached by duly constituted authority only after further legal proceedings, such as trial by court-martial or the hearing required prior to issuance of a letter of reprimand or admonition.

I am convinced, however, that neither individual discipline, nor the state of discipline or morale in the Navy, nor any other interest requires further legal proceedings with respect to any personnel involved in the *Pueblo* incident.

In review of the Court's recommendations with respect to Commander Bucher, Lieutenant Murphy, and Lieutenant Harris, it is my opinion that—even assuming that further proceedings were had, and even going so far as to assume that a judgment of guilt were to be reached—they have suffered enough, and further punishment would not be justified. These officers were illegally imprisoned by the North Koreans for eleven months. During that time, their food and living conditions were marginal. They suffered extensively from physical abuse and torturous treatment. Their captors refused to accord them even the minimal humane treatment required under international law. When they were released from their captive status, each showed great loss of weight and other marks of cruel treatment.

The Court was of the opinion that, during his internment, Commander Bucher upheld morale in a superior manner; that he provided leadership by insisting that command structure be maintained and providing guidance for conduct; and that he contributed to the ability of the crew to hold together and withstand the trials of detention until repatriation could be effected.

The charges againt Rear Admiral Johnson and Captain Gladding relate to the failure to anticipate the emergency that subsequently developed. This basic, general accusation, however, could be leveled in various degrees at responsible superior authorities in the chain of command and control and in the collateral support structure.

The major factor which led to the *Pueblo's* lonely confrontation by unanticipatedly bold and hostile forces was the sudden collapse of a premise which had been assumed at every level of responsibility and upon which every other aspect of the mission had been based—freedom of the high seas. At that particular point in history, the common confidence in the historic inviolability of a sovereign ship on the high seas in peacetime was shown to have been misplaced. The consequences must in fairness be borne by all, rather than by one or two individuals whom

circumstances had placed closer to the crucial event.

In light of the considerations set out above, I have determined that the charges against all of the officers concerned will be dismissed, and I have directed the Chief of Naval Operations to take appropriate action to that end.

Every feasible effort is being made to correct any Navy deficiencies which may have contributed to *Pueblo*'s seizure. The Navy's leaders are determined that the lessons learned from this tragedy shall be translated into effective action.

Justice has been served as there was no neglect on the part of Commander Bucher and his crew, even though the court of inquiry would have preferred to place the blame upon him and his crew for this sorry incident.

ISTHMIAN CANAL POLICY QUESTIONS: LIST OF REPRESENTATIVE DANIEL J. FLOOD'S CONTRIBUTIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, since publication in 1966 of a volume of my selected addresses on "Isthmian Canal Policy Questions"—House Document No. 474, 89th Congress—there have been requests for a complete roll of my addresses, remarks, and statements dealing with the interoceanic canal problem. In response to this need, I have compiled a list of all such matters of mine in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD from 1955 through the early part of 1969, which will be later quoted. They deal with our Isthmian Canal and Caribbean policies; the interoceanic canal problem, including the basic question of type of canal, the major increase of capacity and operational improvement of the existing Panama Canal, and the question of sovereignty over the Canal Zone; the Communist takeover of Cuba and the Monroe Doctrine; the Soviet design for gaining control over strategic marine transportation routes, including the sea approaches to the Panama Canal; and the Communist revolutionary subversion of Latin America.

For convenience of researchers, the list is arranged chronologically starting with the 84th Congress and continuing through the early months of the 91st Congress. For the 84th through the first session of the 90th Congress, page numbers of matter in the main body of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are from the permanently bound editions; for the second session of the 90th Congress and early part of the 91st page numbers are from the temporary editions of the RECORD. Matter in the Appendices of the 84th Congress through the first session of the 90th Congress, indicated by the letter "A," are from the bound Appendix copies in the Library of Congress; that in the Extensions of Remarks of the 90th Congress, second session, and the first session of the 91st Congress, shown by the letter "E," are from the temporary editions of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The contributions of other Members of the Congress since 1946 are impressive, notably Representatives Schuyler Otis Bland, Willis W. Bradley, Thomas E. Martin, and Clark W. Thompson; and Senators Thomas E. Martin, STROM THURMOND, and JOHN G. TOWER.

Special attention is invited to two excellent bibliographies on "Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States," prepared by Representative Clark W. Thompson in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of March 23, 1955, pages 3610 to 3616, and volume 110, part 16, pages 21467 to 21475; also the comprehensive "Bibliography of Panama Canal Issues" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 14, pages 18114 to 18119, and a "Hand List of Panama Canal Treaty Statements" in the RECORD, volume 113, part 17, page 22622, both prepared by Senator STROM THURMOND.

The indicated listings are indispensable for anyone seeking full information on the complicated canal question. Special attention is invited to the writings of E. Sydney Randolph—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 109, part 6, pages 8109 to 8112; and in the House Document No. 474, 89th Congress; also of George M. Wells—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 103, part 6, page 7932. Both of these engineers spoke from a vast experience in the canal organization and could not be misled by self-serving propaganda, however plausible. The list of my own addresses, remarks, and statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD since 1955, previously mentioned, give important information not included in those published in House Document No. 474, 89th Congress.

The indicated list follows:

84TH CONG., 1ST SESS., APPENDIX (1955)

Date	Page	Subject
June 1, 1955	A3800	Letter from Employee in Panama Canal Zone.
June 7, 1955	A3982	Panama Railroad.
Do	A4056	Watch Your Dollars at Panama.
June 9, 1955	A4126	Hold the Line (Against Liquidation of Panama Railroad).
June 15, 1955	A4268	Panama—United States Treaty—A Giveaway.
June 30, 1955	A4788	Letter From Resident of Panama Canal Zone.
July 12, 1955	A5064	The Wrecking of the Panama Canal.
Do	A5077	Thank You, Mr. Congressman (for defending the Panama Canal).
July 19, 1955	A5296	Taxes for Americans Living in Panama.
Do	A5306	Panama-United States Treaty of Understanding and Cooperation.
Aug. 1, 1955	A5866	Panama Canal.

84TH CONG., 2D SESS., VOL. 102 (1956)

Date	Page	Subject
May 29, 1956	9285–89	John F. Stevens: Basic Architect of the Panama Canal.

85TH CONG., 1ST SESS., VOL. 103 AND APPENDIX (1957)

Date	Page	Subject
Jan. 31, 1957	A654	Interesting Discussion of Panama Canal Problem.
Feb. 5, 1957	A775	The Panama Railroad.
Feb. 26, 1957	A1517	Panama Railroad: Revitalization Program Started.
Apr. 8, 1957	A2767	Interoceanic Canals Commission Resolutions.
Do	A2770	Star & Herald Newspaper of Panama Celebrates 108th Anniversary.
Apr. 17, 1957	5927	Panama Canal Situation Demands Independent Inquiry.
May 14, 1957	A3664	The Panama Canal Situation.
May 23, 1957	A3964	Resolutions on the Panama Canal Situation.
Do	A3977	Movement Against Internationalization of Panama Canal.
May 24, 1957	A3999	Sea-Level Canal?
May 27, 1957	A4048	Relations Between the United States and Panama.
May 29, 1957	8103–08	Panama Canal: United States Ownership and Control.
July 1, 1957	A5224	Panama Canal: Policy Should be Reiterated.
July 25, 1957	A6008	Malaria Comes Back in Canal Zone.
July 31, 1957	A6213	Panama Demonstration Emphasizes Wisdom of 1903 Canal Treaty.
Aug. 2, 1957	13525–27	Panama Canal Problem: Must Be Evaluated From All Angles.
Aug. 5, 1957	13656	Remarks on Attempted Liquidation of Panama Railroad.

85TH CONG., 2D SESS., VOL. 104 AND APPENDIX (1958)

Date	Page	Subject
Jan. 28, 1958	A742	The Panama Railroad: Congress Justified in Preventing Liquidation.
Feb. 6, 1958	A1155	Thailand Canal Proposal.
Mar. 14, 1958	A2387	James Gordon Streese: Distinguished Son of Pennsylvania.
Mar. 26, 1958	5498–5505	Panama Canal Zone: Constitutional Domain of the United States
Mar. 28, 1958	A2988	Reds Threaten United States Hold on Panama Canal.
Apr. 2, 1958	6152–57	Panama Canal Zone: Constitutional Domain of the United States—Further Supplementary.
Apr. 17, 1958	A3486	DAR Resolution on the Panama Canal.
May 26, 1958	A4821	The Explosive Situation at Panama.
May 27, 1958	9636	Panama-United States Relations: Canal Zone Residents Speak.
June 9, 1958	10581–90	Panama Canal—Latest Developments.
June 17, 1958	11526–32	Panama Canal: Disorders in Adjacent Areas Documented and Interpreted.
June 24, 1958	12126–28	DAR Panama Canal Resolution: Attacked and Defended.
July 8, 1958	A6141	Panama Canal Department of the American Legion Endorses H. Con. Res. 205.
July 15, 1958	13865–67	Panama: Storm Center of Hostile Preparations Against the United States.
July 18, 1958	14317–20	Visit of Dr. Milton Eisenhower to Central American Countries.
July 23, 1958	14838–45	Panama Canal: Object of Irresponsible Political Extortion.
July 30, 1958	15653	Unseat Panama President
Aug. 13, 1958	A7289	Large-scale Propaganda Drive in Latin America Agreed upon at Soviet-Red China Conference.
Do	A7290	Records Are Set by Panama Canal.
Aug. 15, 1958	A7339	Great Future for Panama Railroad.
Aug. 19, 1958	18594	Panama Railroad—Latest Developments.
Do	18595	Panama Railroad: Indispensable Facility for Panama and Canal Zone.
Do	18595	Panama: University Students Condemned by Rector.
Aug. 25, 1958	A7717	Panama Canal: Object of Hostile Propaganda.

86TH CONG., 1ST SESS., VOL. 105 AND APPENDIX (1959)

Date	Page	Subject
Jan. 9, 1959	367–69	Panama Canal: Free and Open Waterway or Another Berlin?
Do	A33	Panama Canal Zone: Constitutional Domain of the United States.
Jan. 29, 1959	A634	Another Berlin at Panama?
Do	A641	Address by Hon. George H. Roderick, Assistant Secretary of the Army.
Feb. 16, 1959	A1094	Communism on the March in the Caribbean.
Feb. 25, 1959	2924–40	Isthmian Canal Policies—A Challenge to the Congress.
Mar. 5, 1959	A1810	Red Conspiracy in Latin America.

86TH CONG., 1ST SESS. VOL. 105 AND APPENDIX (1959)—Continued

Date	Page	Subject
Mar. 11, 1959	A2066	Widespread Caribbean War Is Seen up to Castro.
Mar. 13, 1959	4158–61	Geopolitics and National Power.
Mar. 24, 1959	A2595	Panama Canal: Communists Entrenched on Southern Flank.
Apr. 23, 1959	A3343	Panama Canal: Part of Communist Drive for Latin America.
Apr. 27, 1959	A3436	Untold Story of Panama: Radio Review by Maj. Gen. James E. Edmonds.
May 14, 1959	8201	Republic of Panama: Symbol of Freedom.
Do	8201–03	Panama Invasion Obscure Real Hazards to Canal.
May 20, 1959	8706–08	Panama Invasion Significance.
May 28, 1959	9341	Remark to House of Representatives on U.S. Isthmian Responsibilities.
Do	A4554	Panama Canal Society, Washington, D.C.: Historic Meeting.
June 2, 1959	A4666	Panama Canal Alternative.
June 11, 1959	10578	Panama: Background and Foreground.
June 19, 1959	A5310	Panama Students Defy Communist-Oriented Leadership.
June 23, 1959	11675–78	Panama Canal Zone Sovereignty.
Do	A5399	Red Menace in the Americas.
June 29, 1959	12159–62	Panama Canal Zone: Territorial Sea Limits.
Do	A5597	Panama Canal Traffic Peak.
June 30, 1959	12348	Caribbean Sea: Mediterranean of the Americas.
July 1, 1959	A5690	Red Subversion in Our Back Yard.
July 7, 1959	12896	Caribbean Sea, Panama Canal, and the Monroe Doctrine.
July 15, 1959	A6101	Hungary, Tibet and the Caribbean.
July 16, 1959	A6153	Caribbean Situation: Cuba and Guatemala.
Do	A6155	Distress in the Caribbean.
July 20, 1959	A6212	America's Territorial Sea.
July 23, 1959	A6408	Cuba and Communism.
July 28, 1959	A6509	Panama Economy Is Held Declining.
July 29, 1959	14647	Canal Zone Protection.
Do	A6560	Cuba: Bastion of Infiltration?
Aug. 4, 1959	A6709	Panama Canal: Red Target.
Do	A6724	Untold Story of Panama.
Do	A6726	U.S. Position of Sovereign Rights in Perpetuity in Panama Canal Zone Supported by Queens County, N.Y. Chapter of Catholic War Veterans.
Aug. 12, 1959	15733	Central American Union Movement Revived.
Do	A6968	Caribbean Tensions.
Aug. 13, 1959	A6999	Forewarned is Forearmed.
Do	A7015	Red Gains in the Americas.
Aug. 14, 1959	A7028	Panama Canal Control Plotted by Reds.
Do	A7043	Panamanian Politicians Exploit Anti-U.S. Surge.
Aug. 20, 1959	16612	Discontinuance of the Panama Line of Steamships.
Do	A7192	Panama Canal and the Monroe Doctrine.
Do	A7213	Latin American Events.
Aug. 26, 1959	17062	Storm Clouds Over the Caribbean.
Aug. 27, 1959	A7470	Declaration of Santiago.
Do	A7479	Panama Canal Zone: "Peaceful Occupation" Proposed for Nov. 3, 1959.
Sept. 1, 1959	17631	Panama Canal: Thatcher Ferry Site Bridge.
Do	A7594	Dangerous Situation Developing in the Caribbean.
Sept. 7, 1959	A8815	Sovereign Rights of United States in Panama Canal Zone.
Sept. 9, 1959	18860–63	Communist Triple Threat: CIA Findings.
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Apr. 11, 1967	9077–81	Interoceanic Canal Problem: The Congress Must Act.
Apr. 26, 1967	10875	Panama Canal: Sanitation In Terminal Cities.
Do	10875–81	Panama Canal: 1967 Encyclopedia Britannica.
May 10, 1967	12315–19	Panama Canal: Betrayal of Our Taxpayers' Vast Investment.
May 15, 1967	12748	Interoceanic Canal Problem: South Carolina and Virginia Oppose Surrender at Panama.
May 16, 1967	12818–20	Panama Canal: Focal Point in World Strategy.
May 17, 1967	13111	Panama Canal: Conspiracy of Silence.
May 24, 1967	13937	Panama Canal Treaty: Revelation About Punta del Este.
June 8, 1967	15192–207	"Panama Canal Issues and Treaty Talks": Defects and Validities.
June 13, 1967	15657	Interoceanic Canal Problem: Tennessee Opposes Surrender at Panama.
Do	A2979	Canal Zone Sovereignty.
Do	A2983	Panama Canal: Resolution by American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.
June 15, 1967	15966	Panama Canal and Gibraltar.
Do	15967	Canal Zone Sovereignty: Views of Chairman, House Subcommittee on Panama Canal.
June 26, 1967	17224	Proposed New Panama Canal Treaty.
June 27, 1967	17513	Panama Canal in Jeopardy.
July 26, 1967	20300	Rostow—State Department Panama Canal Policies Perilous.
Aug. 7, 1967	21572–77	"Panama Canal Issues and Treaty Talks": Sequel.
Aug. 15, 1967	22730	Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Study Commission—Commentary on 3d Annual Report.
Sept. 11, 1967	24996	Against the Panama Treaties.
Sept. 14, 1967	25667	Senate Must Reject Panama Treaties.
Sept. 19, 1967	26090	Suez Canal Closure Costs Set at Billion Dollars.
Do	26090	Minority Report on Panama Canal Commended.
Oct. 11, 1967	28696–99	Interoceanic Canal Problem Requires Independent Inquiry.
Oct. 31, 1967	30600	Proposed Panama Canal Treaties and Garbage Collection.
Nov. 9, 1967	31955	Panama: The Troubled Canal.
Do	31955	Washington Post Editorial on Panama Canal Clarified.
Nov. 22, 1967	33726–28	Future Needs of Panama Canal: A Wise and Effective Solution by H.R. 13834.
Do	33728	Colombia Asserts Its Treaty Rights in Panama Canal.
Do	33729	Communist Plans for Panama Canal.
Dec. 15, 1967	36996–98	Red Scalpel Poised Over Panama Artery.
Do	36998	A Triple Infamy: Pending Canal Treaties Violate U.S. Constitution.

90TH CONG., 2D SESS., VOL. 114 AND APPENDIX (1968)

Jan. 30, 1968	H572–75 (temp.)	Canal Zone AFL–CIO Unions Support Pending Cana. Modernization Legislation.
Feb 12, 1968	E674 (temp.)	Interoceanic Links—Release by Dr. Howard A. Meyerhoff.
Do	E684 (temp.)	Reserve Officers Association of America, Department of Pennsylvania, Panama Canal Resolution.
Mar. 6, 1968	E1579–82 (temp.)	Panama Canal Modernization.
Mar. 28, 1968	H2351 (temp.)	Peril at Panama.
Apr. 4, 1968	E2700 (temp.)	Political Froth at Panama Obscures Basic Issues.
May 28, 1968	E4769 (temp.)	Election Peril at Panama.
June 12, 1968	E5297 (temp.)	What We Can Do in the Middle East.
Do	E5304 (temp.)	Electoral Crisis Lingers in Panama.
June 26, 1968	S7777 (temp.)	"Canals and Channels: A Look Ahead"—Discussion.
July 16, 1968	E6526 (temp.)	Hearings on Proposed Panama Canal Treaties Should Not Be Concealed.
Oct. 11, 1968	H9934–37 (temp.)	Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission Fourth Annual Report Commentary.
Oct. 14, 1968	E9087 (temp.)	Panama Canal Sovereignty and Jurisdiction: 1968 American Legion Resolution.
Do	E9115 (temp.)	President Arnulfo Arias of Panama Overthrown.

91ST CONG., 1ST SESS., VOL. 115 AND APPENDIX (1969)

Feb. 19, 1969	H1071 (temp.)	Panama Canal Modernization: Time for Action Has Come.
Do	H1072–76 (temp.)	Treatymaking Power: Constitutional Amendment for Inclusion of the House of Representatives.
Do	H1076 (temp.)	New Canal: What About Bioenvironmental Research?
Mar. 24, 1969	E2278 (temp.)	Capt. A. T. Luther: Able Panama Canal Pilot Honored in Canal Zone.
May 5, 1969	E3617 (temp.)	Panama Canal: Oklahoma Legislature Opposes Surrender.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM REMAINS AS INTENSE AND INTRACTABLE AS EVER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BOLAND) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam remains as intense and intractable as ever. More than 34,000 American troops have died on that country's battlefields, a toll that surpasses the U.S. record of human sacrifice in the Korean war. The many thousands more that have been wounded—221,012 to date—are taxing the resources of our Armed Forces hospitals.

South Vietnam itself has been almost literally devastated by the war—many of its cities ruined, its croplands wasted, its people impoverished and terrorized. The sight of smoking rubble and stacked corpses has become a routine nightly horror on our television newscasts. Draining U.S. resources both in manpower and materiel, the war is making it virtually impossible for us to confront the host of pressing social problems here at home.

Our ghettos remain breeding grounds for crime and rebellion. The grim spectacle of poverty remains commonplace in most of our cities and over most of our countryside. Our pledge of equal opportunity for all—made earnestly and honestly—remains a mockery to many of our citizens. Clearly, Mr. Speaker, the impact of this war cannot be measured only in lives and capital. It is eroding the very fabric of our society.

The peace negotiations in Paris have given all sides to the Vietnam dispute an opportunity to sit down and discuss the issues and the conflict at great length. Nevertheless, the apparent deadlock at the peace table and the shooting in South Vietnam continues.

Mr. Speaker, after years of war, after years of new "military solutions," we have learned that the kind of conflict the United States is engaged in at present in Southeast Asia cannot end in military victory.

What can we do to achieve peace?

One proposed solution—further military escalation—is senseless. A new buildup in our military strength would only plunge us deeper into the military morass in Vietnam and might even push us to the brink of a nuclear war.

The record of the past 6 years shows—plainly and indisputably—that military escalation has not worked. The bombing of North Vietnam, for example, was trumpeted as the final step toward peace. It was supposed to bring North Vietnam to its knees, convincing Hanoi that its war effort was futile. The bombing, instead, merely steeled North Vietnam's resolve to continue pressing for victory. A small agrarian nation with few cities and little industry, North Vietnam weathered the most intense bombing raids since World War II. Renewed bombing—or renewed military strikes of any kind—would be equally fruitless.

The only way to extricate ourselves from this war—short of a sudden meeting of the minds in Paris—is to begin an orderly withdrawing of our troops from South Vietnam.

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, in a major foreign policy speech delivered last August, in Worcester, Mass., suggested troop withdrawal. He pointed out—rightly, I think—that a significant decrease in our military activity and military personnel would make clear to Saigon that a negotiated peace is the only tenable solution. He emphasized, too, that such a withdrawal would help convince North Vietnam of our genuine desire for peace.

Senator AIKEN last week also made this proposal, calling for what he termed an "orderly withdrawal." His proposal, I think, is sound. I am not talking here about a sudden overnight flight from South Vietnam, leaving the country in chaos and its leaders stranded naked before their enemies.

Mr. Speaker, I am talking about a steady and measured withdrawal of American forces—a withdrawal that would increase commensurately, step by step, with South Vietnam's growing ability to defend itself.

The briskly disciplined new Army that South Vietnam is developing should take over the bulk of the war effort. We must convince the Government of South Vietnam that we will not remain there forever.

The prospects for a negotiated settlement in Paris should be hopefully brighter once Saigon and Hanoi are convinced that the United States is not prepared to fight an interminable guerrilla war in Asia.

I am introducing today a "sense of the Congress" resolution calling for an orderly withdrawal of American troops.

Last year, I introduced a resolution calling on the administration not to increase troop strength in Vietnam without the clear and explicit consent of the Congress.

It is time now, I think, to speak in terms of decreases instead of increases.

GENERAL EDUCATION ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

(Mr. OLSEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill which has the short title of the "General Education Assistance Act of 1969." This bill is identical to that introduced May 1, 1969, by the Honorable CARL D. PERKINS, of Kentucky, distinguished chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, and by the Honorable EDITH GREEN, second ranking majority member of that committee.

This bill provides that, beginning in fiscal year 1971, and extending through fiscal 1975, there will be two types of Federal grants to the States. The first of these will be computed on the simple formula of $100 per school-age child, ages 5 through 17, based on the latest data, and distributed to the States on the basis of relative school population. If fully funded, grants under this section will total somewhat more than $5.25 billion during the first year. The second grant, a flat $2.5 billion per year, will be distributed to the States on the basis of per capita personal income factor. I shall include a table listing the allocations to each State be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

The bill provides that at least 50 percent of the basic allocation to a State be used for improving teachers' salaries. The other 50 percent, plus the State's share of the $2.5 billion equalizing funds may be used by the State to meet other urgent needs, such as employing additional teachers and teacher aides for summer school and preschool programs, and programs and activities in which children in attendance at private nonprofit schools may participate on a shared-time basis.

Mr. Speaker, this bill was drafted by the National Education Association, 7,160 members of which organization teach in my State of Montana, will achieve the objective of strengthening American education by increasing the Federal share of school funding, without control from Washington.

I have been proud and happy to support, during the previous three Congresses, and now, in the 91st, great programs to improve the schooling of our Nation's children. We have made a great beginning in the categorical, or special-purpose, legislation to help the poor, the handicapped, and the undereducated. We have provided money for vocational and adult education, funds to build college facilities, scholarships, fellowships, and teacher inservice training programs. But we have not provided for a general uplift of the Nation's schools, nor have we helped the overburdened States and localities to attract and hold good teachers.

The bill I am introducing today will help relieve the critical shortage of qualified educational personnel.

Montana, like virtually every other State, simply does not have the financial resources from local property taxes or State taxes to compete effectively for the teachers it will need in the future. I have watched many fine young men who were truly great teachers be forced out of this profession simply because they could not support their families on a teacher's salary. We are told by the U.S. Department of Commerce that the average American marketbasket costs about $9,200 per year. The average teacher's salary in the school year 1968–69 is $7,908. Making up the difference will depend upon what we do in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am well aware of the fiscal situation now facing this Nation. We in Congress are faced with some hard choices. But this bill will not require an appropriation for this fiscal year. It is my purpose at this time to present the bill, hoping that hearings can be held, so that the legislation can be enacted when the fiscal climate becomes more favorable.

The table referred to follows:

GENERAL EDUCATION ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

	Number of poor 5 to 17, 1968-69 (1)	Percent of poor in each State (2)	Equalization grant (thousands) (3)	Basic grant (thousands) (4)	Total amount (thousands) (5)	Total amount per child (6)
Alabama	351,430	3.9	$96,825	$96,200	$193,025	$200.65
Alaska	9,270	.1	2,550	9,000	11,550	128.33
Arizona	66,536	.7	18,325	48,200	66,525	138.02
Arkansas	217,890	2.4	60,025	51,000	111,025	217.70
California	549,753	6.1	151,475	493,000	644,475	130.73
Colorado	67,222	.7	18,500	55,400	73,900	133.39
Connecticut	58,311	.6	16,050	74,800	90,850	121.46
Delaware	13,706	.2	3,775	14,900	18,675	125.34
District of Columbia	32,782	.4	9,025	18,700	27,725	148.26
Florida	257,846	2.8	71,050	155,000	226,050	145.84
Georgia	382,068	4.2	105,275	124,200	229,475	184.76
Hawaii	20,302	.2	5,575	21,100	26,675	126.42
Idaho	26,176	.3	7,200	20,200	27,400	135.64
Illinois	333,125	3.7	91,800	280,000	371,800	132.79
Indiana	143,502	1.6	39,525	136,700	176,225	128.91
Iowa	133,861	1.5	36,875	73,900	110,775	149.90
Kansas	82,590	.9	22,750	60,400	83,150	137.67
Kentucky	285,909	3.2	78,775	85,600	164,375	192.03
Louisiana	313,896	3.5	86,500	108,500	195,000	179.72
Maine	39,236	.4	10,800	26,100	36,900	141.38
Maryland	117,588	1.3	32,400	102,000	134,400	131.76
Massachusetts	128,132	1.4	35,300	137,600	172,900	125.65
Michigan	265,053	2.9	73,025	245,400	318,425	129.76
Minnesota	155,441	1.7	42,825	103,000	145,825	141.58
Mississippi	338,596	3.7	93,300	67,400	160,700	238.43
Missouri	211,779	2.3	58,350	120,000	178,350	148.62
Montana	26,886	.3	7,400	20,300	27,700	136.45
Nebraska	67,258	.7	18,525	37,700	56,225	149.14
Nevada	6,620	.1	1,800	12,000	13,800	115.00
New Hampshire	14,531	.2	4,000	18,000	22,000	122.22
New Jersey	157,058	1.7	43,275	177,400	220,675	124.39
New Mexico	64,178	.7	17,675	31,400	49,075	156.29
New York	653,622	7.2	180,100	436,800	616,900	141.23
North Carolina	492,087	5.4	135,600	134,600	270,200	200.74
North Dakota	43,037	.5	11,850	18,500	30,350	164.05
Ohio	295,569	3.3	81,450	283,400	364,850	128.74
Oklahoma	148,811	1.6	41,000	61,100	102,100	167.10
Oregon	51,336	.6	14,125	52,100	66,225	127.11
Pennsylvania	384,566	4.2	105,975	293,500	399,475	136.11
Rhode Island	27,540	.3	7,575	22,600	30,175	133.52
South Carolina	298,168	3.3	82,150	74,500	156,650	210.27
South Dakota	52,139	.6	14,350	18,800	33,150	176.33
Tennessee	337,556	3.7	93,000	100,000	193,000	193.00
Texas	653,171	7.2	179,975	289,000	468,975	162.28
Utah	24,457	.3	6,725	31,700	38,425	121.21
Vermont	17,770	.2	4,875	11,900	16,775	140.97
Virginia	276,216	3.1	76,100	119,500	195,600	163.68
Washington	80,828	.9	22,250	84,500	106,750	126.33
West Virginia	155,659	1.7	42,875	45,900	88,775	193.41
Wisconsin	130,937	1.4	36,075	117,500	153,575	130.70
Wyoming	9,907	.1	2,725	9,000	11,725	130.28
U.S. total	9,071,907	100.0	2,500,000	5,230,000	7,730,000	147.80
Added total			2,499,325		7,729,325	147.79

PRESIDENT OF FERRUM JUNIOR COLLEGE TAKES FIRM STAND BEFORE STUDENTS

(Mr. DANIEL of Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, we can no longer afford to temporize or compromise with the apostles of destruction whose purpose it is to deny educational opportunities to the American student. Rather, we must demonstrate a manifestation of unyielding firmness toward these campus gangsters.

We must not permit the transition from card-burning leftists to gun-carrying anarchists to go unchallenged. These gangsters and subversives on American campuses must be dealt with for what they are—lawbreakers.

The majority of students realize—and appreciate—the value of a college education. We cannot allow these hard-working students to be harassed and intimidated by a bunch of misfits who lack the moral courage to face the hard challenge of life.

It is past time when those in authority on the college campuses exercised that authority, recognizing that to give in to demands of such groups as the Students for a Democratic Society will only lead to the destruction of our educational system.

In my district of Virginia there is an institution of higher learning—Ferrum Junior College—which has one of the finest academic standings as you will find anywhere. A small group of Ferrum students recently attempted a protest demonstration to present demands for certain changes, no doubt influenced in part by the publicity given upheavals at larger schools.

Dr. Ralph Arthur, president of the school, met these protesters with a firm reminder that normal channels of communications were available for any student or group of students to discuss grievances. He was equally as firm in his stand that no action by anyone that infringed upon the rights of other students would be tolerated and he pointedly reminded those dissident students that no one forced them to come to Ferrum.

Dr. Arthur's actions in this situation could well be emulated on other campuses by other administrators. I am inserting a copy of his statement to the Ferrum students in the RECORD and commend it to my colleagues and to presidents of colleges throughout our country:

COMPLETE TEXT OF A STATEMENT BY DR. C. RALPH ARTHUR, PRESIDENT OF FERRUM JUNIOR COLLEGE, TO STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE, MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1968

Ferrum Junior College is a special kind of school. It was conceived to be that way. It was created to serve a special need and to open up the door of opportunity for many who otherwise might be denied the chance of college. This school has a very special philosophy which is carried forward in a special type of program to carry out its mission and purpose.

The college has drawn a special kind of student to these portals. Through the years these students have demonstrated a special sense of responsibility and maturity which has carried them on to highest levels of achievement in all areas of college life. Ferrum students today are of that same special mold. Despite the experiences of the past few days I would still put our student body way above the average in all respects.

Though there may be some who disagree, I believe that you, for the most part, love your college and support its special philosophy and program. I believe that, when all the facts are in and the smoke has cleared away from this present flame, the majority of you will take your stand on the side that is right, reasonable and respectful.

This inflamatory situation which has been brought on by a large but minority group of dissidents is hurting this institution bodily and at several points. The special nature of our school has drawn large numbers of supporters who have through gifts, grants, and loans contributed over $12,000,000 in the last twelve years. These monies have made it possible for us to build these buildings for your benefit. And these buildings have enabled us to enlarge our enrollment so that most of you could be here.

Our school is dependent on these funds and must continue to obtain them to stay in business. These people give because they believe in our school and you. Whenever they come to believe that you are not a special breed of folk and thus not worth the investment they make in you the funds will cease.

The present situation is hurting you even more than the College. Look at the monies just mentioned. If gift income ceases to come we will be forced to raise fees $200 to $400 next year and as much as $1,000 in the immediate years to come.

Many of you are hurting yourselves academically. With a "big" weekend coming up and all the other activities of the Spring do you have so much time before exams to squander it on the activities in which many are now engaged? You are hurting yourselves also in that you are forcing the administration to take a hard stand—just as you have—at one which minimizes the chances you have of getting constructive change.

From the beginning I have tried to say to you that there is a right and wrong way to try for change. I have told you of the channels that are open to you and that if used could get the needed legislation before our Board of Trustees. I have told you that I would work with and through these channels to expedite a legitimate hearing of any grievances you have. Rather than listen to my explanation and advice—as well as my offer to help you—some of you have come back with threats, demands, insults and all manner of disrespect.

These leave me only one recourse—to break off all communication. It is and has always been my goal to work with students who show good will and mutual respect. I have taken the stand and will stand, that whenever students come to this administration on these terms we will work day and night to accommodate them insofar as we can. Countless members of your student government can attest to this fact.

On the other hand, let it be known that I do not believe in and cannot deal with unruly, disrespectful crowds that use the technique of threat, insult, and intimidation. It is my own conviction that I can take no other stand and it is the advice of the chairman of the board of trustees, Dr. James G. Snead. Dr. Snead has called me to say that our board would not consider any grievance that came in this manner.

For these reasons I say you leave me no choice when you attempt change in this manner. I am legally authorized to deal with only two groups on this campus. One is the faculty which has its own constitution. The other is the student government—and then only according to its approved constitution.

I want to go on record that I want to deal with your grievances in a reasonable and responsible way and will so do if you come in the right manner. Let me outline that again for you. Any requests for legislation or grievances should come through your student congress. You can get these to a duly elected member of the congress or to an officer of the Student Government Association. The Congress must pass on these in formal legislation and bring said approved legislation to the faculty. The faculty has its final meeting before the trustees meet on Wednesday at 4 p.m.

Mr. Chappell, your S.G.A. president, is ready to do all in his power to expedite legislation before congress to meet this deadline. I am ready to do all I can to help him by way of advice and assistance. I cannot legally come to grips with any legislation that ferments change until it has passed the congress and the faculty.

We want to work with you and strengthen the ties as well as the channels of communication between us. It is the only way to make Ferrum Junior College the college it should be.

To attest to that let me tell you about our efforts in your behalf. Last spring I was instructed to prepare a statement concerning our plan to meet student protest, unrest, and violence. I was told to make it a no nonsense plan. I talked to your student leaders about it last summer. They asked if they could help draft this document and turned it over to Ed Chappell and me.

Ed and I have collected materials from all over. We want a document that students could live with and one that would meet the requirements of the trustees—as well as a plan that would handle any potential violence swiftly and effectively. Ed wrote the first draft of the document. I wrote the second. They are similar except that mine is longer.

I wanted it that way for three reasons. First, I wanted to spell out the college's philosophy concerning the students' role. Let me read some statements from it.

"Ferrum Junior College proudly affirms its belief in and support of the philosophy of individual freedom and responsibility. Academic freedom, however, is not academic license, and the right to criticize and protest is not the right to disrupt or to interfere with the freedom of others. Students enter Ferrum Junior College voluntarily. Students come to take advantage of the opportunities Ferrum Junior College offers for an education. Ferrum Junior College takes the position that inasmuch as we live in a day of change, it is necessary for the renewal of the institution to examine change in the college apparatus and the college curriculum from time to time. On the other hand, the trustees and administration think it should come about in an orderly manner, and that change should be brought about through the joint consultation of all college groups; the student body, the faculty, the administration, and the board of trustees.

The College believes that there should be adequate channels of communication to and with the student body. The voice of the student body should be heard. It is the policy of the college to seek at all times to establish new channels and to use existing channels in an effort to listen to the students, their criticisms and recommendations. Ferrum Junior College believes in and respects the right of the individual student and the students collectively. The student has the right to become involved constructively in the total life of the college and in organizations and efforts to improve living conditions of the campus and the processes of learning, as well as the enhancement "of the image of the college itself." The student has the right to participate in and assume self-government. Use of this student government apparatus is strongly encouraged by the college. Administrative officials work with student government regularly and are much better prepared to react through these channels. These channels of communication should always be used before any other techniques of protest are considered.

"The faculty, administration, and the board of trustees recognize, however, that there may arise occasions in which a group of students may legitimately want to protest a student government, faculty, or administrative decision through public demonstration. This right to demonstrate in support of or against a policy or ruling is protected at Ferrum Junior College with the provision that said demonstration does not limit the rights of others in following their normal activities or confer on the demonstrators any special privileges or considerations before, during, or after any protest demonstration." These things were pondered and written well before last Thursday evening attesting to this administrator's belief in the role of the student. These quotations also spell out my second reason for adding to it, our determination not only to grant but to protect your right to legal, peaceful dissent, and protest, even to the point of demonstration.

The third reason I elaborated on Ed's statement was to make sure that this document states clearly that this administration will not permit any protest or demonstration that is not legal, peaceful, non-disruptive of any college program, or that interferes with the rights of others. The statement is clear that any demonstration that does not follow these guidelines will be ordered to disband. For any who refuse, it authorizes members of the administration to take disciplinary action on the spot—even to permanent dismissal. It also allows for punishment of any who willfully destroy property or incite others to riot and for any non-students who come here for that purpose. The guidelines laid down in this statement are and will be the stance of this administration in this present situation.

I have labored today at length to tell you that you can find no administration anywhere more willing to work with you more conscientiously than we are at Ferrum Junior College—provided you will work with it in the proper attitude and through the proper channels. If any of you is still in doubt about these, I am sure that Ed Chappell and I can explain them to you if you will ask us personally.

Also, I have laid before you my resolute stand so that there can be no doubt about the consequences you can bring upon yourselves if you persist in the techniques of these last few days, or if you should consider escalating them. This I believe is my duty regardless of how unpopular it may make me. I urge you to choose this day the right way because it would grieve me greatly to be forced into repressive measures. But let there be no doubt about it—I would not wait five minutes to call on our distinguished Governor for the use of the state's riot control force if I even thought that students would attempt to bring to Ferrum the chaos and disruption that has plagued so many schools recently.

I hope that we can preserve these special qualities that make Ferrum Junior College the greatest junior college in the world. And I call on all students of good will to stand with me on that platform.

GOV. FORREST H. ANDERSON SPEAKS ON ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE QUESTION

(Mr. OLSEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of all of my distinguished colleagues in the House to an excellent statement of position on the anti-ballistic-missile question issued recently by Montana Gov. Forrest H. Anderson. I include Governor Anderson's statement at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF GOV. FORREST H. ANDERSON REGARDING THE PROPOSED SAFEGUARD ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM, MAY 1, 1969

After reviewing the facts which have been related in Congressional hearings and elsewhere, I have concluded that the proposed anti-ballistic missile system—called "Safeguard"—would not be in the best interests of Montana and I seriously question whether the system would enhance our national defense posture.

Clearly, deployment of the ABM in Montana would elevate the area from a secondary to a primary target. The plains of central Montana already harbor one of the largest Minuteman missile complexes in the United States. The Minuteman is a deterrent—a retaliatory weapon—in the event of nuclear attack. Deployment of the ABM—which is described as a weapon to prevent enemy missiles from reaching our land—means the enemy would attempt to knock out AEM sites first.

Furthermore, I have yet to find any scientific authority outside the industrial-military complex which can offer assurance the system will operate at all.

The almost immediate obsolesence of the ABM is generally recognized. All too often, we have witnessed expensive military projects abandoned in a very short time because of advanced technology or a change in policy. Glasgow Air Force Base in Montana stands as a monument to military obsolescence.

I do not wish to see Montana become the nuclear ammunition dump—and later junkyard—of the United States.

The tremendous expense of the proposed ABM system would seriously impair the Nation's ability to meet major domestic challenges. I find it difficult to reconcile the proposed expenditure of billions of dollars on the ABM system while at the same time the Administration is attempting to close the only Indian Job Corps training center in the United States, located near Ronan, Montana.

The short-term economic boost to the State's economy from the construction of the proposed ABM system is overshadowed by the considerations I have previously outlined. We seek to build a stable and progressive economy.

Furthermore, the economic gains from short-term military construction programs frequently bring long-term financial headaches. Communities are required to provide additional services and facilities for the families employed on the projects. When the projects are completed, the families often move away and the recently-constructed real property is not taxable. The community facilities remain, and must be paid for.

Finally, we must begin to determine whether we are being led into a state of affairs wherein the military-industrial com-

plex is dictating our priorties. We must make every effort to maintain the delicate balance between an adequate national defense and the urgent need for more attention to our problems at home.

JOHN BELINDO OPPOSES ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN JOB CORPS CENTERS

(Mr. OLSEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John Belindo, executive director, National Congress of American Indians, appeared last week before the House Education and Labor Committee to express his opposition to the closing of several Job Corps centers which have been so successful in training Indian young people for a variety of occupational opportunities.

I have read Mr. Belindo's statement. It is a thorough review of the situation at these Indian centers including the need, the success already achieved and the harmful repercussions that could follow their closing.

I include Mr. Belindo's statement in the RECORD at this time, and I recommend it to all of our colleagues here in the House:

STATEMENT OF JOHN BELINDO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, IN OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN JOB CORPS CENTERS, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, APRIL 30, 1969

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, I am John Belindo, Kiowa-Navajo, and Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians. The National Congress of American Indians is the only private national organization of the Indian people themselves where the voting and programming is limited to legally recognized Indians and Indian tribes. We are responsible for speaking up for the Indian people on a national scale. We represent 105 Indian tribes including Alaska Native villages and over 350,000 American Indians.

I appreciate the opportunity to testify today in strong opposition to the announced emasculation of the Job Corps program and in particular the elimination of nine centers which were serving to offer some hope to American Indian youth.

Let me say at the outset that the average annual income for Indians is $1,500, 75% below the national average. The unemployment rate for Indians hovers around 50%—which is ten times the national average.

Even more startling conditions than these were observed among Indian Americans by Stan Steiner, author of the recently published book, *The New Indians*. Steiner related some statistics from a 1962–63 government survey of employment among tribal Indians which reported that: "on the plains of the Dakotas, the Pine Ridge Sioux had 2,175 of 3,400 tribal adults unemployed (yearly family income was $105), the Rosebud Sioux had 1,720 of 2,996 unemployed (yearly family income, $1,000—though the tribe, four years later, estimated $600 was more accurate); the Standing Rock Sioux had 500 of 880 heads of households unemployed (yearly family income, $190).

"To the north, on the Blackfeet Reservation of Montana, the 'permanent unemployment' rate was 72.5 per cent. The yearly tribal income was 'less than $500 per family.'

"Down in Mississippi, on the Choctaw Reservation, of 1,225 adults there were 1,055 jobless. Unemployment rate: 86.1 per cent.

"Where the tranquil and ancient Pueblos of New Mexico stood, seemingly impervious to the economic winds, there were 10,699 jobless out of 13,711. Unemployment among these, perhaps the oldest of the Country's inhabitants, was 77 per cent. The Hopis, too, those idyllic 'peaceful people', had a less than idyllic unemployment rate of 71.7 per cent.

"In the Pueblo de Acoma, the 'City in the Sky' unemployment stood at 89.6 per cent.

"In the mythology of the oil-rich Indians so credulously huzzahed by television comedians and popular legends, none are supposedly wealthier than the Oklahoma tribes. And yet the Five Civilized Tribes reported an unemployment rate of 55 per cent, and an annual income per family, including the fabled oil-lease payments, that came to little more than $1,200.

"So it went from tribe to tribe. Unemployment rates from 40 to 80 per cent; incomes from $105 to $1,200.

"These statistics are neither new nor surprising. However, the mixture of the old poverty and the new Indians who have seen the material riches of the outside world, and who are angered and impatient, has created an explosive situation.

"If something isn't done the young men may go to violence."

At its 1968 25th Annual Convention, the National Congress of American Indians made it clear that:

"The social and economic conditions of many Indian people, when compared to that of the general population, almost defy comprehension. Adult Indians living on reservations are, as a group, only half as well educated as other citizens, their life expectancy is one third less and their average annual income, ⅔ less. Nine out of ten of their homes are comparatively unfit for human habitation and their unemployment rate is several times above the national average.

"The evidence is conclusive that these Indian people do not share equitably in the bounty of their homeland—the world's richest nation."

The statement goes on to recite a number of reasons for the slow progress in spite of prolonged Federal effort. I call to your attention the first two of those reasons, and offer the entire resolution for the record:

1. Federal Indian policy has suffered extreme pendulum swings from over paternalism to threatened termination of Federal protection of Indian lands and resources and vital community services. The Indian people have never had an opportunity to key their own efforts to stable, secure, and predictable programs.

2. Indian people have been falsely encouraged by attractive federal programs only to find them fade or disappear because of lack of appropriations. Programs without funding or with inadequate funding have constantly confused and disappointed the Indian tribes.

The words "defy comprehension" may seem exaggerated. But I ask you members of Congress to attempt to conceive of providing for your own or anyone else's family on an annual family income of $105 to $500 or $1,200 or even $1,500.

President John F. Kennedy said in his inaugural address, "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

It seems to me that if we can afford billions upon billions of dollars in defense spending we can appropriate the 285.1 million dollars needed to meet the desperate needs of our young people who are served by the Job Corps Centers. Compare this figure with the analysis of defense spending printed in *U.S. News and World Report* on November 25, 1968:

$2 billion for MBT–70 tanks.

$8 billion for the F–111 (TFX) swing-wing airplanes and its VFX counterpart.

$12 billion for Nuclear attack submarines.

$7 billion for the Minuteman III missiles and Poseidon missiles.

$4.5 billion for military cargo planes.

$5–40 billion for the "thin" Sentinel ABM system.

The list goes on and on. We continue to ignore the needs of our poor in the name of defense. And, keep in mind that most of the above weapons of war are replacements for previous weapons now obsolete, which were the old excuses for not doing the things that need to be done to eliminate poverty.

I *am* concerned with the inflationary spiral. When the price of food goes up at the grocery store, it seriously affects people who live on $1,500 per year. But to curb it, the answer does not lie in eliminating from the Federal budget those programs which are designed to help in providing long range methods for people to escape from this kind of poverty. A nation which can afford a $6,687,500 raise for its legislators cannot justify penalizing its poor on account of a fear of inflation. Where are our priorities, when the increase in the pay of any one member of Congress is almost ten times as great as the average annual income of any one Indian.

In a speech delivered for Richard M. Nixon, then a candidate, on September 27, 1968 the assembled convention of the National Congress of American Indians, at Omaha, Nebraska, was told:

"The Indian people have been continuous victims of unwise and vacillating federal policies and serious, if unintentional, mistakes. Their plight is a bitter example of what's wrong with the bankrupt old approach to the problems of minorities. They have been treated as a colony within a nation—to be taken care of. They should—and they must—be made part of the mainstream of American life. . . .

"My administration will be pledged to the following policies:

"The right of self-determination of the Indian people will be respected and their participation in planning their own destiny will be encouraged. . . .

"The economic development of Indian reservations will be encouraged and *the training of the Indian people for meaningful employment on and off the reservation will have high priority.*

"To date, the basic error of attempting to train the Indian work force only for off-reservation jobs has been the major cause of the lack of normal progress on the reservation (emphasis added).

"My administration will promote the economic development of the reservation by offering economic incentives to private industry to locate there and provide opportunities for Indian employment and training. . . .

"Job training for Indian people must be accelerated on and off the reservation. I have promised my full backing to the Vocational Education Act and will see to it that the Indian people enjoy the full benefits of its provisions.

"The administration of Federal programs affecting Indians will be carefully studied to provide maximum efficiency consistent with program continuity."

The Indians had plans for their own destiny. At the same convention in Omaha, NCAI, speaking for its membership, sought to exercise the right of self-determination of the Indian people and expressed an emphatic endorsement of the Kicking Horse Job Corps Center, located on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana, which had been designated as the only predominantly Indian Conservation Center by the Job Corps:

"Whereas, this Job Corps Center was established as a pilot program in compliance with the recommendation of Indians in assembly at the National Congress of American Indians convention in 1967, at Portland, Oregon; and

"Whereas, the success of the program is evidenced by the participation of 52 Indian youths from various sections of the conutry; and

"Whereas, this Job Corps program has the full-fledged support of the Inter-Tribal Policy Board of Montana.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the National Congress of American Indians in convention of September 24–27, 1968, hereby endorse and give allegiance to this program urging OEO Job Corps to continue this pilot program as a permanent program involving all American Indians."

I offer that resolution in its entirety for the record. There could be no doubt of the continuity of support of the Indian People for the Job Corps program in general, and the Kicking Horse Center in particular. At the meeting of the Executive Council of the National Congess of American Indians in January, 1969, at Washington, D.C., and *after* the inauguration of President Nixon, our membership reaffirmed its position:

"Whereas the National Congress of American Indians is aware of continued benefits realized by Indian youth in the areas of vocational and remedial education because of their involvement in the Job Corps program.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the National Congress of American Indians reaffirm its position expressed by Resolution No. 24 and requests the support of all agencies concerned for continuation of this valuable program, and

"Be it further resolved, that this resolution be sent to the President of the United States . . . this 23rd day of January 1969."

I offer the resolution in its entirety for the record. Ignoring this, the administration proposes to close four out of five BIA-operated male Job Corps Centers, and the Clinton, Iowa Women's Center, where most Indian women were located. What are the implications of discontinuing Job Corps Centers such as the Kicking Horse Center with regard to Federal responsibility for young American Indians? Where was the respect for Indian self-determination? The Kicking Horse Job Corps Center was among those ordered closed in spite of the resolutions, and, in spite of the fact that the Kicking Horse Center has a lower cost per man-year than 25 centers that will remain open, its percentage of Category I graduates exceeds that of 22 Centers that will remain open, the average length of stay of its Corpsmen exceeds that of 17 Centers that will remain open, and it is the *only* center earmarked predominantly for Indians.

Additionally, the Camp has brought in an annual payroll of $432,340 and has helped 298 Indian boys obtain an equal share of opportunity. The Kicking Horse Center has done a magnificent job with its boys in recreation, conservation and community development projects totaling some $1,469,587. When the closing order was announced, the Kicking Horse Center, which has a capacity of 200 young men, had 197 in attendance with four additional Indian corpsmen on the way. There were already 121 Indians in attendance, in addition to 76 non-Indians.

Unlike some of the urban centers, the Kicking Horse Center has, from the outset, enjoyed excellent community relations. The view of the "community", which consists of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, is well represented by their reaction to the closing order:

"The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes are shocked by the arbitrary closure of the Kicking Horse Job Corps Conservation Center, Ronan, Montana. This is the only predominantly Indian Center in the United States. Its loss would be another example of the disregard by the Federal government of the needs of the first Americans. We strongly urge reconsideration of this decision and request you keep Kicking Horse open. It has an outstanding record and the impact of its training of Indian youth is just beginning to be felt."

In December, 1967, the Kicking Horse Center received a Citation of Merit signed by the Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall for "outstanding achievement in all phases of operation and is meeting the needs of the young corpsmen." The Citation read:

"The progress made by the corpsmen reflect the dedication and interest of a highly qualified and trained staff who superbly execute a well-planned education program. The credit for the success of the vocational-educational program is directly related to the well-prepared plans and the exceptional ability of the staff to co-ordinate the vocational, educational, and work program. Accomplishments in these fields of endeavor instill pride in the corpsmen.

"The members of the staff have maintained excellent public relations with the Indian tribe, reservation communities, neighboring communities, and other Government agencies. Through the cooperation of the entire staff and the corpsmen, the Center received commendation for their outstanding safety record in fiscal year 1967. Maintenance of the Center was continually and progressively improved. For outstanding achievements in the overall operations of the Civilian Conservation Center, the Kicking Horse Job Corps Center of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is granted the Department of Interior Unit Award for Excellence of Service."

How fleeting is the glory from an award of merit when decisions of the government are dictated by politics rather than merit. How devastating to the hopes of our people! How decidedly cruel to raise such hopes, and then smash them!

Secretary of Labor Schultz expects to save $100,000,000 by the order. How much money will we spend when the 17,000 corpsmen affected by the closing order, angry and frustrated, will be sent back to their urban ghettos and impoverished reservations, on July 1, 1969, in the heat of the summer? And who will bear the blame for what follows?

Given the words of the President, the economic condition of the reservations, and the gradual but apparent successes of the program, it is incredible that the administration would precipitously order closing of four out of the five BIA-operated Job Corps Conservation Centers, the sole exception being the Fort Simcoe Center, on the Yakima Reservation in Washington.

Let me turn specifically to the shutdown of other Job Corps Centers situated on reservations in the Southwestern United States—the closing of the (1) Eight Canyon Conservation Center on the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico, and (2) San Carlos Conservation Center on the San Carlos Apache Reservation in Arizona, (3) and the Winslow Conservation Center just off the Navajo Reservation at Winslow, Arizona. We protest the entire concept of closing 50 of the 82 conservation centers 'generally in rural areas' so that industrial training in urban mini-centers can substitute. Such a plan, it seems to me, was conceived in total disregard for the desires of the Indian people. It certainly does not point up the awareness with which President Nixon spoke when he said:

"Off the reservation, many Indians, some of them unwisely relocated by the Federal government, have not been successfully assimilated and find themselves confined to hopeless city reservations of despair because of lack of education and skills . . .

"We must recognize that American society can allow many different cultures to flourish in harmony, and we must provide an opportunity for those Indians wishing to do so to lead a useful and prosperous life in an Indian environment."

I cannot think of anything that would be more mutually deleterious to both the urban ghettos and to the Indians than the transfer any substantial number of untrained, under-educated and unacclaimed young Indians to the inner cities.

Certainly the problem of the "urban Indian" in Minneapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities is severe enough, without multiplying this problem.

The less expensive "mini center" program is designed, as we understand it, to provide a dormitory room and board, and on-the-job training, in urban centers. What it clearly fails to take into account is the fact that students were assigned under the existing system into either Conservation or "Swing", or Urban Centers, based on their level of preparedness measured by a number of factors.

For example, those with a reading level below Grade 4 were all assigned to conservation centers, while those having reached Grade 7 reading level were assigned to urban centers. Below Grade 4 an individual is considered "illiterate" (unable to read), while those at the "Swing" Centers, with reading level between Grades 4 and 7, for the most part are "functionally illiterate", that is, capable of only the simplest kind of reading. Taking such an individual into the city and teaching him a single job, usually unskilled or semi-skilled, is condemning him to a life of permanent poverty. In other words, for those who have been receiving training at the Conservation Centers, remedial education is a necessary adjunct of any job training program. The mini-center offers no such opportunities.

Unfortunately, as a result of childhood in a home where no English is spoken, inadequacies of present programs of Indian education, high Indian dropout rates, and other factors, many Indians fall into the category of functional illiteracy or below. In addition, because of cultural and/or psychological reasons, most Indians do not desire to become permanent urbanites. The conservation centers were providing training, in addition to basic remedial education, in such areas as forest management, heavy equipment operation, and construction, which enabled Indians to acquire work skills while maintaining their relationship with the land. The Administration proposal is not only not sympathetic to this need, but it seems unaware that it exists.

The San Carlos Conservation Center, with a $3,933 cost per man year, was more economical to run than 26 conservation centers slated to remain open; it surpassed 23 surviving centers in Category I graduates, and rated better than 17 of the surviving conservation centers in length of stay. Of the seven categories of criteria allegedly used by the Department of Labor in determining closures, San Carlos bettered 19 of the Centers remaining open in a majority of the criteria. It is clear that the judgments that have been made were made politically and arbitrarily. There were 189 corpsmen on board at San Carlos.

The San Carlos Center is located in a county which has a population of 41,000, and a median family income of $1,280 annually, with an average unemployment rate of 74%. The annual Job Corps expenditure in the area is $1,724,442. For the people of this region, the closing of the Job Corps Center is an economic disaster.

The Eight Canyon Center in New Mexico had an on-board strength of 193 corpsmen at the time of the closing order. It is located in a county where the situation is only slightly better than that at San Carlos. Located in Otero County, New Mexico, the County has a population of 14,000 people, having a median family income of $2,160 and an average unemployment rate of 59 per cent. The annual Job Corps expenditure in the area annually has been $1,023,804. Calculate the impact of removing this expenditure from the area.

Eight Canyon had conservation work program accomplishments totalling $502,998 with 193 students on board at the time of

the closing order. The Center bettered five of those centers which survive in a majority of the categories allegedly used as criteria.

Winslow Center, the smallest of the BIA-operated Conservation Centers, with 173 corpsmen in attendance, also had by far the lowest cost per man-year identifiable, with a reported $1,581, far less than the $8,000 per year per enrollee figure reported to the press as the cost of operating such centers. As a matter of fact, none of the BIA operated centers remotely approached such a figure, the highest being Eight Canyon's $4,940. Winslow bettered nine of the surviving centers in a majority of criteria.

In addition to the four BIA-operated centers for men closed by the order, there were five centers for women of particular concern to the National Congress of American Indians.

Many, but not all, of the reasons for saving the male conservation centers, apply to the women's centers. These centers are ungraded, and operated in urban areas for the most part. But, for many Indian women, the Corps represents, as the Indian Corps of Women at the Clinton, Iowa, Center wired soon after getting the closing order. "Our only chance for a better life.: What can be added to that?

In addition to the Center at Clinton, Iowa, we especially regret the ordered closing of the Poland Springs, Maine; the St. Louis Urban Center; the Omaha Urban Center; and the center at Moses Lake, Washington, all of which serve some Indian women, although the major contingent is at Clinton.

I can speak with some pride and knowledge about at least one product of the Women's Job Corps, for NCAI employs as a secretary in our Industrial Development Section here in Washington, a girl who was the first graduate of the Los Angeles Urban Center. She has had several jobs in Washington, and is capable of working as a secretary for anyone. She is a staunch supporter of the program. But even she is on her second try in Washington because, after a period of time, the call of the reservation became too strong for her. We must not force the Indian population to make a choice between urban employment and reservation unemployment.

The Administration proposes to solve the reservation problem by increasing the industrial development on Indian reservations, and encouraging private industry to locate there.

We have had, of course, considerable activity in economic development of reservations by private industry in the past—white men come to the reservation, negotiate a long term, low-priced lease through the Bureau of Indian affairs, and carefully remove the bounty of the reservation, be it oil, gold, copper bauxite, or timber, while the Indians remain, for the most part impoverished.

But, as I said early in this statement, there has been some economic development since the War on Poverty began. As of December 31, 1968, there were 150 Industrial and commercial enterprises established on or near reservations as a result of Indian Industrial Development programs; of these, 140 or 93% had been established since the beginning of 1962.

At the present time, these enterprises have created approximately 10,000 new jobs, of which 4,700 are held by Indians. If industrial development seems like a panacea to the problems of the reservation Indians, I ask you to recall the statistics I recited at the beginning of this talk. In 1962 there were 10,699 unemployed Pueblos alone; in 1968 there were approximately 45,000 Indians in the 14–21 age bracket.

For the industrial enterprises now in existence, it is projected that eventually these will provide a total of 15,000 jobs, of which, it is hoped, 65% will be held by Indians. Twice, or even three times this number of jobs, will not solve the problem—and how long will it take to create these jobs, while poverty and hunger abound on the reservation? In addition to merely providing jobs, serious improvement in the process of Indian education is necessary, and it requires the vocational and especially remedial education that the Job Corps has been affording to a limited number of Indian corpsmen. Instead of cutting back on the Job Corps program on Indian reservations, it should be expanded but, it is typical of the programs of the federal government that, as they win the confidence of the Indian, they are eliminated.

But, more than any other single factor, the Indian people of this country require a chance for self-determination. The tribes are prepared to negotiate with industry for development, particularly when the government can make loans available. But, as the success of the Rough Rock School has demonstrated, programs run by the tribe have a better chance of success than programs imposed from the outside.

Neither Secretary Schultz nor President Nixon nor the U.S. Congress should have the right to tell American Indians that if they want to have a future, they must go to "urban centers". That program failed before. It will fail again.

For the record, I submit copies of several telegrams and other communications received by the NCAI, protesting the closing of the Job Corps Centers I have mentioned in my talk.

I thank you for your attention.

RESOLUTION 1: 1968 POLICY STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The American Indian is unique both as to opportunities and as to problems. No other group of citizens stand in precisely the same relation to the Federal Government. This relationship is deeply rooted in treaties and laws which gives the United States responsibility for the protection of Indians and their resources. In addition to these special rights and protections he is entitled to enjoy the same rights, privileges and services as do other citizens.

Despite the treaties, the special Indian Rights and this exercise of responsibility by the Federal Government our Indian people have never attained true parity as American citizens. The social and economic conditions of many Indian people when compared to that of the general population, almost defy comprehensions. Adult Indians living on reservations are, as a group, only half as well educated as other citizens, their life expectancy is one third less and their average annual income ⅔ less. Nine out of ten of their homes are comparatively unfit for human habitation and their unemployment rate is several times above the national average.

The evidence is conclusive that these Indian people do not share equitably in the bounty of their homeland—the world's richest nation.

Despite a prolonged Federal effort to improve Indian well being, progress has been slow. Some of the major causes for this slowness has been:

1. Federal Indian policy has suffered extreme pendulum swings from over paternalism to threatened termination of Federal protection of Indian lands and resources and vital community services. The Indian people have never had an opportunity to key their own efforts to stable, secure and predictable Federal programs.

2. Indian people have been falsely encouraged by attractive federal programs only to find them fade and disappear because of lack of appropriations. Programs without funding or with inadequate funding have constantly confused and disappointed the Indian tribes.

3. Long range tribal planning has been discouraged by the hovering spectre of termination. On the one hand the Federal Government has talked of itself as a "partner" available to work with the Indians in their expanding the developing future. On the other hand, the Congressional Policy for termination has lingered like a death sentence under constant appeal by the Indians for commutation.

4. The social, political, economic, cultural, and geographical isolation of many tribal groups have mitigated against their effective utilization of available government programs and services from agencies other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health.

5. Much of the energy of our tribes has been expended, not in creative long range planning, not in projects and activities to uplift their people but in a "back to the wall fight" to preserve and protect their special rights as Indians, such as treaty rights, against the never ending assaults that would wipe them out should the Indians' vigilance ever be relaxed.

Until positive and dynamic action is undertaken by the legislative and executive branches of government to correct these major conditions, a large percentage of Indian people will never achieve the full economic and social parity to which they are entitled.

The National Congress of American Indians, speaking for almost 400,000 American Indians who continue to maintain their special relationship with the Federal Government, has consistently advocated the adoption of a long range Indian policy by our government that would permit the following:

1. Self determination by the Indian people in their quest for social and economic equality.

2. Protection of Indian lands and resources and maintenance of tax-exempt status for income derived from such lands.

3. Maximum development of the human and natural resources of Indians with the assistance or the Bureau of Indian Affairs and all other federal agencies offering programs and services designed to relieve conditions of poverty among all Americans.

4. Maximum participation of Indian tribal governing units and rank and file tribal members in all programs directed to Indian reservations and Indian communities.

5. The right of Indian people to enjoy the same rights, privileges, and immunities accorded to all citizens of the nation.

May we conclude by saying a word about Indian participation in the Poor People's March and other public demonstrations.

We, as individuals, as a race and as a social and economic minority may have suffered more than others and our problems, as we said in the beginning, are uniquely Indian. Therefore, our solutions must be uniquely Indian. We can achieve more by our own methods. As a relatively small segment of poor society, our special needs can be lost in the welter of the disorganized millions of poor people the leaders of whom have little knowledge of the special problems and circumstances of the Indian people.

We Indians and our chosen spokesmen can best speak for themselves.

May we at this Convention express our sympathy for the poor people of America and encourage our Indian people to work as they wish in their behalf. But may we Indians and Indian organizations in working for our Indian poor, particularly those on our reservations, avoid the use of public demonstrations and seek to accomplish our ends through our regular organizations and governmental channels.

The following resolutions will deal with many of these "special needs" and "special rights". (1968 Convention, 25th Annual Convention, Omaha, Nebraska.)

RESOLUTION 24: FLATHEAD RESERVATION JOB CORPS CENTER

Whereas, the President's message to the United States Congress on goals and programs for American Indians closed March 6th, 1968, emphasing the need for education at all levels; and

Whereas, the kicking horse Job Corps Center located on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, is designated as predominately an Indian Conservation Center by the Job Corps; and

Whereas, this Job Corps Center was established as a pilot program in compliance with the recommendation of Indians in assembly at the National Convention of American Indians convention in 1967, at Portland, Oregon; and

Whereas, the success of the program is evidenced by the participation of 52 Indian youth from various sections of the country; and

Whereas, this Job Corps program has the full-fledged support of the Inter-Tribal Policy Board of Montana.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the National Congress of American Indians in Convention of September 24–27, 1968, hereby endorse and give allegiance to this program urging OEO Job Corps to continue this pilot program as a permanent program involving all American Indians. (1968 Convention, 25th Annual Convention, Omaha, Nebraska.)

RESOLUTION 7

Whereas, the National Congress of American Indians during its Convention at Omaha, Nebraska, on September 27, 1968, adopted Resolution No. 24, supporting Job Corps Centers administered as part of Office of Economic Opportunity programs; and

Whereas, the National Congress of American Indians is aware of continued benefits realized by Indian youth in the areas of vocational and remedial education because of their involvement in the Job Corps program.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the National Congress of American Indians reaffirm its position expressed by Resolution No. 24 and requests the support of all agencies concerned for continuation of this valuable program, and

Be it further resolved, that this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Vice-President of the United States, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity and to Members of the Congress concerned, this 23rd day of January, 1969.

Adopted by Executive Council of the National Congress of American Indians, assembled in Session at Washington, D.C., on January 21–23, 1969.

WENDELL CHINO,
President, National Congress of American Indians.

ROBERT JIM,
Chairman, Resolutions Committee, NCAI.

Dated: January 21–23, 1969.
Place: Washington, D.C.
Attest:

BENNY ATENCIO,
Recording Secretary, National Congress of American Indians.

CLINTON, IOWA,
April 11, 1969.

President RICHARD M. NIXON,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: America's future depends on Job Corps and related programs for deprived citizens. The girls at the Clinton Job Corps Center need your support to become useful, successful, contributing citizens. Knocking down a person halfway up brings only a deeper sense of defeat & hopelessness than before.

These girls have come here with one goal—to receive the education and training they need to become successful, efficient and effective employees and homemakers.

I note that "urban training centers" are planned. This is just going to be additional cost—the existing Centers are equipped and running efficiently. The many favorable stories are seldom heard—we all know that the stories in all areas of life that make front pages are those filled with sensationalism. You never read a newspaper or hear a TV or radio news story of a girl from nowheresville working hard & getting college scholarships; of the girl from the poverty-stricken South who goes to Job Corps, graduates, works & supports herself, then marries and takes foster children thereby helping others as she was helped.

What of the rural poor and unskilled? It looks as though nothing is planned for them—besides that, 30 small city training centers can't even begin to touch the numbers of people needing training within cities. In many cases, too, these rural people have needs greater than those who live in the urban areas. You are going to find more really hungry, uneducated people in the obscure rural areas off the highways than in the city ghettoes, if you will only look!

My greatest personal concern is for those poorest of the poor, and most wronged of all the wronged of this nation, the American Indian. Would you believe—that the average Indian family lives on $30.00 a week, while average white and black families earn at least $130 a week? That about 90% of Indians live in tin-roofed shacks, leaky adobe huts, loghouses, brush shelters and abandoned automobiles—That we have a Job Corps graduate now in college who spent her winter before Job Corps actually living out of an abandoned car?? That we have now a most promising Indian student who spent the long winter in Wyoming in a tent?

Would you believe that the average age of death for an Indian today is 43 years? That the infant mortality rate for Indians is 50% before 1 year of age? That the average Indian's education is five years? That the reservation unemployment rate ranges between 40–75% compared to about 4% for the nation as a whole?

Have you ever really looked at a reservation and its inhabitants, back off the highways, away from the tourist attractions of fake color and facade, out in the tiny poor little villages consisting of a little general store/postoffices and loghouses and shacks? Have you seen children in our country with symptoms of protein deficiency, where milk and meat are luxuries? Have you seen the total defeat, the hopelessness and futility in the eyes of fathers and mothers who can not see a better life for their children than the hard life they've had? You go to a reservation, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Sisseton, Ft. Peck, in the North Central States, or to any of the Southwestern Navajo, Apache, or Pima reservations—you'll see all this there, and more.

Are you telling me these people don't need Job Corps and its hope, and the hope other OEO programs have brought to such citizens! Yes, citizens, these—the great white middle class are not the only citizens of the United States of America. Never have these people, here long before the grasping white man, been treated as equal citizens. Well, it's about time they were! Is this opportunity, too, to be taken from them, as were their lands, their oil, their fish, their whole way of life.

Aren't human lives in this country more important than wars in other countries, more important than going to the barren moon!? Why bother to put a few men on the moon when we aren't taking care of our own people, helping them reach their utmost capabilities & success on this earth? Why fight wars for people in other countries, when we're neglecting people with the same needs in this, our own country.

In Buffy St. Marie's words, I beg of you—"Won't you consider these ones?" Please reconsider this decision to abolish the heart & soul of hope for many of today's youth—Job Corps—their only chance to better themselves!! To allow the poor youth of America to remain without opportunity to better themselves is to sound the death knell of the ideals America was built on—equality and opportunity for all. The Statue of Liberty invites—"Give me your poor . . ." Is this, too mockery? Doesn't this include our own citizens?

Sincerely,
Mr. and Mrs. TERRY HERMANN.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
April 17, 1969.

President RICHARD M. NIXON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am sure that the decision to close a great number of Job Corps Conservation Centers was a most difficult one for you to make. I know that with only limited resources you must decide how these can best be used to benefit our Nation's youth—All it's youth, white, black and red who are mired in poverty and who look to you for an opportunity to escape into a better America. I am not sure that you are aware that one of the Centers scheduled to be closed, Kicking Horse in Montana, is a Center designed to serve Indian Youth. It is the only one of its kind in the Nation. As such it serves not only its primary purpose of helping young Indian men to take their rightful place in society, but also serves the Indian community through the work that is done to improve Indian lands. If this Center is closed, there will be only one Job Corps Conservation Center remaining which serves Indian People.

The Kicking Horse Center, although selected for closure, has a lower cost per man-year than 25 Centers that will remain open. Its percentage of Category I graduates exceed those of 22 Centers that will remain open. The average length of stay of its Corpsmen exceeds that of 17 Centers that will remain open. Surely Mr. President something can be done to preserve this Center.

As a recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor and an American Indian, I have seen much of war and poverty. The face of each is ugly to look upon. I urge you to do what you can to keep the ugly face of poverty from the Indian Youth and the Indian People served by the Kicking Horse Job Corps Conservation Center in Montana.

Sincerely yours,
Col. ERNEST CHILDERS, *Retired.*

CLINTON, IOWA.

PRESIDENT NIXON: I doubt if you will ever see my letter, since it is one of many to be placed in a category. But I have something to say and I hope I say it for a lot of people.

Job Corps and other organizations have furnished us with another chance. I shudder to think where I would have been if it hadn't been for Job Corps. I have discovered talents in myself I didn't know I had. I've learned to understand and get along with people of other races, something I had never done before. I've learned to appreciate the modern conveniences of life and I now have the desire to work for them instead of waiting for them. I've learned that there are people in this world that can be trusted, something I think more people should have the chance to learn. Then perhaps the world would be a better place to live. I don't claim to be a saint now, nor do I claim that everybody that comes to Job Corps learns these things. Some just aren't willing to learn. They have been hurt too bad to change. But there are those of us who are very much willing to learn. Not just to better ourselves, but to give what knowledge we've acquired to our parents and others who are connected with us.

I really dread the day when the Job Corps will close. Because if it closes before I have the chance to get what I came here for, I

know I will be a disgrace to my family when I go back to the way I was living before.

Well there have been good times and bad times in our center. But the good is never publicized. Perhaps it should be. Well our futures are in your hands and at your disposal. If your mind is already made up, I suppose no amount of talking will change your mind. But I just had to say what I felt.

Sincerely yours,

JOEY WHITE CALF.

CRASH LOCATOR BEACON NEEDED FOR ALL CIVILIAN AIRCRAFT

(Mr. OLSEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, today I have joined with the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. STAFFORD) in the introduction of a bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act to require the installation of crash locator beacons in all civilian aircraft.

Other bills have been introduced covering this subject, but they are not totally inclusive requiring all civilian aircraft to use a crash locator device. Furthermore, the Federal Aviation Administration has proposed a rule, docket No. 8744, notice 69–11, which would require crash locator beacons to be carried aboard aircraft utilized in air taxi and commercial operations. Once again this does not include all civilian aircraft.

This bill is supported by the National Association of State Aviation Officials. Many NASAO members have had years of experience in aerial search and rescue operations, and it is their opinion that this bill would accomplish the desired installation of rescue radio transmitters within a reasonable period of time and with due consideration to aircraft owner cost.

Following is a cursory review of the need for equipping all civilian aircraft with downed-aircraft rescue transmitters. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. A. B. McMullen, executive vice president of the National Association of State Aviation Officials for assisting me in the preparation of this statement, and I include it in the RECORD:

THE NEED FOR EQUIPPING ALL CIVIL AIRCRAFT WITH DOWNED-AIRCRAFT RESCUE TRANSMITTERS

THE PROBLEM

There are now approximately 125,000 civil aircraft in operation within the United States. The Federal Aviation Administration estimates this number will increase to approximately 217,000 by 1980. As the number of aircraft increases, so will the number that become lost and land or crash in unknown locations.

The present visual method of searching for missing aircraft involves both land and air operations, primarily the latter. Aerial search involves, first, a "guesstimate" as to where the missing aircraft may have gone down, and this may involve an area covering several states; second, a fleet of aircraft (most of which are privately owned and operated by volunteers) are assembled, organized and dispatched to visually search specifically assigned locations or areas. This is a time-consuming, costly, relatively ineffective, and hazardous method of search and rescue.

Very often, downed aircraft are covered by snow or are not visible from the air due to having crashed in heavy timber or underbrush which completely obscures them. There are many records of search aircraft flying directly over downed aircraft, sometimes as often as 10 to 20 times, without sighting them. In some cases, persons surviving the crash attempted, without success, to attract the attention of search aircraft.

Because weather is often the cause of pilots becoming lost, or unknowingly flying off course and crashing, and because survivors of crashes often succumb to exposure or injuries, it is essential that search operations begin as soon as possible after it has been determined an aircraft is down. This results in many searches being initiated before the weather clears, which increases the hazard to which all search crews are exposed. These crews, who are normally persons serving voluntarily and often without compensation, risk their lives while trying to help others in distress. Everything within reason should be done to reduce the risk, and the time and money expended in aerial search and rescue operations.

CASE HISTORIES

Following are case histories of several searches for downed and crashed aircraft, utilizing existing visual methods, which illustrate the risks involved, the time and money expended, the frequent suffering and subsequent death of crash survivors due to failure to promptly locate downed aircraft.

(a) On February 21, 1959, two doctors departed Berlin, New Hampshire for Lebanon, New Hampshire, a distance of 75 miles. Apparently they encountered mountain snow squalls which resulted in a crash landing of the airplane. This aircraft was located on May 5, about 2½ months later. Search for the aircraft was conducted over a 7,000 square mile area for approximately two weeks by a large number of aircraft. A diary found in the aircraft indicated the doctors had lived about four days before succumbing to below-zero temperatures. They had listened to search planes flying overhead before they died.

(b) During a late-afternoon snow storm, a pilot hopelessly lost and out of fuel, but with communications established, crashed approximately seven miles south of Des Moines, Iowa. The aircraft was not located until morning. Indications were that one of the three persons aboard succumbed to exposure after sustaining only minor injuries in the accident.

(c) Another case in Iowa involved four fatalities, presumably all killed on impact. During a thunderstorm, the airplane had passed under a power line, then apparently skimmed over a corn field, coming to rest in a secluded thicket within four miles of a rather large Iowa city. The thicket concealed the fate of these four people for nearly four weeks. The foliage was so thick that nothing could be seen from the air, and the wreckage had penetrated in such a way that nothing could readily be seen from the ground. A day-to-day air and ground search in the general area yielded no clues, even in an open state such as Iowa.

(d) In July 1963, a Cessna 310 departed St. Petersburg for Tallahassee, Florida on a flight plan. Five persons were aboard. An extensive search for several days failed to locate the aircraft and it has not yet been found.

(e) In 1949, a Luscombe aircraft with one person aboard left Chicago enroute to Miami and disappeared after a fuel stop in Atlanta. There was no flight plan and search was not started until one week later when the pilot's wife called Miami because she had not heard from him. The wreckage was found south of Atlanta, and evidence indicated the pilot had survived and kept a diary for three or four days before he died of exposure. Had a downed aircraft radio transmitter been installed in this plane, and commenced broadcasting distinctive signals upon crash impact, the plane could have been located and the pilot rescued within a matter of hours.

During the past eight years, there have been 83 organized searches for overdue and missing aircraft in Oregon alone. Five of these aircraft and their occupants have never been found. The Oregon Director of Aeronautics reports that approximately 50% of the lost aircraft were from out of state, and 50% were 50 miles or more off their planned route when found.

The Idaho Director of Aeronautics states the problem as follows: An Idaho search usually involves 50 to 60 search aircraft which fly, whether permitting, 9 to 10 hours a day per aircraft, continuing day after day in search of the proverbial "needle in a hay stack."

Visual search can be conducted only during daylight hours and when weather permits sight of the terrain and objects thereon; however, if the downed aircraft is equipped with an operating rescue or radio transmitter, search can be conducted and the exact location determined in any type of weather, and any time of day or night.

SUITABLE RADIO TRANSMITTERS OR BEACONS ARE AVAILABLE

In 1964, the Radio Technical Commission for Aeronautics assembled a committee of 45 well qualified members and advisors from both government and industry to study the search and rescue problem, the methods utilized, specifications for new equipment, and radio frequencies that would be most practical for search and rescue purposes. This committee was designated "RTCA Special Committee 107", rith A. B. McMullen, Executive Vice President of the National Association of State Aviation Officials, serving as chairman. The findings and recommendations of this committee were published in a report dated January 14, 1965, issued by RTCA as "Document No. DO–126", and titled: "System for Downed Aircraft Location."

The RTCA Committee strongly recommended that civil aircraft, particularly general aviation aircraft, be equipped with a downed aircraft locator beacon which would be actuated automatically upon impact, and specified the standards it should meet.

Subsequent to publication of this report, the recommendations contained therein have received both national and international approval.

Largely as a result of the above actions, more than 20 manufacturers have developed and placed on the market radio transmitters of the type required for effective and relatively rapid search and rescue. Ten manufacturers produce rescue type transmitters ranging in cost from $79.95 to approximately $150.

Many FAA, military, state aviation agency and other aircraft have been equipped, or are being equipped with direction finding receivers which will permit search aircraft to quickly determine the location of, and proceed directly to an operating rescue beacon or transmitter. Experienced aviation officials in the State of Washington are confident they can locate a downed aircraft equipped with an operating radio beacon, anywhere in the state, within two or three hours of the time the aircraft is reported down. Any aircraft radio receiver that will operate on frequencies 121.5 or 243.0 MHz can receive a downed aircraft distress signal, which can be reported promptly to ground stations. Any aircraft receiving the distress signals can proceed to the location of the downed aircraft but not as directly as one equipped with a direction finder.

The need for the development of improved methods for locating downed aircraft and for the prompt relief of injured and exposed survivors is urgent. If every aircraft were required to be equipped with a radio transmitter designed to automatically broadcast distinct distress signals which would make rapid location and rescue possible, large amounts of money and many hours and days

of time would be saved each year. Of utmost importance, however, are the lives that might be saved.

The proposed bill would require civil aircraft to be equipped with downed aircraft radio transmitters which meet minimum standards governing service and operating characteristics established by the Federal Aviation Administration.

A proposed schedule for the installation of these devices would require manufacturers or persons importing new civil aircraft for sale to equip these aircraft with downed aircraft rescue transmitters (DART), if the manufacture is completed, or the date of import, is twelve months or more following the date of enactment of the bill.

Aircraft utilized for the transportation of passengers, mail, or cargo for compensation would be required to install a transmitter within 18 months.

A year and a half appears to be a reasonable time to allow aircraft owners carrying persons and cargo for hire to equip their aircraft with rescue and life saving devices.

Recognizing that owners may be reluctant to install additional equipment in aircraft which are near the end of their useful life, and that some aircraft may be operated exclusively within a limited area, the bill would not require installation of a downed aircraft rescue transmitter provided operation and flight was confined to a radius of 25 nautical miles of the airport on which the aircraft is permanently based. However, all other noncommercial aircraft in operation at the time of enactment of the bill would be required to be equipped with the transmitter within 30 months, or 2½ years.

RESPONSIBLE STUDENT ACTIVITY

(Mr. CEDERBERG asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, last week I placed a number of articles regarding the radical "Students for a Democratic Society" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The response to this exposure of the organization which should properly be called the "Students for the Destruction of a Democratic Society" was overwhelming.

First of all it indicated the real awareness of many of our people to the dangers presented by the group. Second, and most gratifying, was the response from students who took a stand for positive values and for the upholding of those institutions which have made our society great.

Many of these young people admit that they are not completely happy with the status quo, but they categorically deny that the method to be used in changing the situation is the destruction of the present system and its institutions. These are young, dedicated, hard-working youths. Young men and women who will lead our country in the future—and will lead it well.

Because it is often said that all that is ever printed about youths is bad, that no one recognizes the good that is done; and because it is important that we realize that the SDSers are really only the smallest minority on our campuses, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD a number of newspaper articles regarding some of the more positive actions of our college students. I can assure you that these stories are duplicated daily across the country. The tragedy, of course, is that because of the actions of a destructive few the good done by young adults such as those described in the following articles is ignored. I commend these news articles to my colleagues as an example of real student leadership:

[From the Saginaw (Mich.) News, Feb. 27, 1969]

"OTHER SIDE" SPEAKS

Every so often in the heat of campus rebellion somebody mans a fire extinguisher. And that's a restorer of our faith in the younger generation.

Such is the case at Michigan State which has been having its share of problems lately with the unstrung behavior of a tight-bound minority within its academic community.

It is nice, therefore, to salute the efforts put forth by three undergraduates. Most everybody will be happy that what they have done demonstrates there is another side to this whole business.

Peter W. Hens of Greenwich, Conn., Richard G. Moore of Birmingham and Charles W. Sickles of Pontiac—members of the junior class—have produced petitions bearing signatures of 10,000 students and faculty members opposed to violence and disruption on the East Lansing campus.

There is no way to calculate the reassurance something like this gives to the university administration or how much it means to state government which has vowed that MSU's normal educational processes are going to be preserved no matter what it takes.

The MSU petition drive is not going to solve any of the problems that genuinely disturb young people preparing to enter a world saddled with fear, hate and double-standard values. Perhaps on that basis it may seem meaningless. But what we like about it is that it is indicative that the "other side" is being heard from at least.

And what these 10,000 signatures say plainly enough is that the great majority is fed up with the incessant cacophony of dissent that finds its outlet in repetitive disruption, destruction and denial of the rights of others.

If those who have insisted on the kind of action that forces the campus into a dichotomy existence now find themselves looking at the odds as they really are, it is only because they have pushed too long and too hard. The impatient ones are now beginning to discover—even at MSU—that there is a limit to every man's patience.

If MSU, indeed any university, is to be preserved as the incubator of rational inquiry, dialogue and diverse opinion within the democratic framework and not surrender to anarchy it must function in an atmosphere of order.

It is highly unlikely that the 10,000 who have put their names to the petitions of students Hens, Moore and Sickles are motivated entirely by snapped-shut minds on vital issues of our times. Much more likely is that within that number are individuals engaged in a wide range of academic disciplines representing philosophies from ultra left to far right.

What they are saying in unison is that they are sick to their stomachs of the actions of those who would make over the whole world in their own image without regard to the niceties of process.

Students on campuses elsewhere would do well to follow the lead of the East Lansing threesome. Beleagured administrators would appreciate such a simple show of hands on this entire matter.

[From the Niles (Mich.) Daily Star, Feb. 26, 1969]

MSU STUDENTS WANT WORLD TO KNOW THEY DISAGREE

EAST LANSING.—Nearly 10,000 Michigan State University students want the world to know they disagree with violent tactics of demonstrators who disrupt campus activities.

They've signed petitions condemning "intimidation, violence and disruption" and presented their signatures Tuesday to the university's president, John A. Hannah.

"He seemed extremely appreciative of the petitions," said Peter Hens, a Greenwich, Conn., senior in physical education and one of seven students coordinating the petition drive, Hens' group calls itself Concerned Students of Michigan State.

"We just wanted to have people know that whoever signed the petitions is against the tactics of 50 or 60 people who claim they represent the student interest which they don't," Hens said.

"We wanted to have the majority of students stand up and be counted," he said. "The average student wants to get his education over and get out of here."

Hens said petition signatures now total some 9,850 and only about half the petitions circulated have yet been returned. There are more than 38,000 students enrolled at MSU.

Demonstrators for the past three weeks have staged sit-ins and protest rallies to show their opposition to the firing of Bertram Graskof, a psychology professor.

A window-breaking melee broke out earlier this month outside the building where Hannah was giving his annual "state of the university" address.

"It is the aim of the undersigned students and faculty of MSU to seek the welfare of all the students while preserving the dignity of the university," the petitions * * *.

"This can never be accomplished in an atmosphere of intimidation, violence and disruption which is being fostered by irresponsible people.

"Dissent is a vital part of the university community, but the disruption of President Hannah's state of the university address went beyond the limits of dissent that an organized society should tolerate."

[From the Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, Feb. 28, 1969]

MSU PETITION DRIVE SHOULD BE EMULATED

College youths across the nation would do well to take a look at a current Michigan State University campaign if they want to find out what student responsibility is all about.

Students at MSU reported Wednesday they now have more than 10,000 signatures on petitions which are aimed at demonstrating to legislators and university officials that the majority of students oppose violence and disruption on the campus as a means of settling grievances.

Two MSU student leaders in the petition drive said they have had tremendous success so far with students as well as faculty and they are elevating their goal to 15,000 signatures.

One student stressed that they are also trying to show Michigan legislators the university can handle its own problems without legislative interference.

Petitions alone will not stop irresponsible campus militants who thrive on disruptive tactics to keep attention focused upon themselves—much like a small child might do by throwing a temper tantrum.

Another example of this came last week when a small group of youths entered a meeting of the MSU Board of Trustees and attempted to disrupt the session.

But overt acts and attempts at intimidation can easily fog up the reality of a situation when such methods are carried out by small factions on a big campus and activities such as the petition drive go a long way toward putting things back in perspective.

Those pushing the petition drive are clearly doing a service to the student body and the university by showing that the ma-

jority stands behind a responsible approach in the handling of student problems.

Other MSU student organizations as well as independent groups on campus have joined the effort with recent statements denouncing violence and disorder in the university community.

The groundswell of majority opinion is beginning to take shape at MSU and we hope student leaders at other state universities will follow the example rather than the more comfortable alternative of remaining silent.

In connection with the issue, Gov. Milliken said earlier this week he would not seek new legislation, at least for the present, to combat student disorders on campuses.

The governor said he feels school administrators are handling the situation adequately. This is a reasonable approach.

There are plenty of laws on the books at present dealing with violence, trespassing and property destruction.

The need of additional legislation is doubtful unless officials in charge can clearly show that they are unable to control the situation with existing statutes.

[From the Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, Mar. 14, 1969]

THEY WALKED AWAY: INNER CITY TEENS REACHED BY "Y"

(By Judith Brown)

Thomas R. Helma remembers well that summer day two years ago when he walked onto a basketball court on Lansing's West Side, wearing a rumpled MSU tee-shirt and sporting the beginning stubble of a beard.

As he began shooting baskets, the black teen-agers at the other end of the court responded:

"They all walked off the court the first time I showed up," he recalls, "I felt just like Charlie Brown."

That initial relationship between Tom Helma and those teens soon changed. Within a few weeks, Helma was organizing neighborhood basketball and pool tournaments and setting up weekend camping trips for the West Side youths.

During the summer of 1967, five other field workers like Helma were organizing similar activities for Lansing's underprivileged young people. It was all part of Operation COOL, initiated by a group of civic leaders in response to a series of racial disturbances the previous summer.

FUNDS PROGRAM

The United Community Chest funded the program with a $25,505 grant.

Administered by the YMCA, the purpose of Operation COOL was to keep inner city youths off the streets and out of trouble and to get them involved in organized recreation programs.

For the most part, the experimental project worked out well—well enough that Helma and one of his coworkers proposed a year-round program to the Community Chest board.

The board agreed and provided $35,000 in new funds.

In June 1968 the expanded program started operating under the YMCA's newly formed Department of Urban Programs (formerly the Urban Action Committee), with Helma as its associate director.

The name Operation COOL was dropped, and director Herbert Kennedy now refers to it as the department's outreach worker or inner city program.

NO REAL IMAGE

Asked to describe the new project, Kennedy replied that the "program doesn't really have an image. We're trying to zero in on the potential dropouts and give them some kind of motivation to stay in school."

Using a "team kind of approach," Kennedy has employed six part-time outreach workers and 55 volunteers to provide organized recreation, tutoring and counseling for the 300 participating teen-agers.

The outreach workers are stationed in Lansing's three high schools and some of the junior highs. School officials supply them with lists of students who are making poor grades, and the workers contact these individuals and try to interest them in the "Y's" program.

When they're not in their school stations, the staff members may be on the streets recruiting more teens by visiting the neighborhood hangouts, such as pool halls and the Drop in Centers on Lansing's east, north and west sides.

Once initial contact has been made, the workers involve their youths in basketball, swimming, pool and other recreational activities at the YMCA. Teen-agers with academic problems are encouraged to attend the tutoring sessions held three nights each week at the "Y" and East Side Action Center.

MSU VOLUNTEERS

The volunteer tutors, most of whom are MSU students, assist the teen-agers in subject areas where they are having difficulties, as well as providing them with a degree of motivational counseling, Kennedy explained.

In an attempt to expand the program's base beyond the "Y," Kennedy has secured the twice-a-week use of the recreational facilities at Westminister Presbyterian Church. While outreach worker Jimmie James is supervising a boys' basketball game, Kennedy said, Diane Lawson may be upstairs giving tips on cooking, sewing and grooming to the girls.

On Thursday evenings, visitors to the "Y's" youth department gym can hear the monotonous pounding of basketballs on the hardwood court while watching about 30 members of the Junior Optimist Club energetically engaged in their weekly games. Supervised by Helma and Ron Ansley, the junior high youths polish off their evening's activity with a swim in the "Y" pool.

Ansley, a junior at MSU, has been working up to 20 hours per week in the program since last July. In his spare time, he works with a group of about 30 students at Eastern High School.

SIMILAR BACKGROUND

The students seem to respect him, which Ansley attributes to the fact that they know he progressed from the streets of the West Side to being a full-fledged college student. "It gives them a status symbol," he explained, "and something to strive for."

The soft-spoken MSU junior, like his other coworkers, is totally committed to the Y's inner city program—something which Kennedy requires in all his staff members.

"I got involved in the program," Ansley commented, "because I felt I owed something to the "Y." When I was growing up, guys like Kennedy helped me and now I feel obligated to give these kids the same type of guidance."

Although the main thrust of the department's program has been recreation, both Kennedy and Helma would like to expand the tutorial and counseling aspects by bringing in more outreach workers and volunteers.

"The basic objective is to keep the kids in school and to broaden their experiences," Helma remarked. "The recreational activity is sort of like putting a carrot in front of a horse."

Both Kennedy and Helma are attempting to start a series of regular discussion groups with the participating teen-agers and other students from varying economic backgrounds. Kennedy pointed out that David Hollister, an Eastern High teacher, brought together a group of black and white teens during the Christmas holidays and got them involved in serious discussions about racial attitudes and other related problems.

ATTACK "HANGUPS"

Helma feels that similar sessions will go a long way toward solving some of "the kids' psychological hangups" and will give them an opportunity to "test their own values against those of others."

In evaluating his nine months with the YMCA program, Helma commented that he had seen a gradual change in attitudes as the teen-agers became more involved.

"One of the most irritating kids we had has gone from being a court jester to one of the real leaders in this group," he observed. "He completely reversed his behavior in five weeks, and it usually takes six months or more for any significant change to occur."

Another teen-ager formerly a C and D student, improved his grades enough to make the honor roll last fall, Helma said.

As the former youth director for the YMCA, Kennedy has spent much of his career working with young people and he sees real merit in this current program.

"We're going out where the kids are and attempting to do something that few other agencies have tried or been able to accomplish," he said, adding, though, that more needs to be done.

In order to run the type of professional program he dreams of, Kennedy says he will need larger financial resources, more staff members and additional community facilities outside of the YMCA. But, for the time being, he has to be content with $37,000 budget provided for 1969 by the Community Chest.

SIGNIFICANT START

Kennedy and his staff members are not miracle workers, nor do they claim to be.

But they do seem to be making a significant start toward solving some of Lansing's inner city problems by channeling the energies of some 300 underprivileged teen-agers—black, white and Mexican-American—into educational and recreational activities that are motivating them to become more positive contributors to the Lansing community.

[From the Meridian Township (Mich.) Towne Courier, Feb. 6, 1969]

MSU STUDENTS RUN VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS

More than 8,600 Michigan State University students are expected to work in volunteer service programs this year, said Jim Tanck, director of volunteer programs and vice-president of student affairs at MSU.

The students, he said, will work in a variety of programs functioning largely in the inner-city area of Lansing.

One of the programs, the Student Education Corps, operates in 72 schools in Lansing and other cities providing industrial tutoring and adult education.

The Campus Community Commission, operating on the north side of Lansing, offers activities for more than 400 children. The activities include tutoring, arts and crafts, camp trips and educational games.

Other programs include job training centers, preschool play groups, open housing projects, group counseling, and providing facilities for the blind or disabled.

The most important aspect of the volunteer program at MSU, Mr. Tanck said, is that it is run by the students themselves. "The students are involved in decision making, recruiting, fund raising, evaluation and other aspects which affect programming."

The Office of Volunteer Programs, established in 1967, serves as a co-ordinating body for the projects, Mr. Tanck said. "It also serves as a liaison between the community and the university."

MSU also provides a Volunteer Bureau which serves as a control information and recruitment center for the various programs as well as many community agencies, he said.

The office of Volunteer Programs is the only venture of its kind at a college or university, Mr. Tanck said, and it supplies technical assistance to programs on other campuses and communities.

[From the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press, Feb. 19, 1969]

STUDENTS "SELL" MSU TO PUPILS

EAST LANSING.—A group of Michigan State University students hopes to inspire 100 sixth graders to stay in school by taking them to college for a weekend.

The Lansing grade schoolers are to spend this weekend at MSU as guests of students in one of the residence halls.

Each suite or two rooms has adopted a child for the informal weekend.

"We hope to give them some reason to stay in school," explained Margery Crisp, a Detroit freshman who planned the activities. "Perhaps we can even encourage some to aspire to college."

The youngsters are to visit the MSU museum, listen to "soul music," play ping pong and hear a talk by Gene Washington, a former Spartan football great who now is assistant director of the Michigan State Placement Bureau.

"We want to stress the personal relationship between the students and their adopted friend," Miss Crisp said. "We hope the kids will continue to visit us and write letters," she added.

[From the Observer Newspapers, Mar. 26, 1969]

PLAN TOUR TO CHANGE "BAD" STUDENT VIEWS

Two college coeds from Livonia are planning to spend this summer visiting towns and cities throughout the nation in an effort to counteract impressions that all college students are demonstrators or radicals.

Debby Youhass, of 29424 Minton, a junior at Michigan State, and Ann Friedrichs, a junior at the University of Michigan, will join 23 other college students in the goodwill tour. Except for Miss Friedrichs, all of the students are from MSU.

Miss Youhass, who was in Livonia this week during her spring vacation, said that the students would visit many different communities, between Michigan and the west coast, and would try to talk with as many people as possible, particularly in smaller towns.

"We are sending out letters to Chambers of Commerce and also to state and county fairs. We'll know better where we will actually be going after the replies come in," she said.

Although the central purpose of the project simply is to build goodwill for college students, each member of the group plans "to do his own thing" on the trip, Miss Youhass said.

Demonstrations and displays in art, drama and music definitely are planned, Miss Youhass said. She has been an art student for two years and will work on several art projects during the tour.

The students are asking support from Michigan business companies to help pay some of their expenses when they return to school in the fall, since the tour will take the place of summer work.

Miss Youhass said that students planned to pay for the trip itself through individual contributions and articles sold during the trip. They also are asking Chambers of Commerce in the communities to act as hosts.

Three MSU faculty members will accompany the students. Faculty coordinator is Dr. Clyde D. Morris, of the MSU Department of Communications. Persons who would like to act as sponsors for the trip should contact Dr. Morris, Miss Youhass said.

[From the Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, Jan. 11, 1969]

MSU COEDS ASSIST FAMILY OF HOSPITALIZED FATHER

(By Helen Clegg)

People caring enough to help other people have eased a father's heart while he is hospitalized.

When his doctor told Don Tuttle, 318 Jones, that he wanted him to enter the hospital Tuesday, Tuttle said he couldn't "because I had nobody to take care of the kids."

Tuttle, who has been unable to work since a heavy attack last September, has three boys, Don, Jr., 14; Danny, 14; and David, 10.

"They are good boys; I'm real proud of them," Tuttle said in Sparrow Hospital Friday afternoon.

He smiled as he told about how much his sons enjoy the MSU coeds who came two at a time, to babysit and cook the evening meal Wednesday and Thursday. The boys will be with relatives in Coldwater over the weekend, but the girls will return Sunday night—and every night until Tuttle gets out of the hospital in a week or so.

The coeds—who were found when the social services department of Sparrow called the Volunteer Bureau of MSU—cannot say enough how much they have enjoyed the Tuttle boys.

"After we first got there, we fixed supper and they helped us," said one of the four coeds who have helped out thus far. "They washed the dishes and said they didn't want us to do all the work, so we would come back again."

The girls—all residents of W. Holmes Hall—asked that their names not be used.

"Besides," said another, "It was so much fun; they were so sweet, and they really appreciate it."

A third coed, whose eyes were nearly wet with tears, said: "They are independent and mature, very aware. They adore their father, and he loves them. They are just fabulous!"

A dough mixer at Schafer Bakeries, Inc., for 14 years, the senior Tuttle tried to return to work a week before Thanksgiving, "but it was too fast. The guys there took up a collection and gave me $47 for groceries at Christmas."

Proud of his sons, he says they look after each other and that Don, Jr., who can cook, and wash and sew, placed sixth in a city diving tournament last month.

Tuttle's mother drove up from Coldwater Friday night to take the boys to their farm for the weekend. Her husband is ill and the boys were looking forward to helping with the farm chores. A younger brother of Tuttle's also lives at the family home.

There are plenty of coeds to babysit until the father leaves Sparrow. Shelly Ives, a resident assistant at W. Holmes, said that when she received the call from the Volunteer Bureau, she passed the word along, "and we had a whole flock."

The girls—a few among the 5,000 MSU students doing volunteer work—say they are getting more out of their babysitting than they're giving. They love cooking and being around kids. Everyone in the residence halls are about the same age.

PROF. ALAN K. CAMPBELL, FIFTH DEAN OF MAXWELL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS AT SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

(Mr. HANLEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, last Friday evening, one of the most distinguished scholars in our Nation was installed as the fifth dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University—Prof. Alan K. "Scotty" Campbell. Dr. Campbell now joins an illustrious group of men including State regent and internationally known author, Stephen Kent Bailey, and NATO Ambassador Harlan Cleveland, both of whom are former Maxwell deans.

I have known "Scotty" Campbell for many years and consider him a warm friend. I am proud that his career of dedicated public and academic service has included a lengthy tenure in my home town for, like his predecessors, he has brought a measure of greatness to our area.

Dr. Campbell has established himself as one of the preeminent scholars in the field of urban studies. Planners, developers, urban administrators, renewal experts, and dedicated students from throughout the world have come to Syracuse to study under him. He has developed one of the finest metropolitan studies schools in the Nation, and has earned the respect and esteem of both his peers and his students.

Mr. Speaker, given this background, it is little wonder that the main address for the evening was delivered by our colleague from the other body, Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE. Senator MUSKIE has established himself as an expert in the field of metropolitan studies, and as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, has worked ceaselessly to promote the welfare of our urban centers. His appearance Friday evening was a tribute both to himself and to Dean Campbell.

Mr. Speaker, Senator MUSKIE had a strong message in that speech, one which I believe every Member of this body would do well to read and ponder. I include it at this point:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE AT THE MAXWELL SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, MAY 2, 1969

Nowhere was it more apparent than on college campuses that something new and very necessary was being added to the American political scene last year.

That something was a renewed sense of involvement, born of student unrest with the world of the adult.

The spirited "give and take" sessions that took place between candidate and student did as much, if not more, to focus our attention on the Nation's goals and objectives, and force us all to confront our list of national priorities than any other series of events of the 1968 campaign.

It produced a needed "shot in the arm" for our political system, and has since helped move it along toward needed reform and change. When our Constitution is amended—to provide for more democratic election procedures—we should call it—the Students' amendment—for they, more than any other active group, will have brought it about.

The theme you have selected—The University and its Communities—is timely.

One of the more striking aspects of the contemporary student movement is that it is worldwide. This movement, as all such movements before it, is challenging all the traditional community forms as well as social structure. It is an international "happening."

It is a process as old as time, but it is just as thrilling and significant as it was the first time it happened. And, in their quest for certainty and predictability, the young have forced all manner of convention and complacency to undergo careful examination and scrutiny.

One of the most significant advantages to come from this has been an eventual realization that as a people we are not all that we profess to be—either to ourselves, or to others. We have been held up to light—"candled" as it were—and we have been found to be wanting in character. We have learned that substance is more than rhetoric.

This process has given the realization that not all of us, when challenged to become tolerant, do, in fact, become tolerant. In fact, some of us have proven to be less than tolerant, flexible, or willing to rely on reason. Not enough have responded to the urgings to build and dedicate a better world. This troubles the young. It should trouble all of us.

Despite the deepening character of this dilemma, many Americans do recognize the need to step back from the pace of their own lives, and take another look at the injustices of society, the inadequacies of effort and the incompleteness of life for far too many.

Nowhere are our sensitivities to crisis touched more than by our cities.

Tension, conflict, militancy and dissent threaten to replace commerce, industry, culture and creativity.

Ghettos have become a common device for stifling the flow of humanity into the mainstream of America. All too often blight, deterioration, and rejection have followed.

We have become far too accustomed to the face of America's urban crisis. It is mainly black. It is without resources. It is despair. It is imprisonment.

In 1968, another half million white Americans fled the cities of this country. They left behind a city with a shaky and shrinking tax base, a school system badly in need of uplift, and few industrial or job-producing opportunities for those forced to remain behind.

Is it any wonder that today's youth questions our system of values, and challenges our apparent order of priorities? We should all understand youth's anger and frustration. . . .

Anger because too much of the "Other America" remains disinherited from the benefits and advantages of an affluent economic system;

Frustration because there is no logic, sense, or reason to what we continue to do to our air, our land, our water—knowing the calamitous results that lie ahead;

Anger because we boast 100 months of unprecedented economic growth and expansion, but we seem powerless to provide more than promises for the 22 million Americans still existing in poverty;

Frustration because we produced 8.5 million new jobs over the past five years, but we have 8.4 million Americans still on welfare.

Our anger and our frustrations reflect the fact that we have made big promises to ourselves—but too many have not been kept.

The Nation's general prosperity and economic growth have not reached the needs of the hard-core poor and unemployed.

Job discrimination remains a serious problem and minority employment is still concentrated in low-income, low-status jobs.

Business opportunities for minority entrepreneurs are too few and too slow in coming.

The nation's housing needs have been documented.

Hostile attitudes toward the city verifies the assertion that we are an urban nation with a rural bias.

We are, as John Gardner aptly stated: "A massively impersonal society" through our growing isolation from one another—between black and white, rich and poor, city and country. It is an isolation that exists because we built "dams" when we should have been building "bridges." It is an isolation that continues to grow greater each day.

It is more important to understand that the crisis we face is not one of public policy or the lack of it. We are already clearly on record as favoring full employment, equal opportunity, adequate housing, the elimination of poverty.

The problem is not therefore one of public policy; rather, one of national priorities.

It is a problem we will solve only when we commit ourselves and our resources to its solution.

If we are to stay abreast of our needs, and meet our responsibilities to one another, we must be honest enough to see things as they really are.

The crisis we face is one of our own making, and its solution requires the complete involvement and cooperation of all of our social forces.

We have to be honest enough to realize that we inhibit human spirit and the incentive to work by not accommodating those who are the disadvantaged.

We have to be honest enough to admit that ghetto housing, complete with crumbling plaster and the smell of garbage and human waste, mocks our guarantee of "decent housing and a suitable environment" for every American.

We have to do these things, because national priorities are not self-fulfilling. They do not respond to a policy of drift nor to an attitude of indifference.

For the last several years, we have reassured ourselves that once the Vietnam War ended, new programs for our neglected cities, and new funds for the needs of our people, would be available.

Now we know that this assumption is unjustified. Pressure from the military to commit our resources to new weapons systems is beginning to be felt. The President has recommended deployment of a modified Sentinel system. Should the Vietnam War end—we know that defense spending is not going to tail off automatically.

National priorities, if they are to be changed, must submit to thoughtful study and sound judgment from many sides. They will not shift automatically.

Domestic needs, if they are to receive the massive commitment of funds that they require, must be given the sense of priority they deserve.

Within the next few months, decisions will be made by the Administration, the Congress, and by the people that will have consequences to be felt long after the 1970's.

The ABM is only one of many, but it is the first. And in this world, we now know we cannot have both guns and butter in the manner which we have thought possible. We cannot afford it.

Thus we will be making decisions about the kind of society we desire.

We will be making decisions that will either reflect our commitment to peace, to a sane defense policy and a just life for all Americans, or to a policy of continued international tension, escalation of defense systems, and mutual distrust and suspicion.

We will be making decisions that will determine whether we continue to drive the young generation out of the democratic process, or whether that process will again be made responsive to all Americans.

One point should be stressed—even to the point of overstatement.

None of these choices can be made effectively unless approached and resolved through reasoned argument, no matter how emotionally charged they may appear to be, or how impassioned the plea on their behalf.

Today's college student represents the "honest generation," and if it is at war—it is at war with hypocrisy and inertia. I would plead with that "honest generation."

My offer is simple. Be as concerned with the issues of peace as with the issue of war.

Be as concerned about the ABC's of urban life as with the ABM's of weaponry.

Be as concerned about hunger and poverty as with the draft and the Institute of Defense Analysis.

Be as concerned about political solutions as political problems.

CULTURAL MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT EMBODIED IN ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW ART MUSEUM

(Mr. HANLEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, in the cultural development of any community, one of the major achievements of the citizenry is the establishment of a new art museum. It is a greater achievement, of course, if once established, the art museum continues to benefit from enthusiastic public support. I have the privilege of representing in the Congress such a community—Syracuse, N.Y.—and the type of public-spirited citizens referred to above.

After 8 long years of planning and fundraising, the citizens of Syracuse last fall opened the Everson Museum of Art. The museum itself is not new. Its modern I. M. Pei-inspired facility is, however, and it has attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors since the doors first opened.

Mr. Speaker, this colorful addition to the landscape of Syracuse now houses collections of traditional American painting, contemporary American painting, Chinese art, contemporary American graphics, contemporary American ceramics, English pottery and porcelain of the 18th and 19th centuries and numerous works by artists of New York State. Under the dynamic leadership of industrialist John D. Williams and his dedicated board of directors, the museum now boasts of a distinguished lecture series, a guided-tour program, traveling educational exhibitions, art classes for the children of Syracuse, slide lecture programs for the schools of Syracuse, changing exhibitions and a permanent collection of paintings, ceramics and sculpture—and no admission fee.

Mr. Speaker, we hear much today of our quantitative value system in the United States. I suggest that perhaps we all too often tend to overlook the qualitative values. Cultural development is not and need not be stiff necked; nor should the manifestations of that development; for example, painting, sculpture, ceramics, be considered merely ancilliary appendages to the society. Both the cultural development of a community and its manifestations thereof are as much a part of society as are its political, social, and economic considerations.

The impact of the Everson Museum on the cultural development of Syracuse, and its potential influence on the establishment of museums across the Nation can readily be seen from an article by noted architectural columnist Ada Louise Huxtable in the New York Times. I submit it herewith for the observation of my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 29, 1968]

ARCHITECTURE: OBJECT LESSON IN ART AND MUSEOLOGY

(By Ada Louise Huxtable)

SYRACUSE.—Anyone who wants to know what the 20th century is about esthetically will be well rewarded by a trip to the Everson Museum of Art, a small, superb structure that opened here last weekend to serve this community of 300,000. After eight long years of planning and fund raising for a total of slightly less than $3.5-million, Syracuse has built an object lesson in art and museology.

The Everson Museum sets a standard that other cities, embarked on a wave of museum

and cultural center building of epic proportions and some historical significance, will now be called on to match.

Everson's building has been designed by I. M. Pei and Partners, with the sensitive collaboration of the museum's director, Max Sullivan, and the sensible backing of an obviously nonmeddling board of trustees whose faith in professionalism has been justified by the results. They must be doing something right, because Mr. Pei has received the commission for the extension of the National Gallery in Washington on the strength of the Syracuse job.

This is the architecture of today as art history will eventually record it. It does not try to be pretty, or classical, or decorative, or evocative, or palatable to the cautious. It does its own thing.

Most important of all, it is a clear demonstration of the dramatic oneness of contemporary art and architecture.

This is a fact of art that has escaped those constantly calling for "integration of the art." It has eluded the critics who deal in increasingly complicated treatises on increasingly minimal aspects of modern painting and sculpture without recognition of their relationship to the contemporary environment.

It has been ignored by most museum directors who treat art of any kind as something to be maintained and displayed in a vacuum. No greater disservice or distortion would be inflicted on the art of this century.

Not since the age of fresco, to which the current phenomenon bears tenuous resemblances, have art and architecture provided such an esthetic and environmental whole. If the specialists would stop looking at their specialties long enough, they could see the shape and meaning of art in our time. Everson is a good place to see it.

ON THE HIGHEST PLANE

The visitor will not find a notable permanent collection. There are other cities to go for that. But he will have what the contemporary art museum can, and should, uniquely provide: a fully dimensional esthetic experience in which the building and its contents interact on the highest plane.

Whether Everson has succeeded by design or accident or both, this esthetic totality is undoubtedly a more important and valuable objective for the small museum in the small city than the costly and competitive building of a large collection.

It gives that old chestnut, "art appreciation," new meaning. It should be the primary aim of any arts building program. If the point is missed, as it is being missed or muffed in so many of the new centers, the result is second-rate art and compromise culture.

The form of the Syracuse building is a squared pin-wheel consisting of four gallery blocks around a sculpture court. Placed in the desolate limbo of center city urban renewal, opposite an older sports and convention hall, next to a steam plant and with future neighbors amorphous, the museum gives style where none exists. It also connects with an underground parking garage, a planning plus.

The material is the same inside and out—reinforced concrete faced with a diagonally striated, bush hammered aggregate that warms the gray with crushed rose granite. Exposed, natural concrete borders the panels and is used for stairs, balconies and bridges inside.

The identical exterior and interior finishes can be seen simultaneously through glass panels set in channels in the walls between the gallery blocks. The only additional material is oak, beautifully used for gallery floors, stair rails and display cabinets.

Outside, the small, but massive blocks hover over a large, paved plaza. Above ground, the whole structure is only 130 feet by 140 feet. Underground, it broadens to a 260-foot length to accommodate administrative and members' quarters and an elegant 320-seat auditorium.

Inside, the gallery blocks have controlled artificial light. They are bridged continuously around the two-story, 50-foot square interior court, where natural light pours down from rimming skylights of clear glass, always visible from the galleries. Passing clouds and outdoor planting become part of the building through these and the glazing that joins them, running from ground to roof, at two corners.

TIMELESS AND CLASSICAL

The carefully arranged and detailed sequences and play of space and light, the changing views of art form and color, the way the pedestrian moves and experiences and enjoys all this, is architecture. The way in which abstract painting—such as the huge Morris Louis and Helen Frankenthaler canvasses hung on the court wall—is enriched and completed by the setting is art. And the reverse, of course, is true also.

At its small scale, the building is comfortably monumental. It is timeless and classical without caricaturing classicism or compromising its contemporaneity. As art and culture Everson is now—and it is going to last a good long time.

A BILL DIRECTED AT MEETING THE CRISIS IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM INTRODUCED

(Mrs. GREEN of Oregon asked and was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the very distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and I are cosponsoring a bill directed at meeting the crisis in our public school system. This was introduced last week.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my very real honor for many years to serve with Chairman PERKINS. Although on occasion we may have differences on procedures, our goals are the same. I respect and admire our able chairman both for his deep concern for the welfare of our Nation and educational system, and for the extraordinary dedication with which he presses his committee responsibilities. Under his guidance, the committee has held hearings almost every weekday since mid-January. The chairman is a hard taskmaster, but we appreciate the urgency of his concern about our Nation's problems.

These problems are very real. The situation is almost unbelievably bad. Violence, classroom disruption, destruction of property, the use of drugs by students, teacher's strikes, the organized fomenting of revolution and anarchy—the list of woes afflicting our schools is long and frightening.

Within the last few months in Washington, D.C., an assistant high school principal tried to stop three teenagers from robbing the school bank; they shot him dead. In New York City, a high school teacher stepped into the hall to investigate a disturbance; three youths squirted lighter fluid on his clothing and set him aflame.

Elsewhere the violence took the form of riots, many of them with bitter racial overtones. School principals at their annual convention in March indicated that 67 percent of the city schools are experiencing protests. The percentage of suburban schools is the same. In rural areas it is 53 percent. The protest is almost as likely to occur in junior high schools as in senior high schools: 56 percent as compared to 59 percent.

The High School Principals Association of New York City in an appeal for help in January to Mayor Lindsay and the Board of Education declared that "disorders and fears of new and frightening dimensions stalk the corridors of many of our schools."

Much of this disorder and violence is formless, the expression of hates and frustrations which seem to embitter the lives of so many of our young people. Much of it increasingly is the result of agitation on high school and junior high school campuses by radical and revolutionary organizations. National headquarters of Students for a Democratic Society estimates that the formation of high school chapters is up about 80 percent over last year. SDS has hired a national coordinator to oversee high school organizational work.

More than 500 underground high school newspapers have sprung up. This free press is invariably obscene as well as revolutionary and reflects a deterioration in taste and manners that is most depressing.

The 1968 FBI uniform crime report indicates that arrests of juveniles for serious crimes increased 59 percent from 1960 to 1967 while the number of juveniles—aged 10–17—increased only 22 percent. Serious crimes are enumerated as murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny—$50 and over—and auto theft.

The use of illegal drugs, particularly marihuana, has soared among students in the public and private high schools of our cities. Use of marihuana has in some schools become almost casual. Everywhere it seems to be accepted in the sense that well over half of the typical high school student body has tried it.

The use of marihuana tends to lead to the use of heroin, addictive, and physically damaging. In at least one New York high school the social workers estimate that 40 to 50 percent of the students are "on" heroin. In another school the estimate was 30 percent. These figures may not be accurate. This is an area in which it is understandably difficult to get information. But the impression of those involved with the problem is that drug use is without any question rising rapidly among young people.

The director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has pointed out the FBI's uniform crime reports indicate that drug arrest of persons under 18 rose 778.3 percent during the period 1960–67. During 1968, 20 percent of the new addicts reported to the bureau were under 21. In the District of Columbia this far exceeds the national average with 29 percent of the new addicts reported being under 21.

Violence, revolution, riots, drug abuse, all hammer at our beleagured schools. These problems are not local. They are national problems and they must be met nationally. Our local teachers and school

administrators need massive Federal assistance.

In the face of these difficulties, inevitably our schools face a major problem in recruiting teachers. According to a U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare bulletin—

> The Nation's most critical education problem is the recruitment, preparation, retraining, and retention of quality personnel to staff its schools and colleges.

This is the conclusion drawn after a reading of the U.S. Education Commissioner's report, the "State of the Education Professions."

The report points out that we may expect vast increases in the number of children attending preschool. The report also points out that "70 percent of our secondary school pupils—never receive a baccalaureate degree" and if we are to meet the needs of this—the "neglected majority"—then we must consider a vast expansion of vocational education programs. There are also needs for teachers with special skills in teaching the handicapped, the mentally retarded, the emotionally disturbed.

The supply of teachers is not equal to the demand. The National Education Association asked the State departments of education in 1967 for their assessment of "how the total number of qualified teacher applicants compares with the number of teaching position vacancies." Only one State reported sufficient applicants to fill positions. The NEA also reported the expectation that demand would exceed the expected supply of new teachers in 1967–68 by 145,700.

The fact that many more students are now going to college and choosing the teaching profession will help. The fact that there has been a declining birthrate will also help—temporarily. But the Bureau of the Census tells us that a birth boom is coming. The all time high was 4,308,000 babies born in 1957, and, the census reports:

> Chances are it won't be long, perhaps as early as 1975, until the total creeps up over 4 million again . . .

What all of this means is that we can expect a continuing shortage of qualified teaching personnel. And yet, if we are serious about implementing quality education, this cannot be permitted to happen. Without teaching personnel, there can be no education at all. Without sufficient personnel, there can be no quality education. And if we are satisfied with putting limits on opportunity for education, we must also face the fact that we have failed to implement our national goal of equal opportunity for all.

FACILITIES

The inadequacy of school facilities presents still another problem. In a study of school facilities conducted in 1962, it was found that over 25,000 classrooms are still in use which were built before 1920. In the public schools of the 52 largest cities in the United States an additional 156,704 classrooms were needed to achieve optimal operation. Assuming 20 children per classroom, over 3 million children are adversely affected. Apart from the problem of providing the bare space for classrooms, the educational needs of our industrial technological society multiply in bewildering fashion. In a computer age, the cost of training equipment is high. Updating equipment is constantly and absolutely necessary if students are to be trained to handle jobs in the outside world.

The vocational education needs of our young people are not now being met. The Manpower Report of the President for 1968 points out that the United States keeps a larger proportion of its children in school longer than does any other nation to insure their preparation for lifetime activity. Yet the unemployment rate among youth is higher here than in any other industrial nation and had been rising sharply until the introduction of Government youth programs over the last 4-year period.

Vocational education has too often been treated like a stepchild in the educational process. Enrollment in vocational programs at the secondary level constitutes only a quarter of the total high school enrollment throughout the Nation, even though five out of six youths never achieve a college education. Less than one-half of the non-college-trained labor force was found by a 1964 labor department survey to have had any formal training for current jobs.

Our schools should be able to offer better preparation to our youth. James Conant in his book, Slums and Suburbs, states:

> Educational experience of youth should fit their subsequent employment. There should be a smooth transition from full time school to full time job whether the transition be after grade ten, or after graduation from high school, college, or university.

Unfortunately, this smooth transition is many times not possible because of the lack of vocational education programs. Often rural high schools tend to be too small to offer more than agriculture, home economics, and office education in the way of vocational training. Most of their students will ultimately seek urban jobs but have no preparation for urban life. This has been a particular problem in the south. In many other schools vocational education suffers because administrators still assume that all students will pursue a 4-year college degree or because of inadequate budgets.

For too long many have labored under the misapprehension that vocational education was in some way inferior. I was particularly appalled recently, to learn that there is apparently even discrimination shown among different types of vocational education programs. A news article in the National Observer recently made the observation that in Barnwell, S.C., the major distinction between the Negro secondary school and the white secondary school in the Barnwell school district was the vocational education offering in each. The Negro students could choose between vocational agriculture or brick masonry; the white students could choose between auto repair and industrial arts. In each case the programs were designed to teach students to perform different roles in different worlds.

But it is time for us to wake up to the value and necessity of vocational education. Dr. Bruno Bettleheim in testifying before the Special Subcommittee on Education recently pointed out that most young people feel the need to relate their learning experience to life; to see that they will somehow be equipped to enter society. Vocational education fills that need. More than 90 percent of students who completed vocational education programs in 1966 and sought employment were employed full time by October, 1966. Eighty percent were working in the field in which they were trained. By 1970 there will be 5.2 million jobs open for people with skills—it is imperative that we provide the training necessary to fill those positions.

SCHOOL DROPOUT PROBLEM

In the decade that is coming to a close, it has been estimated that 26 million young people will enter America's labor market. Unless some revolutionary improvement occurs, 7.5 million of this number will be school dropouts with 2.5 million having had less than 8 years of formal education.

This is not what should be happening in a society which is inextricably meshed in a technological spiral. At this time, there is one program that is directed to the school dropout—ESEA, title VIII. With an adequate budget of $5.0 million, it has been given the awesome responsibility for developing models which will prevent school dropout.

As our society becomes more technologically oriented, more books, library and texts, are needed. At present, we have not even come close to the recommended national standard set by the American Association of School Librarians in 1960. Of the $13 recommended as the amount to be provided for each pupil for library books, we have been able, using State and local funds and Federal funds from ESEA, title II, to provide only $5.31—a figure which is 59.2 percent short. If we include textbooks and expand our funding sources to include all available, we are still 54 percent below this minimum.

In 1969, new standards were adopted by NEA's Department of Audio-Visual Instruction and the American Association of School Librarians. These put the desired expenditure for library books per pupil at $38.04. Adding $14 per pupil at the elementary level and $21 at the secondary for textbooks, and assuming the Federal share of the total cost is 25 percent, the budget for EDEA, title II provided 20 percent of this amount. The new budget allows no Federal money for this critical area.

The situation confronting our private schools is acute, and it is a problem of importance to all our citizens through the implications of additional stress on our public school system.

For example, Catholic education's net loss for 1968 was 218 schools, and the decline seems to be increasing. Since 1966 a total of 430 elementary and secondary schools have been lost to the system. Figures released by the National Catholic Educational Association show that since 1966, 207 new schools opened or are scheduled to open and 637 schools closed or are scheduled to close.

The closure of private schools will bring an additional tax burden to the public. The closing of any 350 pupil private school would increase State and lo-

cal taxes by a quarter of a million dollars a year.

It has been estimated that, if the parochial schools in Michigan were closed, it would cost the Michigan taxpayers $205 million to educate the 330,000 students presently enrolled in parochial school in that State.

In my own State of Oregon, it was necessary recently to close two Catholic secondary schools and elementary schools. The result was a rise of 25 percent in enrollment for the public school district at the secondary level.

The bill that I have the honor of cosponsoring with the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education is a major step toward recognition of the crisis in our schools. It provides Federal support to State educational agencies, both in meeting the need to increase salaries for teachers and also to meet the urgent needs of schools for current expenditures.

We must recognize the necessity of increased Federal participation in the financing of public education. Everywhere throughout the country the burden of supporting our public school system at the elementary and secondary level is passing beyond the tax support ability of our local citizenry. In this bill the Federal Government assumes a substantial role in supporting our public schools.

LADY OF HONOR: "BARBARA FRIETCHIE" McCONNELL SHOWS THE COLORS, HAULS DOWN BLACK FLAG OF REVOLUTION

(Mr. CLEVELAND asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to tell the story of a valiant lady—the wife of the president of the University of New Hampshire. She has set an example for college administrators to follow. When the squealers and the yappers dared to run up the black flag of revolution at the university, this valiant lady marched out of her house to the flagpole and ordered down the black flag and ordered up the Nation's colors.

What a thrill it was to read of that act. What a proud moment in a dark time it was. We bow to that valiant lady and salute her courage and her brave instincts. Many hundreds of thousands of men—and women, too—have died in the service of that flag. Millions have grown up in freedom under that flag. It chills us to think of desecrating hands profaning that flag, which has been kept floating free by the blood, tears, and sacrifices of so many millions. It thrills the heart to read what Mrs. McConnell did.

At this point in the RECORD, I insert an editorial saluting this great lady. It appeared in the Manchester Union-Leader and was written by Publisher William Loeb:

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, May 1, 1969]

"BARBARA FRIETCHIE" McCONNELL

(Editorial by William Loeb, publisher)

Hats off to the wife of the President of the University of New Hampshire, who should henceforth be known as "Barbara Frietchie" McConnell. When the student barbarians raised the black flag of revolution and anarchy over the campus at Durham, it was Mrs. McConnell who produced the Stars and Stripes, marched over from her house and saw to it that the black flag was hauled down and our Nation's flag hauled up.

This was probably an instinctive act of patriotism on the part of Mrs. McConnell. She probably never thought of the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, who was born just a few miles away and who wrote the famous poem, "Barbara Frietchie," which is quoted in this editorial.

You will remember the story. The Confederate forces had invaded Maryland and entered the town of Frederick:

"Up the street came the rebel tread
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.
Under his slouched hat left and right
He glanced; the old flag met his sight.
Halt!—the dust-brown ranks stood fast.
Fire!—out blazed the rifle-blast.

"It shivered the window, pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.
Quick, as it fell, from broken staff,
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf.
She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.
'Shoot, if you must, this old gray head
But spare your country's flag,' she said."

Mrs. McConnell isn't old and doesn't have a gray head—but the spirit of her act was the same.

The last lines of the poem, of course, do not apply to the unruly mob who hoisted the black flag, which was of a color that certainly reflects the state of their souls:

"A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came;"

These revolutionaries from Boston and from the Durham campus don't even know the meaning of the word "shame."

"The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word;"

There isn't a nobler nature to these self-opinionated, spoiled brats who think they have discovered life and that they are a law unto themselves and above all man-made law.

" 'Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!' he said.
All day long through Frederick Street
Sounded the tread of marching feet:
All day long that free flag tost
Over the heads of the rebel host:
Ever its torn folds rose and fell
On the loyal winds that loved it well;"

The poem continues:

"Peace and order and beauty draw
Round thy symbol of light and law."

At a time when college administrators all over the United States are like so many cowards, giving in to the thugs who, like Adolf Hitler's brown shirt youth gangs, are seizing university halls, at last comes the wife of a university president who has the courage to defy the mob and stand up for the integrity of the campus and of our country.

Mrs. McConnell, faced with an emergency, didn't call a committee meeting to decide what not to do. She acted instinctively and correctly.

This newspaper salutes her and we believe that most of New Hampshire does the same.

Long live "Barbara Frietchie" McConnell!

SERGEANT HAMMOND, CREWMAN ON "PUEBLO," ADDRESSES NEW HAMPSHIRE GENERAL COURT—TELLS WHY HE WANTS TO TEACH HISTORY

(Mr. CLEVELAND asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, today's decision concerning the disposition of the investigation of the *Pueblo* incident is an appropriate moment to place in the RECORD of our proceedings the comments of Marine Sgt. Robert Hammond, of Cornish, N.H., a few weeks ago to the New Hampshire General Court. The sergeant was a member of the *Pueblo's* crew.

The valor and patriotism of this man shines through his statement. They appear to have been honed and hardened by his long confinement and the cruelties and personal suffering he endured. I am proud of this brave New Hampshireman. I am proud to bring his moving remarks to our State legislature to the attention of my colleagues in the National Legislature, as follows:

REMARKS BY SERGEANT HAMMOND

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great honor and pleasure to be here today. It was probably one thing I wanted all my life to visit my State Legislature and it is my first time here. I really am quite thrilled about it. As for my being back here in the United States, I think it means quite a bit more to me to understand what freedom really means after living almost an entire year under communism and its lies and some of its tyranny. I really appreciate what it means to be back in a free country here in the United States, especially a place like New Hampshire. I have lived in New Hampshire all my life and I plan on coming back to New Hampshire when I get out of the Marine Corps and take up residency here.

While I was over in North Korea I made one decision and that is quite important to me and that is that after getting out of the Marine Corps., I plan on going to Plymouth State College here in New Hampshire and become a history teacher, more specifically U.S. history, and my main reason for deciding this was, while in Korea I gave quite a bit of thought towards the unrest among the youth in the United States, and my last several years in the service I have been overseas, but I read in newspapers that I did receive over there, one of the main headlines being about the unrest with the youth especially on the college campus. They seem to be very dissatisfied with the government that we have today. By myself teaching United States History, I hope that I will be able to bring out in my own way to the students that I come in contact with and make them understand better how our government runs and how its organization is set up. I believe that is quite important. I know that when I was in high school and when I graduated from high school, I was eighteen. I wanted to vote, but as you know the voting age is twenty-one and then again I didn't know that much about my own state government and actually I probably would not have been qualified to vote. If I can help these younger people to better understand how the government runs they would be better qualified to vote and may eventually take more of an interest in their own government and participate in it more.

This is one thing that seems to be lacking today. There is unrest in the youth toward the government and they don't seem to be that interested in it. They only want to speak out against it when they really don't know what they are speaking out against. It was actually quite hard coming back to the United States and finding out all this. I think if I can just do something about it, then I will be most happy.

Also I would like to thank the House of Representatives for my birthday congratulations. I received an official document with a state seal sending me birthday congratulations and commendations which was on Jan-

uary 9th, and at that time I was in the hospital in San Diego and that was quite a morale builder to know that I was remembered by my own state and by all the people here. Thank you very much.

THE ROTC

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include an editorial.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the ROTC has come under severe attack on some of our college campuses. This seriously concerns me as a member of the Committee on Armed Services, and as an educator.

This fine program, operating on 350 campuses—268 of them for the Army—is responsible for nearly 60 percent of the officers for the Armed Forces. It is the largest single producer of junior officers for the Army. The U.S. Marine Corps is dependent on these graduates.

We certainly do not want an all U.S. Military Academy-oriented corps of officers in the services. Those who believe in the civilian control of the Armed Forces, would certainly be doing a paradoxical disservice by their attempts to do away with the ROTC program.

ROTC scholarships help play an important part in the education of our youth. If a youngster can qualify for the advanced course, he can receive or be paid tuition, fees, laboratory expenses, and textbooks plus a subsistence allowance of $50 per month. This is money well spent. The Seventh Missouri District's armed services appointment advisory committee learned at an early date the inherent advantage of junior ROTC graduates in the competition for congressional appointments.

An interesting editorial explaining the many advantages of the ROTC has appeared in the New York Sunday News. I include it in the RECORD and commend its reading to all who are interested in or versus this fine program:

GUNNING FOR THE ROTC

ROTC stands for Reserve Officers Training Corps.

The ROTC has 268 units in as many U.S. colleges and universities. It is a prime target of the kooks, Communists and born suckers who have been trying to wreck U.S. high education for the last four or five years and are still trying.

What do these persons have against the ROTC?

The campus wreckers' ultimate objective in most cases is the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence. The colleges—far too many of them cursed with spineless executives and high percentages of radicals in their faculties—look like a good takeoff point for this hoped-for revolution.

Chief bulwarks of the government, of course, are the armed forces. If our Communist enemies in Moscow and Peking, and their conscious or unknowing agents in the U.S.A., ever can undermine and demoralize the armed forces, the downfall of the government will be in sight.

The ROTC is a prime supplier of officers to the Army, Navy and Air Force. The Army Digest calls it "the largest and least expensive" officer education system.

It was created by the 1916 National Defense Act during President Woodrow Wilson's administration.

The idea of military training in colleges and universities, however, dates back to 1819, in President James Monroe's time. In that year, former West Point Superintendent Alden Partridge established Norwich University in Vermont as a military college.

Since 1916, the ROTC has expanded and improved its training activities greatly. Nowadays, it is divided into two categories.

IMPORTANT OFFICER SUPPLY SOURCE

The Basic ROTC course, normally taken in a man's freshman and sophomore years at college or university, calls for about three hours' study per week.

This course includes training in essential military subjects, leadership techniques, military history and use of weapons and military equipment.

If you make good in the Basic Course and show definite leadership qualities, you can expect to be selected for the Advanced Course in your junior and senior years.

Taking about five hours a week, the Advanced Course covers military tactics, logistics, leadership techniques, exercise of command, and kindred subjects.

About 25,000 young men who have passed the Advanced Course are expected to become commissioned officers this year from the ranks of the ROTC. Some will make their careers in the armed forces. Others will serve their minimum required time as military men, then go into civilian activities as members of the Reserve Forces.

In many colleges and universities—academic credit—is given for ROTC work, as in any other courses of study. It is for each institution to decide, however, whether to grant academic credit or not.

This is one point at which the campus rebels habitually attack the ROTC. Obviously, if they can force a college to refuse or cease to grant academic credit for military studies, fewer students will be attracted to the ROTC.

WHY REDS ET AL FIGHT THE ROTC

That explains the fierce attacks on the ROTC at Harvard and other institutions of higher learning. These attacks, whether the attackers know it or not, are one element in the plans of the Communist enemies of the United States to rot and wreck this country's government.

It is only wise and foresighted, therefore, for the great majority of moderate students in all the colleges and universities having ROTC units to defend those units.

It is equally wise and foresighted for alumni of these institutions to combat anti-ROTC activities and faculty members in any way they can.

The ROTC is of vital importance to the military, which is of vital importance to the American people. Let's back the defense department solidly in its promise to permit the ROTC to be degraded in no way whatever.

CONSUMER PROTECTION RECOMMENDATIONS

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Legislation of the Federal Bar Council, a group of prominent lawyers concerned with the development of Federal jurisprudence, has recently made far-reaching recommendations concerning our efforts in the field of consumer protection in a unanimous report. I believe that these thoughtful comments provide the basis for further consideration of national needs in this area and merit the attention of my colleagues.

I include the report in the RECORD at this point:

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON CONSUMER PROTECTION

(By the Committee on Legislation, Federal Bar Council)

We believe that further legislation is needed in a number of areas to protect the consumer. Several concern new remedies.

There are many situations in which large numbers of consumers are victimized by illegal conduct but cannot afford to sue individually. Compare the facts in *United States v. Zovluck*, 274 F. Supp. 385 (S.D.N.Y. 1967), *conviction affirmed from the bench after trial*, Dkt. No. 32652–58 (2d Cir. 4/7/69).

The Committee on Legal Assistance of The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has unanimously recommended authority for class suits on behalf of all similarly situated persons without regard to amount in controversy or the citizenship of the parties where laws or decisions protecting consumers are violated. 24 record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York (May 1969). We approve this recommendation.

In addition, we believe that such suits should be authorized to be brought by a Consumer Counsel whenever consumers are injured by a pattern or practice in violation of federal law. This authority could appropriately include suits for injunctive relief as well as damages, regardless of whether the conduct also constitutes a crime. This is particularly important where as in *Zovluck* it is charged that the illegal conduct continued after indictment for criminal violations.

Apart from suits, which would ordinarily be necessary only where voluntary compliance could not be obtained, a Counsel having such authority could undoubtedly effect adjustment of many complaints.

This would be particularly true if local offices, especially in areas of greatest consumer protection needs, were able to handle complaints. We note in this connection that the Committee on Federal Legislation of the New York State Bar Association has unanimously recommended the establishment of pilot projects for generalized local information services for citizens under federal sponsorship. (See also Kahn, "Neighborhood Information Centers" (1966); Ogg, "Tell Me Where to Turn: The Growth of Information and Referral Services" (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 428, 1969)).

These measures concern strengthened remedies for consumers generally. New legislation is also needed in our view in a number of specific areas.

1. Door-to-door sales legislation.—Many instances have come to our attention where consumers are induced to buy merchandise by door-to-door solicitors using high-pressure or deceptive tactics. Other door-to-door solicitors are, of course, highly ethical. The chief area of concern is door-to-door solicitation of credit or installment sales. The Committee on Federal Legislation of the New York State Bar Association, the parallel Committee of the New York County Lawyers Association and the Committee on Legal Assistance of The Association of the Bar of the City of New York have all unanimously approved legislation to provide a cooling off period during which the consumer may rescind, including appropriate injunctive relief as well as other remedies for violations. Only injunctive relief is likely to be effective in halting a course of conduct in violation of such a law if enacted. See New York Law Journal, 8/19/68, p. 1; Bulletin of the Committee on Federal Legislation, New York State Bar Association 21 (January 1969), 115 Cong. Rec. No. 33, p. S2015, S2019 (daily ed. 2/25/69) approving S. 1599, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. (1967) as amended and favorably reported in S. Rep. No. 1417, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968).

2. Chain referral sales.—A number of criminal convictions for mail fraud have been ob-

tained for sales in which customers are told that they can obtain the items at no cost or make money by referring the names of other prospective purchasers. E.g., *Blachly* v. *United States*, 380 F.2d 655 (5th Cir. 1967); *Nickles* v. *United States*, 381 F.2d 258 (10th Cir. 1967); *Fabian* v. *United States*, 358 F.2d 187 (8th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 385 U.S. 821 (1966); *United States* v. *Sterngass*, Dkt. No. 32704 (2d Cir., conviction aff'd in open Court from the bench, 12/18/68). A bill in the Arizona state legislature would make all sales accompanied by such representations voidable at the option of the consumer regardless of proof of intent to defraud beyond a reasonable doubt as required in a criminal prosecution. Ariz. H.B. 139, 29th Leg., 1st Sess. (1969). We recommend such legislation on the federal level to apply wherever interstate commerce is affected. See *Polish National Alliance* v. *NLRB*, 322 U.S. 643, 648 (1944); *Wickard* v. *Filburn*, 317 U.S. 111 (1942), unanimously followed in *United States* v. *Haley*, 358 U.S. 644 (1959); *United States* v. *Women's Sportswear Mfrs. Ass'n*, 336 U.S. 460, 464 (1949); *United States* v. *Ricciardi*, 357 F.2d 91 (2d Cir.), *cert. denied*, 385 U.S. 814 (1966).

3. Contracts for future services.—Numerous instances have also been called to our attention where consumers are induced to sign up for lengthy series of future self-defense lessons, dance lessons and the like and told that they must pay for the entire series should they seek to cancel. This is unfair in our view because the seller of such services on credit shifts the entire risk of dissatisfaction with the services to the customer. Federal legislation should permit consumers to cancel any outstanding *credit* portion of a contract for future services wherever interstate commerce is affected.

4. Financing abuses.—We agree with the recent recommendation, of the Committee on Legal Assistance of The Association of the Bar of the City of New York (Harold Baer, Jr., Chairman) that:

"Federal legislation should assure a consumer the right to defend against a collection claim by a financing agency which has purchased a consumer contract affecting interstate commerce on grounds available against the seller, such as fraud or misrepresentation in the original contract.

"This would modify the doctrine that such an agency as a 'holder in due course' [might be able to] cut off [some] such defenses. It would cause financing agencies to investigate the character of the seller as well as the credit of the customer before buying the contract. The 'holder in due course' doctrine is valid for checks and other negotiable instruments but is out of place in the context of consumer installment contracts.

"The approach we suggest would also prevent a situation where a fraudulent seller can promise services (such as repair services, etc.) which he does not intend to provide, or make false representations to get a consumer to sign a contract, and then sell the contract to a finance company so that if the consumer he can be told by the finance company 'We have nothing to do with the seller, we have just purchased your contract and you will have to pay regardless of any dispute you might have with the seller.'"

5. FTC immunity.—We likewise agree with the recommendation of the Committee on Legal Assistance that persons subpoenaed before the Federal Trade Commission should no longer receive automatic immunity from prosecution as presently provided by 15 U.S.C. § 49, but should obtain immunity only if compelled to testify after asserting their privilege against self-incrimination.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION, FEDERAL BAR COUNCIL

Richard A. Givens, chairman; Peter K. Leisure, secretary; Harold Baer, Jr., Vincent L. Broderick, Thomas Cahill, Sol Neil Corbin, Clarence Dunaville, Thomas R. Farrell, Mahlon M. Frankhauser, Victor Friedman, William J. Gilbreth, Frederick Greenman, Arthur M. Handler, Robert L. King, Moses L. Kove, Pierre N. Leval, Anthony P. Marshall, J. Edward Meyer III, Edith Miller, Gary Naftalis, Paul Perito, John Robinson, Mortimer Todel, Nancy F. Wechsler, Gerald Walpin, James D. Zirin.

HIGH INTEREST RATES CRIPPLE RURAL HOUSING PROGRAM

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, continued high interest rates have helped to cripple the insured home loan program of the Farmers Home Administration, one of the more effective efforts to provide housing for low- and moderate-income families in rural America.

For more than 3 weeks Farmers Home has been able to sell only a fraction of the more than $150 million in housing mortgages that it now has on hand. This in turn has meant that its insured home loan program for this quarter has been reduced to little more than half the volume the agency is authorized to handle. If things remain unchanged, Farmers Home expects to end this fiscal year with $172 million in unsold housing paper on hand, nearly 2½ times more than the total at the end of the last fiscal year, and it faces the prospect of entering the new fiscal year with its insured home loan program running at half speed against a record high backlog of more than 70 thousand applications for insured home loans, nearly half again as many as there were at the close of fiscal 1968.

CRITICAL SITUATION

Farmers Home officials use the word "critical" to describe the situation because they say their home loan insurance program is the only vehicle which is providing new and improved housing "of any consequence" for low- and moderate-income families in rural communities of 55 hundred population or less—in other words, most of rural America. This should be viewed against the fact that the housing needs of rural America are greater than those of urban America. Rural area have 4.8 million substandard dwellings, more than half the Nation's total. The lack of plumbing alone among substandard rural houses is nine times greater than is the case in urban centers. These things are all part of the picture which continues to show that the problem of poverty in rural America is greater than that of the cities.

Mr. Speaker, in a sense, the problem of rural poverty has diminished during the past several years, but it nevertheless cannot be anything but severe. The latest estimates disclose that the rural poor now total 11.1 million, as compared to the 15 million that was first calculated following completion of the 1960 census. The situation has improved very little in terms of population ratios. Rural America still has more than one-third of the country's poverty stricken residents despite the fact that only 30 percent of the Nation's population resides in rural America. The migration of rural poor to the cities, although it has lessened, still constitutes a flood of displaced people. About 750,000 rural poor continue to flow to our cities each year.

Not only is the problem of rural poverty greater than that of urban America, but far less is being done about it than in urban areas. In this context the Farmers Home Administration housing program—although grossly inadequate—is nevertheless one of the most dynamic efforts to improve living conditions in rural areas. If allowed to operate at currently authorized levels, it can provide loans for 50,000 new and improved homes benefiting about 250,000 people a year. Nearly 85 percent of the agency's insured housing loans are utilized by families in an income range of less than $3,000 to $8,000. It should also be pointed out that only 5.3 percent of all insured loans are utilized by families with incomes of less than $3,000 and that, at its current volume, it would take Farmers Home 96 years to provide housing equal to the number of substandard dwellings in rural America.

BURDEN OF HIGH INTEREST RATES

Rising interest rates have created the second of two major problems confronting the Farmers Home insured housing loan program, increasing its burden to the point where the agency is unable to sell on the open market most of the mortgages it is budgeted to underwrite for the entire fiscal year.

Its insured housing loan program became stalled when the effect of high interest rates on the open market was coupled with what is an even greater problem for it—the nonstandard character of the housing paper. Farmers Home notes are delivered to investors on an individual basis, require a great deal of burdensome clerical work and are subject to return to the Farmers Home financing office for periodic servicing as well as liquidation. These things make the paper irritatingly burdensome for investors to handle and consequently its market is limited and relatively difficult and expensive.

Mr. Speaker, the pileup of mortgage paper is viewed by the White House with what apparently is alarmed concern for a balanced budget. Not long ago, I am informed, Farmers Home received a call from the Executive Office telling it in effect to tidy up its books by selling off its paper or shutting down its insured loan program. Yet it is the Executive Office itself which could solve this problem by activating the newly formed Government National Mortgage Association and designating Farmers Home to be among the agencies for which it will market obligations through the sale of participation certificates. GNMA could hold Farmers Home paper and investors, through the purchase of certificates, would be relieved of everything but collecting a return on their participations. In this way Farmers Home would not only have a renewed flow of capital, it would also be able to save nearly $2.5 million in interest costs because GNMA would eliminate the problem of having to sell nonstandard paper at premium rates.

IMMEDIATE ACTION NEEDED

The urgent need to continue the Farmers Home insured home loan program, to say nothing about realizing its vast potential to expand its benefits for rural people, should persuade the President to immediately activate GNMA and have it serve Farmers Home.

In lieu of any help from the Executive Office, Farmers Home officials went up to New York early this month to confer with the investment community there in an effort to find a way of breaking its housing paper logjam. Among those meetings, one was held with the New York Federal Reserve Bank. It was asked to act as a custodian for Farmers Home notes and issue custodian receipts which would be marketed along with a covering instrument of sale. The New York Federal Reserve offered no encouragement.

Taken collectively, the meetings in New York produced the conclusion that Farmers Home can reach only a limited segment of the national money market and that it must pay an interest premium ranging from one-quarter to three-quarters percent for its money as compared with the rates applying to other Government agencies.

Farmers Home is now trying to develop a short-term sales instrument that will allow for elimination of the large bookkeeping chores that its paper now requires of those who purchase it. The chances are it will still be stuck with a limited market and premium interest rates.

CLASSIC OPPORTUNITY

All of this adds up to a classic opportunity for the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee to step into the picture and quickly eliminate this critical financing problem for Farmers Home while GNMA is being activated. William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, reluctantly, but repeatedly, has admitted that the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee has authority to purchase the obligations of Federal housing programs when necessary so that these programs can continue to function at the highest level and lowest possible cost. This admission of authority on the part of Mr. Martin has existed for a number of years, but he has yet to effectively utilize it. Hopefully, he would view the stalled housing program at Farmers Home as sufficiently serious to warrant a maiden voyage in this area of the Federal Reserve's responsibility.

To make it easier for Mr. Martin to venture forth, Farmers Home could wrap its housing paper in a repurchase agreement with the Federal Reserve. The housing notes could be returned to Farmers Home as soon as GNMA is activated as a marketing agent for it and other Federal agencies.

Mr. Speaker, the need for action is immediate, both on the part of Mr. Martin in terms of taking up Farmers Home housing paper, and President Nixon regarding GNMA and Farmers Home. Both could quickly demonstrate a conviction that the national goal of providing decent housing for all Americans is not merely a meaningless statement.

FORT KNOX BEGINS STUDENT CREDIT UNION PROGRAM, ECONOMIC EDUCATION TAUGHT

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years I have been vitally concerned that our students at all grade levels are not receiving enough training in the areas of finance and handling their own funds. In far too many cases, students graduate from college without even knowing how to properly fill out a check. This lack of fundamental consumer education is one of the reasons that I believe that personal bankruptcies are increasing. In addition, I feel that lack of financial information is one of the reasons that many young families can be induced to borrow funds at huge rates of interest.

One of the best ways to educate our schoolchildren in the important area of personal finances is through the help of the more than 23,000 credit unions throughout the country. The credit union can provide the educational assistance that the students need and also help them save money, and when necessary, provide them with small loans.

It has always been stated by leading educators that the best way to learn something is by actually doing it. Thus, the best way students can learn how to handle finances is for them to actually engage in financial transactions. In order to take advantage of the "do-it-yourself" principle, I have initiated a pilot program of student credit unions at military installations throughout the country designed to smooth the way for other credit unions that will want to establish their own student credit union. The first of the pilot credit unions has been opened at Fort Knox, Ky., and is operating in the dependent high school at that military installation.

Through the efforts of Maj. Gen. James W. Sutherland, Jr., Commanding General of the Armor Center, Mr. Herschel Roberts, superintendent of Fort Knox Dependent Schools, and Mr. Robert Schaffner, manager of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, the credit union shows signs of fulfilling every goal that has been set for it. On the first day that the credit union was open, more than one-third of the students of the high school joined and in a little more than a week that figure had been increased to 60 percent of the eligible student members.

It is anticipated that several more student credit unions at military installations will open in the near future and once we have accumulated the necessary experience factor to judge the student credit union operation, we hope to then obtain credit unions in every school in the United States, hopefully working through the teachers' and school employees' credit unions in the various school districts of our Nation.

In these times of student unrest, with rioting and building seizures commonplace on campuses throughout the country, it is gratifying to know that there are students that are vitally interested in their future and are wanting to invest their time so that they will be better prepared to handle their financial future.

Mr. Speaker, I am including in my remarks the correspondence and information that led up to the establishment of the Fort Knox student credit union, as well as the outline of the operations of the credit union. It is hoped that by making this information available, teacher and school employee credit unions throughout the country will begin their own student credit union facility as quickly as possible.

The material referred to follows:

FORT KNOX FEDERAL CREDIT UNION,
Fort Knox, Ky., April 23, 1969.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The following report is submitted for your information reference the High School Credit Union Program, Fort Knox, Kentucky. To say that I am delighted with the interest and participation of the students at Fort Knox in your proposed school credit union program would be the understatement of the year.

On Monday, 24 March, the first meeting of all students in the High School was conducted to orient them with respect to the proposed school credit union program. On Monday, 14 April, a meeting of interested students was called for the purpose of signing membership cards and conducting the initial organization of the credit union, to include election of officials. This meeting was attended by 133 students. Because of limited time, we were unable to complete the total organization process during this meeting. The final organizational meeting was conducted on Wednesday, April 16, to complete the election of the official family. This meeting was attended by 206 interested persons.

The 206 students attending the final organization meeting constituted 37% of the entire student body of the Fort Knox High School. In my opinion, this is a fabulous response from freshmen through senior students to an entirely new program.

On the evening of 22 April, the first official Board of Directors, Credit Committee and Supervisory Committee meetings were conducted in order to establish policy. At the outset of this meeting, the High School Credit Union Coordinator, Mr. William Raker, reported that 156 of the 206 students, requesting membership applications, had completed and returned these applications to his office.

The following actions were taken by the newly elected Board and Credit Committee:

A. Established policy of once a member always a member, as long as member retains an open account with the credit union.

B. Set minimum deposit requirement for opening new accounts at $1.00 and minimum deposit amount, after opening accounts, at .25¢.

C. Established the third Wednesday of each month as the day of the regular board meeting for the credit union—voted to conduct the annual meeting of their credit union during the month of August each year.

D. Established a deadline date of 15 May for acceptance of Charter members.

E. Approved the conducting of a contest to name their credit union as follows:

1. All current members are permitted to submit proposed names for the new High School credit union, with the Board of Directors selecting, what they consider, the most appropriate name.

2. The winner and runners up will receive the following prizes:

a. Winner—$10.00 in credit union shares.

b. The three runners up—$5.00 each in shares in the credit union.

The Board appointed a five-member Educational Committee. This committee will design and write promotional material to be used by the Credit Union in promoting membership, savings and loans. The actual preparation of all advertising materials will be handled by the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union.

The Board established the following loan policies:

1. Signature loan limts—$30.00 with a maximum term of six months.

2. Secured loan limits—$500..00 with a maximum term of eighteen months.

The Credit Committee appointed a Loan Officer, granting him permission to approve signature loan requests up to $10.00.

Mr. Chairman, as indicated above, I am tremendously impressed with the deep degree of dedication and concern of this very wonderful group of young people here at Fort Knox. In all of the deliberations, their primary concern was to establish policies that would permit total participation by all students. Questions such as: "How much do students earn in part time jobs?" and "What is the least allowance received by students from lower income families?", were discussed.

It was evident throughout the entire meeting of last evening, that these young people desire to see service rendered to all levels of the student body. Frankly, I was impressed by their concern for their fellow man.

It may appear to be presumptous on my part to assume that this will be a tremendously successful project, but I am convinced that the young people involved in your pilot program will force its success.

Major General Sutherland, Commanding General of the Armor Center, Mr. Roberts, Superintendent of Dependent Schools and all concerned with this program are enthused and lending their total support to the objective set forth in your proposal.

Periodically, reports will be submitted to you in order that you may be constantly informed of the activities of the Fort Knox School Credit Union Program.

Sincerely,

ROBERT E. SCHAFFNER,
Manager.

FORT KNOX HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT CREDIT UNION OFFICIALS

Board of directors: Ron Karpinsky, president; Dave Dayton, vice president; John Marchese, treasurer; Jo Kelly, secretary; Laura Rawlings, membership officer; Jennie Kimball and Reed Kimbrough, members.

Credit committee: Russ Pendergrass, chairman; Tomi Singer, secretary; John Shearer, Bobby Brown, and Larry DeLeon, member.

Supervisory committee: Lon Durbin, chairman; Elaine King and Steve Gosling, member.

Educational committee: Jennie Kimball, Pete Houck, Charlene Benge, Linda Matheney, and Chuck Hoyt.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., March 11, 1969.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Two members of the staff of the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions—Stephen Pirk and John Rippey—met last Tuesday with the board of directors of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, with the credit union's staff including the manager, Robert H. Schaffner, and with representatives of the Fort Knox command and schools. The purpose of the visit was to review the credit union's plans to initiate a student credit union program, to offer several suggestions regarding its administration, and to express our wholehearted support of the undertaking.

I am pleased to report that our staff found all parties well briefed on the plan and ready for its implementation—a tribute to the diligent of Mr. Schaffner and to the credit union's board of directors.

Mr. Chairman, this student credit union project is an exciting experiment which, if successful, will open up a great field for further expansion of the credit union movement. You are to be congratulated for having initiated and pursued this idea. I believe your long-standing interest in this matter will ultimately be rewarded. I know that your staff, particularly Curtis A. Prins, is as optimistic about the program as you are.

The Bureau of Federal Credit Unions stands firmly behind this project and is ready to make available its resources to assist the credit union in its pioneering role.

Sincerely yours,

J. DEANE GANNON,
Director.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
Washington, D.C., December 6, 1968.

Maj. Gen. JAMES W. SUTHERLAND, Jr.,
Commanding General, The Armor Center, Fort Knox, Ky.

DEAR GENERAL SUTHERLAND: As I am sure you are aware, consumer education, particularly in the area of handling money, has always been one of the overlooked subjects of our school systems. Because of this, students, even on the college level, know little about handling money and are financially naive.

This lack of financial understanding crops up every day throughout our country and it costs our consumers millions of dollars a year because they do not have enough financial understanding to deal effectively in the marketplace.

To overcome this problem, I have proposed a system of financial-consumer education in the school systems of our country that can be carried out in an extremely easy yet effective manner and without any cost to the taxpayers. It is my fond hope that the program will eventually be adopted by every school in the country.

Basically, the program involves the establishment of "credit clubs" in schools which would be sponsored by the credit union serving the school personnel at the particular institution or some other credit union in the area. The "credit club" would operate like a miniature credit union although the students would be responsible for all the affairs of the "credit club". They would be assisted by officials of the sponsoring credit union who would lend advice and guidance wherever needed. Although the individual members of the "credit club" would not be members of the parent credit union, the "credit club" would be a member of the credit union so that it could deposit its funds with the parent credit union and thus receive all the benefits of that organization. Of course, every student in the school would be eligible for membership in the "credit club" and it is hoped that most of the students would not only become members but also take an active role in the management of the club. By exposing these youngsters to the financial world at a very early age, I believe we can avoid many of the financial problems that have bothered those without adequate financial training.

Rather than launch this program throughout the country on an across-the-board basis, I feel it is better to build up a background of experience through a test program.

Because of the outstanding credit union at Fort Knox and its extremely capable manager, Mr. Robert Schaffner, the Fort Knox Credit Union and the Fort Knox Dependent School System were selected to participate in the pilot program. Preliminary discussions have already been held by members of my staff and the Fort Knox Credit Union and that organization wholeheartedly endorsed the program. It is hoped that with your help and endorsement the program can begin at Fort Knox immediately so that we can begin to gather data that will eventually lead to the establishmen of these "credit clubs" in schools throughout the country.

The Fort Knox Credit Union was a pioneer in a program several years ago to make loans available to enlisted men of the lowest four ranks. Prior to this time, many lenders had felt that the lowest four enlisted grades were bad credit risks. However, the Fort Knox program proved that this was not the case and I am happy to say that because of the actions of your credit union the lowest four enlisted grades are now receiving the same financial considerations that the other military grades receive. Because of the progressive nature of the Fort Knox Credit Union, it was one of those selected to participate in the new pilot program.

If I can be of further assistance or provide additional information, please let me know.

With kindest personal regards,

WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman.

DECEMBER 14, 1968.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response of your letter of 6 December 1968 concerning the establishment of a "credit club" in the Fort Knox Dependent School.

I wholeheartedly support this worthwhile project and am most pleased that the Fort Knox Credit Union has been selected to participate in the pilot program. Mr. Robert Schaffner was informed just recently of the project and is currently developing a proposed program. He and Mr. Herschel Roberts, Superintendent of the Fort Knox Dependent School, will work together in finalizing the plans and the implementation of the program.

I cannot give you a target date or any specific details, but please be assured that we will develop an interesting and stimulating program for our students. I presume that your office will establish reporting procedures to permit your evaluation of this test program.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES W. SUTHERLAND, Jr.
Major General, U.S. Army, Commanding.

PROPOSED STUDENT CREDIT UNION FOR FORT KNOX HIGH SCHOOL

It is the opinion of Congressman Wright Patman, Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States House of Representatives, that young people in our nation are reaching physical maturity ill-equipped to cope with the credit oriented society which they must become a part of if they are to survive.

The total economy of our country is dependent upon the "buy now pay later" concept.

Consumer credit today is at the highest dollar point in our history. We Americans owe our creditors over $95 billion in consumer debt. This figure does not include money owing on real estate nor does it include money owing banks and factoring agencies by corporations. The working man is the one owing this large debt.

Twenty years ago, consumer credit debt stood at about $18 billion. During these past twenty years, the amount we owe has increased nearly five times. During this same period, the income of the average family has increased by slightly over three times.

In addition to the above facts, so many different types of credit charges are in use in our economy that it is next to impossible for the layman to determine the true cost of a loan.

Congressman Patman, in a letter to the Commanding General, dated 6 December 1968, requested the assistance of the Fort Knox Dependent School system and the Fort

Knox Federal Credit Union in establishing a Pilot Program Credit Union in the Fort Knox School system. Because of Congressman Patman's extensive efforts to establish a better climate for the consumer, he has concluded that proper training in the area of money management is essential if young people are to enjoy the fruits of their labors.

As a result of Congressman Patman's request, the following proposal is submitted for the establishment of a Student Credit Union.

Organize a student controlled, student operated credit union as a branch of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union. Part of the process involved in establishing a Student Credit Union will be conducting an orientation session for all senior high school students. They will be informed of the benefits of credit union membership and their responsibilities with respect to establishing policy, control, and most important, the election of their own officials.

During the organizational meeting of interested students, applications for membership will be accepted. Those students who join will then conduct a business session and elect their officials. Only members will be eligible for election.

Basic organizational structure will be as follows: Board of Directors, seven members; Credit Committee, five members; Supervisory Committee, three members. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, Vice-President and the Treasurer. An Education Committee, appointed by the Board from the general membership, should consist of at least three members.

The active management of the Student Credit Union will involve at least eighteen persons. These elected and appointed officials will be invited to meet with the Board and various committees of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union. During these meetings, complete freedom to ask questions and offer suggestions or recommendations will be afforded all student members in attendance.

The treasurer of the Student Credit Union shall be in charge of the day to day operations of the credit union. The treasurer of the Student Credit Union will be trained to fulfill his responsibilities within the framework of Federal law and regulations, by the staff of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union.

Because the treasurer will have far more responsibilities than any other official, the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union will pay the treasurer a part-time salary for services rendered the Student Credit Union.

In order to permit uninterrupted service to student members during the summer vacation period, the parent credit union will offer full-time summer employment to the Student Credit Union treasurer, elected to serve during the next school year.

It is suggested that the Student Credit Union have a competent assistant treasurer as a backup in the event the treasurer leaves, due to transfer of parents.

Student members will be encouraged to save on a systematic basis. The benefits of creating a savings nest egg will be pointed out in conjunction with facts relating to dividends.

Student members will be permitted to borrow in accordance with loan limits and policies established by the elected student officials. All loans will require parental consent. The student officials will be encouraged to create realistic loan policies and may set maximum signature loan limits, as well as maximum secured loan limits. Within established signature loan limits, absolutely no parental responsibility or liability will be involved.

One of the educational processes involved in this program will be to teach student officials how to evaluate credit requests and credit risks.

As is the case in all Federal credit unions, the Student Credit Union will charge no more than one penny per dollar per month in interest charges.

All activities of the Student Credit Union will be conducted on school premises after normal school hours. Records of the Student Credit Union will be maintained in the office of the parent credit union. All student accounts will be designated with an S prefix.

Some students may be reluctant to join their credit union and commence saving for fear of being transferred and losing the dividend on their savings. This will not be the case. The student saver will be permitted to retain his credit union account for as long as he desires. This will permit the student to earn his dividends as of the close of a given dividend period, then if he wishes, he may withdraw all or any portion of his savings to include earned dividends.

A Student Credit Union, organized separate and apart from a supporting entity such as the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, could develop problems which might bring about failure. As examples: (1) A student might borrow, repay a portion of his debt, then be transferred and fail to repay his balance owing. In such a case, an independent student credit union would probably find it difficult to follow up and collect. Under the proposed structure, the parent credit union would assist in this matter. (2) A new, totally independent credit union will find it extremely difficult to generate appreciable earnings during the first two years of operation. As a result of this potential problem, student members would receive little or no dividends during this period of infancy. This situation could generate unrest and in time defeat the program.

The Fort Knox Federal Credit Union is committed to support a Student Credit Union. The chances of failure, because of this support, are nil and the ability of the Student Credit Union to become operational is improved.

In order to make this proposed program successful, an open line of communication must exist between school officials and credit union officials. In addition to the above, a teacher coordinator will be of inestimable value in assisting Student Credit Union officials in their activities.

SUMMARY

The objective of this program is educational in nature, with students serving as officials and hundreds of other students as member owners, this project should prove to be a challenge to all concerned.

Through the democratic processes of open and free election of officers by the members; the right of free expression during annual meetings; generating income which will be returned to the student owners, all involved will reap the benefits of a deeper insight into a portion of the economic and monetary system of our nation.

DEAR PARENT: This letter deals with a new program that we propose to implement in the High School.

Before describing the new program, let me pass along a few thoughts for your consideration. First, most of us who are parents today grew up in a "cash on the barrel head" economy and participated in the sweeping, dramatic change to a "credit" economy, following World War II. I think all of you will agree that today's economy is predominantly a credit-based economy. Many of us learned, through the harsh school of experience, the tremendous benefits and the extremely dangerous pitfalls that are inherent in credit buying; but how many of us have made a truly honest effort to teach our children the mechanics of purchasing on credit together with proper money management. In effect we are letting our personal experience go to waste and our children, who will reach maturity in a credit age, will be forced to re-learn our experiences the hard way. This is tantamount to hitting yourself in the head because it feels so good when you stop.

The Honorable Wright Patman, Chairman of the House of Representatives Banking and Currency Committee, shares our concern. Congressman Patman has written the Commanding General of Fort Knox and proposed that, in cooperation with the dependent school system and the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, a "student credit union" be formed within the High School to assist in teaching young people the value of a planned savings program and the ramification of installment buying. This concept has received the wholehearted endorsement of Major General James W. Sutherland, Jr., Commanding General, U.S. Army Armor Center and the Fort Knox Dependent School Board.

Fort Knox was selected by Mr. Patman as the site of the pilot program for two important reasons: the enviable reputation enjoyed by both the dependent school system and the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, in both local and national circles, and the positive approach to new challenges demonstrated by the Armor Center.

The Student Credit Union of Fort Knox High School will be structured identically to the parent organization, the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union. The proposed credit union will function as a branch of the Fort Knox Credit Union, with the Credit Union acting in an advisory capacity. The Student Credit Union will be organized to include its own board of directors, credit and supervisory committees and staff, as elected and appointed from the student body. The credit union will receive savings deposits, pay a savings dividend and make low cost small loans to be repaid in regular installments. Students will be encouraged to save for future needs. The creation of a savings "nest egg" is a must in today's society. Emphasis will be placed on the "save now buy later" concept versus the "buy now pay later" concept.

The objective of this program will be to educate young people, not only with respect to procedure and cost, but also in the very important area of moral responsibility. Because young people should learn to transact business on their own, there will be no parental liability when a student borrows on a small signature basis, however, parents must give their approval in order for a student member to borrow. Even though parents must consent to a student member borrowing, parents will not be contacted in the event a student defaults on his obligation.

When a student borrows, he will be required to pay interest on the money owing at the rate of one penny per dollar per month. As an example: if a student borrows $5.00 and agrees to repay the loan in four months, he would pay a total of $0.13 in interest cost. This will be a non-profit organization, with earnings returned to the student members.

Audits of the Credit Union will be conducted on the same schedule as the parent credit union. Initially, the Credit Union will function one day a week as an after school activity for the students.

Our desire is to start this program by mid-March 1969. We are grateful to have this opportunity to widen our education services here at Fort Knox. If you have further questions concerning this project, please feel free to contact my office.

Sincerely,

HERSCHEL J. ROBERTS,
Superintendent, Dependent School.

PROPOSED STUDENT PRESENTATION OUTLINE, FORT KNOX HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT CREDIT UNION

I. Introduction.

II. Our Economy Today—Outlook for the Future:

1. Position of Student in This Economy.

III. Announcement of Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union:

1. History of Credit Unions.
2. Definition of a Credit Union.

IV. Techniques of Organization:

1. Election of Board of Directors.

2. Responsibilities and Privileges of the Student Treasurer-Manager
V. Services to be Offered:
1. Loans:
a. Signature.
b. Secured.
2. Savings:
a. 5% Per Year Dividend.
VI. Conclusion.

May I say, it is a great pleasure to have the opportunity to meet with you, today. It has been enjoyable to visit the halls of this school. I've noticed that both students and teachers have not changed since I was in high school. Just now, as I was walking down the hall, a teacher stepped out of the room with a young man twice her size; she grabbed him and shook him hard saying, "Johnny, I believe the devil has a hold of you," and as he was being shook he said, "I think so, too!"

We are living in a fast moving age. Men are going to the moon and our economy seems headed that way. Credit cards are moving in rapidly. Soon we will see our society turn to a checkless, cashless system. That one plastic card, you carry, will represent your money and get you into all the trouble you can handle. How do we know? Plastic credit cards are getting scores of people hopelessly in debt right here at Fort Knox, yearly. That's learning the hard way.

We would rather not see you learn from this harsh rule of experience. Within just a brief few years, for some of you less than one year, you will be placed in a position requiring you to borrow money for an automobile and possibly a home and furniture. In just months, your signature will become extremely valuable and lending institutions will be glad to see you sign it on the dotted line. Now is the time to fit into this economy. Now, not when you are forced into it, is the time to learn how to cope with this valuable tool called installment credit. Used wisely, it will provide you many wonderful possessions long before you could have saved for them. Used unwisely, it can work financial destruction for you. The big hangup is too many people have cadillac appetites and bicycle pocketbooks.

How can you learn about installment credit and benefits of a savings program? It gives me great pleasure to announce that the Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable Wright Patman, has selected your school, the Fort Knox High School, to initiate an organization that will allow you to actually participate in installment credit and planned savings. The name of your own financial organization will be the Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union. Acting as an advisor will be the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, located here on post. This Credit Union was also selected by Mr. Patman to act in this capacity.

Briefly, let me explain the history of the credit union movement. It was born in poverty, tears and prayers more than 100 years ago in Western Germany. Depression, starvation and draught swept the country. The mayor of one town, Flammersfeld, encouraged the people of the town to help themselves by getting together, placing their money in one place and then loaning it to each other as they needed it. The idea was an immediate success, opening up a new life for the people of Flammersfeld and their mayor. The movement grew throughout Europe and spread to the United States. Today, there are over *28,000* credit unions throughout North America. A credit union is a group of people who save their money together and make loans to each other for good purposes, at low interest. The people of each credit union all have something in common; they work at the same plant, or they belong to the same church or they are stationed on the same military reservation or they are students in the same high school.

Well, how is it going to work. On ---------- an election of your Board of Directors will be held right here in this auditorium. The Board of Directors is the governing body of your credit union. Seven students will be elected to the Board. Also, you will elect a five member Credit Committee, the committee that makes the decision on loan applications, and in some instances, savings withdrawals. These are important groups of students and serving on them will be quite an honor as well as a responsibility. The Board of Directors that you elect will then meet. From their own ranks, they will elect a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer-Manager. The Treasurer-Manager will be the manager of the Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union. During the summer months, while school is out, he or she will be offered full-time employment at the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, here on post. Besides gaining income and experience in the prestige in industry of America, he or she will maintain the Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union accounts. He or she will take care of all transactions on your account year-round, in school and at the main Credit Union during the summer.

The student Board of Directors will also select a three member Education Committee to publicize the benefits of membership in the Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union. From the student body, the Board will pick an additional three persons for the Supervisory Committee. This committee has the responsibility to be the "watch dog" on the financial stability of the Credit Union. They will arrange for quarterly audits and annual examinations of the credit union operations. Overall, eighteen students will be responsible for the organization and operation of the credit union. A faculty coordinator, ---------- ----------, and the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, the parent organization will provide any assistance necessary.

What can you expect from your organization, the Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union? You will be organizing it with service to you in mind. On the backswing, you will be gaining knowledge in the workings of the free enterprise and the financial systems. Your student Board of Directors will, with the assistance of the Board of Directors of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union, determine maximum loan limits. Yes, you will actually be able to borrow money for worthwhile purposes from your credit union. There will be signature loans, using only your good name as proof that you will repay the Credit Union. And, there will be loans for larger amounts requiring additional security such as the item you are purchasing and/or the signature of your parent. The cost for these loans will be only one penny per month on each dollar you still owe.

Also you can expect a very sound organization that will pay you a handsome 5% per year dividend on your savings. Every member of your credit union will be a saver. You will be able to start your account with only $1.00 in savings. Before you may be eligible for borrowing, you must have placed at least $5.00 in savings at the Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union. Dividends will be paid on your savings on June 30 and December 31 of each year.

Every person needs a savings account of some sort. You have heard the old saying, "it takes money to make money." This is true. You, as young people, should learn today, that even if you buy on time, some down payment is generally required. If you do not save first, then where will all the down payments come from which many of you will need in the near future?

In April of each school year, an annual meeting of all student members of the Fort Knox High School Student Credit Union will be held. New officials will be elected and door prizes will be given away. This meeting is always the high point of the credit union year.

CONCLUSION

You have much to be proud of, being a student of Fort Knox High School. It is not often that a high school and a school system gets recognition from the Congress of the United States. This is a new bag—it's never been tried in any other high school. And its all yours—you organize it; you plan it; you sustain it and you maintain it. Support your credit union. It belongs to you. Watch and listen for announcements about the organizational meeting coming ---------.

THE LATE HONORABLE HARRY SHEPPARD

(Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD the funeral service given by Dr. Henry B. Luffberry, pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, for our late colleague, Harry Sheppard. Those of us who attended the services last Thursday were moved by the eloquent and dignified service given by the Reverend Doctor Luffberry.

SUMMARY OF THE SERMON BY DR. HENRY B. LUFFBERRY, PASTOR, ST. PAUL'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., AT FUNERAL SERVICES FOR THE HONORABLE HARRY R. SHEPPARD, FORMER CONGRESSMAN OF THE 27TH DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

Those who live and work in the chambers of legislature know that progress can come only through debate, argument and the necessary contradictions between men's views. The 14th Chapter of St. John is one of the most comforting passages in the New Testament, but it also includes the record of the most famous and bold contradiction the world has ever known. (John 14:4–6)

Jesus sets forth a positive premise: "Whither I go ye know, and the way ye know." He is expressing his confidence in men. Jesus had a deep understanding of human personality. He was able to see in fishermen and tax collectors the potential for religious leadership. Christ's confidence in us is reflected in our own confidence in ourselves, in human courage and ambition and the quest for adventure. The life of our friend Harry Sheppard is part of a familiar American saga, another Horatio Alger story: this time the story of the orphan boy from Mobile who came to be known to his colleagues and countrymen as "the gentleman from California." Somehow his destiny must have been in his heart at the very beginning, expressed in his spirit, determination and faith.

In answer to Christ's positive premise, Thomas responds with a bold affrontive contradiction: "We know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way?" I guess we all have a secret love for doubting Thomas—he always manages to say what the rest of us were thinking, but wouldn't have had the courage to say. And here his disclaimer reflects our groping, our quest to find our place in life. I do not know whether in Congressman Sheppard's days at Georgia Tech they were singing the song now so familiar: "I'm a Rambling Wreck from Georgia Tech and a Hell of an Engineer!" Far more eloquently than today's student unrest that song expresses youth's struggle to discover its goals and to overcome its inadequacies. Harry Sheppard knew that struggle—working in a livery stable, demonstrating threshing machines to midwestern farmers, searching for gold in Alaska, finding a place in the maze of Hollywood during the early days of the movie industry, and ultimately seeking a role as a captain of industry.

As Jesus answered Thomas, so God answers

our groping. It was at the age of 51 that our friend discovered a new "way", a new road in life. He found it in the service of his fellowmen. It was in 1936 that the people of the 27th District of California elected him their Congressman. For fourteen terms he served them and his country. Twenty-eight years is more than "a generation". For more than a generation Congressman Sheppard was a leader, a builder, a counselor to others. He found his greatness in serving! And that was Jesus' answer to Thomas' quest for the way! Jesus, whose life was lived and sacrificed in service, who gave that life for all of us—Jesus said, "I am the way, the truth and the life. No man cometh unto the Father but by me."

And so to our hearts today comes rich assurance amid our grief: The life of service has eternal destiny. The search for truth finds its reward. And all life from these narrow mortal corridors opens upon new adventures, new tasks to be shared with those we love.

This is another House. Jesus called it *my Father's House*. There God is the Speaker. No aisle divides men, no issues separate their convictions. And every roll call proclaims our unity in the way, the truth, and the life which we have found in Jesus Christ. Amen.

SCANDAL AT SBA—IV

(Mr. GONZALEZ asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly called the attention of the House to serious evidence that the special assistant to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration has involved himself in scandalous conduct and should be relieved of his duties forthwith, pending a full investigation. The Administrator has yet to act. Accordingly, I have today sent the following letter to the Administrator:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 6, 1969.

Mr. HILARY SANDOVAL,
Administrator, Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SANDOVAL: I have been gravely concerned by evidence that your special assistant, Albert Fuentes, has abused his position; moreover it appears that he intended to do so from the very beginning of his employment. The facts in my possession warrant your immediately relieving Mr. Fuentes from his duties pending a full investigation. Delay will in my opinion only further cloud your office and your agency. The following facts appear to be uncontradicted:

1. On February 28, 1969, Fuentes registered two assumed names with the Bexar County Clerk: "Area Research and Planning Services" and "Governmental Affairs and Management Consultants"; both firms were listed as being at 303 International Building, San Antonio, Texas.

This was only three days before Fuentes entered his duties with you. There is every reason to believe that both firms were designed to enable Fuentes to reap personal financial benefit from his connections in the government; a conflict of interest is the least that could be inferred from this action.

2. Early in February, a loan was approved to E&S Sales Company. The loan has never been disbursed. The owner of the company says that Fuentes told him not to collect the loan, as he believed the firm needed and could get more money.

Early in March, Fuentes made inquiries of SBA personnel as to how to increase a loan commitment to a company which he did not name, but which was similar in description to E&S Sales. At about this time, Fuentes asked Mr. W. J. Garvin to make a study of the E&S Sales Company's prospects and its requirements.

3. On March 20, 1969, Garvin reported his findings to Fuentes.

4. On March 30, 1969, Fuentes met with the owner of E&S Sales Company and several other men. This meeting took place at 303 International Building, San Antonio, Texas—the same address of Fuentes' new consulting firms. During the meeting the loan applicant received a copy of Garvin's study and was told to incorporate his company, pledging 49 percent of its stock to Fuentes and his associates.

5. On April 18, the applicant met with Mr. Rudy Esquivel, chairman of the San Antonio Advisory Council to SBA. Esquival advised him of his rights. On April 22 the applicant complained to the FBI.

6. On April 24, the applicant gave a second sworn statement describing the history of his application.

7. On April 26, Mr. Eddie Montez, who participated in the meeting, said that the applicant was in fact asked to incorporate, and was in fact asked to hand over 49 percent of his stock. Montez claimed that while Fuentes was present, he had no part in the demand—a statement hard to believe because of Montez' close association with Fuentes and the fact that the meeting took place in offices used by Fuentes for business purposes.

Albert Fuentes has for many years operated through consulting firms; it is a pattern familiar to him and one that he would be likely to repeat. There is no reason for me to believe that the shakedown attempt described above is not true, for it fits a pattern known to me. I do not believe that this man has acted in good faith, and indeed believe that he intended to use his office from the very beginning as a lever to enhance his own personal power and financial position. I submit that the facts offered above substantiate my belief, and warrant your immediate action to suspend Mr. Fuentes.

Sincerely,

HENRY B. GONZALEZ,
Member of Congress.

NATIONAL ARENA IN MEMORY OF DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

(Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, along with 15 of my colleagues, all former athletes, to introduce a bill in the Congress to authorize the construction of a national arena in the Capital of our Nation in memory of the 34th President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower.

The Eisenhower National Memorial Arena, proposed in this bill will compare with and rival in architecture and function the ancient Roman colosseum and the modern Madison Square Garden arena. Its purpose will be not only to honor a great American, but it will act as a symbol to all the people of the United States of America of their continuing dedication to peaceful pursuits and fair play. The bill requires that the arena be located at such a site that will be a distinct functional part of the Federal City, a place where every American will want to visit, as he now does the other great memorials, Federal buildings and museums located in the Nation's Capital. Moreover, adoption of this legislation by the Congress will provide a living memorial to this great American, of a nature closest to his inclination; a useful tribute and dedicated to improving the physical fitness of our citizenry, especially our youth in which former President Eisenhower had an unrivaled faith.

The bill would authorize the District of Columbia Armory Board, enlarged to include the President's Special Consultant on Physical Fitness and Sports, the Secretary of the Interior, and a fifth member, to be selected by the District of Columbia Committees of the Senate and House, not a resident of the city of Washington, Virginia, or Maryland, to design, construct, maintain, and operate the Eisenhower National Memorial Arena; with a seating capacity not exceeding 20,000 persons and a parking capacity for 7,000 vehicles; and on a site selected by the Board from real property owned by the United States in the vicinity of the Mall and/or Hains Point. The Congress would authorize an amount of $500,000 to prepare a complete design for the arena, the final plan approved by the President. An additional amount of $500,000 effective upon completion of the Memorial, would be authorized to establish a permanent revolving fund to provide for annual operations of the arena. Funds to construct the arena will come from subscriptions and grants from individuals and private institutions, as authorized for the Kennedy Cultural Center.

In preparing this bill, I have consulted with many sports writers, college and high school coaches, the Department of Defense Sports Director, officials from various sporting clubs, former Olympic stars, the President's adviser on Physical Fitness and Sports, all of whom support and attest to the need for such a national indoor sports facility to further the national physical fitness program, amateur and professional athletics, expositions and conventions, and entertainment of every type imaginable. The National Capital Planning Commission supports the basic concept of this legislation and favors the construction of such an arena in the Federal City.

Last Friday, the new Ambassador to Belgium, John Eisenhower, son of the former President, in a letter to me lent his encouragement to this proposal. The text of the letter is quoted below:

VALLEY FORGE, PA.,
April 28, 1969.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: I was honored to receive your letter of April 15 containing your proposal for a national monument to my father in the form of an arena to be located somewhere in the vicinity of the Mall or on Hains Point.

If such a memorial is contemplated, I know that this would be the type of thing that would be closest to his inclinations. First of all he would like the fact that it is to be useful—as indeed this would be—and second, it would be open to groups dedicated to improving the physical fitness of our citizenry. Incidentally, a sentimental sidelight is the fact that Hains Point was the place in Washington where my parents used to take me as a child for evening outings during the summer.

I realize that approval and implementation of such a project would take a good deal of time, but I would like to lend such en-

couragement as I can, as a member of the family.

I am sure that my mother will feel the same way, and I am taking the liberty of sending her a copy of this letter and yours.

With highest regards.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN EISENHOWER.

Mr. Speaker, I urge early consideration and speedy adoption of this legislation.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. FOLEY (at the request of Mr. MEEDS), for May 6, through May 8.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

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

Mr. PERKINS, for 30 minutes, today, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HANNA, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. MINSHALL (at the request of Mr. WHITEHURST), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. WHITEHURST), for 5 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM (at the request of Mr. WHITEHURST), for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. FLOOD (at the request of Mr. CAFFERY), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. BOLAND (at the request of Mr. CAFFERY), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. PERKINS (at the request of Mr. CAFFERY), for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. MADDEN and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. JOELSON and to include extraneous matter.

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

Mr. HORTON in five instances.
Mr. BROOMFIELD.
Mr. PETTIS in two instances.
Mr. FINDLEY.
Mr. DERWINSKI in two instances.
Mr. MCCLOSKEY.
Mr. ZWACH in two instances.
Mr. SCHERLE.
Mr. UTT.
Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.
Mr. BERRY.
Mr. VANDER JAGT.
Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia.
Mr. MCCLORY.
Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois.
Mr. SCHNEEBELI.
Mr. WYMAN in two instances.
Mr. SCHWENGEL in two instances.
Mr. KUYKENDALL.
Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN.
Mrs. MAY.
Mr. MORSE in two instances.
Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania.
Mr. GROSS.
Mr. MIZELL in three instances.
Mr. MCCLURE.
Mr. BROWN of Michigan.
Mrs. DWYER in three instances.

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

Mr. DENT in two instances.
Mr. MOORHEAD in four instances.
Mr. NIX in two instances.
Mr. MATSUNAGA in two instances.
Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON in two instances.
Mr. SLACK.
Mr. RIVERS.
Mr. ANDERSON of California in four instances.
Mr. RARICK in seven instances.
Mr. HÉBERT.
Mr. HENDERSON in three instances.
Mr. PICKLE.
Mr. MIKVA in two instances.
Mr. DINGELL.
Mr. REUSS in six instances.
Mr. BROWN of California in three instances.
Mr. COHELAN in four instances.
Mr. CLAY in six instances.
Mr. BINGHAM in three instances.
Mr. BIAGGI in two instances.
Mr. TIERNAN.
Mr. HOLIFIELD.
Mr. ABBITT in two instances.
Mr. EDMONDSON in two instances.
Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.
Mr. HAGAN of Georgia in two instances.
Mr. ST. ONGE in two instances.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS REFERRED

Bills and joint resolutions of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 150. An act for the relief of Dr. Orlando Fajardo Vargas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 244. An act for the relief of Cristina Bangcawayan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 245. An act for the relief of Blandina Salvador; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 330. An act for the relief of Dr. Konstantinos Nicholaos Babaliaros; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 354. An act for the relief of Foo Ying Yee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 464. An act for the relief of Dr. Jaime E. Lazaro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 465. An act for the relief of Dr. Lydia L. Lazaro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 684. An act for the relief of Hon. Chun Eng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 738. An act for the relief of Hector Enrique Gonzales; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 882. An act for the relief of Capt. William O. Hanle; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1104. An act for the relief of Thi Huong Nguyen and her minor child, Minh Linh Nguyen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1438. An act for the relief of Yau Ming Chinn (Gon Ming Loo); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1655. An act to change the limitation on the number of apprentices authorized to be employed by the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on House Administration.

S.J. Res. 13. Joint resolution to provide for the reappointment of Dr. John Nicholas Brown as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution; to the Committee on House Administration.

S.J. Res. 35. Joint resolution to provide for the appointment of Thomas J. Watson, Jr., as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution; to the Committee on House Administration.

S.J. Res. 45. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the period beginning September 1, 1969, and ending September 7, 1969, as "Adult Education Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S.J. Res. 46. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period beginning November 16, 1969, and ending November 22, 1969, as "National Family Health Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S.J. Res. 77. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period beginning June 8, 1969, and ending June 14, 1969, as "Professional Photography Week in America"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S.J. Res. 81. Joint resolution in honor of Amelia Earhart and Joan Merriam Smith; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S.J. Res. 99. Joint resolution to authorize the president to issue annually a proclamation designating the first week in June of each year as "Helen Keller Memorial Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S.J. Res. 100. Joint resolution to proclaim the week beginning May 1 as "Youth Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S.J. Res. 104. Joint resolution to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1969; to the Committee on Armed Services.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

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

S. 1081. An act to provide for the striking of medals in honor of the dedication of the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library; and

S. 1130. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the American Fisheries Society.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3548. An act for the relief of Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miquel; and

H.R. 4064. An act for the relief of Ana Mae Yap-Diangeo.

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 41 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 7, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

741. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting notification of deficiencies authorized to be incurred for the necessities of various appropriations, pursuant to the provisions of 41 U.S.C. 11(a); to the Committee on Appropriations.

742. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to extend its duration, to authorize assistance for projects for foster grandparents and senior companions, to provide assistance to strengthen State agencies on aging, and to otherwise strengthen and improve that act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

743. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on savings available by using space on military aircraft to transport baggage between the United States and points in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. ABBITT:

H.R. 10929. A bill to require the suspension of Federal financial assistance to colleges and universities which are experiencing campus disorders and fail to take appropriate corrective measures forthwith, and to require the suspension of Federal financial assistance to teachers participating in such disorders; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H.R. 10930. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that any foundation which makes, or offers to make, a payment of any kind to a Federal or State official shall lose its tax-exempt status; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama (for himself, Mr. JONES of Alabama, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. NICHOLS, and Mr. FLOWERS):

H.R. 10931. A bill to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the State of Alabama; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ASPINALL (for himself, Mr. ROGERS of Colorado, Mr. EVANS of Colorado, and Mr. BROTZMAN):

H.R. 10932. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Closed Basin division, San Luis Valley project, Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BELCHER:

H.R. 10933. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to permit the recomputation of retired pay of certain members and former members of the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.R. 10934. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BROWN of Michigan:

H.R. 10935. A bill to establish the Federal Medical Evaluations Board to carry out the functions, powers, and duties of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare relating to the regulation of biological products, medical devices, and drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BROWN of Michigan (by request):

H.R. 10936. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to designate the home of a State legislator for income tax purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (for himself, Mr. MATHIAS, Mr. MIZELL, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. WIDNALL, Mr. POFF, Mr. BELCHER, Mr. YATRON, Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. COWGER, Mr. HICKS, and Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts):

H.R. 10937. A bill to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation by the Armory Board of the District of Columbia of the Eisenhower National Memorial Arena in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

H.R. 10938. A bill to amend section 204(a) of the Coinage Act of 1965 in order to authorize minting of all new quarter dollar pieces with a likeness of the late Prsident Dwight David Eisenhower on one side; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H.R. 10939. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the mailing of obscene matter to minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H.R. 10940. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the disruption of the administration or operations of federally assisted educational institutions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10941. A bill to amend titles 18 and 39, United States Code, to make a certain category of material, designed to appeal primarily to the prurient interests of the viewer, reader, or listener, nonmailable to minors, and nonmailable as second-, third-, or fourth-class matter to any person; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10942. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to make a certain category of material, designed to appeal primarily to the prurient interests of the viewer, reader, or listener, nonmailable to minors, and nonmailable as second-, third-, or fourth-class matter to any person, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 10943. A bill to aid the U.S. postal establishment in providing for the accumulation, analysis, and dissemination of reliable and meaningful financial, statistical, and accounting information in regard to all third-class mail matter, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 10944. A bill to permit the Federal Government to further assist the States in the control of illegal gambling, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10945. A bill to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States; to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to State law; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. PERKINS, Mr. AYRES, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. HATHAWAY, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. BURTON of California, Mrs. GREEN of Oregon, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. SCHERLE, Mr. QUIE, Mr. ESCH, Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin, Mr. ERLENBORN, Mr. ESHLEMAN, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, Mr. DENT, Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. CAREY, Mrs. MINK, Mr. SCHEUER, and Mr. REID of New York):

H.R. 10946. A bill to promote health and safety in the building trades and construction industry in all Federal and federally financed or federally assisted construction projects; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. STOKES, Mr. CLAY, Mr. POWELL, Mr. BELL of California, Mr. DELLENBACK, and Mr. HANSEN of Idaho):

H.R. 10947. A bill to promote health and safety in the building trades and construction industry in all Federal and federally financed or federally assisted construction projects; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 10948. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage to $2 per hour, to provide for an 8-hour workday, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DICKINSON:

H.R. 10949. A bill to amend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 to extend its coverage to certain additional counties; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 10950. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit a married couple to earn jointly, in any proportion, the amount of outside earnings now allowable separately, without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 10951. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase from $1,200 to $2,400 (or $3,600 in the case of a widow with minor children) the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 10952. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide a 20-percent, across-the-board increase in benefits thereunder (with a minimum primary benefit of $80 a month), to provide for subsequent automatic increases in such benefits based on rises in the cost of living, and to finance the cost of these changes out of the general revenues; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 10953. A bill to amend the act of June 12, 1948 (62 Stat. 382), in order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Kennewick division extension, Yakima project, Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FOUNTAIN (for himself, Mrs. DWYER, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. HORTON, Mr. ERLENBORN, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. MCCLOSKEY, Mr. WIDNALL, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. HALPERN, and Mr. ROTH):

H.R. 10954. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to authorize consolidation of Federal assistance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. GIBBONS:

H.R. 10955. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide a 10-percent, across-the-board increase in the monthly benefits payable thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 10956. A bill to provide for the more efficient development and improved management of national forest commercial timberlands, to establish a high-timber-yield fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HAGAN (for himself, Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia, Mr. BRINKLEY, Mr. FLYNT, Mr. DAVIS of Georgia, Mr. STUCKEY, Mr. LANDRUM, and Mr. STEPHENS):

H.R. 10957. A bill to authorize funds to carry out the purposes of title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 10958. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 10959. A bill to permit officers and employees of the Federal Government to elect coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HANLEY:

H.R. 10960. A bill to protect citizens' rights to privacy from offensive unsolicited matter and fraudulent matter sent through the mails, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANNA (for himself, Mr. BROCK, Mr. BLACKBURN, and Mr. STANTON):

H.R. 10961. A bill to provide for the more efficient development and improved management of national forest commercial timberlands, to establish a high-timber-yield fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HASTINGS:

H.R. 10962. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in certain cases relating to the apportionment of population among districts from which Members of Congress are elected; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 10963. A bill to amend title 37, United States Code, to provide for the procurement and retention of judge advocates and law specialist officers for the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ICHORD:

H.R. 10964. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to provide certain qualifications for Supreme Court Justices; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KLEPPE:

H.R. 10965. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 10966. A bill to amend section 1869 of title 28, United States Code, with respect to the information required by a jury qualification form; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. MAY:

H.R. 10967. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H.R. 10968. A bill to provide for the withdrawal of section- and third-class mailing permits of mail users who have used these permits in the mailing of obscene, sadistic, lewd, or pandering mail matter, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio (for himself and Mr. KUYKENDALL):

H.R. 10969. A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of 18 years, and to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H.R. 10970. A bill to require the suspension of Federal financial assistance to colleges and universities which are experiencing campus disorders and fail to take appropriate corrective measures within a reasonable time and to require the termination of Federal financial assistance to teachers, instructors, and lecturers guilty of violation of any law in connection with such disorders; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.R. 10971. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide cost-of-living increases in the insurance benefits payable thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 10972. A bill to provide social security coverage as self-employed individuals for State and local public officers, not otherwise covered under Federal-State agreement, who are paid on a fee basis by persons other than the State or local government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.R. 10973. A bill to provide Federal assistance to States for improving elementary and secondary teachers' salaries, for meeting the urgent needs of elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. OLSEN (for himself and Mr. STAFFORD):

H.R. 10974. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide for certain requirements with respect to the installation and maintenance of devices for locating down civil aircraft; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 10975. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the present dollar limits on the amount allowable as a child-care deduction, and to increase the income limits which are applicable in certain cases in determining eligibility for such deduction; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 10976. A bill to establish an advisory commission to make a study and report with respect to freight rates for farm products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 10977. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to present a gold medal to the widow of Robert F. Kennedy; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 10978. A bill to provide additional protection for the rights of participants in private pension plans, to establish minimum standards for vesting and funding of private pension plans, to provide an insurance program guaranteeing plan termination protection, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ROBERTS:

H.R. 10979. A bill to amend title 11 of the District of Columbia Code with respect to the prosecution and sentencing of any person over 17 charged with, or convicted of, carrying or using a firearm or other deadly or dangerous weapon in the commission of a felony; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. ROBISON:

H.R. 10980. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head-of-household benefits to unremarried widows and widowers, and individuals who have attained age 30 and who have never been married or who have been separated or divorced for 3 years or more, who maintain their own households; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 10981. A bill to provide for improvements in the administration of the courts of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10982. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide that turtle meat, offal, and substances may be imported free of duty; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROUDEBUSH:

H.R. 10983. A bill to incorporate the Gold Star Wives of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 10984. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to make additional immigrant visas available for immigrants from certain foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 10985. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in certain cases relating to the apportionment of population among districts from which Members of Congress are elected; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H.R. 10986. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to utilize its employees more effectively, and to improve administrative efficiency; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 10987. A bill to amend the National Commission on Product Safety Act in order to extend the life of the Commission so that it may complete its assigned tasks; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 10988. A bill to provide for the redistribution of unused quota numbers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 10989. A bill to amend section 2204 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a method for the discharge of fiduciaries from personal liability for the estate tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 10990. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit the payment of benefits to a married couple on their combined earnings record where that method of computation produces a higher combined benefit; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.R. 11000. A bill to reclassify certain key positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BELL of California:

H.J. Res. 698. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim annually the week including May 9 as "National Community College Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H.J. Res. 699. Joint resolution to declare the policy of the United States with respect to its territorial sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DEVINE:

H.J. Res. 700. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the power of the Supreme Court to declare any provision of law unconstitutional; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.J. Res. 701. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the week of September 28, 1969, through October 4, 1969, as "National Adult-Youth Communications Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. FISH, and Mr. HALPERN):

H.J. Res. 702. Joint resolution to authorize and direct the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Commission to raise funds for the construction of a memorial; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. WIGGINS:

H.J. Res. 703. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period April 20 through April 25, 1970, as "Schoolbus Safety Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H. Con. Res. 241. Concurrent resolution relative to the orderly withdrawal of troops from South Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. POWELL:

H. Con. Res. 242. Concurrent resolution, support of gerontology centers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H. Res. 393. Resolution providing a quarterly printing allowance for Members of the House of Representatives and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PERKINS (for himself and Mr. AYRES):

H. Res. 394. Resolution authorizing the Speaker to appoint delegates and alternates to attend the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

156. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, relative to commending the Apollo 8 astronauts for their public profession of faith, which was referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 10991. A bill for the relief of Hiristo Naci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10992. A bill for the relief of Libertino Sutti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DADDARIO:

H.R. 10993. A bill for the relief of Robert D. Money; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 10994. A bill for the relief of Joanne Marie Evans; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MIKVA:

H.R. 10995. A bill for the relief of Khazan Chand Agrawal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MIZELL:

H.R. 10996. A bill for the relief of the Pine Hall Brick & Pipe Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 10997. A bill for the relief of Alfio Grasso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida (by request):

H.R. 10998. A bill for the relief of Maj. Henry C. Mitchell (retired); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 10999. A bill for the relief of Soo Pu Hwang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAFT:

H.R. 11001. A bill for the relief of Hubert E. Huckel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 11002. A bill for the relief of Trenton Textile Engineering & Manufacturing Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WIGGINS:

H.R. 11003. A bill for the relief of Ashutosh Roy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII;

103. Mr. GRIFFIN presented a petition of Mr. James W. Darling of Selma, Calif., and 1,528 other citizens calling for the repeal of Public Law 90-618, or the so-called gun control law of 1968, and supporting H.R. 4156, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

UTAH CIVIC BALLET EMERGING AS MAJOR AMERICAN BALLET COMPANY

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor, on May 2, carried an interesting story by Clifford Barnes of Salt Lake City entitled "Utah Says, 'Go West, Ballet'." It tells about the exciting work that is being done by William F. Christensen, director and choreographer of the Utah Civic Ballet, in bringing performances of this outstanding classical ballet company to the entire Rocky Mountain region and, hopefully, in time, to audiences from Canada to Mexico, and California to Nebraska.

The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 2, 1969]

UTAH SAYS, "GO WEST, BALLET"

(By Clifford Barnes)

SALT LAKE CITY.—Go West, Ballet! That's where the action is these days.

William F. Christensen, founder of the San Francisco Ballet and more recently of the Utah Civic Ballet, has now seen Ballet West come through its genesis with colors flying. The idea for this new company came from the Federation of Rocky Mountain States. Aware of the highly professional performances of the Utah Civic Ballet, and its growing popularity, the federation asked "Mr. C." (Mr. Christensen) to bring ballet to the entire Rocky Mountain region.

Working with headquarters in Salt Lake City, Ballet West serves Boise, Denver, Albuquerque, Phoenix, Tucson, Reno, and other important centers in the West. The goal is to bring classical ballet to audiences from Canada to Mexico, and California to Nebraska. The initial tour during January and February was a great artistic, as well as a box-office success. A letter to both Salt Lake newspapers from the local sponsor in San Antonio, Texas, exclaimed: "y' all come back! And back"

YEAR-ROUND CONTRACTS

A major American ballet company is emerging, offering year-round contracts to dancers—a rarity these days. Plans are under way to use the symphony orchestras in the large cities, just as Ballet West does with the Utah Symphony for its Salt Lake appearances. Return visits to the same states are scheduled for the '69-'70 season, with invitations already in from Washington, Oregon, Montana, Kansas, and Louisiana.

The enthusiasm and know-how of company manager Alan Behunin can't help but produce exciting results. Artistic director-choreographer William Christensen has the invaluable aid of Bene Arnold, ballet mistress. Already she has established an unusual precision in the corps de ballet.

For the first Salt Lake season under the new name, Ballet West presented Melissa Hayden and Jacques d'Amboise—guest artists from the New York City Ballet Company—in six performances of "Giselle." These two stars were thrilled with the opportunity to dance their first Giselle and Albrecht with this company two years ago. And there had been no further occasion until now.

CHABRIER CHARMER

Miss Hayden has all of the requisites for Giselle: guileless charm, dramatic skill, and superb technique. She created a mad scene that moved to its climax in a completely believable development. As Count Albrecht, Mr. d'Amboise has found his greatest role. This gifted dancer, known for his versatility, makes more of this part than most of his peers have done. Both stars reveal insights of the characters they portray that make their performances fascinating to watch. Balletomanes on the East Coast should have the opportunity to see this "Giselle."

To fill out the evening's program, Mr. Christensen devised a charmer to three works by Chabrier and put it under the collective title "Bravura." This ballet showed off the virtuosity of five couples in the first movement, joined by three couples in the second, and one in the final movement. Carolyn Anderson, Ben Lokey, Mary Lynne Shupe, and Bart Cook sparkled most effectively. But all of the soloists could hold their own in a major ballet company anywhere.

The youthful exuberance of the company comes naturally. They are between the ages of 16 and 23. And they are learning about performing at the grass-roots level. Response from small-town audiences has been unusual. Twelve-hundred out of the total population of 1,500 attended two performances in Delta, Utah. Two thousand of Vernal, Utah's 5,000 inhabitants paid to see one performance.

There is still gold to be found in the small cultural mines out West. A company of 50 took seven ballets on tour, via Continental Trailways, and made fans at every stop. Critical acclaim was of the highest order in every big city. Ballet West is filling a need, and is carving out an exciting future for itself and ballet fans everywhere.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATORS ASSOCIATION HONORS CONGRESSMAN JAMES A. BURKE AND HON. FREDERICK B. WILLIS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of the U.S. Congress action taken by the Massachusetts Legislators Association last Tuesday evening, April 29, 1969, at their annual get-together at the Parker House Hotel in Boston. This great organization made up of present and past members of the Massachusetts Legislature initiated the custom 2 years ago of honoring two of its outstanding members, one a Democrat

and the other a Republican in recognition of their great contribution to public service.

The first year the awards were made to two nationally known Americans, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, former U.S. Senator and former Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Last year two of our esteemed Members of Congress were the recipients, Congressman THOMAS P. O'NEIL, JR. and Congressman SILVIO O. CONTE.

This year, the Massachusetts Legislators Association again selected two men who are deserving of the great honor conferred upon them, our beloved and respected colleague, Congressman JAMES A. BURKE, and the Honorable Frederick B. Willis of Saugus, Mass.

All of these men have served with distinction in the great and general court of Massachusetts. They have outstanding records in bringing about the enactment of meaningful legislation beneficial to all the people.

With reference to this year's awards, I know I express the pleasure of all of his Massachusetts colleagues in Congress in learning that Congressman JIM BURKE was selected. Our Massachusetts congressional delegation has always worked together in harmony, not only in the best interest of our beloved Nation, but also for the common good of all of the people of Massachusetts. Congressman BURKE has certainly helped to establish this good feeling and relationship.

We who served with the Honorable Frederick B. Willis are also happy to know that he was recognized for his dedication and devotion to public service. Frederick B. Willis served in the Massachusetts house of representatives from 1937 to 1948 and was speaker of the Massachusetts house for 4 years. His service also includes membership on the Saugus School Committee from 1930 to 1936 and on the town council and as secretary to the board of assessors in 1937. He is presently serving as counsel to the Massachusetts house of representatives.

So our hats are off to the recipients of the 1969 award of the Massachusetts Legislators Association—we salute Congressman JAMES A. BURKE and the Honorable Frederick B. Willis.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include the list of officers for the organization for the year 1969 with its preamble to the constitution:

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATORS ASSOCIATION: INCORPORATED BY CHAPTER 18—ACT OF 1946

Be it known to all that we who have been fortunate enough to have had the distinctive privilege of being members of the greatest deliberative body in this Nation, the Massachusetts Legislature, cherish dearly the friendships we have made while in that service, and, for the purpose of perpetuating these friendships and the spirit of fraternalism with which all of us have been endowed, we hereby associate ourselves into a group, the aims of which shall be social, fraternal, and benevolent. Realizing the frailties of human nature and that the permanence of this organization depends upon the strict confining of our activities to the above-mentioned aims, let this admonition be heeded by all: *That no member shall attempt to use this association for any political gain or advantage either of himself or of anyone else, so that the spirit which prompted its creation shall never be abused.* [Preamble to Constitution.]

OFFICERS

President: Joseph F. Leahy, Somerville.

First Vice President: Harold E. Rosen, Dedham.

Second Vice-President: George V. Kenneally, Jr., Boston.

Secretary: Mary B. Newman, Cambridge.

Assistant Secretary: Mary L. Fonesca, Fall River.

Treasurer: Edward J. Kelley, Wocester.

Assistant Treasurer: Walter R. Baylies, Taunton.

Auditors: James C. Bayley, Boston, Chairman; John J. Toomey, Cambridge; John J. Beades, Boston; Freyda P. Koplow, Brookline; and Jeremiah D. Crowley, Boston.

Executive Committee, term expires 1969: John A. Armstrong, Plymouth; Sidney Q. Curtiss, Sheffield; Edward J. Gurry, Boston; William L. Saltonstall, Manchester; and Anthony M. Scibelli, Springfield.

Term expires 1970: Harry Coltun, Chelsea; Charles F. Holman, Norwood; William W. Jenness, Quincy; Raymond J. Lord, Lowell; and Roger A. Sala, North Adams.

Term expires 1971: Samuel Harmon, Boston; Robert H. Quinn, Boston; Cornelius J. Murray, Beverly; John T. Tynan, Boston; and William D. Weeks. Cohasset.

And all Past Presidents: Thomas J. Hannon, Jr., Boston; Frederick B. Willis, Saugus; Raymond F. O'Connell, Springfield; *Ernest H. Sparrell, Norwell; Bernard P. Casey, Boston; *Martin Hays, Boston; *Anthony R. Doyle, Worcester; Charles W. Hedges, Quincy; *John F. Gilmore, Boston; *Albert L. Bourgeois, Lowell; Edward J. Kelley, Worcester; Henry P. McLaren, Westwood; Thomas E. Barry, Boston; *William F. Dwyer, Boston; Philip A. Quinn, Spencer; Ralph Lerche, Northampton; Enrico Cappucci, Boston; Theodore J. Vaitses, Melrose; George P. Hassett, Medford; Ralph H. Hill, Andover; John E. Hurley, Boston; Otis M. Whitney, Concord; *Robert L. Lee, Boston; Herbert B. Hollis, Braintree; Thomas F. Farrell, Worcester; and Joseph D. Saulnier, New Bedford.

*Deceased.

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL RESOLUTION

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD a resolution on neighborhood schools that was adopted by the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Clubs. I believe that a majority of American citizens agree with the substance of this resolution:

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL RESOLUTION

Whereas the neighborhood school concept has been a traditional part of the American school system; and

Whereas the deterioration of the neighborhood school concept would bring about injustices for the rights and interests of all children, as follows:

1. An increased distance between parents and school would place a financial burden on parents who can ill afford it when parent-teacher conferences are advisable, and sometimes urgently necessary.

2. Increased distance and inflexible transportation would prevent many students from engaging in extra-curricular activities and prevent after-school teacher assistance needed by many students.

3. If paid by public funds, education's primary purpose would suffer since money spent on transportation cannot also be spent on educational needs.

4. Increased distance seriously inconveniences parent in bringing home children who become ill at school, and presents the impossibility of parents rescuing their children in event of a major disaster.

Therefore resolved that the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Clubs emphatically endorses the neighborhood school concept and opposes any plan which denies any child the privileges afforded by the neighborhood school and the security of his neighborhood friends and home.

Adopted at the regular monthly meeting on April 11, 1966, reaffirmed at the regular monthly meeting on February 10, 1969 of the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Clubs.

SOVIET WAR MACHINE IN VIETNAM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, any suggestion that the Russians are mellowing or that they are helping us achieve peace at the Paris talks is an exercise in self-deception.

Americans should judge by actions—and as usual the Soviets are doing just what their past leaders had decreed.

The Communists in Vietnam are better equipped to kill Americans, by use of the world's largest helicopters—Soviet built. The only aid Russia is giving at the peace table is to encourage other Communists to prolong the war.

Yet our leaders talk of additional Soviet consulates in the United States—more cultural exchange and expanded trade.

Mr. Speaker, I include an AP release from Saigon of May 1, and several other clippings:

SOVIET-BUILT COPTERS USED BY NORTH VIETS

SAIGON.—The North Vietnamese are now using a small but significant force of Soviet-built helicopters in Laos and Cambodia, U.S. officers reported Wednesday.

Some of the helicopters are the world's largest, capable of speeding troops and cargo from North Vietnam to bases in those two countries adjacent to South Vietnam.

The choppers operate at night at near treetop level along the route of the Ho Chi Minh trail stretching down from Vietnam, through Laos and into Cambodia.

Officially, the U.S. Command has no comment on the reports. A ranking officer admitted, however, that such reports had been cropping up and that it was known the North Vietnamese had a force of Sovietbuilt helicopters available.

There has been no visual sighting of the helicopters from the Vietnamese side of the frontier. The reports have come from agents, from radar sightings and at least one prisoner of war, who reported being brought from North Vietnam to Cambodia in a troop-carrying helicopter.

Most of the helicopter sightings have been by radar. So far as is known, none has been shot down.

"They operate almost every night," one U.S. officer reported. "They prefer to operate when there is no moon or when the weather

is overcast. On moonless nights we get 20 to 30 reports."

BIGGEST IN WORLD

They are put down in American intelligence reports the same way that flying saucers are listed, as "unidentified flying objects."

One type in operation is the M16, code named "Hook" in American military parlance, U.S. officers say. The biggest helicopter in the world, it can carry up to 120 people or around 2.2 tons of cargo.

It gets its name "Hook" because a hook often is suspended from the helicopter to carry additional cargo.

Another type believed in operation is a "Flying Crane" helicopter capable of transporting tanks such as the Soviet-built PT76 models that hit a U.S. Special Forces Camp at Ben Het recently.

Ben Het is in the central highland just across from a densely jungled area of northern Cambodia largely controlled by the North Vietnamese. This is the farthest south that enemy armored vehicles have entered into combat.

In addition to the giant choppers, the Russians are believed to have furnished liaison and light observation helicopters.

Military officers do not expect the enemy to move troops by helicopters to the Vietnamese side of the border. With American control of the air, anything more than a hit-and-run mission would be suicidal.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Apr. 21, 1969]

WILSON GOT RED HOT ON THE HOT LINE

LONDON, April 21.—Prime Minister Harold Wilson tried in 1967 to arrange a permanent halt in the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and got himself embroiled in angry exchanges with the White House.

At one point in the "hotline" discussions with President Johnson, the Prime Minister suggested that somebody in Washington "didn't know their ——— from their elbows," according to the Sunday Times.

The newspaper printed an account of Mr. Wilson's effort through Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin.

TIMES ACCOUNT

The Times gave this account:

In February of 1967, President Johnson had ordered a temporary halt in the bombing during the Tet New Year. Mr. Kosygin was in London for discussions with Mr. Wilson.

The British Prime Minister hoped to get the bomb halt extended. He told Mr. Kosygin what he thought the U.S. conditions were.

He said the U.S. would stop the bombing if North Vietnam would agree to stop its infiltration of troops and supplies. The bombing would stop first, then the infiltration.

Mr. Wilson hoped Mr. Kosygin could sell the idea to North Vietnam.

Later the White House called Mr. Wilson and told him the conditions were no longer on in effect because of stepped-up infiltration.

The new condition was that the infiltration must stop first.

Mr. Wilson had to send his private secretary that night to catch Mr. Kosygin before his train left.

Then Mr. Wilson called President Johnson and complained bitterly.

The only explanation Wilson could see for this reversal was that either he had not been kept properly informed or the hawks had won the upper hand or somebody on the 'American side didn't know their ——— from their elbows.' "

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 21, 1969]

UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA AGREE TO RADIOS FOR EMBASSIES

President Nixon has agreed to let the Soviet Embassy in Washington set up a two-way radio in return for similar rights for the American Embassy in Moscow, administration officials have disclosed.

The Russians will be allowed to link their embassy in Washington and their Foreign Ministry in Moscow in return for permitting a radio hookup between the State Department here and the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The step was described yesterday as another in the recent series of actions showing working relationships between the two superpowers, the latest being Soviet naval cooperation last week in the search for the U.S. plane shot down by North Korea.

PART OF THREE-PIECE PACKAGE

The shortwave radio deal was listed as part of a three-part package concluded last month for improved communications between the embassies of the two nations and their home governments.

Another part of the package, announced March 17, provided for private line teletype circuits connecting the embassies with their capitals along the same Moscow-Washington route as the White House-Kremlin "hotline" standby emergency wire.

The third arrangement—sought by the Russians—concerns handling of diplomatic pouches going by commercial airliners between the respective embassies and their home stations.

It provides that envoys of the two countries may meet Pan American and Aeroflot flights directly upon their landings in Moscow and New York to carry away the pouches without customs inspection.

OTHER AGREEMENTS

The United States already has reciprocal agreements with a number of countries around the world for embassy operation of radio transmitters.

American diplomats have found embassy-controlled radio stations a useful supplement to other communications facilities, particularly in areas where commercial facilities are poor or political conditions unstable.

For the U.S.-Soviet deal to be worked out under U.S. law, the President had to make a finding that it was in the national interest to allow the Russians to broadcast from their embassy here.

NATIONAL GOODWILL WEEK

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, I should like to take this opportunity to join in paying tribute to the Goodwill Industries, in conjunction with National Goodwill Week now being observed.

The Goodwill Industries of Central Pennsylvania have played an important role in helping the handicapped become useful citizens. In pursuing employment, limitations can result from physical disability, mental deficiency, emotional disturbance, or sociocultural disadvantages. Anyone 16 years of age or older who has had difficulty in finding employment because of these reasons will be considered for services offered by the Goodwill Industries through evaluation, counseling, training, special educational instruction, and placement services.

A total of 557 handicapped persons received direct benefits from the Goodwill Industries of Central Pennsylvania last year. There was $217,856 in wages to handicapped workers in the Goodwill program. For one organization to train so many handicapped people to perform satisfactorily in competitive employment is an outstanding achievement. We are fortunate, indeed, to have the dedicated staff members of Goodwill Industries perform such an important service for those of our fellow citizens who are handicapped.

We owe the Goodwill Industries a debt of gratitude and I should like to commend them on a job well done.

OVERHAUL LONG NEEDED

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in the few short years of its existence, the Agency for International Development—AID—has managed to get its share of headlines for abuses of its intended functions. Under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 authority was granted for the establishment of AID, and in November of that year is was made an Agency within the Department of State. From a financial standpoint AID packs a big wallop for it has the responsibility for carrying out nonmilitary U.S. foreign assistance programs and for continuous supervision and general direction of all assistance programs under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and acts making appropriations thereunder. The Agency dispenses its assistance through development loans, development grants, investment guarantees, investment surveys, and so forth.

The recent AID scandals which caused a number of its officials to resign is another strong argument in favor of serious and comprehensive overhaul of the whole State Department apparatus. Until this task is undertaken, all the abuses of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy will make an efficient operation of its functions impossible.

The Government Employees Exchange of April 16 carried an article, "AID Manipulated Job Records and Ratings," which asserts that the familiar game of manipulating personnel records of employees has been going on at the Agency.

In the last Congress I introduced legislation which would provide an appeals procedure for foreign service personnel who now can be selected out without a redress of grievances. Unlike the civil service employee, who can appeal an unfavorable action against himself Foreign Service personnel are at the mercy of the clique in power, which as we have seen in the Otepka, Koczak and other cases can be vicious in eliminating employees they judge to be undesirable. In the final analysis though, nothing less than a complete overhaul of the Department will be an exercise in futility.

Under unanimous consent I submit the above-mentioned article from the Government Employees Exchange of April 16 for inclusion in the RECORD at this point:

AID MANIPULATED JOB RECORDS AND RATINGS

Following the revelations in this newspaper on February 21, 1968 about the "Antwerp sex and kickback scandal" and the resigna-

tion of five officials of the Agency for International Development, this newspaper received documentary evidence on April 11 of this year that three senior A.I.D. officials have since then been engaged in selectively manipulating the personnel records of foreign service employees of that Agency. The records involved affect the promotion and "selection out" of foreign service personnel.

As readers will recall, the revelations about the "Antwerp sex and kickback scandal" were widely publicized a year ago by Senators John Williams (Delaware) and Ernest Gruening (Alaska) and by Congressmen John Moss and John S. Monagan. According to the accounts, a top A.I.D. official, having a "sexual affair" with a "seductive secretary" of the Belgium firm of J & M Andrianessens, allowed the foreign company to overcharge the U.S. government by more than $250,000 for repairs on excess property.

Subsequently, this top official and a top A.I.D. inspector became involved in "rivalry for the sexual lures of the secretary", the press reported. Trips were taken by the young lady, with other beauties, and the A.I.D. staff to Rome, Paris, Nice, where the "sweet life" of France and Italy was fully enjoyed. The case, uncovered in the end by Congressional staff investigators, finally involved the Belgian police and prosecutor's office.

The five A.I.D. officials who resigned because of the embarassment of the scandal included Herbert J. Waters, who prior to his employment at A.I.D. had served as the Senatorial election campaign manager in 1954 and 1960 of Hubert H. Humphrey. Others who resigned included Paul H. Scordas, a career Army Colonel hired after retirement as a Foreign Service Reserve Officer, Class 2; and Jack K. Wall, who was the Director of the Excess Property program for A.I.D. in Europe. Mr. Wall was indicted on December 9, 1968 and is awaiting trial.

The three A.I.D. officers now revealed by documentary evidence as having carried out a selective alteration of the restricted files and folders of foreign service personnel are H. Rex Lee, formerly the Governor of American Samoa and currently a Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, who was the Assistant Administrator for Administration of A.I.D. during the "Antwerp sex and kickback scandal"; Edward F. Tennant, currently the Acting Assistant Administrator for Administration and Governor Lee's successor at A.I.D.; and Joseph S. Toner, who was the Director of Personnel Administration for A.I.D. when the "Antwerp sex and kickback scandal" developed. Mr. Toner is still in the same job.

According to information received by this newspaper, one of the persons rated by Paul Scordas wrote to Governor Lee personally complaining about the rating he had received. The complaining employee, James A. Gibson, was on very good personal terms with persons associated with supporters of Hubert H. Humphrey, especially Herbert J. Waters, this newspaper was informed.

At the end of this article there is published the complete text of a memorandum, dated November 12, 1968, from Mr. Toner to Mr. Tennant concerning the disposition of the Performance Evaluation Report and the Development Appraisal Report written by Paul Scordas on James Gibson. Information available to this newspaper indicates that no other employee rated by Paul Scordas had his reports reviewed by Governor Lee.

In his memorandum of November 12 to Mr. Tennant, Mr. Toner refers to a letter of October 12, 1968 written by Governor Lee. Readers of *The Exchange* will be interested to note that the Congressional Record reveals that fully one month earlier, on September 13, Governor Lee had already been confirmed by the Senate for his new post as a Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission. Governor Lee took the oath of his new office on October 24, 1968.

In addition to receiving documentary evidence of selective treatment given to certain A.I.D. persons with good connections, this newspaper was further informed that James M. Kearns, a Schedule C political appointee and currently the Deputy Assistant Admincriticized by A.I.D. personnel allegedly for permitting the re-writing and re-defining of job descriptions and titles to permit the istrator for Administration, is being sharply "mass hiring" of retired military personnel who will be employed in the near future as "Foreign Service Reserve Officers", displacing the career civil service and career foreign service personnel entitled to first consideration under a Reduction in Force program.

According to the reports, Mr. Kearns is being assisted in this project by Lester T. David, a Colonel on active duty with the Air Force who is nominally a consultant with A.I.D. but is actually in charge of the Agency's Government Property Resources Office. Retired military personnel already promised positions by Colonel David and Mr. Kearns include former A.I.D. personnel recently dismissed in the Reduction in Force program because they did not have sufficient seniority. They return to these positions as new employees following "reorganization" of the Government Property Resources Office, this newspaper was informed.

Included among those for whom positions will be created in the "re-organization" are persons who were returned from Frankfurt and Antwerp after being "relieved" of duty in connection with the "sex and kickback" scandals there.

There follows below the full, verbatim text of the memorandum of November 12, from Mr. Toner to Mr. Tennant:

"12 Nov. 1968.

"To: AA/A, Mr. Edward F. Tennant
"From: A/PM, Joseph S. Toner
"Subject: Performance Evaluation Report—James A. Gibson

"Pursuant to instructions in Mr. Lee's memorandum of October 12, 1968, we are taking the following action:

"1. The Performance Evaluation Report prepared by Mr. Scordas will be removed from Mr. Gibson's restricted file and will be placed in a newly created folder which will not be for release under any circumstances.

"2. The memorandum from Mr. Lee to me dated October 12, 1968, will be placed in Mr. Gibson's restricted file as it spells out the circumstances surrounding the preparation of the Scordas Performance Evaluation Report.

"3. The Development Appraisal Report prepared by Mr. Scordas has been reviewed also and found to be equally damaging and thus has been removed from Mr. Gibson's restricted file.

"cc: Mr. J. A. Gibson, Transportation Officer, Antwerp, Belg., Mr. J. J. Jacobson, OIC, AID/EPRO-4 Frankfurt.

"Restricted file of Mr. J. A. Gibson."

MRS. RHEABLE M. EDWARDS—"HEADSTART—NOT AN ANTIDOTE TO RACISM"

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, today, the Ad Hoc Task Force on Poverty, of which I am a member, heard the presentation of a remarkable statement from a remarkable woman, Mrs. Rheable M. Edwards of Boston. Mrs. Edwards tells us in clear terms what programs for the poor are all about—and she is ably qualified to do so having both the academic background and the experience on which to draw. For many years, she has been involved in the effort to free black people from the chains of our white-oriented system. She has been involved in "poverty" programs at operational and policymaking levels and most recently served as a member of the Headstart Advisory Committee which reported its recommendations to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert Finch.

I am impressed by the light she sheds on so-called evaluations of programs like Headstart and I commend her for pointing out the futility of comparing the Headstart program or any other program which serves so many black youth—with the expectations of a racist society. She says, and I quote:

Expecting Head Start to be an antidote to racism is simply one more way of evading the real issue. . . . Revolutionary changes have to be made in the systems beyond Head Start unless there is a desire to continue to stunt the physical, cognitive and emotional growth of children.

Those of my colleagues who are concerned with present evaluations of the Headstart program and the implications they may hold for the future of the program—and those who want a better understanding of the nature and the realm of Headstart will benefit from a reading of the following statement by Mrs. Edwards. Having the benefit of her testimony will certainly aid our task force as it contemplates action on all poverty programs. I commend the following testimony to the attention of my colleagues:

PRESENTATION OF MRS. RHEABLE M. EDWARDS, DIRECTOR, HEADSTART ACTION FOR BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, INC., BOSTON, MASS., TO THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THE HONORABLE CARL B. PERKINS, CHAIRMAN, MAY 5, 1969

HIGHLIGHTS OF HEADSTART

There is considerable evidence that the cumulative effects of poverty and racism upon the child during his most crucial years of growth and development deprive him of self-confidence and impair motivation for learning. In recognition of this fact, Head Start provides for the pre-school child of poverty a comprehensive program including meaningful daily classroom activities, medical and dental care, good nutrition, social and psychological services for the child and his family, and a self-help approach of parent and community involvement.

The unique feature of Head Start is its comprehensive service to the family, with focus on the child. Therefore, Head Start includes the involvement of parents as employees in the program, in the planning and implementation of the program, and in career development opportunities. Its comprehensive, interdisciplinary approach and its community action concept are geared toward effecting social change and providing broad family benefits which will help to break the poverty cycle. Also, the program content, methodology, and training techniques of Head Start serve as a catalyst to upgrade the existing school system—as well as day care.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HEADSTART

Head Start is more than a classroom-centered program; therefore, any evaluation of it necessarily includes more than its effect upon the children. Because the program features the involvement of parents in program planning and implementation, decentralized program operation, and the inclusion of per-

sonnel with qualifications other than traditional academic training, the program's effectiveness is difficult to measure. Has the parent's feeling of self-worth and self-respect been increased, which in turn leads to greater confidence in one's ability to effect social change? The Westinghouse Head Start report has attempted to deal with the research issue.

According to news reports, there appears to be considerable controversy concerning the experimental design, conclusions, and intent of the Westinghouse Report. Since I have been unable to obtain the report, I am unable to comment upon it specifically. However, because of the controversy surrounding the report, I will comment upon the entire issue of research with respect to the population served by Head Start and upon the specific issue of criteria for judging the effectiveness of a comprehensive program which deals with human development.

In my opinion, most research concerning the poor and the Black in general has been oriented to the needs of those doing the research rather than to the needs of those being researched. It is interesting that very few studies concern themselves with a comparative analysis of different methods to remedy the problems of the poor and Black while a great number of studies have concerned themselves with the focusing on how the poor and Black differ from the white middle class norm. In addition, the validity of their identifications is an issue.

Many of the conclusions drawn from such research suggest that the onus of poverty and racism is to be placed on the poor and the Black themselves. My opinion, as supported by the Kerner Report, Kenneth Clark studies, and others, is that the causes of such problems are due to the pervasive influence of racism, class prejudice and lack of money. Head Start attempts to deal with these problems by providing the children, even for just a short period of time, with respect and service. However, one cannot then send the child out into a system whose attitudes and services remain unchanged and expect the child not to be adversely affected. Head Start, as the name implies, is only a start; revolutionary changes have to be made in the systems beyond Head Start unless there is a desire to continue to stunt the physical, cognitive, and emotional growth of children.

After separating out the elements of racism and poverty, the educational benefits of Head Start can be dealt with: the total gamut of psychological, economic, social, historical and educational problems must be considered in preparing Head Start children to overcome class and race barriers. These barriers have resulted in denial of educational opportunity to the families of Head Start children.

According to statistics presented March 7, 1969 to an Advisory Committee to Secretary Finch on the placement of Head Start in Health, Education, and Welfare, the majority of the children served in Full-Year Head Start are non-white, with the largest single group being black. For example, in 1966 Full-Year, 42.2% of the children were Black and 25.2% were white; in 1967 Full-Year, the number of Black children served increased to 51.2%, while the number of whites decreased to 23.8%.[1] Clearly, Black children are the largest group served by Head Start.

Therefore, it is extremely important that the distinction between poverty and racism be clearly understood.

POVERTY AND RACISM

Poverty is an economic condition. Racism was legitimized by the Kerner Report in 1968 as the central domestic problem of this country. The insidious tendency to make "poor" synonymous with Black and the use of such terms as "culturally deprived," "disadvantaged," and "under-privileged" imply that the entire culture of the people so categorized has nothing of worth and needs to be replaced by something "better" or "right." In other words, emphasis has always been on making non-white people fit the dictates of the white middle-class America. Reaction to this practice is manifested today through efforts towards change by many Blacks in various settings around the country—on college campuses, in the churches, in the community, in the streets, in the organization of all-Black professional groups (e.g. social workers, educators, and pychiatrists), in high school student demonstrations, and in other ways.

The Black child's pre-school handicap is not related primarily to education, but to how Black people are treated in this country. The problem is presently defined by whites, and in the opinion of many Black people, this definition accommodates subverting the real issue, racism, to a more palatable one, poverty. Expecting Head Start to be an antidote to racism is simply one more way of evading the real issue.

The damaging effects of racism on the child cannot be dealt with effectively by surrounding Head Start with some science, or by making it available to children at an earlier age, or by more research as to how to improve their lives and their minds. *Nothing short of a national commitment to an all-out effort to creating new resources and utilizing existing ones in ways that will allow Black people to define their own problems and have the power to implement solutions will make a dent in reducing racism.* This kind of institutional reform will facilitate change in the white institutionalized conceptions of Blacks. Remedial education for the larger white society, rather than for Blacks and for the poor, is the overriding need for this country.

Poverty requires its own special attention. First, it must be recognized that racism is a cause of poverty and that as long as there is racism, there will be poverty. Over and above this, *nothing short of a guaranteed annual income with a built-in escalated cost-of-living adjustment will make a meaningful impact upon poverty in this country.*

NEW AGENCY REQUIRED FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

It has been established that the need now, as in 1965, for the successful operation of Head Start is for a new concept, which will include an unbiased attitude toward minority groups, an understanding of the nature of poverty and an unbiased attitude toward the poor. Early childhood development for the poor and minority group children throughout the nation is a distinct problem and issue warranting the kind of special attention that only a separate and newly-designed governmental agency could adequately tackle. Only a new agency can generate the enthusiasm, imagination and drive needed to develop the seed which can lead to a renaissance in public school education. A new agency would not be limited by the rigidity, resistance, and lack of innovation of an agency oriented toward either social work or education. A multi-disciplinary approach is needed.

The local educational institutions have become monopolies on public education, often resulting in present day opponents of change, isolated from the community and rigidly controlled by exclusive interest groups. A new agency would provide an alternative structure, not to compete with local school systems, but to do some of the things that the existing educational agencies are structurally unable to do because their concept of education is too narrowly defined and because of traditional commitments, established policies and procedure. Dr. Kenneth Clark talks of the problems of the educational monopoly and suggests: "The rigidity of present patterns of public school organization and the concomitant stagnation in quality of education and academic performance of children may not be amenable to any attempts at change working through and within the present system."[2]

Persons who would be involved in the creation and staffing of such an agency must also be persons with direct experience and/or comprehensive knowledge about the way of life and history of the poor and non-white minorities in this country—persons with innovative ideas and demonstrated success in working with communities of this nature.

Any agency that is to deal with a substantial number of non-white people must have as its primary focus reversing the effects of racism in this society. The success of a new agency is dependent upon how well the head of the agency understands and can relate to both white culture and non-white cultures. Since non-whites must live and work in a white society, many have come to understand white culture; however, the reverse is not true. Therefore, if the conditions described above as fundamental to the success of Head Start are to be met, this new agency must be headed by a Black man. Moreover, he must have the commitment and creativity demanded by such a position.

BASIC CONCERNS RE CONTINUATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF HEAD START

The wide enthusiasm for Head Start by the children in the program, by their parents, by sponsors of and workers in the program, and by the general public attests to the worth of Head Start. This point of view was strongly held also by the Advisory Committee to Secretary Finch and reported to him as follows:

"The Committee believes that the accomplishments of Head Start to date have been substantial and, while recognizing the need for further improvement in the program, it strongly urges that it be continued, strengthened, and expanded."

I strongly recommend that the societal conditions described above be taken into account in considering the needs of minority groups and of the poor in this coutry. Particularly: *Creation of new resources and the use of existing ones in ways which will allow Black people to define their own problems and have the power to implement solutions.*

A guaranteed annual income with a built-in escalated cost-of-living adjustment.

In this connection also, I cite the following recommendation of the Head Start Advisory Committee to Secretary Finch:

"The Committee also believes that problems of parent and child development, especially among the poor and minority groups, encompass many other areas than that dealt with by Head Start. They should receive increased attention and resources by Federal, State and local governments. In particular the Committee urges that the Federal Government increase sharply the proportions of its resources which are devoted to parent and child development."

On April 9th, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, announced that "he will operate Project Head Start through a new Office of Child Development which will be located in his immediate office and report directly to him."

Secretary Finch is to be commended for his appointment of an Advisory Committee, including parents and minority group representation, on the placement of Head Start in HEW. He is to be commended further for his sensitivity to and acceptance of this Committee's recommendations. However, I have grave concern that no action has yet been reported on the following two recommendations:

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[1] *Basic Program Facts—By Fiscal Year,* HEW, March 7, 1969.

[2] Kenneth B. Clark, "Alternative Public School Systems: A Response to America's Educational Emergency." National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities, Washington, D.C., Nov. 16–18, 1967, p. 14.

A new position of Assistant Secretary be created to head up the new Office of Child Development.

In line with the thesis set forth in this paper, I strongly urge that this new position be established.

Establishment of an on-going Advisory Committee with substantial representation of Head Start parents to assist the Secretary in organizing and staffing the new Office; reviewing other programs to determine if transfer is advisable; specifying the responsibilities of the new Ass't Secretary, and advising on the procedures whereby Head Start will be delegated from OEO to HEW.

As the delegation process is already under way and the other tasks should be, I recommend that this Advisory Committee be formed immediately.

I recommend legislative action to assure:

That the Office of Child Development will always report directly to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare;

A new Assistant Secretary position to head up the Office of Child Development;

A Head Start Advisory Committee with at least one-third of its membership parents of children in the program, officials responsible for operation of programs at the local level, and persons experienced in child development.

The comprehensive, interdisciplinary approach and other unique features of Head Start should be maintained: parents should be involved in a policy advisory role and as employees. Training and career development aspects of Head Start should receive increased attention as a highly effective and economical means of simultaneously helping people and reaching several public objectives. *It is recommended that parent involvement be a condition to any federal grant for child development and education programs.*

All research on Head Start to date nas emphasized the failure of Head Start children to retain whatever gains made. It is vital, therefore, that public school education be strengthened. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Titles I and III in particular, should be fully utilized to provide parent involvement, innovative materials, new techniques, a strong Follow-Through program and various other improvements.

Flexibility and variety in operations must be maintained if we are to improve services in the field of child development. This includes: (1) freedom of local sponsors to contract with various local institutions for Head Start services; (2) local options in the selection and structure of program components; and (3) development of a wide variety of different approaches.

Many families are denied the benefits of Head Start because their income slightly exceeds that necessary for program eligibility. Because of the wide variance in the cost of living throughout the country, and because the poverty line established is inconsistent with the affluence of this country, it is strongly recommended that family income requirements for eligibility be extended to include more of the poor.

There are very serious implications involved in the suggestion that school systems collaborate with community groups using Head Start funds in order to provide a more comprehensive Child Development program. It appears quite impractical to consider that school systems, many of which are filled with racist elements and riddled with political factionism and issues of community control, will suddenly accept with open arms a cooperative set of arrangements with community people. *Leverage granted a coordinating force is a minimum requirement for tackling this problem.*

While I personally feel that in-depth research is unnecessary and implies an inherent inferiority of the children served, I strongly concur that good evaluation is needed in order to improve the program. For good evaluation, appropriate and relevant standards of measurement must be developed and conducted, with a heavy input by representatives of the groups evaluated. Review teams must be composed of persons long experienced with Head Start programs and knowledgeable about a variety of circumstances in different communities. In many cases we know more about programs than the review teams sent to assist and evaluate us; there is no credibility in such procedures.

Increasing experimental programs for children from 0–3 years of age raises serious questions as to the direction in which we are moving. Head Start should be supportive of family structure, *not a substitute.* Emphasis should be placed on improving the environment so that families can be strengthened.

The inclusion of Day Care in the Office of Child Development is a logical and necessary step in creating a vehicle for strengthening family life. It is expected that Head Start will continue to be a spur to the public school system and to social agencies in hastening the development of new techniques and demonstrating the importance of community involvement. It is hoped also that Head Start will be an example to other public and private resources in its unprecedented involvement of Black people at all levels of planning and operation.

I wish to express my appreciation for the opportunity to appear before this Committee and share my opinion on these crucial issues about which I am deeply concerned. I humbly implore that you use your good office to insure that the above recommendations are expedited in the interest of the population affected, and in the best interest of this country.

YONKERS LAUNCHES CONSUMER EDUCATION BIBLIOGRAPHY

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Yonkers, N.Y., in the 25th Congressional District, which I represent, has been responsible for many innovations and advances in the consumer protection field. The most recent was publication of the new "Consumer Education Bibliography" prepared for the President's Committee on Consumer Interests by the Yonkers Public Library.

The importance of this bibliography cannot be underestimated. I am confident it will be a vital reference work for public officials at all levels, to civic and service organizations, and to concerned consumers everywhere.

Full credit for this important work must go to the Yonkers Public Library, to Miss Betty Furness, former special assistant to the President for consumer interests, and to David Schoenfeld, a teacher at Lincoln High School in Yonkers and former consultant to the office headed by Miss Furness.

Publication of the new consumer bibliography was formally launched by Mrs. Virginia Knauer, recently appointed special assistant to the President for consumer interests. I wish Mrs. Knauer well in her new and important responsibilities, and present for inclusion in the RECORD the text of her address in Yonkers on April 23.

ADDRESS BY MRS. VIRGINIA KNAUER, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR CONSUMER AFFAIRS, AT A MEETING AT THE YONKERS PUBLIC LIBRARY, IN OBSERVANCE OF NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK, YONKERS, N.Y., APRIL 23, 1969

I am delighted to meet with so many advocates of consumer education on this auspicious occasion to celebrate the publication of the new "Consumer Education Bibliography."

I, too, am a strong supporter of consumer education so I feel right at home here in Yonkers, where so many innovative programs have been launched. Your work in consumer education is not new to me. I followed your activities very closely while serving as Director of the Bureau of Consumer Protection in Pennsylvania, and I am well aware of your achievements. When I first met David Schoenfeld, he was pointed out to me as one of the leaders in the "Lincoln High revolution."

I am happy to be making my first official appearance in a community that has led the Nation in developing separate consumer education courses in the schools. My congratulations to Lincoln High School for getting it started, and to the entire State of New York for being the first state to offer elective consumer courses. The need is great and the demand is growing, because I understand that over 400 secondary schools are already teaching it in New York State.

Thank you for setting such an excellent example for the rest of the Nation. I hope it won't be too long before every school in the country offers training in this important area. Illinois has mandated consumer courses in its public schools, and Pennsylvania's Department of Public Instruction is finally providing funds for the development of an experimental consumer education program.

You might like to know about Pennsylvania's unique plan. We believe it is a "first" in the field of consumer education and it was conceived by the Bureau of Consumer Protection, which is a part of the Pennsylvania Department of Justice. This one is at the college level. It is being conducted jointly by our Bureau and Pennsylvania State University. It is an intern program for future teachers of consumer education.

Pennsylvania State University established a major in "allied consumer affairs" in its School of Human Development last fall. I felt that the students they planned to train to teach consumer education would have no experience in the nitty-gritty of fraud and swindles, or the problems of the inner city, or the face-to-face confrontation with deceptive practices that plague the low-income areas, where so many people are victimized. And so I proposed that these students spend a semester with the Consumer Protection Bureau at the end of their junior year.

We suggested that they work at every level of the Bureau's activities (law enforcement, consumer education and investigation of actual cases) to get the kind of experience they could not find in the textbooks. Our first "joint intern" was a smashing success and the next group will be joining the Bureau in a few weeks.

This is a bright new program with great possibilities, and both Penn State University and the Bureau look forward to jointly preparing the best trained consumer teachers in the country.

But the best place to start, of course, is in the grade schools.

There you have a very young and ready audience—a captive one, perhaps, but a receptive one. If we can teach children in their early years, if we can start them off on the right track on how to use money wisely, we will be doing them as great a service as in any other branch of their education. After all, teaching someone how to earn money, but failing to teach him how to spend it to his best advantage, is really only giving half a lesson. And I think it's time we went the whole way.

We are never going to strike at the roots of fraud in the marketplace unless we educate the younger generation on how to bypass the pitfalls that may have trapped their parents.

We all know them—over-extension of credit, lack of information about products, failure to understand warranties or guarantees, and not knowing how or where to obtain redress on a bad purchase, among many others. We must endeavor to develop, through specialized education, a more sophisticated consumer in the future.

But we can't concentrate only on the young. There are many people beyond school age who are in great need of consumer education *now*, whether they get it in community colleges, extension courses, adult schools or via T.V. specials or consumer seminars matters little—they need it now.

I am speaking primarily of the poor, the under-educated and the elderly. They are the ones who are the most frequent victims of dishonesty in the marketplace—and the honest businessman suffers as well. In Pennsylvania, we estimated that about a half billion dollars a year is taken out of the consumers' pockets and also out of the pockets of the ethical businessmen who lose sales as a result of fraud and deceptive practices.

Only about one percent of the business community is guilty of unethical practices in Pennsylvania or elsewhere. So I think the poor and the elderly should have special attention in the field of consumer education—and I will do everything possible to help them get it.

Progress has been made. More and more, we hear of consumer education courses being started by business, labor and private organizations. And more and more, the President's Committee on Consumer Interests gets requests for materials that will be helpful to these courses. We plan vigorous action in this area—to produce bright, eye-catching informational material geared to the 20th Century consumer problems.

Tonight we celebrate the publication of the new Consumer Education Bibliography prepared for the President's Committee on Consumer Interests by the Yonkers Public Library. The pages, coming off the press, were the nicest greeting I could have when I walked into my new office the day I was appointed. With this bibliography, I understand, Yonkers scores another "first." It will fill a great void and was desperately needed by all persons interested in consumer education.

David Schoenfeld and the Library can well be proud of their work in developing the idea for this publication and for buckling down to the hard task of producing it. I also want to thank Grinton Will, Director of the Library and Miss Irene Rogers and her staff for giving of their time and talents to produce this excellent book. And even though Betty Furness is not with us tonight, I want to give her my warmest thanks for getting the Bibliography started.

And isn't it appropriate that it should be off the press just in time for National Library Week? Thank you for inviting me to this fine occasion, and I pledge my cooperation in encouraging all consumer education programs in all parts of the United States. I'm learning daily of exciting new programs being initiated from one end of the country to the other. What we really need now is for the President's Committee on Consumer Interests to establish a clearinghouse to exchange information about these programs. A newsletter might do for a start.

You have heard that President Nixon has given me a directive to undertake a re-evaluation of all existing consumer programs in all Federal Departments, Bureaus and Agencies. Before we can initiate new programs, we must weigh the present programs to test for possible duplication, overlap and obsolescence—so that these current Federal programs will be more responsive to the needs and desires of the consumer.

The President is giving top priority to all the work of the President's Committee on Consumer Interests—and consumer education is high on that list. President Nixon expects our office to see that the consumer's voice is heard—and heeded—at the top levels of Government. I expect to be that direct pipeline to him. Let me hear from you.

I have enjoyed meeting you tonight and look forward to working together with you in the future.

IT IS NOT MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, a special newsletter sent out by my dear friend Jerry Torres, proprietor of the El Poche Cafe in San Gabriel, Calif., speaks more eloquently to the significance of today's date than I could. I recommend that my colleagues study his words so that they can be better informed and, hopefully, avoid making the mistakes that Jerry spotlights:

IT'S NOT MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Estimados Amigos: We're deliberately early this year with the annual informational warning by "El Poche Conjunto Against the Misconcepcion That Cinco de Mayo is Mexico's Independence Day."

We hope you were one of those who got it right last year. After all, we live in the world's "second largest Mexican community."

Our history-conscious (if not history-making) movement stems from 1962 when Writer John Cornell suggested a frontal attack on the "Mexican 4th of July" myth. He had written articles and editorial-page material trying to set the record straight for almost a quarter-century while on the staffs of the L.A. Times and L.A. Mirror.

So . . . be forewarned:

Cinco de Mayo (5th of May) is a Mexican patriotic observance recalling the doughty defense put up against the invading *French* forces at Puebla, May 5, 1862. It is *not*—repeat not—Mexican Independence Day, which each September 15–16 recalls the fight for independence from the *Spanish*, starting in 1810.

While the poorly armed little group, under General Ignacio Zaragoza, *repulsed* this last European invasion of the Western Hemisphere at Puebla, it certainly didn't prevent the ultimate take-over by Napoleon III's emissaries. Emperor Maximilian and Empress Carlotta were around quite a while—with Max's execution by Mexicans not occurring until 1867.

One of the boo-boos, or related Cinco Clinkers last year, in our book, was a major food company's nationally used color ads which suggested a Maximilian Salad as a dandy *Mexican* dish. From the vantage point of history, Mexicans today don't mind showing tourists where Maximilian and Carlotta lived, etc. But naming a "Mexican dish" for them is like suggesting to Gen. De Gaulle that *Sauerbraten* is the typical delicacy of Paris—because of the German occupation in World War II.

We're sure you won't make the mistakes, but here are some inevitable butches which will be printed or aired by those who don't heed this annual Torres-Cornell manifesto:

1. Cinco de Mayo will be called Mexican 4th of July or "Mexican Independence Day" dozens of times.

2. So-called "Mexican" restaurants will put out publicity mixing the role of Spain and France—or perhaps get the wrong Mexican national hero into the act.

3. At least three restaurant writers will say that *Spanish* restaurants are celebrating the day. (There are very few Spanish restaurants hereabouts.) It's even worse when they say "Spanish" restaurants will celebrate September 15–16.

Sinceramente de Vd.,

JEROME A. TORRES.

P.S.: This is not a commercial plug. We won't even be open May 5 because it falls on Monday, our closed day. We'll be out helping our Poche compadres celebrate. Also our many Mexican-national friends and colleagues.

El Poche (el POACH-ay) means a native Californian of Mexican descent.

IN THE NATION: POPULATION, HUNGER, AND OBLIVION

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Tom Wicker of the New York Times has written a most thoughtful piece entitled "Population, Hunger and Oblivion" in which he points out the frightening escalation in world population at the rate of an increase of 70 million persons per year. Surely when the leading nations of the world are spending for population control less than 1 percent of that which they are spending on military research and hardware, their priorities are amiss. Should this strange system of priorities continue, we will, the noted Soviet scientist Andrei Sakharov predicts, find ourselves in the midst of famine by 1975 or 1980. These statistics reveal that we have precious little time to act; clearly, what is needed is a major national commitment to deal with these vastly human problems of population and hunger, and to deal with them rapidly before they overcome us.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert Mr. Wicker's pertinent and expressive column in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, May 4, 1969]

IN THE NATION: POPULATION, HUNGER AND OBLIVION

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, May 3.—Rather like a voice from the past, the earnest words of Robert S. McNamara at Notre Dame this week served with startling suddenness to restore some long-range perspective to the affairs of the world. While men still creep cautiously in reluctant pursuit of what seems an ever-receding peace in Vietnam, while politicians in this country bicker over ABM and a few millions for the hungry, while commissars in the Soviet Union fuss over Czechoslovakia dissent, while young people everywhere rail at the vast conspiracy of oppression and manipulation they seem to see overhanging all—while all this is taking the place of useful social and economic action, the human race proceeds apace toward breeding and starving itself into oblivion.

McNamara, returning to a theme he has sounded before, echoed some of the recent words of Lord Snow in Britain and Andrei D. Sakharov in the Soviet Union in insisting on a "humane but massive" population reduction.

So fast is the rate of population growth in most of the underdeveloped world, McNamara explained—from his vantage point as president of the World Bank—that even the most energetic and resourceful governments

can do no more than stand still, maintaining an uneasy *status quo* in their totally inadequate standards of living. Most are actually slipping backward.

With his curiously American insistence that man's ingenuity and dedication can make things come right—seen before in his Montreal speech of a few years ago—McNamara suggested that agricultural technology was being advanced swiftly and dramatically enough to "buy two decades of time—admittedly the barest minimum of time" during which man might reduce the population explosion to manageable proportions.

A WISER GENERATION

This corresponds to Lord Snow's "Model B" for the future—the proposition that one of three possible outcomes of the population crisis would be just enough reduction of hunger to gain time for a wiser generation to come into power and confront the population problem in earnest.

In his Westminster College speech, Snow made it clear he considered Model B unrealistic, and had even less hope for Model C—the idea that *this* generation might steel itself to the task and that the wealthy nations might make the enormous sacrifices needed to avert disaster. Hence, the British author and scientist thought Model A most likely—that the wealthy nations in their preoccupation with nuclear weapons and themselves would do little or nothing, so that in perhaps no more than thirty years millions upon millions of people would be starving, with some of the hungry, of course, turning upon the fat.

Here are some of the facts of the situation. Worldwide births and deaths are now in the ratio of two to one, with a net gain in world population of about seventy million a year. Nearly 58 million of this increase—according to the authoritative Population Bulletin—occurs in the poor nations.

"To bring births into balance with low and still declining death rates," the Bulletin states, "would necessitate a cutback of some fifty million births a year." For this enormous and complex and delicate task, contorted by incredible problems of religion and ignorance and custom, there is no "framework remotely adequate to put the necessary billions of dollars and the essential brains and skills to work either to slow down human reproduction or to speed up agricultural productivity."

ALL WOULD GO HUNGRY

And Dr. Georg Borgstrom has pointed out that if all of the food in today's world were distributed evenly among its 3.5 billion human inhabitants, every one of them would go hungry.

Sakharov, putting the "expected date of tragedy" even nearer than did McNamara or Snow—at 1975 to 1980—believes the task of coping with the danger is so Gargantuan that the developed nations could only do it by quantum changes in their foreign policies, permitting them the closest cooperation; and even then, in his opinion, these nations would have to impose on themselves a "fifteen-year tax equal to 20 percent of the national income."

That, he quite correctly points out, would in itself insure a significant reduction in expenditures for weapons.

McNamara, whose warning was more restrained but no less pointed, stated his belief in a "rational, responsible, moral solution to the population problem"—a solution that he said all shared in the responsibility of finding.

Well, everyone shares the responsibility, all right, but not much else. The Population Bulletin states that the total outlay devoted annually to the population crisis outside the United States is about $80 million. Yet, all the world's nations spend $154.3 billion annually for military purposes (or did in 1966; the bill probably has gone up). That means that the world spends $2,000 for military purposes for every $1 it spends to control population.

Naturally, the Soviet Union and the United States, the only two nations that could do much about population or hunger, contribute more than two-thirds of the world military budget. That is madness, suggesting nothing like a "rational, responsible, moral" solution. And that kind of madness, if we keep on the way we have in this country and this world, is what we will continue to have right down to the last bitter dying gasp.

POLLING THE PEOPLE

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, my district, the northeast section of the city of Philadelphia, is about 160 miles from the Capitol. I return as often as I can to speak to the people but I am continually frustrated by how quickly the hours pass and how few people I can really see.

How can a Congressman really learn how the people are thinking?

One way is to poll the people. The questionnaire approach is, of course, no substitute for face-to-face basic conversation. Nuance and subtlety are lost.

However, being a big-city Congressman in a growing district now at about 500,000, I find that a questionnaire is one way of reaching the broadest segment of my constituency.

I am mailing the following questionnaire to more than 140,000 households in my district:

CONGRESSMAN JOSHUA EILBERG WANTS YOUR OPINION

MAY 1969.

DEAR FRIEND: You and your neighbors have re-elected me to represent you in the 91st Congress. If I am to do a truly effective job, I need to know how you stand on the problems and issues facing America. This questionnaire is one way I can find out how you are thinking. So, please answer the questionnaire—it should only take about five minutes—and return it to me. I hope to see you in the Northeast or, if you visit Washington, stop in at my office. If you have any additional comments, please let me know.

JOSHUA EILBERG.

THE 1969 CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

	Yes	No	Undecided
1. (a) Do you favor the Nixon administration's proposal to retain the 10-percent surtax through 1969 to curb inflation?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(b) If you answered "Yes," would you at the same time insist upon closing tax loopholes?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(c) If you answered the first question "Yes," would you also insist on substantial cuts in military spending?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(d) Do you favor my bill to raise the standard tax exemption from $600 to $1,000?		[ ]	[ ]
2. President Nixon has said he will deploy "Safeguard," a limited antiballistic missile system. Which of these options do you support? (a) President's proposal [ ] (c) Thin system [ ] (b) No ABM system [ ] (d) Thick system [ ]			
3. Most people believe that nonessential Government spending must be cut. In which of these areas would you cut spending? (Check up to 3) (a) Defense budget [ ] (b) Aid to education [ ] (c) Aid to cities [ ] (d) Space program [ ] (e) Health [ ] (f) Welfare [ ] (g) Foreign aid [ ] (h) Poverty programs like Get Set, Job Corps [ ]			
4. Would you increase or cut Federal aid to—	Increase	Cut	
(a) Private and parochial schools?	[ ]	[ ]	
(b) Elementary and secondary public schools?	[ ]	[ ]	
(c) Colleges and universities?	[ ]	[ ]	
5. When the Federal Government assists in building low- and middle-income housing, should the community involved be consulted about location, need, and type of structure?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
6. (a) In view of the closeness of November's presidential election, do you think we should change the way we elect our Presidents?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(b) Are you in favor of my proposal to abolish the electoral college and substitute direct popular election of the President?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(c) If you favor some other system of electoral reform, please indicate which one. Answer:			
7. Are you in favor of reducing the voting age?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
8. (a) Do you think the present draft system is fair?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(b) Do you think the draft system should be changed or reformed?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(c) Do you think the draft should be abolished in favor of an all-volunteer Army?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
9. We all want the war in Vietnam to end. Which of these possible courses of U.S. Action in Vietnam do you now most support? (Check 1): (a) Immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces [ ] (b) Gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces [ ] (c) Immediate cease-fire as the basis for talks [ ] (d) Continue present levels of military action [ ] (e) Step up military activity [ ] (f) Resume bombing of North Vietnam [ ] (g) Invade North Vietnam [ ] (h) Use nuclear weapons against North Vietnam [ ]			
(i) Do you think the Paris talks will lead to peace?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(j) Do you think the Nixon administration is doing enough to end the Vietnam war?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
10. (a) Which do you think possess a greater threat to world peace? The war in Vietnam [ ] Tension in the Middle East [ ]			
(b) Who do you think is wrong in the Middle East? Israelis [ ] Arabs [ ] Both of them [ ]			
(c) Do you think the United States should help in imposing a Big Power settlement on the Middle East?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
11. Do you believe additional Federal laws are needed to protect the consumer?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
12. Do you think the Constitution should be amended to permit prayer in the schools?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
13. Campus disorders have spread across the country. If you were a college president and 100 students sat in your office would you— (a) Try to talk to them? [ ] (b) Kick them out immediately? [ ] (c) Call police? [ ]			
14. What kind of job do you think President Nixon is doing? (a) Fine [ ] (b) All right [ ] (c) Poor [ ]			
15. What do you think are the 3 most important issues facing America today? Please list below in order of urgency (a)_____ (b)_____ (c)_____			

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleague, the Honorable CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., from Michigan, for taking time to pay tribute to one of the greatest Americans of this century, A. Philip Randolph. Every gain made by the workingman in our Nation can be attributed to his dedicated and enlightened leadership in labor-management. Every gain made by the Negro in the United States can be attributed to his brilliance, determination, and sincere desire to help create the best society possible. A. Philip Randolph has marched in the streets, bargained across the table, conferred at the White House, and talked at universities. He is at home with every man and is a brother to all mankind. His deep philosophical belief in equal justice and equal opportunity is matched only by his great love for the downtrodden of the world.

Since the second decade of this century, A. Philip Randolph has been one of the greatest, most outspoken, forceful, and effective leaders of both the labor and civil rights movements. He understands our society as few men do and knows better than most how to change it. He understands men as few men can and knows better than most how to organize them. Some of his accomplishments were those that were considered impossible not only by the majority of Americans, but by those people who were fighting alongside of him.

A. Philip Randolph founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 at a time when the intimidation of Negro porters was considered an impossible hurdle to overcome. He forced the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to outlaw discrimination in 1955 when they merged. At that time, it was not considered a popular enough issue to be carried. It was A. Philip Randolph that was responsible for President Roosevelt's Executive order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Commission. It was A. Philip Randolph who convinced President Truman to integrate the armed services, and it was A. Philip Randolph who conceived the idea of the civil rights march in Washington in 1963.

A. Philip Randolph has been among the leaders of every great fight that has brought benefits and protection to the workingman and every great fight that has brought equality of opportunity to the Negro. He has never separated these two causes or these two goals. He believes that each disadvantaged group in our Nation only gains when all gain, and he believes that no freedom nor liberty is complete unless all share it.

A. Philip Randolph's 80th birthday was April 15 of this year. I hope he will be with us for many, many more years to lead us, guide us, and inspire us for the work that is yet to be done. I extend to him my heartiest congratulations on his birthday and my wishes for many more full, active years. There is still much to be done and we need him to help us do it.

SUBSIDIZE WAR: "BUY BRITISH"

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the announcement by a local liquor distributor of a "buy British" campaign to celebrate Gordon's Gin strains the qualities of mercy.

Why should any American "buy British" when British-flag vessels continue to carry cargo to Haiphong to supply the Communist war machine of North Vietnam?

Why "buy British" when it is the British who supply the Nigerian genocide of Biafrans?

Any thinking American would not "buy British"—but would boycott British products and their promoters.

If Americans buy anything—they should buy American and help fight poverty at home.

I include a newsclipping from the local Post of May 3:

"BUY BRITISH" PROMOTION STARTS HERE

Wholesale liquor distributor Milton S. Kronheim kicked off this year's "Buy British" campaign yesterday with a small luncheon to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Gordon's Gin. The luncheon was attended by members of the British embassy.

On Monday, Mrs. John Freeman, wife of the British ambassador will visit the Safeway International, 1110 F st. nw., to signal the start of that store's two week promotion of British foods and beverages. According to embassy spokesman, emphasis will be placed on teas, cookies, biscuits, preserves and cheeses. The embassy is providing material to help decorate the store for the occasion. It will be the first major British promotion at the Safeway store.

Biggest promotion of English consumer goods in Washington will take place at Woodward & Lothrop's this Fall. It will be a through-the-store campaign and will feature displays especially built for the promotion by English craftsmen.

Although British exports to the United States rose 23 per cent in 1968, the Embassy reported that consumer goods did not make up the lion's share of the increase. Britain devotes most of its energy toward pushing its capital goods and is supporting a program to have British firms participate more in U.S. trade shows.

HORTON CITES MINORITY ENTERPRISE AS CONSTRUCTIVE CHANNELING OF GHETTO ENERGIES AND FRUSTRATIONS

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, our colleague from the State of Louisiana (Mr. RARICK) inserted in the RECORD, a Washington Post article describing the efforts of industrial and minority organizations in my congressional district to launch a minority owned and operated manufacturing enterprise.

The well-written article, by William Tammeus, describes the organization and operations of Fighton, a manufacturing plant established through the direct cooperation of the FIGHT organization, the Xerox Corp., the Rochester Business Opportunities Council, and the public sector.

This plant, assisted in its development and capitalization by the Department of Labor and the Small Business Administration, is but one example of the successful nurturing of minority-owned businesses in my home community. The cooperation between Rochester industry, the Federal Government, and inner-city residents stands as an example of how the energies and frustrations of inner-city life can be constructively directed toward self-betterment for the poor. There can be no more important nor more American goal than providing opportunities for all Americans to participate in our vibrant private enterprise economy.

I commend my colleague from Louisiana for calling attention to Fighton, and the efforts of its founders to provide a route into the mainstream of American life for a significant number of my constituents, but this article was inserted in a context very different from that in which it belongs.

The thrust of Mr. RARICK's speech in the April 28 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD was that the Federal Government must not allow its tax dollars to be spent in support of those who would ravage our country through violence and destruction. His speech, entitled "Murder at New Bethel Baptist Church" rightfully deplores the killing of law-enforcement officers in the city of Detroit and in the city of Cleveland, and warns against any appeasement or support of armed militants who would participate in such disdainful acts.

Then, at the end of his address, he inserted the article about the progress of Fighton, Inc., and the prospects for this black-owned business.

Far from any thoughts of killing or destruction, the managers, workers, and backers of Fighton are hoping to breathe new life into the economy and spirit of Rochester's inner city. This is among the most constructive examples of black-white and private-public cooperation that can be found in America.

Fighton is one battle in the fight for better opportunity for our citizens within and through our wonderful system of government. It is a battle being fought with dollars, with tools, and with the hands, and minds of those who are producing and marketing its products.

So that our colleagues can benefit from knowledge of this enterprise in its proper context, Mr. Speaker, in a context of hope and cooperation, I am taking the liberty of inserting Mr. Tammeus' excellent article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 26, 1969]

FIGHT IN ROCHESTER: BLACK OWNERS OF FACTORY PLAN TO PUT PROFITS INTO HOUSING, EDUCATION, JOBS, DAY CARE

(By William D. Tammeus)

ROCHESTER, N.Y.—Just a few blocks from the site of Rochester's 1964 riots, a factory described as "more militant and more radical

than all the riots put together" has begun operations in an abandoned clothing plant.

It's called Fighton, Inc., and it is black-owned and operated. Fighton, which turned out its first product early this year (an industrial vacuum cleaner for the Xerox Corp., assembled from pre-made parts) is a child of the FIGHT organization, a broad-based community group which has been getting under white Rochester's skin since Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation helped organize it after the 1964 riots. FIGHT stands for "Freedom, Independence, God, Honor, Today."

HELPED BY XEROX

Fighton was the product of months of discussion between FIGHT and the Xerox Corp., which agreed to purchase $500,000 worth of products from the plant over its first two years, as well as lend its technical assistance. In addition, Fighton received a $444,677 U.S. Department of Labor training grant.

A new local group of businessmen known as the Rochester Business Opportunities Corp. (RBOC) bought the 32,000-square-foot plant, which formerly housed Timely Clothes Inc., for $35,000, remodeled it for $240,000 and leased it to Fighton. FIGHT owns Fighton.

One of the sidelights to the founding of Fighton is that RBOC grew out of a lengthy dispute between FIGHT and the Rochester-based Eastman Kodak Co.

Besides talking about hiring Negroes, Kodak and FIGHT had discussed the establishment of an inner-city business. But they reached no agreement. However, in January 1968, Kodak announced a plan by which major Rochester industry could provide markets, financing and technical help to foster inner-city business run by minority-group members.

That proposal led to the formation of RBOC, which has helped provide seed money and negotiate bank and Small Business Administration loans for some 40 businesses, of which Fighton is by far the largest.

Fighton employs 32 persons and plans to have at least 100 on the payroll by this time next year. Fighton general manager DeLeon McEwen, former president of FIGHT and a one-time barber, says most of those working for the firm did not have jobs when hired and would not have been employable by traditional industrial standards.

McEwen says his workers make between $80 and $100 a week, with an hourly minimum of $2.05. He'd like to raise that to be more competitive, but thinks that will come in time.

PROBLEMS, SUCCESSES

He's working with "ex-convicts and reform-schoolers," he says, and admits to both problems and successes in getting people to work on time and conforming to the routine of a regular job.

Fighton, in addition to assembling the vacuum cleaners, will produce electrical transformers and metal stampings as its first products. It also will have the capacity to do some welding and light assembly work.

For the Rev. Franklin D. R. Florence, president of both FIGHT and Fighton, the new factory means that "we're nearing our goal of community control" a drum FIGHT has been beating hard this year.

Florence says Fighton profits will be turned over to FIGHT and the "black community for housing programs, education, rehabilitation, jobs, day care, and all the things the black community needs."

It will mean, the black-power advocate says, that FIGHT will help provide "economic strength and stability in the black community."

The agreement between Xerox and FIGHT did not come suddenly. "Nobody approached us with open arms" a FIGHT officer says. But both Xerox and FIGHT acknowledge a willingness to deal and learn and work together.

A Xerox spokesman puts it this way: "The proposal from FIGHT to establish a black business was something that immediately made sense." But FIGHT was talking about a business which would employ 400 to 500 people, the same figure it had discussed with Kodak. Xerox says it pointed out that businesses do not grow that way, and so negotiations got under way. Some day, Fighton does hope to have as many as 500 on the payroll.

Eventually FIGHT and Xerox decided they needed a factory that would produce something Xerox could purchase a product which required a minimum of capital to start and which could provide plenty of jobs to persons without many skills.

Now FIGHT is branching out. It recently proposed that it develop $15.8 million worth of housing, commercial and recreation centers in the city's predominantly black Third Ward Urban Renewal project. The plan, with full architectural models, was a "complete bombshell" to the city's Urban Renewal director, but neither he nor anyone else ruled out the possibility that FIGHT actually could be named developer.

So, despite the achievement of the new factory, FIGHT is not about to let this city of 300,000 (about 45,000 of whom are Negroes) rest easily.

REPORTING THE CORNELL STORY

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's press has been filled in the past weeks with many perceptive comments and observations on what is happening on our college campuses. As the author of a bill aimed directly at this problem, I have read these comments and reports avidly.

Nowhere, Mr. Speaker, have I read anything more lucid than the article I have here by Mr. Gary Goodman, of Memphis, from the pages of the Commercial Appeal of that city.

Mr. Goodman is a newspaper reporter of my acquaintance. He is also a senior at Cornell University. To all of my colleagues who would like an on-the-spot insight into the troubles of that sad campus, I strongly recommend Mr. Goodman's story in the Commercial Appeal of Sunday, April 27.

I think that one of the comments that impressed me the most was about the plans of Cornell's faculty members to find positions on more tranquil campuses. The sound of suitcases being slammed shut could be heard all across the town, Mr. Goodman said.

He reported a confrontation between Prof. Allen Sindler and a militant student, in which the angry professor reported his resignation:

This place is a pushover for you guys. There isn't enough room for both of us at this university. Well, your group has won. So I'm leaving.

Since Mr. Goodman's article was not carried by the Nation's wire services, I wish to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for those of my colleagues who may wish to read it:

CORNELL COUNTERREVOLT STIRS AMONG FACULTY

(By Gary Goodman)

ITHACA, N.Y., April 26.—Cornell Prof. Gordon Streib was working in his office late one day last week when he suddenly noticed streams of students walking past his window.

His interest aroused, Mr. Streib went out into the chilly night air to follow the eerie procession.

The sociology professor soon found himself in the university gymnasium, where a meeting of 8,000 students was calling for the university to capitulate to a series of demands made by militant black students.

As black militant leader Tom Jones mounted the platform to address the crowd, many of the students leaped to their feet, shaking their fists at the air in a gesture of defiance.

A student turned to Mr. Streib and asked what he thought about the demonstration. "Heil Hitler," was the professor's sarcastic reply.

"The Hitler movement is the only thing I have ever seen that resembled that meeting," Mr. Streib recalled. "I was terrified."

A very significant minority of the Cornell faculty is beginning to agree with Mr. Streib's analysis of the crisis at Cornell.

The defiant demonstrations by gun-toting students have ended at least temporarily, but the disruption of Cornell has only started.

A quiet revolt among faculty members who voted against capitulating to black demands is threatening to tear the campus apart. "The sound of suitcases slamming shut can be heard across town," Prof. Andrew J. Milnor told his government class recently.

Several senior faculty members have resigned. Other professors, who have said they will stay at Cornell, are refusing to teach until the university disarms all students. The traditional student-professor relationship is being destroyed. Dazed students gather in little knots around their professors to argue about the crisis.

Prof. Allen P. Sindler was discussing his decision to resign with two of his students the other day when a member of the militant Students for a Democratic Society approached the group.

"The place is a pushover for you guys," Mr. Sindler snapped, angrily shaking his finger at the radical students. "There isn't enough room for both of us at this university. Well, your group has won. So I'm leaving."

Someone in the small crowd that had quickly gathered vaguely mentioned something about Mr. Sindler's "acting like a racist."

Professor Allen Bloom leaped to Mr. Sindler's defense. "Don't you tell me about racism," he screamed. "Before you were ever born Allen Sindler was fighting racism. I don't have to stand for that kind of talk."

Such exchanges between students and professors are becoming more common as the air of tension mounts.

The new crisis at Cornell demonstrates one of the most important aspects of campus demonstrations—the demoralization that they cause when they occur.

Cornell President James A. Perkins has been successful, so far, in avoiding a confrontation between radical students and the university, but he is going to have much more difficulty in satisfying faculty members whose faith in the integrity of Cornell has been destroyed.

In the long run the loss of confidence in the administration by the faculty could destroy Cornell and other universities that have experienced similar disruptions.

"The academic freedom of this university is dead," said history Prof. Fred Somkin.

"I came to Cornell because I wanted to wear no man's collar. Now I have to take orders from my students. I can discuss only what they want me to discuss."

Prof. Walter LaFeber, the chairman of the department of history, is even more blunt about his reasons for resigning. "I don't want to associate myself with a bunch of cowards."

Several faculty members have asked President Perkins to resign because of his soft stand on campus disruptions. Most dissident

professors, however, are quietly making plans to leave rather than working to change university policy.

"I didn't become a professor to play academic politics," Prof. Richard Polenberg told an emotional meeting of students. "I want to spend my life teaching, researching and writing. There are some radical professors here who would rather play politics than teach. Well, I have no intention of playing their game."

Several professors have been threatened as a result of their stand.

Prof. Walter Berns, an expert on the American Constitution, spent a night at local motel recently after a black militant leader said in a radio interview that Mr. Berns was one of the professors "who needs to be dealt with."

At a faculty meeting later Prof. Richard Hofferbert asked what the administration was going to do to protect professors who had been threatened. Provost Dale R. Corson ignored the question.

"Cornell is going to become just like a Latin American university," said Mr. Somkin. "The students can march, demonstrate and tear the place down. But there hasn't been one decent scholar from Latin America since they gave the universities to the student thugs."

The reaction of the faculty minority is forcing many students to re-evaluate their attitudes about the university's capitulation.

The majority of students still feel that the decisions to revoke the reprimands given three Negro students was correct. But even the most radical students have asked their professors to stay.

There is little chance the professors will change their minds. "I would have no respect for a man who stayed under these conditions," said Prof. Polenberg. "If the students want to keep their professors then they had better give up the idea of starting a revolution at the university.

"If you want to start a revolution, start it some place where you aren't protected from the rest of the world. That's a real test of a revolution."

It is too early to determine how the university will handle this latest crisis.

No matter what happens, it will be many years before Cornell overcomes the effects of last week's events, when 80 of the 14,000 students seized the student union building and set in motion the forces which could destroy Cornell.

Mr. Speaker, another chapter of the Cornell story is found in the nationally syndicated column of Mr. Rowland Evans and Mr. Robert Novak, specifically their columns of Thursday and Friday, May 1 and May 2. They trace the record of anarchy at Ithaca from the time an economics professor was held hostage a year ago, and significantly, they place the cause at the door of President James A. Perkins, labeling it "Perkins' permissiveness."

They conclude.

When the Perkins administration did not press charges against the students (in the 1968 hostage incident) it flashed the green light for anarchy.

The two articles follow:

ANARCHY AT CORNELL AND HOW IT GREW FROM MILITANT MOVES OF DECEMBER

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

ITHACA, N.Y., May 1.—The surrender last week of Cornell University's Administration to rifle-toting black militants, a new precedent in the national campus civil war, was no isolated incident but rather the climax of deepening anarchy here.

Despite the official Cornell line congratulating itself on a peaceful escape from bloodshed, there is no doubt that President James A. Perkins accepted the black demands in an atmosphere of coercion. While armed Negroes were occupying a university building, lesser publicized events had so terrorized a majority of the faculty and student body that they were eager for appeasement.

Responding to threats broadcast over the radio, faculty members branded as "racists" were forced to evacuate their homes for the night. One black student who openly opposed the resort to force was spirited across the border into Canada for safekeeping by friends. Unidentified rifle shots fired at a classroom building aggravated the tension. Moreover, the burning cross which supposedly forced black militants into armed insurrection is widely believed here to have been set by Negroes themselves.

That this lovely upstate New York campus could be so deformed by strife is in part attributable, ironically, to Perkins' well-meaning liberalism in recruiting black students, many of whom were ill-equipped for Cornell's academic demands. This inadequacy led some young Negroes into increasingly more belligerent postures here. Cornell's administration, faculty, and students, bearing an immense guilt complex toward Negroes (freely admitted by Perkins), could not bring themselves to impose discipline.

The watershed event came in the spring of 1968 when three Negro students, infuriated by an economics professor's classroom contentions about the superiority of a Western civilization, seized the offices of the economics department and held the department's chairman prisoner. When the Perkins administration did not press charges against the students, it flashed the green light for anarchy.

Pushing an action campaign for an autonomous black studies program, the militants moved on many fronts last December: The takeover of a university building (actually promised them for a later date) with professors and their belongings dispossessed into the street, the theft of furniture to furnish the building, dancing on dining hall tables, disruption of library stacks.

Perkins' permissiveness and the black militants' contempt were graphically exhibited during these December demonstrations when black militants staged a sit-in outside Perkins' office. Trying to make friends, Perkins sent out doughnuts and milk. The militants responded by smashing the refreshments against the wall.

Even more bizarre was an incident two months later when the Afro-American Society demanded $2000 from the administration to buy bongo drums to celebrate Malcolm X day. Within two days, the administration scraped together $1700 and dispatched two black student leaders down to New York City in the university plane to purchase the drums.

But pressed by a few faculty members, the administration did reluctantly bring charges against six of the more flagrant December demonstrators. Consequently, once the blacks won their demand for an autonomous black studies program early this year, radicals stepped up direct action around a general theme of amnesty for the six demonstrators.

To the accompaniment of the university-purchased bongo drums, Perkins on Feb. 28 was physically pulled down from a speaker's platform at a conference on South Africa. A few days later, job recruiters from the Chase Manhattan Bank were physically assaulted. In mid-March, three white students were beaten at night on campus—one to the point of death; two of the victims identified their assailants as Negroes while the third was in no condition to identify anybody.

Thus, as spring came to Cornell, wholly non-political students decided it would be prudent not to stroll the quadrangle at night. Simultaneously, Perkins became the open target of derision by the black militants, who wore sheathed knives in their boots during conferences with him. In one such meeting, a leader of the Afro-American Society described Perkins to his own face with an obscenity widely used in the black ghetto.

Behind the scenes, Perkins' lieutenants were quietly prodding the faculty to quash the charges against the six December demonstrators—a surrender the faculty finally agreed to last week in the atmosphere of armed insurrection.

In an interview, Perkins told us he intends to stay on as president of Cornell and feels he has full confidence from the board of trustees. If he is correct, his method of buying peace on the campus may well become the pattern for college administrators around the country. The implications for Cornell as an educational institution and for liberal education in America generally, will be discussed in another column.

NATURE OF NEW ORDER AT CORNELL CLEAR BEFORE PERKINS CAPITULATED

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

ITHACA, N.Y., May 2.—Well before Cornell University's administration bowed to armed black militants, the shape of the coming New Order here had become frighteningly clear.

Militant black students were showing up for classes they had not registered in, taking seats in the rear, and carefully jotting down the professor's words. The message to the faculty members: Any remark that might in the slightest way offend Negro sensibilities could only invite trouble.

Furthermore, such intrusions on academic freedom have been tolerated by President James A. Perkins. In an interview here, Perkins described to us a conflict between "social justice" and "academic freedom," adding that he was "a mugwump" straddling the two positions. However, Perkins continued, he had told faculty members they "could not use the cloak of academic freedom" to cover up statements which might anger black students.

Thus, when the Perkins administration last week capitulated to black demands at gunpoint, the minority of professors dedicated to academic freedom—most of them in the government and history departments—determined they had no place in Cornell's New Order. They reasoned that the black militants always could force the administration to surrender when classroom content was at issue.

Even more disturbing to them is the feeling that Cornell is no isolated catastrophe. The professors fleeing from here are haunted by the fear that the tradition of academic freedom may be dying in America and that Cornell is but the outrider of that calamity.

Certainly, Cornell is about to undergo drastic change. The professors who have resigned or are likely to resign are among the University's most respected scholars and teachers (such as government Professor Walter Berns, winner of this year's teaching award). Those students on both graduate and undergraduate levels who were attracted here by such teachers are seeking to transfer for the next term. Moreover, with the notoriety it has now achieved, Cornell will henceforth be vastly more attractive to the student agitator than to the serious student.

Nor does this seem repugnant to either the administration or a majority of the faculty. Perkins is actively supporting the self-proclaimed "constitutional convention" of faculty and students which began meeting in Barton Hall after the bloodless black insurrection. This effort to "restructure" the University is aimed at a New Order where students help decide what is taught and how it is taught.

It is no wonder, then, that an estimated 90 per cent of the student body, long ago freed from non-academic discipline, rejoices in the disintegration of established authority. More surprising is the corresponding euphoria within a majority of the faculty. Catching the spirit of the times, English and anthropology professors have transformed

themselves from "departments" to "communes."

But the radicalization of Cornell was underway at least a year ago when the University administration implicitly supported the right of students to censor classroom teachings. When black militants resorted to force over the lectures of an economics professor, Dean Stuart M. Brown Jr., condoned their protests and condemned the professor's claims of superiority for Western civilizations as "a special and specially obvious case of the racism which black people find throughout the entire white community."

Simultaneous with this limitation on academic freedom, the Perkins administration relaxed traditional standards in accreditation of radical-oriented courses—promoting a course now being taught for credit in black ideology.

In so doing, it conveniently disregarded its content, largely Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Black Panther propaganda, and its instructor, SNCC militant Cleveland Sellers who has no college degree or other academic qualifications.

Indeed, the Afro-American Center to begin classes here next term will play a major role in the New Order at Cornell with black students helping to decide which instructors and courses meet the standard of "relevance." Cornell's white and black radicals envision this center as a radical academy, drawing slum children from the ghetto and sending back trained agitators.

Beyond this, the Students for a Democratic Society here now demands that half of Cornell's freshman admissions go to white and black "working class" children—a plan that looks so ludicrous that even the Barton Hall Assembly and President Perkins deride it. But it is not that far from today's reality. Concerned faculty members told us that the over eager recruitment of unqualified black students already has forced down Cornell's general academic level.

Among that splinter of faculty members heartsick over the revolution here, there are three groups: The pessimists believe the tragic events foretell the death of liberal education nationally; the centrists feel Cornell is dead but hope persists elsewhere; the optimists—a very few of them—are staying in hopes that Cornell will yet come to its senses. But even those optimists are certain that Cornell's resurrection depends upon the fall of Perkins, an event which now seems most unlikely.

THE MENACE OF DANGEROUS PLAYTHINGS

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, having introduced H.R. 7731, which would meet the problem of dangerous toys, I was especially impressed by a series of articles in the Morning Call, which circulates in the congressional district which I represent. They were written by a very capable newspaperman, Murray Zuckoff, and contain information which should concern all parents.

I deem it a service to submit these articles for the RECORD:

CONSUMER CHIEF SEES PERIL INSIDE A RATTLE

(By Murray Zuckoff)

A baby rattle, capable of puncturing a child's eyes or mouth, was ordered off the market yesterday.

Mrs. Bess Myerson Grant, New York City consumer affairs commissioner, issued a subpoena against the Stahlwood Toy Manufacturing Co. Inc. of 601 West 50th St. That is the metropolitan area distributor of the toy, which is made in Japan.

The subpoena ordered the firm to produce all its records. The department will inspect them to determine where the rattle has been distributed, and use them as legal action for recalling the product and stopping further sales.

Store operators in Passaic and Bergen counties began an immediate check of their stock to see if they sell or have ordered the toy.

Some stores removed it from their shelves and issued stop-orders on incoming shipments. Others awaiting shipment plan to return the merchandise as soon as it arrives.

The crackdown came hours after The Morning Call presented the rattle to consumer affairs inspectors, who examined it with horror and disbelief.

"I'm amazed—no, appalled—that anyone would sell this kind of toy to an unsuspecting public," said Martin Curtin, an inspector.

Other inspectors who looked at the rattle said they had seen other dangerous toys, but nothing quite like this one.

The rattle has eight sharp-pointed inflexible metal prongs protruding from a disc inside the handle. The prongs are surrounded by a thin cardboard and plastic cylinder which has pictures of animals, flowers, grass, and a rainbow.

The handle can be easily detached from the cylinder by a child banging it against its crib or carriage. There is no way for the consumer to tell what is inside the cylinder. Shaken, the rattle produces what seems to be a tuning fork or musical sound.

Early yesterday, the Morning Call took the toy to the distributor to find out where it is being sold in North Jersey, what jobbers handle it, and whether it could be recalled from the market.

The firm has been in business for at least 20 years. It is headquartered in a mahogany paneled office on the third floor of an old building on New York's West Side industrial center near the Hudson River.

A man who identified himself as Irving Tucker first said he was "just a worker here." He ushered a Call reporter into a large office containing a showcase display of toys made and distributed by the firm.

A similar rattle, with prongs visible in a semiclear plastic cylinder and with a price tag of 59 cents, lay on a desk. Tucker sat down in front of the desk and finally identified himself as the plant manager. He was polite but firm and curt.

"I can't tell you who the jobbers are, where we sell this item, or which firm in Japan manufactures the rattle for us," he said. "This item is produced exclusively for us."

He added: "We've been selling this item for a long time and don't intend to stop now. Recalling it is impossible. There are thousands sold throughout the country.

"We've never had any problems with it and there are probably other distributors who sell similar rattles."

But back at the consumer bureau, Sol Renik, assistant commissioner, touched the prong ends with his fingers and winced.

"Imagine some hood using this as a weapon," he said. "I've never seen anything like this before."

One inspector called his daughter's home to find out if a rattle his grandchild had was similar to the one he was looking at. He hung up the phone, visibly shaken.

"My God, it's the same one," he said. "I told my daughter to take it away from the child. Here, feel this, he said giving the rattle to another staff member and pointing to the prongs.

"A baby could take its eyes out with it or puncture its mouth," the inspector added. "What would happen if a baby fell on it with the prongs sticking out toward its body?"

Edward Trinka, seasonal manager for Two Guys in Hackensack, checked his stock and found eight rattles fitting the description of this one and distributed by the same firm.

"It's a very dangerous toy," he said. "I've ordered it removed from the shelves and returned to the distributor. We are discontinuing the item."

Miss Mindy Recanvome, in charge of the baby department at Great Eastern Mills in Little Falls, said she remembered the toy in the store but hasn't had any since last year.

"We have nothing like it now," she said. "If anything comes in on a current order I'll notify the store manager immediately."

Sam Levine of Paterson, manager for the large discount center, expressed horror.

"Fantastic!" he said. "It could be a lethal weapon. Thank goodness we have none of this in stock. I intend to take every precaution to see to it that it isn't sold here."

Other merchants in North Jersey said they didn't carry this particular item, but would notify trade associations to be on the lookout.

The co-owner of one well-known toy supply firm in Paterson, which formerly did business with Stahlwood, sharply criticized the toy's distribution.

"This toy can blind or maim a child," he said. "It doesn't have to have prongs in the rattle. There are thousands of safe rattles without metal or prongs in them."

Frank Gavitt, public relations director for the Toy Manufacturers of America Inc., said he will ask the association to investigate.

"I've never seen or heard of this toy before," he said. "This is an unusual case. Distributors are not usually manufacturers of toys. Our association establishes safety guidelines for its members as manufacturers. We have no authority in the area of imported toys."

Mrs. Grant praised The Morning Call for bringing the toy to her department's attention, and said:

"Parents will be warned against the potential hazard of this toy and I promise to use every legal means to halt its sale. The subpoena is the first step. An item like this can poke out an infant's eyes."

The Food and Drug Administration also may be asked to enter the case, a consumer affairs official said.

The Call was given the rattle by one of its employes who said he and his wife received it at a shower about six months ago.

"My wife was wheeling the baby carriage several days ago and saw the rattle pried apart lying next to our son," he said. "My God, I shudder to think what would have happened if she hadn't noticed it."

UNITED STATES MAY JOIN FIGHT ON PERILOUS BABY RATTLE

(By Murray Zuckoff)

A Federal Trade Commission official said yesterday the agency is willing to investigate the danger of a Japanese manufactured baby rattle which has eight concealed pointed metal prongs in its handle.

Edward Combs, an attorney for the department, said an investigation may be warranted under the deceptive practices act and promised to conduct a full field investigation if necessary.

At the same time, Alexander's Department Store in Paramus, which had been selling the rattle, will discontinue its sale and return it to the supplier. Safer-Simon of Newark, the New Jersey distributor for the toy, also agreed to ship it back to the national distributing firm for whom it is manufactured.

Meanwhile, concerned parents and store owners in Passaic and Bergen counties have begun an extensive drive to remove the toy from homes and sales counters.

Paul J. Krebs, executive director of the

New Jersey Office of Consumer Protection, said he will give U.S. Attorney David Satz in Newark a sample of the rattle and a toothbrush which also has concealed prongs in its handle in an effort to halt the sale and distribution of the items.

These developments followed articles in The Morning Call Thursday and yesterday disclosing the existence of the rattle and its widespread sale and distribution in this area.

Neither the public nor store owners were aware of the prongs in the rattle before. The toy, given to an employe of this newspaper at a shower, was subsequently pried open by his son who was playing with it in his baby carriage.

A halt in the sale of the rattle by its national distributor, Stahlwood Toy Manufacturing Co. Inc. of 601 W. 50th St., New York, was ordered by Mrs. Bess Meyerson Grant, the city's consumer affairs commissioner, several hours after a reporter brought it into her office.

She issued a subpoena against the firm's sales manager which is answerable to the New York Department of Consumer Affairs April 21.

Following her action, Krebs asked the secretary of health, education and welfare to take steps under the Federal Hazardous Substances Act to have the toy removed from stores and banned from import into the country.

A spokesman for the toy firm, who would not identify himself, said yesterday that a revised model of the rattle, one he termed safe, was being distributed in place of the earlier model.

Philip Ruffo of 238 N. 7th St., Prospect Park, a member of the North Haledon Volunteer Ambulance Squad and a greeting card salesman, said he found four metal-pronged rattles in one store in Clifton and 12 in another store a block away.

"I referred the owners to the article in your paper and they immediately removed it from the shelves," he said. "They were quite shocked to learn what was in the rattle and promised to return it to the jobbers."

Meyer Tulkoff, assistant attorney in charge of the FTC's field office in New York, said failure to disclose a dangerous element in a toy is deception. He said this is a basis for a federal order to the distributor to cease distributing the toy without fully disclosing its inherent danger.

Krebs said he will issue an immediate statewide report to alert all communities in New Jersey to the danger of the rattle.

SENATORS BRAND BABY RATTLE A TOP TARGET

(By Murray Zuckoff)

WASHINGTON.—Congress is going after dangerous children's toys—including a baby's rattle that barely sheathes sharp metal prongs.

Several senators were aghast yesterday as they viewed hazardous toys at a Senate consumer subcommittee hearing headed by Sen. Frank E. Moss, D-Utah.

The baby rattle contains inflexible pointed metal prongs in its handle concealed inside a thin cardboard and plastic cylinder.

Dale Zabriskie, Moss' assistant, told The Morning Call last night: "It was an awful thing. Of the 10 dangerous toys demonstrated during the day's hearing, this was the scariest toy I saw."

The Call last week reported widespread distribution of the rattle in the Passaic-Bergen area. The Japanese-manufactured toy is distributed by the Stahlwood Toy Manufacturing Co. Inc. of 601 50th St. in New York.

Mrs. Bess Myerson Grant, New York's consumer affairs commissioner, subpoenaed the firm's sales manager several hours after a Call reporter brought the rattle into her office. The subpoena is answerable Monday.

Paul J. Krebs, executive director of the New Jersey Office of Consumer Protection, yesterday gave U.S. Attorney David Satz of Newark one of the pronged rattles to assist in a federal investigation.

"I've been successful in alerting stores to the danger of this toy," Krebs said. "Several that were selling it have promised to take them off the shelves."

Krebs, a former New Jersey congressman, said his department also will begin a statewide consumer educational campaign through the news media to warn parents of the hazard.

Satz said he has asked for an investigation into the rattle. He added: "We also want to see if there is any violation of the Federal Hazardous Substances Act, whether it is a criminal matter or whether it is under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission.

"My office can't halt its distribution. This can be done by Krebs' office and its sale can be curtailed by continuing exposure by the press."

Yesterday's Senate subcommitte hearings heard Dr. Arnold B. Elkind, chairman of the National Commission on Product Safety, describe a variety of dangerous toys. They included, besides the rattle:

A stuffed rabbit whose ears were fitted on sharp spikes, a doll whose ribbon hair was fastened with a straight pin, a stove with an oven that can be heated to 600 degrees, party baloons with whistles which could be ejected into windpipes of children when the balloons were inflated, and magic candles which relighted with a strong blaze after they were blown out.

"One of the failings of all these toys is that their hazards are not shown or disclosed either on the toy itself or in the packaging," Zabriskie said.

Neither the public nor store owners were aware of the prong in the baby rattle before The Call's disclosure. Concerned parents and store owners in Passaic-Bergen counties promptly began an extensive drive to remove the rattle from homes and sales counters.

Zabriskie said the Senate hearing was called to dramatize the need for a Toy Safety Act. It would compel toy manufacturers and distributors to label hazardous substances and elements in a toy. It also would give the secretary of health, education and welfare power to ban the sale of dangerous toys.

This act would amend the Federal Hazardous Substances Act of June 1967. It was limited primarily to toxic, extremely flammable and corrosive substances. It provided fines and jail sentences for failure to properly identify the dangerous elements.

"The ultimate end of the subcommittee's action and the objective of the act is to better protect children," Zabriskie said.

Toy manufacturing association representatives present at yesterday's hearing agreed with this objective. They urged that any legislation adopted include specific standards against misuse.

Jerome M. Fryer, representing the Toy Manufacturers of America Inc., said: "A misused jump rope can cause strangulation by virtue of its mechanical property as a rope."

He said his group would be willing to work with the Senate subcommittee.

SUPPLIER ADMITS RATTLE'S HAZARDOUS

(By Murray Zuckoff)

A baby rattle distributor said yesterday his toy has been redesigned to make it safer, but conceded it is still a potential hazard to infants.

The admission was made by a representative of the firm which distributes the Japanese manufactured toy throughout the country during a hearing conducted by the New York Department of Consumer Affairs.

The Stahlwood Toy Manufacturing Co., which imported some 364,000 rattles between 1968 and last month, was ordered by the department to disclose all firms in the country to whom it sold the toy. A list of New York firms was given to the department by the firm's representative.

"If the department finds it necessary, it will ask for all the firms throughout the world you sold this rattle to," said Bernard Saks, the department's assistant commissioner who conducted the hearing.

"What is dangerous to a child in New York is dangerous to children everywhere," he said.

Paul J. Krebs, executive director of the New Jersey Office of Consumer Protection, said he would ask for a list of distributors in this state in an effort to curb sales here.

Krebs said he has already been assured by Saffer-Simon, a large distributing firm in Newark, that it would discontinue sale of the toy and that several stores in the Passaic-Bergen area have removed it from their counters.

The hearing in New York took place as a result of a subpoena which had been issued against the firm by Mrs. Bess Meyerson Grant, consumer affairs commissioner. She issued the subpoena hours after a Morning Call reporter brought the rattle into her office.

Mrs. Grant, who was present at the hearing but did not participate, told The Call yesterday:

"You are to be congratulated for your effort in bringing this to our attention. It is with the aid of newspapers such as yours that we can help the public."

Irving Tucker, who described himself as a troubleshooter for Stahlwood, said the toy had been redesigned about a year ago. "We have sold this toy for many years and never had a complaint from anyone about it," he said, "Every item imported is inspected and reinspected."

Saks asked Tucker if this rattle had been inspected and the kind of controls used by the firm to assure its safety.

"I don't know if this rattle was inspected," Tucker said. "I'm not in that end of the business. The man who did the purchasing would know that but he died last August."

Tucker said the buyer who replaced the previous one resigned about 10 days ago. "His resignation was not connected with the subpoena," he said.

Saks asked what changes were made to make the rattle safer. Tucker said a heavier piece of cardboard had been placed inside the top of the cylinder to prevent the cylinder from coming apart and exposing the prongs if it was dropped or stepped on.

"The sample you have in your hand," Tucker told Saks, "was probably one in a thousand that was defective. It's just like a car or a suit that comes off the line and is defective."

Saks examined the toy, then asked: "If you never had a complaint about and felt it was safe, why was it redesigned?"

Tucker said his firm had been notified of complaints about similar rattles distributed by other firms. "We redesigned ours to protect ourselves," he said.

Charles H. Tally, attorney for the firm and brother of Jerome S. Tally, the firm's vice president, presented Saks with a number of rattles distributed by other firms.

"This is a widely distributed toy," he noted. "I think it can be inferred from this that the item cannot be considered unsafe. However, if the department finds that it is unsafe we will be glad to cooperate and remove it from the market in New York."

Tally, who said Stahlwood has an estimated 15 to 20 per cent of the national market in the sale of this rattle and total sales of all its products in excess of $1½ million a year, balked at providing the department with its world wide list of buyers.

"It would take weeks of paper work to provide all the names," he said. "We have agreed to stop the sale of this item in New York. Shouldn't that be satisfactory?"

Victor Tairabasso, consumer affairs deputy commissioner and hearing officer in the case, said this was not sufficient.

"There is nothing to stop the sale in New Jersey or anywhere else to persons who would then sell it in New York," he said. "There is no official from the company to

tell us what quality control has been taken to make sure the toy is safe."

Tucker contended that the cardboard inside the top of the cylinder in the redesigned toy makes it almost impossible for the rattle to be broken.

"But you did say earlier that it could still be broken," Saks said. "Do you agree that a baby can throw this from its crib or play pen? Do you agree that someone can step on it and break it open? Do you agree that a baby, crawling on the floor can hurt himself?"

Tucker answered yes to all the questions but conceded he was not an expert in toy safety structures.

Saks said the hearing would continue after the department had more time to study what effect the new design has on the safety of the toy and will decide then if the firm will have to disclose all its accounts. No date was set.

A DECLARATION OF RESPONSIBLE INDEPENDENCE FOR AMERICAN BROADCASTERS

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as I have indicated in remarks previously made relative to receipt by Mr. John E. Fetzer of the 1969 Distinguished Service Award of the National Association of Broadcasters—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 25, 1969, page 7597—I am extremely proud that one of my constituents would be so honored by his peers and friends.

Although I was unable to be present when Mr. Fetzer accepted the award and, therefore, did not hear his remarks on that occasion, the plaudits he received from all those who heard his talk prompted me to request a copy of his text. I have had an opportunity to read his "acceptance speech" and believe it to be one of the most searching and meaningful self-analyses ever made by an industry spokesman.

In view of the controversy which surrounds this industry at the present time, especially when that industry is sometimes considered to be somewhat less than sincerely concerned about its posture as viewed by the community at large, I felt it highly advisable to make Mr. Fetzer's fine presentation available to all Members of the House of Representatives.

Congressman GUY VANDER JAGT, in whose district another of Mr. Fetzer's stations is located, joins me in making available, and urging every Member to read, Mr. Fetzer's provocative discussion of the status of American Broadcasting—its past, present, and future—which we think could be appropriately titled "A Declaration of Responsible Independence for American Broadcasters." Following is the text of Mr. Fetzer's remarks:

It is with a deep sense of appreciation that I accept this award. Believe me, I am grateful for this recognition from my peers and friends. There are times when one finds it difficult to say "thank you," because of the sheer inadequacy of expressing his innermost feelings. To me, to be acknowledged by your fellow broadcasters is the culmination of all honors, an experience never to be forgotten.

Coincidentally, shortly after NAB made its announcement of my selection for this high honor, I reported to my physician for my annual checkup. After looking me over, he said, "You know, John, you are disgustingly healthy, but I see by the papers you have just received another of a long string of awards. If you don't slow down, you are going to have six of the most important pallbearers in America." Whereupon, I said, "I'm way ahead of you, because I have already selected them. They not only have agreed to serve as my escorts at the award ceremony but, doubting that I shall be among the living after my remarks, they have graciously consented to act as pallbearers on the way out."

In this great assembly, there are many men of quality, including several Distinguished Service Award Recipients, who have made important contributions to the art of American Broadcasting—the greatest system in the world today. It is great because you, as free men, enjoyed the democratic right to experiment, to build, to achieve, to innovate, to pioneer, if you please, on an uncharted course that has helped to fulfill the great American dream.

Let me hasten to tell you, however, that I am not here to extol the virtues of earlier times. I am sure if I attempted to dust off the manuscripts of the past, recording broadcasting history before many of you were around, I would widen the generation gap beyond reclamation. So let's get within range of the last two or three decades.

I have witnessed the years of crisis in the broadcasting industry. It has been a time of struggle, a time of survival against contending forces every step of the way. For years I participated in every contest. Much of the time it meant joining my brothers to put out another fire. All of my professional career has been devoted to the art of broadcasting, with added responsibilities in the talent field, which included the development of the World Champion Detroit Tigers.

In my baseball experience, I have never learned to throw curves, sliders, spitters or the bean ball. As I look about our broadcasting environment these days, I must admit that on occasion I have been tempted to suit up and ask Johnny Sain to teach me how to throw the bean ball. That is just about the only defense we have against some of the power hitters here in official Washington.

In my mind, that which concerns us the most is the kind of world in which we live. There can be no doubt that we are living in a new age, amid altered world conditions. It seems only yesterday that Jack DeWitt bounced a radar beam off the moon. Man's attention for the first time was directed to outer space. Then the comfort of millions of American homes was shattered by the news that a Soviet satellite was orbiting the earth. It was startling evidence of an awesome fact. In the meantime, America's contributions to the space program have been so many that millions take it for granted, while watching three astronauts fly away on a half-million mile journey, circle the moon and return to earth with almost mechanical precision.

However, in my view, this new age is much more than that. Something has happened to the thought processes representing the cross section of society. Suddenly the peoples of the world have translated space action into psychological drives that not only portend of change, but a complete impatience with the tempo of our times. This social revolution is visible in every aspect of life. The complexities of today are considerably beyond the range of earlier society. As we crash through one frontier after another, our scientific friends call it the quantum jump—an enormous leap ahead. This revolution has come on with such herculean strides that many of us are not yet aware of exactly what happened.

I am sure, however, most of us recognize that discordant voices have become commonplace in this year of 1969. Our denunciatory friends speak with deep and tinkling sounds, frosted over with an eloquence that is completely authoritarian. Some members of the public have become restive, heaping in multitude of invectives that defy rationality. In short, it seems that everyone is concerned with broadcasting's alleged failures, limitations and possibly excesses. We find ourselves in an atmosphere of highly volatile and opinionated criticism. In this explosion of words, one must search for moderation.

Had I not been to the wars during these many years, I could say this may be broadcasting's darkest hour. Believe me, I do not say this, although I must admit that these "purveyors of calamity" have goaded members of the public into a frame of mind that is a lesson in frustration. These self-appointed contestants are engaged in tearing down our broadcasting structure, piece by piece, through invented issues, contrived complaints and aimless exercises. Those who have inspired this state of affairs have been altogether too successful. There can be no doubt that broadcasting is more harassed today than any time in its eventful history by well-meaning but misinformed people.

I think I know you well enough that I can speak frankly. First, I feel constrained to tell you that we are not altogether blameless for the state of affairs in which we find ourselves. There is a decided danger that our skin is worn so thin that we dismiss all criticism with a Pavlovian reaction. Two wrongs don't make a right. Even though our position is distorted by the irresponsible advocate, we cannot afford the luxury of turning a deaf ear to all criticism. We simply have to be responsive as a matter of enlightened self-interest. Examination alone will prove to be the stimulus to impartial appraisal. Then, too, we need to systematically criticize ourselves in the program of self-regulation. The codes need dispassionate and affirmative application without temperizing. Since the beginning of the television and radio codes, there has been a persistent advocacy to lower standards. If the pendulum has swung too far, let's get on with the job of instituting corrective measures, post haste.

Secondly, since broadcasting helps to reflect the very essence of our contemporary society, its interests, its aspirations, its values and its ugliness, we ought to perform with well-defined objectivity. We all have a responsibility for the well-being of America. In my view, we must have the courage and competence to focus an outpouring of light in the dark closets of society, wherever they exist. We must delineate new goals to match the frontiers that lie ahead in these perilous times.

My third premise is that far too many of us have been guilty of the conservative cry "Don't rock the boat." There has been a persistent relaxed attitude that all our problems somehow would find solution by the other fellow. We must understand the difference between caution and timidity, between indifference and moderation, when we fail to defend our constitutional freedoms.

As we put our house in order, the crying need of the hour is a massive frontal counter-attack by broadcasting and for broadcasting. We need to throw the full weight of our skills, experience and resources behind a new Declaration of Independence. We have sold everybody's ideas, except that we have tenaciously avoided a declaration of our own efficacy. The ultimate source of authority in America lies in the thousands of communities throughout the land. Democracy moves in response to the people. We must see that anti-broadcasting inertia is overcome through a continuous flow of evidence. If the truth is bodly stated, you can be sure of feedback, because the American people have illustrated, time and again, when honestly informed, they will rally to our defense.

This Declaration of Independence should enunciate the simple principles upon which all our free institutions exist. If, under our Constitution, it is an acceptable right for our critics to yell fire, then it is equally our constitutional right to bring in the firemen. If we extend the use of our facilities to this infusion of words before our microphones and cameras, then we should wend our way to our own studios in order to talk back. When the First Amendment to our Constitution gave Congress a mandate to make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, it must be understood that the same criteria apply at both ends of the spectrum.

More and more, it is becoming apparent that we must deal with the articulate, self-styled crusader who imagines himself to be a man of destiny. His blindness shields him from all pictures of dispassionate motivation. Often he is importunate with broadcasters, as well as the average American, whose tastes and views are at odds with his own. Our goal must be to bridge that brand of incompatibility with all due candor, come what may.

When the founders established our freedoms, I am sure it was not their desire to put the press on a pedestal without responsibility, but within those bounds the intent seems relatively simple. Not so, say many in high places, who are trying to read into the First Amendment one set of rules for the printed press and another set of rules for the electronic press. No amount of double-talk can alter the fact that it means *one* set of rules, without restrictions, without censorship, without government interference. From the earliest times, journalism has had the right to be antagonistic or a kindred spirit. A free press was provided in order to furnish a check on government, which other provisions of the Constitution attempt, but can not always accomplish.

However, electronic journalism is being bombarded at an alarming pace because it, too, operates in the same frame of reference. If the lawmakers and the regulators under pressure precipitate an overt action or cow in fear at the extension of the democratic process through our medium, the end result will surely place democracy, itself, on trial. There can be no doubt that our affirmation will reject such permissiveness and that we will fight to the quick to preserve our hard-won freedom.

Our good chairman of the FCC Rosel Hyde has repeatedly said through the years that his thesis is that the public interest requires that regulatory judgments be made through the democratic process rather than through the application of authoritarian procedures. I vigorously applaud the Chairman's thesis. However, there are multitudinous voices ready and willing to cut through the democratic process with reckless abandon.

To touch one part of the premise, let me indicate that one of the most vocal indictments against our industry is the fact that we produce programs designed for popular appeal. By the very nature of space transmission, it dictates that a program service furnish a diversity of entertainment and material. This is axiomatic in order to become an accepted part of the every-day lives of our populous millions.

I don't know any alternative to letting the people set the standards by the simple democratic act of accepting or rejecting that which is offered. Such programming, in the American tradition, is specifically designed to reach the majority of the people.

Just about every shade of our society has been regulated by majorities. In today's world, I know of no Congressman or Senator but that owes his very existence to a majority and, believe me, he legitimately spends night and day to cultivate that segment of mankind. I know of no chairman, president, vice-president or other officer of any governmental, social, or business group that does not spring from a majority. In my humble view, any program of popular appeal that earns the plaudits of most of the people is going to stay around until such time as it loses favor. When that day comes, it simply fades away.

How many times have you heard it said that the sole purpose in our structure is to drug the masses, and that greedy men will foist anything on the public in order to sell products that nobody wants. In my view, far too many persons are misled by such advocacy. I would say that our commercial materialism in this country coincides with the modern development of our democracy—not because it was essentially philosophical, but because it works, in spite of its imperfections.

Any drive to curtail the commercial health of our broadcasting system can be a fatal blow to the economic stability of our nation. Our medium has proved that it can move goods on a mass basis, which is the very foundation of our economic well-being and, as a result, has shown an unprecedented capacity to elevate our standard of living.

Moreover, our democratic institutions literally demand the fruits of our materialism. In the end, social consciousness and private business enterprise are inseparable. One cannot exist without the other. The economic well-being of our industry and, in turn, of this nation is a condition precedent to the development of a progressive society. In my view, our Declaration of Independence should pound this home as a fact of life.

Finally, as someone has so searchingly said. "Broadcasting partakes of the newspaper, the magazine, the stage, the movies, the concert hall, the lecture platform, the medical center, the university and the battlefield, to say nothing of the town meeting, the senate committee room, and the whistle stops of political campaigns. Indeed, I think we can say, name it, and we are of it."

In spite of our participation in the totality of the social spectrum, our critics must understand that there are intrinsic limitations.

I repeat that which has been said many times. We can help to educate, but we cannot be education, We can give the pulpit an extended coverage, but we cannot be religion. We can help the average American home, but we cannot be parents. Even though we try, we can never fulfill the total hunger for selective viewing in a mass-oriented service. We can only hope the patrons of the specialized arts, and I consider myself one among them, will satisfy this urge for greater fulfillment in many other services including the educational stations and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

To this great association, which has so graciously honored me here today, let me say, in this hour of our restless torment, we should strive to soften some of the strident discords of mankind. To the younger generation, which has inherited the broadcasting mantle, I would say that in the spring of your discontent you are going to have to fight the battle for freedom over and over again.

According to historians, the average age of the world's great civilizations has been 200 years. These great nations have progressed through the following sequence:

From bondage to spiritual faith; from spiritual faith to great courage; from courage to liberty; from liberty to abundance; from abundance to selfishness; from selfishness to complacency; from complacency to apathy; from apathy to dependency; and from dependency back again into bondage.

In seven years our United States of American will be 200 years old. This 200-year cycle of the rise and fall of great nations need not be fully descriptive of our country. It's not how a story begins, but how it ends that counts—as custodians of the most potent voice in the history of mankind, the finale depends on you!

SUPPORT OF THE STRIKING OF MEDALS IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN FISHERIES ASSOCIATION

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in appreciation of the action taken by the Congress and the Committee of the Whole House on H.R. 8648 to provide for the striking of appropriate medals commemorating the 100th anniversary of the founding of the American Fisheries Association.

It was my privilege to have my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. SAYLOR) join me in introducing this enabling legislation and I commend the able Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) for his introduction of identical legislation on the Senate side which was approved by that body on March 17, 1969.

This legislation is intended to pay honor and recognition to the founding of this Nation's oldest natural resources conservation organization—the American Fisheries Society. This society, founded in 1870, has, since its inception, played a key and leading role in the enhancement and propagation of America's fishery resources. Today, it is an international association with more than 5,000 memberships in the United States and some 60 other foreign countries.

Over the years, the society has been instrumental in the formulation of policy in the fields of fisheries including fish sciences; stocking of our streams, rivers and lakes, fish foods, private and commercial fishing, and the promotion of conservation and wise utilization of our fisheries.

As early as 1872, the Congress recognized and honored a petition by the society which resulted in an appropriation of $15,000 for assistance in stocking the great rivers and lakes of our land with useful food fishes.

The society maintains a national office in Washington, D.C., which serves as a clearinghouse for all matters pertaining to fisheries that has proven to be extremely helpful to the lay public, as well as to scientists, Government agencies, and the Congress.

As one who was born, raised, and spent my entire life on the north coast of California, I am intimately familiar with the effective and meaningful contribution that has been and continues to be made by the American Fisheries Society.

As an affiliate of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the society is an adherent member of the American Institute of Biological Sciences, and holds membership in the Natural Resources Council of America, the Watershed Congress, and assists the Boy Scouts of America and other organizations in conservation of fisheries matters.

One of the society's most memorable accomplishments to date was its urging of the Congress to establish the first Federal fish hatcheries in the United States and the society was the first such orga-

nization to do so. The tremendous contribution made by the society in this regard will long stand as a monument to fish conservation and utilization in America.

The American Fisheries Society is the first organization in the field of natural resources in North America to celebrate a centennial.

On September 13, 1970, the society will return to New York City to mark its 100 years of service to America and the American people. This celebration will be held in conjunction with the 60th annual conference of the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners.

Therefore, I am extremely pleased and deeply grateful that authorization has been granted for the striking of medals commemorating this centennial and the highly valuable service and contributions of the American Fisheries Society over the past 100 years in the field of natural sciences.

THE QUIET EXPLOSION

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, Dr. L. Quincy Mumford, the Librarian of Congress, delivered the dedicatory speech on May 1, 1969, dedicating the library at Mount Olive College located in Mount Olive, N.C., and in the Third Congressional District which I have the honor to represent.

Dr. Mumford is a native of North Carolina and is a distinguished public servant. His speech entitled "The Quiet Explosion" delivered near his birthplace, was so well received by those in attendance that I would like to share it with all of the Members of the Congress who Dr. Mumford serves so well in his present position:

THE QUIET EXPLOSION

(By L. Quincy Mumford)

It is always pleasant to return to the scenes of one's boyhood and when that scene is North Carolina the pleasure is doubled. Mr. Barefoot asked me if I had any recollections of Ayden Seminary or Eureka College of Ayden. Unfortunately, I do not have an address for either institution in my memory bank, as the computer types would say. On the other hand, I have many memories, bright ones, associated with this area. I was born and grew up on a farm in eastern North Carolina, three miles from Grifton, although our address was Hanrahan, a crossroads that boasted two stores. One of these contained a small Post Office run by my sister and brother-in-law. One of the things I used to do as a boy was to climb a ladder near the tracks and hang a bag full of mail on a rack so that the train could pick it up without stopping. The incoming mail was thrown on the ground from the moving train.

I attended a one-room schoolhouse for three years where, among other excitements, the roof periodically caught fire from the sparks from the wood-burning stove, and the older boys would climb on the roof and douse the fire with buckets of water. At the end of three years, a new school was built consisting of two rooms, and a second teacher was obtained.

The school had no books, and the only books that I can readily remember as being available to me in my very early years were the graded readers in the Heart of Oaks series. After school we could not head for the children's room of a branch library as so many youngsters do today because, in those days, public libraries were unknown in our area of the country. The nearest one was nearly 75 miles away in Raleigh, the capital of the State.

I attended high school in Grifton where there were a few books, but very few; so for all practical purposes my reading was limited to the texts which we were using in school classes.

It was not until I enrolled in Trinity College, now Duke University, at Durham, North Carolina, that a library of any consequence was available to me. I began to work as a page in the college library in my sophomore year, and from that time on I was surrounded by books.

One other memory of Mount Olive is closely associated with my days at Duke University—one of a blonde coed. I met her when she and her sister lived in Mount Olive, it was, perhaps, inevitable that before long I hitchhiked to Mount Olive to pay a visit. I was fortunate enough to make the trip down with one driver, covering the hundred miles in about three hours. As I remember, we proceeded at the headlong speed of 30 miles an hour. But she later moved to New Jersey, and I come to Mount Olive today on quite a different mission.

Reference librarians week after week answer a fair number of requests for speeches of dedication—for models to follow, for great sayings to quote, even for help in composing a special kind of dedicatory address. It would be quite understandable, therefore, if a librarian were to be reluctant to participate in a dedication ceremony with the excuse: There is nothing new to say. Understandable, perhaps, for everyone except someone from the Library of Congress. In its halls, he has before him every day the refutation of the claim that there is nothing new to say, the original draft of a dedication speech that will always be a challenge to every succeeding speaker, a speech that had its beginnings on November 2, 1863. On that day David Wills, a respected citizen of Gettysburg, wrote to the President of the United States to invite him to a ceremony dedicating a burial ground for soldiers who had fallen at the battle of Gettysburg.

"It is the desire," wrote Mr. Wills, "that, after the oration, you, as Chief Executive of the nation, formally set apart these grounds . . . by a few appropriate remarks."

Those "few appropriate remarks" became one of the great classics of the English language and will always present an unattainable standard for those of us who attempt to deliver a "few appropriate" words of our own.

I can well repeat, however, Lincoln's modest statement that the world will little note or long remember what I say here—but that is as it should be. What we dedicate today is not a place for the dead, but rather one for the living, not an end but a beginning.

One does not necessarily need a building to begin a library, but one must admit that housing of some sort is an important consideration. Those of you who have shared my enjoyment of Lucretia Hale's account of the Peterkin family may recall that a library played no small part in their attempt to gather greater knowledge.

They were gathered around the breakfast table when Mrs. Peterkin exclaimed: "If we could only be more wise as a family!" How could they manage it? Agamemnon had been to college, and the children all went to school; but still as a family they were not wise. "It comes from books," said one of the family. "People who have a great many books are very wise." Then they counted up that there were very few books in the house—a few schoolbooks and Mrs. Peterkin's cookbook were all.

"That's the thing!" said Agamemnon. "We want a library."

"We want a library!" said Solomon John. And all of them exclaimed, "We want a library!"

"Let us think how we shall get one," said Mrs. Peterkin. "I have observed that other people think a great deal of thinking."

So they all sat and thought a great while.

Then said Agamemnon, "I will make a library. There are some boards in the woodshed, and I have a hammer and some nails, and perhaps we can borrow some hinges, and there we have our library!"

The idea delighted the Peterkins until Elizabeth Eliza raised the inevitable question: "But where are the books?"

After another period of sitting and thinking Solomon John solved the problem by declaring that he would make a book.

The Peterkins' approach to any situation was always unorthodox, but their view of a library was basically sound: a library was made up of books brought together in one place to be used in attaining wisdom. Fortunately, we are not forced, like Solomon John, to write the contents of the library ourselves. But the gathering of a library's collection that today must include, in addition to books, films, periodicals, maps, prints—any form that packages ideas—is an even greater challenge if that collection is to meet the present and future needs of the library's users.

Mount Olive's approach to the problem of acquiring wisdom has been far more productive than that of the Peterkins. That is obvious in the slogan: "The College That Cares." It is obvious in its aims and in its services, in its policies and in its programs. It is obvious in the growing complex of buildings and—particularly so—if you will not accuse me of partiality—in the library that we have gathered here to dedicate.

Today the library's place in a college is evident. It is the core around which the institution develops. Frequently students as well as faculty are attracted to a university or college by the excellence of its library.

Because learning is associated with books, it is not surprising that the founding of a college during the colonial period was often accompanied by a gift of books. Benefactors were frequently as notable as they were generous. Louis XVI, for instance, gave about 200 beautiful editions to the library of William and Mary College in 1784 and presented a similar gift to the University of Pennsylvania. Notwithstanding the zeal of their benefactors, college libraries did not grow rapidly. One attempt to increase a library's collection, devised no doubt by Benjamin Franklin's practical mind, was a resolution passed by the trustees of the "College, Academy, and Charitable Schools" of Philadelphia on April 21, 1752:

"Agreed unanimously that no Holiday be granted to the Scholars at the Request of any Person, unless at the same time he make a Present to the Academy of a Book of ten Shillings value; the Masters to be made acquainted with this Rule."

The colleges of the late 18th and the early 19th century were like barracks with few comforts. There were no lounges, study halls or even reading rooms. It is not surprising, then, that students gravitated to the more inviting rooms of their literary or debating societies. These groups built up libraries of their own that were often used much more heavily than the college library. The rivalry between the societies extended to their book collections. Graduates as well as student members at Princeton, to cite one example, helped to build impressive libraries through subscriptions.

Today, as the national library of the United States, the Library of Congress supplements the resources available to the scholar and research worker at institutions throughout the Nation. It might interest you to know that we made several hundred loans to libraries in North Carolina last year. In addition, through its expanded program of acquisitions, the Library of Congress is enabling libraries in this country to acquire materials of value to research published around the world and—through the program of shared cataloging—to make those materials available to the user in a matter of weeks. The development of the MARC distribution service, which supplies machine readable cataloging on tape on a subscription basis, increases the capability of libraries to utilize computers.

The quality of the colonial college libraries, according to some accounts, was not generally high. President Thomas Clap of Yale wrote in 1776 that the library of about 4,000 volumes was good, "well furnished with ancient authors, but not many authors who wrote within these thirty years." And James Manning of Brown told a correspondent in 1783 that "Our library consists of about 500 volumes most of which are very ancient and very useless."

Thomas Jefferson, who founded the University of Virginia, introduced many features that were new to the universities of his day. He put far more emphasis on the library than was customary and intended to donate his excellent private collection of 6500 volumes to the University of Virginia. When the British invaders in 1814 fired the Capitol, however, destroying the collection of the Library of Congress, he felt impelled to offer to sell his books to the Government. Thus the Library of Congress acquired the Jefferson library as the basis for its collection and the University of Virginia received, instead, a classified buying list of desirable volumes compiled by Jefferson. Though he readily admitted the inadequacy of his selections in some fields because of his "want of a more familiar knowledge of their subject," it is noteworthy that this remarkable list enabled the University of Virginia library, at its establishment, to cover all fields of learning.

Not only did Jefferson, in this way, select the first collection of books for the University of Virginia library, but he also chose its first two librarians and formulated the rules enforced by them. These regulations, adopted by the University's Board of Visitors in 1825, provided for unrestricted use of books by the faculty, but only limited service to students. No student was allowed to have more than three volumes on loan to him at one time and not even a single volume, unless he could show authorization for it by one of the professors. Fines for overdue books were graduated in accordance with the size of the book detained. If a student lost a book he was required to pay to the library three times its value. The librarian was to open the library to receive and discharge books only one hour a week.

Nor were these rules unduly restrictive for that day. Libraries were sometimes locked away and opened an hour or so a week for students to borrow and return books. In some colleges only juniors and seniors were allowed to borrow books. In addition to the restricted hours, some libraries announces that the librarian could "permit the Scholars to enter the Library, only one at a Time, and in their Order; If any Others at such Times shall attempt to intrude [the regulation continued] the Librarian or his substitute shall make complaint to the Pres."

Much has changed since those days. We have but to look at the library that is dedicated here today to see that its planners have built it for use. The open spaces, the lounge areas, the study carrels, the allowance for growth, the endowment for books—all these indicate that this library is built for service to students as well as to faculty members. It is obvious that Mount Olive shares Jefferson's belief in the importance and value of books but underscores that belief by making the books readily available.

No visiting speaker needs to tell you that the scholastic campus today is a place of action, turmoil, and revolution. This is hardly news nor is it new. Riots and revolts, breaking of furniture, firing of buildings, rolling cannonballs down the corridors (a post-Revolution development at Harvard that was copied by other colleges) were common enough in this country in the 18th and 19th centuries. But the real revolution—the eternal impact of mind against mind, the quiet explosion of ideas—takes place within the walls of the library. Here the wonderful mind of youth, still free of experience, of caution, and of conservatism, the wonderful mind that questions, that seeks answers for itself, that ponders and value—here, I say, that mind can meet the minds of other men of every age. Here, in the library, you can carry on our own conversation with the philosophers, the scientists, the economists, the historians, the artists, the writers—the dreamers and thinkers of many ages and many nations. And from these conversations evolves your own philosophy, your own wisdom. In brief, you begin the never-ending process of education.

And so today we dedicate not a building but the ideas that it will contain, the ideas that will develop under its sheltering roof, the ideas that its users will bring to bettering our world.

A NEW DAY IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I was not able to attend the legislative rally of the National Postal Union, because the Crime Committee of the House of Representatives had its first organization meeting at the time I was due to speak. If I had been there I would have made the following remarks:

A NEW DAY IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

Ladies and gentlemen of the National Postal Union, I am happy to be here with you at the Washington Monument this afternoon and commend both your officers and yourselves for this fine turnout today. Dave Silvergleid, Bob Kephart and John Morgan and I work together every day. They are fine union officers, among the best, and they represent some of the finest people in the American labor movement. I am proud of both you and your officers and you should be proud of each other.

As you know, the Postal Operations Subcommittee of which I am chairman is holding hearings on various bills that would bring labor relations by law to the postal service. Someday labor relations by law will be a must for the Federal Government as a whole. But we must do something immediately in this regard for postal employees and we will continue to hold hearings in May and possibly June on this subject. The Civil Service Commission is opposed to legislation and would like to continue the Executive order approach.

As a result of their testimony, on the 29th of April I sent a telegram to the President of the United States, in which I pointed out to him that an administration witness had stated before our subcommittee that the administration did not favor postal labor relations by law, but were in favor instead of a new executive order. I reminded the President of his campaign statements of 1968, in which he took the position that the Federal Government labor relations had to be conducted under a new law, that an Executive Order was not sufficient. I believe that the President should intervene personally and see to it that the Civil Service Commission is aware of his prior statement and the record he made in 1968. A column appeared in the public press, the Washington Daily News, of April 26 by John Cramer, entitled "Nixon Seen Reneging on Promise." This news story was based on our hearings before my Subcommittee on Postal Operations. I thought the President should be aware of the hearings and the interpretation placed on those hearings by well informed newspeople.

I can tell you this. We will have postal labor relations by law. My Subcommittee is going to forge ahead and with your help and dedication I think we can win a new day in the postal service for working men and women.

I would like to point out to you that during a time of stress in this country your organization among others stands out as a center of responsibility. The hard work and effort you devote to postal workers is of great help to the development of a truly responsive postal service. The American people owe you a debt of gratitude because without your organization, grievances would go unresolved. When that happens, disorders is the result. You help society by helping yourself. America needs you. Keep up the good work.

NEW IDEAS AT PEACE CORPS

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, yesterday President Nixon swore in Mr. Joseph Blatchford as the new Peace Corps director. In yesterday's RECORD, page 11446, I discussed the eminent qualifications Mr. Blatchford brings to this job as a founder and director of his own private peace corps in Latin America. I also discussed Mr. Blatchford's observation that Peace Corps is a "waning" organization in need of rejuvenation.

At yesterday's ceremony in the White House Rose Garden, Mr. Blatchford disclosed some of the new ideas under consideration to rejuvenate the agency. He is most concerned about making the Peace Corps more relevant to the changing conditions both in the world and in America in 1969.

Some of the new ideas under consideration include making the corps a 3-year program for service both at home and abroad as a substitute for military service; recruiting more skilled people into Peace Corps; bringing over foreign volunteers to work in American slums; and increasing efforts to recruit American volunteers from racial minorities.

These topics will be explored by a 40-member task force that will begin its work tomorrow and make its recommendations to the President by the end of the month. The proposals will have to be studied in the context of the revised Peace Corps budget which is being trimmed from $109 million to $101 million. The cut will mean a reduction in the number of volunteers to be trained in the coming fiscal year from 8,500 to 7,500. But the Peace Corps has learned that success does not necessarily lie in num-

bers. The new approach will be placing more emphasis on quality than quantity.

I again wish to commend the administration on this outstanding appointment and to commend Mr. Blatchford on this early indication that he intends to breathe new life into an organization that has served America so well in the past. I am confident that the fresh perspective and approach Mr. Blatchford brings to the Peace Corps will assure its continued success.

At this point in the RECORD I introduce articles from yesterday's Evening Star and today's Washington Post and the New York Times on the Blatchford appointment:

[From the Evening Star, May 5, 1969]

NIXON HAILS NEW PEACE CORPS IDEAS—U.S. WEIGHING ROLE FOR FOREIGN YOUTH

(By Richard Critchfield)

President Nixon has asked new Peace Corps director Joseph H. Blatchford to study proposals for widening the spectrum of recruiting, bring foreign youth to work in American slums in the "reverse Peace Corps" and creating a 3-year program for service at home and abroad to serve as a substitute for military service.

Blatchford was sworn in today in the White House Rose Garden.

At the ceremony, Nixon said Blatchford's new ideas would receive the highest priority in his administration.

Blatchford said his chief new policy will be to make the Peace Corps relevant to the changed conditions in the world and America in 1969. He said he sought to do this by lengthening the program to 3 years, in some cases, so a volunteer would serve both in this country and abroad.

RELEVANCY STRESSED

He said he would also seek to bring foreign nationals here as instructors and teachers in the war against poverty—what he called a new approach to voluntary action to open the doors to both Americans and foreigners to participate.

Blatchford said he hopes to lift restrictions and raise allowances to allow more mid-career professionals, blue-collar workers and trade union men into the Peace Corps. This is in line with a growing administration feeling that skills and experience are needed more than simply youthful enthusiasm.

Blatchford said that although the Peace Corps budget request for fiscal 1970 is $101.1 million, just under the $102 million this year, it would be possible to launch a number of pilot projects to test out the "reverse Peace Corps" and 3-year plans.

Blatchford said that "a 3-year commitment at home and abroad could be an alternative to military service some time in the future. That is our eventual goal."

At present, participation in the Peace Corps allows for a military deferment but is not a substitute for the draft.

Blatchford said there would also be a special new effort to recruit more volunteers from racial minorities.

He said he had discussed his new ideas with Nixon this morning before the swearing-in and the President had asked him to further investigate them and come up with plans for testing them. Blatchford said a task force for this purpose will be set up Wednesday.

Blatchford himself has been a pioneer in new approaches to slum development in Latin America.

At today's ceremony, Nixon noted that Blatchford was the founder in 1960 and director until two months ago of Accion, a private program largely endowed by rich Latin Americans for development projects in the slums of such major cities as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Lima.

Nixon also observed that Blatchford and his wife were fellow natives of California, which has provided more Peace Corps volunteers than any other state. Blatchford's wife, Winnifred, a former Accion volunteer in Venezuela, held the Bible in the ceremony.

Accion's programs are largely staffed by locally recruited Latin Americans. Most of its $4 million budget in recent years has come in contributions from wealthy Latin Americans and its American-financed budget is only $200,000.

[From the Washington Post, May 6, 1969]

NEW DIRECTOR ASKS CHANGES IN PEACE CORPS

President Nixon presided at the swearing-in ceremony yesterday for his Peace Corps Director, Joseph H. Blatchford—who promptly suggested three changes to "make the Peace Corps relevant to 1969."

The proposals will be topics of study by a 40-member task force that is to begin work at the Peace Corps Wednesday and complete its job by the end of the month, when recommendations are to be forwarded to the President.

While Mr. Nixon did not commit himself yesterday to Blatchford's new ideas, he said they will receive attention of "the highest priority."

One Blatchford proposal would establish a combined foreign-domestic service for Peace Corps volunteers, possibly in collaboration with VISTA (which is often known as the domestic Peace Corps).

Another proposal is the "reverse Peace Corps," under which foreign nationals with skills would work to help solve American domestic ills. The State Department now operates a small "Volunteers to America" program along this line, and is reported to be urging that the Peace Corps take it over. At present, about 60 foreign volunteers are involved.

Finally, Blatchford suggested that Peace Corps regulations be changed to permit middle-career professionals, blue-color workers, trade union men and other volunteers with families to participate overseas.

The Peace Corps budget proposals were recently reduced to about $101 million, slightly less than the sum allotted in the current fiscal year. Blatchford said yesterday that his new proposals would probably be tested on a relatively inexpensive "pilot basis" at first.

Blatchford, 34, has been executive director of ACCION International, which is a business-supported unofficial Peace Corps in Latin America. He is the youngest agency head appointed by Mr. Nixon.

[From the New York Times, May 6, 1969]

NEW PEACE CORPS HEAD: JOSEPH H. BLATCHFORD

WASHINGTON, May 5—In 1968, as Vice President Richard M. Nixon was being charged by a mob in Venezuela, a law student at the University of California, Berkeley, started thinking about what could be done to restore the traditional friendship of the hemisphere. An informal good-will tour of his own followed, then a more ambitious idea of forming his own version of what President John F. Kennedy later started as the Peace Corps.

The law student, Joseph H. Blatchford, called his organization ACCION, and started rounding up money and volunteers for South American duty in the fall of 1959.

Today, Mr. Blatchford stood in the Rose Garden of the White House to be sworn in as President Nixon's director of the Peace Corps, pledging to make the idealistic project of the New Frontier "more relevant to 1969."

Introducing the Republican head of the agency, Mr. Nixon called on him to develop new ideas and new programs. The 34-year-old former championship tennis player wasted no time in complying.

He wants a "wider spectrum" of Peace Corps volunteers, he told newsmen—trade union members and blue collar workers, mature persons in mid-career, not just fresh college graduates.

And he suggested a "reverse Peace Corps" to bring foreigners to the United States to help in domestic antipoverty programs.

"The Peace Corps is the idealistic arm of the American people abroad," Mr. Blatchford said. Once unchallenged, this description of the eight-year-old program now seems open for questioning among many young people and the public at large.

RESTORING ENTHUSIASM

The new director sees his role as trying to restore some of the luster that Peace Corps officials acknowledge has faded since the early burst of enthusiasm.

Mr. Blatchford is clearly no novice in volunteer programs of overseas development. He headed ACCION as a privately supported community development program in Latin America for eight years prior to his appointment.

The organization was a direct outgrowth of Mr. Blatchford's musings after the Caracas riots in 1958.

He had competed in the British tennis championships at Wimbledon in 1956. Several of his law school friends were jazz musicians. They banded together for a four-month student good-will tour in 1959, using tennis exhibition matches and jam sessions as entree into student communities in 30 cities.

Returning to law school, Mr. Blatchford started canvassing private corporations to contribute toward the founding of ACCION. The first volunteers started work in Venezuela in September, 1961. In the next eight years, more than 1,000 field workers and staff members were sent out for work projects in four countries.

With these credentials, Mr. Blatchford has sought energetically to dispel some of the resentment still lingering among Peace Corps veterans and officials over the circumstances of his appointment last month.

The former director, Jack Hood Vaughn, was reportedly asked by Secretary of State William P. Rogers to stay on in his post shortly before President Nixon's inauguration. Mr. Vaughn had worked with the first director, Sargent Shriver, from the formation of the Peace Corps. As a registered Republican, who served in Democratic administrations, his continuity in office would have emphasized the nonpolitical nature of the agency.

Instead, early in March, Mr. Vaughn was abruptly informed that he would be replaced after all.

As his successor, Mr. Blatchford was known as an unsuccessful Republican candidate for the House of Representatives from the Los Angeles harbor district.

He was born June 7, 1934, in Milwaukee and moved to California when he was 10 years old.

QUESTIONED ON AMBITIONS

At his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last month, Mr. Blatchford was questioned closely on his partisan political ambitions; there was no challenge to his qualifications for the Peace Corps post.

Under new leadership, the Peace Corps will inevitably change in character—but it probably would have anyway, even if Mr. Vaughn had remained.

Within the Administration there are moves to try integrating the Peace Corps more closely with other foreign operations of the Government.

Three days ago the Under Secretary of State, Elliott L. Richardson, asked all the heads of bureau in the State Department to look into ways of expanding interchange of personnel among the foreign affairs agencies, including the Peace Corps, the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Agency, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the State Department itself.

Hanging over the agency that Mr. Blatchford now controls is the old question of what the Peace Corps role should be—an enthusiastic body of young people spreading goodwill by their mere presence in developing countries, or, alternatively, a corps of trained specialists taking expert and active part in specific development projects.

Recognizing that it is now a "new world and a different America from 1961," when the Peace Corps was founded, Mr. Blatchford seems to favor the latter—hence, the need for the closer integration of personnel with other Government agencies involved in overseas development.

LOWER VOTING AGE IS REASONABLE

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, for the past 2 years I have been receiving letters, telephone calls, and personal visits, as have all of my colleagues, I am sure, urging Federal action to lower the voting age to 18.

This is an issue, too, about which many newspapers have written editorials. One such editorial, a particularly good one, I thought, appeared in the Morris Tribune in the Minnesota Sixth Congressional District last week.

I recommend its reading to my colleagues.

LOWER VOTING AGE IS REASONABLE

Young Americans on and off college campuses have demonstrated an interest in all kinds of causes in recent times. One of the most important of these is the effort to lower the voting age, presently set at 21 in Minnesota.

Bills are now before the state legislature proposing the necessary constitutional amendment to accomplish the change.

The standard arguments in favor of the change are well known by people of all ages. There is no exemption from heavy social security taxes, income taxes and all other forms of taxation for people just because they are under 21 years of age. Far from being any exemption from military service, just the reverse is true. The 18- to 21-year-olds are the group most heavily tapped for service in the armed forces.

It is reasonable that people who are being forced, not just asked, to shoulder these obligations of society deserve the same voice which every voter has in the decisions of such a society. Moreover, the history of this country reveals repeated easing of the requirements for the right and privilege of voting coupled with growing governmental demands on the people.

Naturally, there is some sense to the argument that people can be expected to achieve greater maturity and a better sense of judgment at the age of 21. However, there is really nothing magical about this figure. People with a genuine interest in government attain a remarkable understanding of of it at an amazing early age. People with little or no abiding interest in government may never make an effort to understand it. They may or may not, just as they choose, exercise their right to vote. The same option is not presently available to those under 21.

Finally, there are some potentially sticky situations involving purely local issues in which the presence of a major concentration of essentially transient 18- to 21-year-old college students could substantially affect the outcome of an election and thwart the will of the relatively permanent electorate. Such could be the case in Morris and a few other communities across the nation which are fortunate enough to have a large college population relative to the general population of the community.

This really should present no major problem. State law could either spell out more rigid residency requirements for voting in local municipal, school and township elections or could provide for local option within reasonable state guidelines. It is helpful too that local elections are normally held at different times than national and state elections so there would be no problem of giving some ballots to one voter and withholding them from another at the same election.

All in all, the case for lowering the voting age is a substantial one.

BRUSQUE RETORT FROM THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I recently received from one of our colleagues, copies of correspondence with the Post Office Department regarding a suggestion for a commemorative stamp to recognize the landing of America's first astronaut on the moon this summer.

In the correspondence with the Postmaster General, our colleague, the distinguished Member from Pennsylvania, JOHN SAYLOR, stated that such a stamp was in order because of this unique event that is scheduled to take place in July. In addition to the recommendation of a commemorative stamp, Congressman SAYLOR also suggested that the first-day sale along with a dedication ceremony be held at Apollo, Pa. This town is located in the Armstrong County section of Pennsylvania. Because of the name of the present series in our space program and because the first astronaut scheduled to land on the moon is Colonel Armstrong, I, and many of our other colleagues, agree that Congressman SAYLOR'S suggestion for the first-day sale in Apollo, Pa., is an appropriate and unique proposal.

As a member of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I wholeheartedly support our colleague's recommendation. Unfortunately, one of the new corporate-oriented executive types in the Post Office Department saw fit to answer Congressman SAYLOR'S original communication to the Postmaster General with a brusque retort that no such stamp is being planned. I do not know whether or not the answer given to Congressman SAYLOR is a standard form letter kept on file to be used in replying to letters considered to be only of a petty or pesky nature. However, it seems to me that not only was this letter curt and callous, but it was unresponsive as well.

I am hopeful, Mr. Speaker, that the Postmaster General will make an effort to see that this kind of treatment does not become a permanent part of his operation.

Because I feel very strongly about the manner in which Congressman SAYLOR was treated, I would like to share with all our colleagues the correspondence involved in this matter. Without objection, I include a copy of Congressman SAYLOR'S letter to the Postmaster General dated April 22, a copy of the letter from the Postmaster General's Special Assistant dated April 29 and a copy of a letter addressed to Bryce Harlow, Special Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations, from Congressman SAYLOR dated April 30:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1969.

Hon. WINTON M. BLOUNT,
Postmaster General of the United States, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BLOUNT: A great event will take place in July, 1969—the landing of America's first astronaut on the moon—and I believe there is no better way to give this historic event the special recognition it rightly deserves than with the issuance of an appropriate commemorative stamp.

I recommend that the Post Office Department and its Stamp Advisory Committee proceed with the consideration of a timely designed stamp, but, most important, I specifically request that you designate the second-class postal facility at *Apollo, Armstrong* County, Pennsylvania, as the site for the first-day dedication ceremony and sale of the stamp.

Because of the uniqueness of the occasion and the unusual juxtaposition of names which are involved, I request that you give this proposal your serious consideration and approval. *Apollo,* the name of the N.A.S.A. flight series, is the only such post office named in the United States and it lies within *Armstrong* County, the name of the astronaut scheduled to take the first steps on the moon.

I am familiar with the fact that other places in the United States have been signally honored with first-day sales connected with the naiton's space efforts, but rarely will you find a more auspicious location as *Apollo, Armstrong* County, Pennsylvania, to record perhaps the greatest feat in the annals of time.

With every good wish,
Sincerely,

JOHN P. SAYLOR,
Member of Congress.

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1969.

Hon. JOHN P. SAYLOR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for your letter of April 22 suggesting the issuance of a commemorative stamp for the landing of America's first astronaut on the moon.

There are no plans to issue a stamp for this event at this time. However should the Postmaster General approve such a stamp, Apollo, Pennsylvania will be given consideration as the firstday sale city along with other suggested sites.

We appreciate your interest in this particular stamp.

Sincerely,

JAMES M. HENDERSON,
Special Assistant to the Postmaster General.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 30, 1969.

Mr. BRYCE HARLOW,
Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations, The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HARLOW: I attach a copy of a "reply" I received from one of the non-political professional functionaries of the "new" Post Office Department. The letter I received was in response to mine of April 22 directed personally to the Postmaster General of the United States, the Honorable Winton Blount, on a subject which I considered

to be of great importance to the people in my district.

The curt, uninformative brush-off from one of the Postmaster General's underlings was disrespectful of the office of the Postmaster General and offensive to the people of the 22nd District of Pennsylvania and me. It was not the kind of response one should expect from a Cabinet officer of the Government to a Member of Congress.

I find it hard to believe that such an officer would allow the author of such a letter to be a member of his official family, and I find it incredible that a Cabinet-level officer would knowingly tolerate an obviously insensitive person to exercise authority in his name in contact with the public or with Members of Congress.

During my tenure as a Congressman, I have had occasion to make many requests in writing to the six predecessors of the incumbent, and my requests have always been received with respect. Many times they have been denied, but always, there was a full and courteous explanation stating the reasons for the denial of my request. In most cases during past Administrations, the Postmaster General replied personally, or when a sub-level officer wrote he was careful to state that he spoke for or with the authority of the Postmaster General. I always felt assured that my requests had received the attention of the Postmaster General. Such practices in the past were based on simple and reciprocal courtesy expected and accepted by Postmaster Generals and Members of Congress of both parties.

I did not expect simple courtesy to change with Administrations. I did not expect to be summarily dealt with by a sub-level employee with the change to a Republican Administration. I did not expect rudeness to become the tone of this Administration's "efficient" postal operation. It has, in short, been a shock to a Republican Member of Congress to watch with horror the heavy-handed antics of the minions of the "new" Post Office Department.

In my letter of April 22, I did not ask the Postmaster General to appoint a qualified Republican to a vacant postal position. I did not ask the Postmaster General to improve mail service before he came to Congress for more money and another postal rate increase. I did not ask the Postmaster General to do anything out of perspective than "seriously consider" my suggestion relative to the creation of a commemorative stamp.

The background of my proposal was this: The only Post Office facility in the United States with the name of *"Apollo"* is located in my district. The *Apollo* facility lies in *Armstrong* County, Pennsylvania. We are familiar with the fact that NASA has an historic mission scheduled for July in the *Apollo* series during which the landing of the first man on the Moon will be made by Astronaut *Armstrong*. Because of the uniqueness of the occasion and the unusual juxtaposition of names which are involved, I requested that the Postmaster General give consideration to the creation of a commemorative "landing on the moon" stamp, with first-day sales to take place in *Apollo, Armstrong, Pennsylvania*.

The special assistant that responded to my request had the audacity to tell me that "there were no plans" for such a stamp. Of course not, I made the suggestion. Perhaps he should have pointed out that the "efficient" Post Office Department has not yet appointed the statutorily required Stamp Advisory Committee after over one hundred days in office.

This same new bureaucrat apparently lacked the imagination to see the significance of the NASA flight and the juxtaposition of the names. He apparently decided to overlook the fact that the Department has issued three other commemorative stamps honoring the progress of our nation's space program. He obviously does not know that such an event as the first landing of man on the Moon will surely demand the issuance of a commemorative stamp. He lacks the sensivity to know that a great many people in the country and in the world will expect such a stamp from our nation. He totally lacks the human awareness that the issuance of such a stamp would mean a great deal to many people around the world, our own U.S. citizens and those who are fortunate to be living in Apollo, Pennsylvania.

This same individual did not even have the courtesy to acknowledge that other Members of the Pennsylvania's Congressional delegation have supported my suggestion with personal letters of support addressed to the Postmaster General. I hope, sir, that this same misguided individual does not have the effrontery to deal with other Congressmen and their requests in the same disgraceful manner with which mine has been accorded.

There is no excuse, Mr. Harlow, for the content of that letter, for its lack of sensitivity, for its lack of understanding and for its unaccommodating tone!

Sincerely,

JOHN P. SAYLOR,
Member of Congress.

NATIONAL TIMBER SUPPLY ACT

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most urgent matters facing the United States is realization of the national housing goals established by the Congress in 1968 legislation. We are committed as a people to the production of 26 million housing units in the next decade. President Johnson in transmitting last January the first annual report required by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 flatly stated:

The housing goals of the 1968 act are firm national commitments.

We now have a new national administration with my party leadership in the executive branch. I am pleased that President Nixon and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney are firm in their determination to do their very best to execute this congressional mandate. The Nixon administration has made it clear that action to achieve housing expeditiously is one of its basic principles. They have already cut through redtape here in the District of Columbia to produce results instead of studies and shelter rather than endless planning sessions.

One of the long-term restraints imposed upon housing activity, however, as I pointed out in introducing H.R. 10688, the National Timber Supply Act of 1969, last week is the unavailability of sufficient volumes of softwood lumber and plywood. I emphasized that the President of the National Association of Home Builders, Mr. Eugene A. Gulledge, has flatly declared that without lumber and plywood it will be impossible to build the housing America needs. I also stressed that the greatest single potential resource for the necessary timber to produce that lumber and plywood is the Federal Government itself. My bill is directed toward enabling the Forest Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture to manage the commercial timber lands in its charge so that there will be no shortage of logs for manufacture of these essential wood building materials.

While there has been no official report from the Department of Agriculture or the Bureau of the Budget on the National Timber Supply Act, I am heartened by the forthright response of the Secretary of Agriculture, Clifford Hardin, to an inquiry I directed to him as to steps he contemplated in relieving present building materials pressures and prices.

He wrote to me at length under date of April 25 and established in one sentence of that letter a premise which, I trust, bodes well for the future management of Federal commercial timber lands. Secretary Hardin clearly stated:

Long term solutions lie in our being able to produce more timber from all of the Nation's commercial forest lands without deviating from sound conservation principles.

This is precisely the intention of the Members of the House and the Senate who have sought to provide the means through introducing the National Timber Supply Act. It is obvious that since the Federal Government controls 60 percent of the standing softwood sawtimber in the entire United States and yields less than one-third of the volume of logs necessary to meet even our present softwood lumber and plywood production levels that primary emphasis in producing more timber must be on the national forests. Lands under industrial management are already producing 3.5 percent of their total sawtimber inventory annually under sound conservation principles while the national forests yield less than nine-tenths of 1 percent of their available inventory each year. During the next decade increased production obviously must come from the Federal commercial timberlands if we are to approach the material requirements dictated by the 2.6 million average annual housing starts to which we have committed the Nation.

While there is no question that private industrial lands and lands in other miscellaneous private and public ownerships can be utilized more effectively over the long run, the Federal commercial softwood sawtimber forests are not being operated under sound conservation principles if you consider a high level of tree growth as conservation. Keep in mind that only about half of the national forest area is considered commercial forest.

The Congress will surely join with Secretary Hardin in seeking long-term solutions to the Nation's wood needs by more effective use of all commercial timberlands capable of producing a steady supply of sawtimber into the infinite future. The National Timber Supply Act will enable this kind of intensive management on the national forests and should be fully supported by both the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of the Budget.

The administration is steadfast in its determination to make it possible for all our people to secure adequate housing. I have faith that it will utilize every sound and practical method available and that the Congress or industry can make available to fulfill the obligations recognized by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. But, if it is to expedite programs which have been long delayed, it is absolutely necessary that departments responsible for the forest management and fiscal integrity of the Nation act promptly to report favorably to the Agriculture Committee on the National Timber Supply Act.

I am today asking both Secretary Hardin and Mr. Mayo to act with all deliberate speed to report positively on H.R. 10688 and its companion bills so that the Congress can undertake to make the National Timber Supply Act the law of the land and we can begin to see its effective results promptly. I hope the Congress and the administration can cooperate to make this law by July 1, 1969.

CHILDREN'S VERSION OF PEACE: A LESSON FOR US ALL

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the mind of a child is a wondrous thing. It is uncluttered with problems and prejudices. It is quick and it is perceptive. If we could only listen to the thoughts of the young and then put them into practice, the unsolvable of today might be resolved.

I would like to share with my colleagues just a few thoughts on peace expressed by a group of sixth graders at the North Rose School of the North Rose-Wolcott Central School District in my 36th District of New York:

WHAT IS PEACE?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following are some of the definitions written by Donald Maurer's sixth grade English I class at the North Rose Building.)

Peace is understanding in the world and love for each other.

Peace is happiness among all nations.

Peace means no war, no riots, no strikes, no college sit-ins.

Peace is where countries are friends.

Peace is a word everyone should learn.

Peace is to stop wars and killing.

A word with much meaning but no power.

It is something this generation has never known.

Peace is a quiet world.

Peace is having your family home.

Peace is freedom for all the world.

Peace is having a heart full of cheer, not hunger.

Peace is friendliness between countries, laughing, working, and playing no matter what race they are.

God made this world for human beings, not haters.

Peace is knowing your father will come home alive.

Peace is helping everyone without Communism and war.

Peace is love, joy, kindness, and friendship between neighbors and nations.

Only God can give true peace.

Peace is where everyone likes each other.

Peace is wonderful!

SEX AND POSTAL RATES

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 2, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Post Office Department through the good graces of the White House released an administration request for an over $500 million increase in postal rates. This is, in effect, a tax bill because the increased cost of stamps to the public does not go to the Post Office Department. Such funds are placed in the General Treasury of the United States. This is a serious matter because the postal rate bill passed by the 90th Congress killed the Saturday Evening Post which was published in my city, Philadelphia. In addition, the three steps in postal rate increases passed by the 90th Congress have not been completed yet.

The Presidential message which accompanied the administration request for new and higher postal rates did not discuss postal rates. It was a denunciation instead of obscenity. Title II of the new postal rates request did contain provisions dealing with the administration program on mailed obscenity. It would seem to me that the message should have had reference to "postal rate increases." A collection of newspaper articles on the President's message showed no reference to postal rates, and certainly not the total amount requested.

This message must have been done hurriedly because the message referred to criminal penalties amounting to $50,000 for a first offense and $100,000 for a second offense. Administration sources said that 2,000 mailers were involved in the business of sending obscenity through the mail. If each were fined $100,000 the total would come to $200 million, enough money to work on the postal deficit. The facts are, however, that the fines are $5,000 for a first offense and $10,000 for a second offense and are so recorded in the draft bill forwarded by the administration.

If I had been consulted as chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations which has jurisdiction over all obscenity matters, I would have pointed out that the connection with a postal rates bill was at best confusing. It will not help with the Congress and the obscenity provisions suggested by the administration will be discussed by members of my subcommittee during hearings. I would like to announce at this time that there will be hearings on the subject of obscenity by my subcommittee this coming July. The Post Office will be invited to testify. I hope that they will accept our invitation this time. They did not come before us during our hearings on postal labor relations held on April 23, 24, and 25. When they do appear on the subject of obscenity, I will have occasion to go into this matter further.

THE DEFEAT OF PRESIDENT CHARLES DE GAULLE

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, somehow I cannot agree with President Nixon and others who expressed regret when the French people recently rejected Charles de Gaulle at the polls.

I give General de Gaulle full credit for his military leadership in World War II and for being a strong leader when France needed strong leadership, but I cannot understand how anyone could consider his recent defeat as a loss from the standpoint of the United States and the rest of the free world.

France received military aid from the United States in massive quantities of men and materials in both World War I and World War II and thousands upon thousands of American boys now lie buried in Flanders Field and other French military cemeteries.

In the years following World War II, the American taxpayers poured millions of dollars into France in the form of economic aid. We assigned large numbers of American troops there as part of our NATO commitment to help defend Western Europe. We gave France important trade concessions in the international commerce between our two nations to further assist them.

Despite all of this, De Gaulle continually flirted with the Communists. He not only failed to support our effort in Vietnam—he consistently condemned it. He visited a number of Communist nations and hailed their governments. He deliberately kept England out of the Common Market. He openly did his best to try to destroy the gold backing of the American dollar and to devalue the British pound and the German mark.

He effected the withdrawal of France from NATO, and insisted on the prompt removal of American troops from France and the location of NATO headquarters outside France, necessitating the expenditure of millions of American dollars to build a new headquarters in Brussels.

I respect De Gaulle for his contributions during and after World II, but I cannot conscientiously now express regret at his defeat. In my opinion, America has lost no friend by this action.

GAMBLING WITH THE SECURITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, at this time when there appear to be persons who are influenced by outside forces or otherwise opposing this Nation defending itself and assisting in the defense of the free world through military preparation, the edi-

torial of David Lawrence in the May 12 issue of U.S. News & World Report is most pertinent, and I am inserting it in the RECORD.

At the same time, Mr. Speaker, I insert a recent column of James Kilpatrick. These two fine articles certainly provide food for thought.

They are as follows:

[From U.S. News & World Report, May 12, 1969]

GAMBLING WITH THE SECURITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

(By David Lawrence)

One of the most discouraging developments observed in current history is the opposition being manifested today against the President's plan to strengthen our anti-ballistic-missile system and protect the United States against nuclear attack.

Individual members of the Senate—a few in each party—have been making speeches denouncing the project and giving the impression that the money would be wasted. To support their arguments, they have lined up a number of scientists. But such dialogues occurred when the hydrogen bomb was first under consideration and, despite differences of opinion at that time, the United States has since achieved a superiority in atomic power.

Why do politicians gamble with the security of their country? Do they think that criticism of the military establishment somehow classifies them as champions of peace and thereby wins votes?

It is time to present the case for safety—for the protection of our people, so many millions of whom could be wiped out by a single nuclear blast.

Who for a moment believes that any President of the United States or his Cabinet would venture to come forth with a defense program that was not intended to be in the best interest of the entire nation? How do the critics justify their theories that Russia will not take adavntage of America's delays and procrastination and outdo us in the field of weaponry?

In forming a judgment on the problem of how to meet attempts of the Soviets to build up not only their nuclear force but the potentiality of "nuclear blackmail," a member of Congress who speaks out on the subject should realize that a vast amount of inside information is collected by our Government concerning the secret activities of the Moscow regime. If the President of the United States says an anti-ballistic-missile system is necessary as a "safeguard," the critics in Congress should take his word for it.

Looking at the world situation today, it is not possible to brush aside Soviet military power as no real menace. Nor is it sensible to dismiss Soviet intrigue and subversion as a "myth."

We are at this very moment faced with hostile attitudes in both hemispheres. The Soviets have virtually taken possession of Cuba and have bases there to which missiles can be shipped secretly in violation of the agreement reached in 1962 to remove such equipment. Throughout Latin America, moreover, as well as in Africa, the Soviet apparatus of infiltration is at work.

What is the purpose of all this? The answer is that the Communists are ambitious to acquire control of many small countries as a means of harassing the United States and its allies.

Both the Soviet Union and Red China have spent billions aiding the North Vietnamese.

We helped to create the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, but the Communists have persisted in their acts of aggression, so that today Australia, the Philippines and other smaller countries cannot by themselves assure their own security.

We have in Europe an even greater menace. The Soviet Union has shown clearly that it regards the countries of Eastern Europe as an integral part of the Communist empire. Their sovereignty has been violated.

The safety of the nations of Western Europe is being threatened. What more natural piece of strategy for the Soviet Government to adopt than to bring on critical situations in Europe so as to keep America's military strength dispersed?

The critics may be sincere, but they have over-simplified world problems and mistakenly assumed that the militaristic regimes of our Communist adversaries soon will make agreements for arms limitation. The truth is that there will be no peace in the world until such autocratic governments as exist today in Moscow and Peking are overthrown by their peoples. We could trust the Russian people. We could trust the Chinese people. But they themselves are at present prisoners of totalitarian rulers.

The Defense Department is confronted with a grave obligation—to assure the nation's ability to deter or intercept an enemy attack.

Out of a budget of $193 billion for the next fiscal year, we certainly can afford to spend for the anti-ballistic-missile program proposed by the President the sum of $800 million, approximately $450 million of which would go for research and development. This is a relatively small amount to appropriate in order to help avoid the risk of a holocaust in which millions of our people are destroyed in a few minutes.

The United States should take no chances and must protect itself against potential aggressors. Members of Congress have a duty and a responsibility not to gamble with the security of the American people.

THE ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE ARGUMENT

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

In the unfolding debate over proceeding with an anti-ballistic missile system, the arguments against President Nixon's proposal fall into four main groups.

Some of the objections are scientific: The things won't work when the button is pressed. Other objections are financial: In terms of cost-effectiveness, even the modified plan is too costly. Still other arguments arise from political considerations: An American ABM system will escalate the arms race and present a new threat to the Soviet Union. Finally, one hears a tactical-strategic case: By the time our ABM's could be made operational, even if they worked to perfection, changes in the technology of weaponry, will have made the missiles obsolete.

On careful examination, each of these arguments falls apart. The scientific objections, for example, are essentially an echo of the old argument against a hydrogen bomb; but the bomb worked. The problems of mounting an ABM system are fearfully complex, to be sure, but so were the problems of developing a moon-shot. If there can be no iron-clad guarantee of successful design, in the absence of an actual test, the guarantees are reasonably solid.

The financial arguments are the least impressive. President Nixon's recommendation is for an $800 million investment, but more than half of this—roughly $450 million—is for research and development. Virtually all the opponents have conceded the necessity for continuing research. The fight on budgetary grounds thus boils down to $350 million only. In terms of national security, this is peanuts.

Perhaps the loudest complaint is that by going ahead with an anti-ballistic missile system, the United States in some fashion will escalate the arms race with the Soviet Union. This is nonsense. In its "Washington Report" for April 21, the prestigious American Security Council provides stunning documentation—from Soviet sources themselves—of the Soviet Union's own anti-missile defenses. It is not necessary, in this regard, to make guesses of future strength. "The fact remains," says the council, "they have ABM forces in being and we do not."

The tactical-strategic arguments are highly speculative. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the President and his advisers have had to act upon the intelligence available now. By every indication, the Kremlin is proceeding steadily with deployment of its fantastic SS-9 missiles. These terrifying weapons, carrying 20 to 25-megaton warheads, are much larger than our own intercontinental ballistic missiles. They represent the threat that must be countered now—and by "now," we are talking of 1973, when the first minimal phase of the proposed Safeguard system is complete.

In the end, or so it seems to me, none of the familiar, rational arguments can prevail. What the opponents really are saying, out of their hearts and not their heads, is simply that war is hell. The disenchantment with Vietnam, the horrors of atomic conflict, the awful imaginings of whole continents aflame—these essentially emotional reactions have clouded the reasoning mind. It is Hamlet's pale cast of thought. Some of the Senate's ablest men are suffering from the hangup.

Of course war is hell. If we lived in a perfect world, all nations would beat their swords into plowshares. We would defuse our missiles, scrap our bombers, and dump every weapon in the depths of the seas. But Presidents—and Senators—have an obligation to deal with hell as it is, and not with heaven as it might be.

The President's recommendations for an anti-ballistic missile system are the very least that he could make, in good conscience, as commander-in-chief, charged with keeping our nation secure. The most telling criticism, in truth, is not that Mr. Nixon is proposing too much, but that he is proposing too little. In any event, the President has looked at realities; he has not closed his eyes. No one can ask more than this of a troubled Congress; but the country cannot settle for less than this, either.

FIRST AMERICAN COLLEGE THEATER FESTIVAL BEING HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 10 AND 11, 1969

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate the Pennsylvania State University, Department of Theater Arts.

The department will present "The Miser," by Moliere, on May 10 and 11, 1969, during the first American College Theater Festival, which is being held in Washington, D.C.

One hundred and seventy-six colleges across the Nation entered the competition and from these, 32 were recommended for performances in Washington. Penn State was chosen as representative of one of the 10 of the Nation's finest selected to perform in Washington.

The Smithsonian Institution is managing the Washington productions and providing the two theaters for the festival's use. The Penn State group will perform at the Mall Theater across from the Smithsonian.

This difficult and technically challeng-

ing comedy is a hilarious farce of 17th century France, which tells the story of a miser and how his stinginess brought great sorrow to his daughter and son and their lovers, but how they were able to reverse the situation and have his stinginess working for them, due to a surprising turn of events. The play is filled with both humor and satire which was typical of plays of this period and the plot is exciting and fast moving.

I would like to commend Richard Edelman, director and his fine cast and assistants on this outstanding achievement.

His cast and assistants are as follows:

Elise, Carolyn Porter Beck; Valere, Herbert H. O'Dell; Cleante, Robin Hirsch; Harpagon, Paul Villani; La Fleche, Gary Perdue; Master Simon, Alan Lindgren; Frosine, Karen Shallo; Master Jacques, Christopher Murney; Dame Claude, Gail L. Kellstrom; La Merluche, G. C. Hines; Brindavoine, John Prettyman; Mariane, Mary Ann Lippay; Claudette, Sharon Lee Bergeron; Officer, Richard J. Sacks; Officer's Clerk, Robin Breon; Anselme, Alan Lindgren; setting by Anne Gibson; costumes by A. E. Kohout; lighting by Charles Firmin; technical direction by Terry Wells; and music by Lewis Spratlan.

Three members of the cast participated in the Theater Communications Group annual audition, wherein participants, selected by their universities, auditioned for producers of major theatrical companies throughout the Nation. Christopher Murney, who plays Master Jacques, won first place, and Paul Villani, who plays Harpagon, won second place. Both have received over 15 offers from different companies, including the Stratford Shakespearean Theater in Canada and the Tyrone Guthrie Theater. Also placing was Gail Kellstrom, who plays Dame Claude, who came in fifth. This is an exceptional achievement.

The Pennsylvania State University has been for many years one of the finest institutions of higher learning in the Nation. Graduates of this school have risen to great heights in almost every walk of life.

I am joined by Senators SCHWEIKER and SCOTT and all Pennsylvanians in applauding an excellent performance produced by a fine university.

AFRO-AMERICANS ARE NOT UNIQUE

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF LOUISIANA

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Fazzio family is one of the oldest and most respected Italian-American families in the city of New Orleans.

Its members have been leaders in the community and only recently the citizens of the area paid tribute to Mr. Dom Fazzio for his contributions over a period of 30 years in providing recreational and physical fitness facilities to the youth of the area.

I have received a letter from Mr. Fazzio's son which speaks for itself and expresses so poignantly the feelings and intermost thoughts, not only of himself, but of those who would say the same thing if they were as articulate as Mr. John Fazzio so obviously is.

In this day and age when the plight of ethnic and minority groups are brought to our attention, we have overemphasized that of the Afro-Americans who find themselves in equally dire or worse circumstances.

The problems of an ethnic or minority group is not individual to one offspring of a mother country. However, let Mr. John Fazzio, an Italian-American, loyal to America, tell hows he feels in his own words, and I must say it is with his permission I share his thoughts with you:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *April 30, 1969.*

Hon. F. EDWARD HÉBERT,
Congressman, from Louisiana,
New Orleans, La.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HÉBERT: I urgently request your aid and assistance toward obtaining a partial Federal grant so that my daughter might attend and complete her college education. My request is based on need and discrimination.

Although I am a small businessman, the Internal Revenue Service could easily furnish you with records of my income tax returns and these will certainly bear out my financial need. So, I need only explain the discrimination part of my petition to you.

I am of pure Italian descent. I believe that Italians were one of the first invaders of this great country via Columbus, so certainly my race has been in the United States longer than any other race. I know not about the treatment of Italians in the early 1500s since Italian history is not taught in the school system, nor am I advocating that it be taught. But, I do know from personal experience of the discrimination that I and many other Italians have endured for the 40 short years of my life. In fact, I can truthfully say that I have been called a "Dago Bast..." more often than the average negro is called a "Nigger". I also remember hearing people refer to my father and others as a "Dago" and that "he belongs in the French Market with the rest of the rats". Of course, you are familiar with the French Market area which, before the recent hippie invasion was more famous as an "Italian ghetto".

And, via radio, newspaper, TV and movies, my race has become famous as the originators of "crime". I still am referred to as a member of the "family", "Mafia", "Black Hand", etc.

Now, as to basic facts: As an Italian I could not belong to some of our exclusive carnival clubs (not that I want to), and I remember that my sister was refused entry into a sorority because of her race. I believe that there are many instances where the Italian people have been discriminated against but it would take too long to list them all.

I ask you, are there any Italians on the Supreme Court? How many? How many high public office holders are Italian? Yet, the Italians comprise a great segment of our population. Of course, things are better today than they were 30 years ago and it took no laws, no Federal judges, no troops, no subversive organizations to accomplish this. We Italians simply try, and are succeeding, to show the rest of the population that we are as good as anyone else.

But, to be honest, there is a negative side to my discrimination petition. Unfortunately, I still carry my draft card . . . I have not organized any protest. In 1945, I did organize the first "St. Joseph Day" parade and celebration at Loyola University, but it was dignified and peaceful. I have never collected unemployment insurance or welfare and I do pay city, state and national taxes. In fact, my taxes support three school systems in New Orleans, while I strain to also pay tuition for my children at Catholic schools.

I am writing you because I have seen how easy it is for my Negro brothers to receive help from the Federal government as a minority race, I want the same treatment. My daughter is willing to work at college for her education, and the school itself is willing to give her a partial grant, but I need your help, the Federal government's help, to complete the cycle. So far all I have gone through is six months of red tape.

Can you help me?

Sincerely,

JOHN EDW. FAZZIO.

P.S.—My daughter's name is Janice E. Fazzio. She is applying for college at Our Lady of the Lake in San Antonio, Texas

THE PEACE CORPS

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I am very disturbed by President Nixon's recent decision to cut the Peace Corps budget by $8.7 million. I believe this is a foolish mistake.

The Peace Corps is probably one of the most successful programs we have developed to give our young people hope for the future and a constructive means of helping to solve some of the world's age-old problems of hunger, ignorance, sickness, and poverty. At the same time, the Peace Corps has contributed significantly to the efforts of countries around the world to raise their living standards and join the community of nations in entering the 21st century.

It is a shame to exclude these idealistic, committed, and concerned young people who want very much to work within our system of government and laws. This is one program which has proven so successful around the world and in which young people have done much to change the image of our country abroad.

I strongly urge President Nixon to reconsider this ill-timed and ill-advised decision which will save less than $9 million in a $193 billion budget but which could increase the frustration of these young people who want so desperately to contribute to society in a meaningful and significant way. If the President is really serious about trimming the budget, I suggest he take another look at our military and defense spending, which accounts for nearly half of the budget, and not the Peace Corps, which accounts for less than one-tenth of one-tenth of 1 percent of our budget.

IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE V OF THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on April 30 the Washington Evening Star

published an editorial drawing attention to the provisions of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty which require that the nuclear "haves" insure to the "have nots" the opportunity to share the benefits of peaceful uses of nuclear explosions. The editorial is a timely reminder that the obligations of the Congress and the executive branch did not cease when the Senate advised and consented to the treaty; there are certain obligations which devolve upon this country by virtue of our position as a "have" nation relative to atomic energy, and additional legislative action will be necessary to render the assistance to "have not" nations required by the treaty. The editorial also notes that the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty may have an inhibiting effect on the carrying out of the NPT's full atoms-for-peace potential.

I enter this editorial into the RECORD, and wish to add that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will commence hearings on May 8 on proposed legislation designed to establish a legal framework for implementation of the provisions of article V of the Nonproliferation Treaty. The Joint Committee plans 2 days of hearings at this time to receive testimony and statements of interested Government agencies. It is anticipated that further hearings will be held in the near future to receive the comments of industry and the general public. I enter into the RECORD at this point the press release of the Joint Committee of April 30 announcing hearings on this legislation:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 30, 1969]

TEST BAN VERSUS NPT

The recent Soviet-American technical talks in Vienna involved an encouraging exchange of views bearing upon ways and means of providing non-nuclear nations with nuclear aid for peaceful enterprises.

This is in keeping with one of the key provisions of the non-proliferation treaty. The provision (Article V) obligates the nuclear signatories to give such aid to insure that the non-nuclear powers will not be left behind in the atoms-for-peace field, economically or otherwise, if they become parties to the treaty. The possible projects in the field are many and varied. They include the use of atomic explosions for getting at natural resources now out of man's reach, creating great new harbors around the world and blasting out of land and sea another Panama Canal, but bigger and better.

Both the Russians and Americans at Vienna took a generally optimistic view of the outlook for progress along these lines. Thus, in their joint statement concluding the talks, they declared that "underground nuclear explosions may be successfully used in the not so far off future to stimulate oil and gas production and to create underground cavities." Further, "It may be technically feasible to use them in earth-moving work for the construction of water reservoirs in arid areas, to dig canals and in removing the upper earth layer in surface mining, etc."

But a reservation is in order. Ironically, while the non-proliferation treaty specifically encourages such projects, the nuclear test-ban treaty prohibits any atomic explosion that would release any degree of radioactivity—no matter how minor or harmless—into the international atmosphere. Hence, although our country has developed many explosive designs and emplacement techniques that can make fallout relatively inconsequential, the test ban, unless amended, may have an inhibiting effect on the NPT's atoms-for-peace potential.

This is a matter that should be weighed very carefully at the additional technical discussions expected to be held in Vienna. The test ban's restriction on nonmilitary explosions seems shortsighted on its face, and in need of modification.

[From the Office of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Apr. 30, 1969]

TENTATIVE DATES ANNOUNCED FOR JOINT COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON PLOWSHARE SERVICES LEGISLATION (H.R. 477 AND S. 1885)

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy announced today that it has tentatively scheduled May 8–9, 1969 as the dates for public hearings on identical bills (H.R. 477 and S. 1885) now pending before the Committee which would amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to authorize the Atomic Energy Commission to make peaceful nuclear explosion services available to domestic and foreign users for practical applications. The hearings will be held in the Joint Committee's public hearing room (H–403) in the U.S. Capitol.

Tentative plans call for morning and afternoon sessions on May 8 at 10:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m., and a morning session beginning at 10:00 a.m. on May 9. Among the Federal agencies and departments expected to be represented at these hearings or to file reports for the hearing record are the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of the Interior (Bureau of Mines), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Public Health Service), the Department of the Army (Corps of Engineers), the Department of State, and the Federal Power Commission. A list of the dates and approximate times of appearance of representatives of these agencies will be released in the near future.

In announcing these hearings the Joint Committee released the text of a letter to the Atomic Energy Commission dated January 6, 1969 in which the Committee listed a number of questions and topics on which the AEC was requested to be prepared to testify when additional hearings on H.R. 477 and S. 1885 were scheduled. The letter is attached.

Representative Chet Holifield, Chairman of the Joint Committee, said that the first set of hearings on these bills will be limited to representatives of the various Federal agencies and departments interested in or affected by the proposed legislation. Chairman Holifield said that the Committee would consider the scheduling of addition hearings at a later date if representatives of the general public or of interested private industry desire to testify on the proposed legislation. In this connection, Representative Holifield said that persons desiring to present oral testimony on these measures in any subsequent hearings should submit their request to do so not later than May 16, 1969. In order to be considered by the Committee, each request to testify must be accompanied by a summary outline of the prepared statement proposed for oral presentation before the Committee. After due consideration of any such requests, those selected to present oral testimony will be notified in advance of their scheduled appearances. In any event, written statements proposed for inclusion in the record of the hearings in lieu of oral presentation will be accepted by the Committee for a period of three weeks after the close of the May 8–9 hearings.

H.R. 477 was introduced on January 3, 1969 by Representative Craig Hosmer, for himself and Representatives Holifield, Price of Illinois, Aspinall, Young, Bates, Anderson of Illinois, and McCulloch. On April 21, 1969 Representative Edmondson also announced his sponsorship of this bill (see H.R. 10288). A companion measure, S. 1885, was introduced in the Senate on April 18, 1969, by Senator Pastore, for himself and Senators Anderson and Bennett. Both bills are identical to measures introduced in the second session of the 90th Congress on which hearings were held on July 19, 1968 but on which no final action was taken in the 90th Congress. The record of these earlier hearings was released during the 90th Congress under the title "Commercial Plowshare Services."

For further information in connection with these hearings interested persons should contact William T. England, Staff Counsel, or John B. Radcliffe, Technical Advisor, of the staff of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, U.S. Capital, Washington, D.C. 20510.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY,
Washington, D.C., January 6, 1969.

Hon. GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. SEABORG: The Joint Committee will probably wish to hold additional hearings in the next Congress on proposed legislation to authorize the Commission to provide commercial peaceful nuclear explosion services. When these hearings are convened, it would be appreciated if the Commission would be prepared to provide additional information concerning the questions and topics set forth in the attachment hereto.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD J. BAUSER,
Executive Director.

Attachment: List of questions:

1. The Committee recognizes that whatever framework and procedures are established by the Commission to review and approve or deny applications for commercial Plowshare services must be sufficiently flexible and efficient as to avoid unnecessary procedural delays and governmental redtape in this new field. At the same time, as this program emerges from the research and development phase to a commercial phase it may well be that a more formalized procedure for the review of such applications from the standpoint of public health and safety and common defense and security will be necessary if public confidence in the Commission is to be maintained at its present high level.

With this in mind, the Committee would appreciate learning in general terms what procedures the Commission plans to establish and follow for the review and approval or denial of applications for commercial Plowshare services. More particularly, the Committee would appreciate receiving the Commission's views on the following questions: With respect to applications for domestic nuclear explosion services, will official public notice of the filing of such applications and the salient facts involved be given by the Commission prior to Commission action thereon? Will an opportunity for a public hearing concerning any such proposal be provided for persons whose interests may be affected by the application? If so, would such hearing be held before or after the Commission has taken initial action in granting or denying the application? In connection with each application, will the Commission require that a safety analysis report somewhat akin to that whihc accompanies reactor license applications be prepared and made available to the public?

2. Can the Commission provide some general insight respecting its views as to the proper relationship between those wthin the Commission with responsibility for reviewing and approving or denying, from a public health and safety standpoint, applications for commercial Plowshare services, and those responsible for the development and management of the Plowshare program? What technical disciplines are required for each

such role? Which group would have responsibility for passing upon non-safety related matters—for example, the technical feasibility of a proposed project?

3. With respect to Price-Anderson indemnification coverage of domestic commercial Plowshare explosions, will such protection be extended directly to users of these services or will the Commission rely on the "umbrella" feature of the indemnity coverage accorded to AEC cost contractors employed in connection with the rendition of such services to indirectly protect users against public liability? In any event, assuming the availability of private insurance at reasonable rates to cover potential liability for damages caused by a domestic peaceful nuclear explosion, will users be required to either obtain such insurance as underlying financial protection or to themselves furnish self-insurance in an equivalent amount? Has the insurance industry completed its review of whether, and, if so, to what extent, private insurance companies will be able to provide liability insurance coverage for peaceful nuclear explosions?

4. The Commission has testified that under existing legislative authority it could enter into indemnity agreements with contractors performing peaceful nuclear explosion services abroad on behalf of the AEC, whereby indemnification for public liability arising from nuclear incidents occurring in foreign countries could be made available up to $100 million. Please describe in general terms the policy to be followed by the Commission with respect to including in its charges for commercial peaceful nuclear explosive services conducted abroad a fee reflecting the fair value of any indemnification protection against public liability afforded by the Commission. Has the Commission given any consideration to the feasibility and desirability of formulating an international convention or comparable multilateral arrangements which might establish standards of liability and protection on an international basis?

5. Please be prepared to summarize for the Committee on the record the Commission's latest findings relative to the AEC's continuing studies of the safety aspects of peaceful underground nuclear explosions. The Committee would also appreciate receiving a report on the possible influence, if any, of contemplated peaceful underground nuclear explosions on natural seismicity.

6. It would appear that the present methods of operation used in connection with the planning, approval, emplacement, actual conduct, etc. of Plowshare experiments were largely developed for and borrowed from the weapons program. What steps are being or will be taken to assure that these operational procedures are appropriately modified and simplified to meet the needs of a commercial Plowshare program? Please include in this discussion a description of the measures the Commission is taking or plans to take to achieve an appropriate division of responsibility between Government and industry in this area.

7. What steps does the Commission believe can be taken to eliminate or reduce any existing barriers to communication between the respective parties involved in or affected by Plowshare activities? More specifically, what measures can be taken (a) to obtain earlier declassification and dissemination of pertinent information and reports needed by industry, and (b) to assure better public understanding of the nature of Plowshare activities, especially in the area of public safety?

8. What are the plans for establishing regulatory levels for radioactivities in products to be entered into commerce? For example, what are the plans for establishing allowable levels of Kr-85 and Tritium introduced in natural gas either by nuclear explosive stimulation or by storage of such gas in nuclear produced chambers? When would the Commission expect such regulatory guides to be promulgated? Similarly, we understand that recovery of copper from certain low grade deposits may be a promising application, but that Ru-106 may be a problem. Has consideration been given to establishing a guideline for this isotope in copper?

9. The establishment of regulatory levels of radioactive isotopes in commercial products may be necessary if industry is to make detailed economic assessment of any application. What plans have been made for the release of information on the content of radioisotopes in products produced under the Plowshare program?

10. What plans are being made to provide a schedule of charges for each class of explosion services?

11. Congressman Hosmer's letter to the President of December 27, 1968 discusses the desirability and feasibility of cooperation between the U.S. and Australia on a project to construct a harbor with nuclear explosives. Would the Commission attempt to accomplish such a project under the terms of the existing Limited Test Ban Treaty, or by seeking an amendment to the treaty? Please explain the considerations involved.

THE POLISH CONSTITUTION OF 1791—A HUMANE AND HISTORIC DOCUMENT

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 1, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to have this opportunity to take a few moments to mark the anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791.

This historic event in the life of a great people marked the transformation of Poland into a modern state. Unlike so many constitutions which have been imposed by autocratic authority, the Constitution of 1791 was the glorious fruit of 3 years of diligent work by a group of patriotic and able members of the Polish Diet. This group drafted a liberal and progressive instrument which was adopted by the Diet on May 3, 1791, transforming Poland into a constitutional monarchy at a time when much of Europe and the world bowed to political absolutism.

Unfortunately, the freedom promised by this remarkable Constitution was lost to the Polish people as geography and history have combined many times to take away the freedom of this valiant people. The hand of tyranny is once again upon Poland but the spirit of freedom which inspired the Constitution of 1791 is very much alive among the Polish people.

The May 3 observance reminds us of the plight of the Polish nation while, at the same time, emphasizing the undying spirit of freedom which, I am confident, will once again bring the rebirth of the true national spirit—the spirit of freedom—of the Polish people. I am pleased to join in this observance and in the deep-felt wish of all freedom-loving peoples that the day of deliverance for Poland may soon come.

WE ARE ASKING FOR MEDIOCRITY AND TYRANNY

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, our country practically is being torn asunder by racial disorders, student revolts, and other manifestations of discord. This situation troubles me deeply. It also concerns most of the people of our country.

One of those concerned people is Don Olson, editor of the Marshall Messenger in my Minnesota Sixth Congressional District.

I commend to my colleagues, for their serious consideration, the following editorial written and published by Mr. Olson in his first place for editorial excellence award winning Marshall Messenger:

WE ARE ASKING FOR MEDIOCRITY AND TYRANNY

(By Don Olson)

If real progress had been made in the field of human relations during the past decade we would, right now, be caring less what color a man's skin is and from what area his ancestors came. But instead of that attitude, we are developing in this country an almost consuming preoccupation with ethnic considerations.

Last week black leaders in the Twin Cities suggested that blacks and Indians be included on the University of Minnesota Board of Regents solely because of ethnic representation on the board. Perhaps a Negro should be on the board. Perhaps the regents should have an Indian serving with them.

But this would be only because they are qualified for the position, not because of the color of their skin.

In a society that claims to have representative government, people should be represented, but not necessarily along ethnic lines. A good many blacks and Mexican-Americans feel that had Robert Kennedy lived, he would have been the greatest representative they could have had. And they probably are correct.

The danger in weighting representation on boards and councils and government agencies along ethnic lines is that it can create a terrible mediocrity. We doubt that the United States would be poised right now, ready to land men on the moon if somebody had said 10 years ago:

"Every third man on the space program must be black, every 10th person must be Indian, every 23rd person must be Jewish."

If numbers of blacks were limited in the field of sports according to their percentage of population in the country, the quality of American athletics would drop drastically. If Jews were limited in the entertainment industry according to percentages of population, the quality of American entertainment would drop likewise.

The field of education is the same. The faculty at Southwest State College obviously is not representative of this community and neither is the State College Board. And we should be grateful rather than bothered that this is true.

But in addition to encouraging a system of entrenched mediocrity, weighting representation according to ethnic considerations would do something even worse. It would create a situation in which progress in human relations would be almost impossible.

The person who gains a position for ethnic reasons automatically is told that he repre-

sents his people against the rest. The result would be majority rule, but it would be a most tyrannical form of rule.

The test in choosing leaders must be, "Who can do the job best?" If the result of this is good representation along ethnic lines, wonderful. Better still would be a situation where such concerns didn't even exist.

NEWSLETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, because of the many requests I receive from other Members and interested citizens concerning my report to the people of the Fifth District of Georgia, I insert in the RECORD the full text of my newsletter and questionnaire so that those interested in seeing it may have the opportunity to do so:

FROM U.S. CONGRESS: FLETCHER THOMPSON REPORTS TO YOU

DEAR FRIEND: *No politics involved:* Selecting nominees for our nation's service academies strictly on a competitive basis is again paying off . . . five of our 1969 nominees have already been accepted by the academies: *James L. Ewing IV,* North Springs, by Annapolis; *Michael B. Gaines* of Marist, first Negro nominated and accepted by West Point from Georgia in the 20th Century; *Fred Pruitt, Jr.,* North Fulton, by the Air Force; *Stephen L. Maddox* of Walter F. George, by West Point; and *Jefferey Ben Kohler* of Dykes, by the Air Force. Two others were rated qualified and we're searching for vacancies for them. If your son's interested in the next class (1970), have him contact us . . . he can earn an appointment based on his ability and not on political pull.

Safeguarding America: Safeguard, our counterpart to the Russian ABM, is designed to protect America from Russian and Chinese nuclear missiles. Opposed to Safeguard, *Ted Kennedy is leading a bipartisan group in the Senate trying to prevent our installing this protection against nuclear missiles.*

Why are they opposed to protecting America with Safeguard? Some reasons given are:

1. *If we build the Safeguard system to protect America, it will make Russia mad and she will not talk to us about disarmament*—yet, Russia has already installed 67 ABM's to protect Moscow against our missiles and we are willing to talk on disarmament. *The truth is we should not care if Russia gets mad because we're protecting ourselves.* If a realistic disarmament treaty is to be negotiated, we can only negotiate from strength and not weakness.

2. *The Safeguard system will cost too much money and we should not spend so much money on the defense of America—to this I can only say, "Baloney!" The annual cost is less than what we are giving away in foreign aid each year.* We owe a duty to you to spend your tax dollars to protect you and your country more than a duty to give your tax dollars away in foreign aid . . . yet many Senators opposed to Safeguard regularly insist we increase foreign aid spending.

3. We don't know if Safeguard will work and we have not tested the type nuclear explosion needed in space—*the fact is, only Russia has. In 1961, Russia broke the informal test ban and exploded nuclear weapons in space which gave her test information we do not have about the ABM.* Following this, Russia asked us to enter into a formal treaty not to test. We agreed and signed a formal treaty not to test in the air as the Russians have done. She then proceeded to build her ABM system. *Russia must know ABMs will work or she would not be building ABMs as fast as she can.* Should we do any less to protect America?

4. If we install Safeguard to protect us, Russia will only build more missiles to take the place of those Safeguard would intercept and destroy. This means an escalation in the arms race—*maybe we will have an escalation, but if Russia and China are willing to spend the money to destroy America, we should be willing to spend money to protect America even if it is called escalation.*

Very interesting: One of the strongest foes to the Safeguard system is the Communist newspaper, the "Daily World" (formerly the "Daily Worker"). *In its March 18th editorial, this directive was given to all party members:* "It is urgent that every union and other people's organization renew its demand on Congress and the White House" that the Safeguard system "be abandoned."

Helping you get help: When you need emergency help, you should be able to get it by dialing a single number anywhere in the nation. *That will be possible if a bill I've introduced with more than 50 co-sponsors is passed to establish "911" as the national emergency telephone number.*

Don't mention God: In December of 1968 after objections from the American Civil Liberties Union to the Johnson Administration, the Army ordered its chaplains not to use the word God in lectures on moral values because it offended some people. When Nixon's Secretary of Defense, Mel Laird, learned the order had been issued during Johnson's term, he refused to bow to ACLU pressure, rescinded the order and told chaplains to make reference to God whenever and as often as they wanted to.

Keeping me informed: As your Congressman, I need to know your views on vital issues. Just as your support helps me to continue these reports, your opinions help me to continue to represent your views in Congress. Please fill out the questionnaire below (if you need more space, use the margins or an extra sheet of paper) and mail it to me at 514 Cannon Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

It is a high honor for me to serve you in Congress.

Yours very truly,

FLETCHER THOMPSON,
Member of Congress.

(Printing and paper paid for by myself and with the help of your donations sent in.)

Do you favor:

1. Establishing "911" as a uniform national emergency telephone number?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Undecided ☐

2. Abolishing the electoral college and electing the President by a direct vote of the people?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Undecided ☐

3. Nationwide application of Federal school guidelines, both North and South?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Undecided ☐

4. The neighborhood school concept whereby children attend the school closest to their homes?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Undecided ☐

5. President Nixon's proposal to reduce the surtax from 10 to 5 percent and eliminate it entirely 6 months later and to eliminate the 7-percent investment tax credit?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Undecided ☐

6. Cutting off all Federal aid to colleges that fail to act to end student disorders and riots?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Undecided ☐

7. Installing Safeguard missiles to protect America from foreign nuclear missile attack?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Undecided ☐

List the law you would most like to see passed by the Congress. _____

_____

_____

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ Zip _____

FED UP

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. C. W. McManamy, executive secretary of the Omaha (Nebr.) Livestock Exchange and an editorial writer for the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, has summarized the feelings of many Americans in his timely article which appeared in the April 28, 1969, issue of the Council Bluffs Nonpareil.

I would encourage my colleagues to read this perceptive editorial which concludes:

Let us put ourselves squarely on the side of those charged with enforcing our laws. Let us demand from every administrator, policymaker, and leader a fair but uncompromisingly stern, discipline, and enforcement.

Of course, it takes guts.

The editorial follows:

[From the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, Apr. 28, 1969]

THIS HAS GONE FAR ENOUGH: FED UP—READY TO STAND UP

(By C. W. McManamy)

I guess I'm getting old and cranky. I know for sure, that I'm getting fed up.

Fed up with swaggering, insolent, unkempt groups which violate every right of law abiding students by moving in to take over some part or all of the school they happen to be attending.

Fed up with pictures of bushy headed individuals carrying firearms and wearing guerrilla equipment as they emerge after relinquishing their occupation of school buildings.

Fed up with protest groups which have, up until this moment, made not one single constructive contribution to the society which nourishes them, but still proclaim their right to dictate to that society.

Fed up with groups which by their very demands on the school administrations illustrates their monstrous ignorance of real education needs but which would perpetuate that ignorance were their demands to be met.

I am at the same time fed up with flabby school administrations. Administrations which all too often, have nurtured and provided a fertile environment for socialistic beliefs and teachings. Administrations which

having permitted these seeds to be sown, find themselves unable, or unwilling, to cope with their "birds" as they come home to roost.

Fed up with school administrations, at all levels, which have long since forgotten the word discipline and refuse utterly to recognize its paramount importance in the proper conduct of any school.

I am fed up with a society so steeped in apathy that it stands willingly by and watches its foundations kicked to pieces by a minority of malcontents.

Fed up with a society which when it raises even a feeble voice, raises it to apologize for the antics of the anti-social clowns who cavort on the stage, provided by media adulation.

Fed up with a society which would seek flutteringly for ways to appease rather than aggressively for means to abrogate the Huns who would, had they their way, devastate every institution and ideal on which this nation has been built.

I am fed up with those who would make "rights" a trinket to be passed out indiscriminately regardless of the willingness of the recipient to accept the responsibilities which must be so much a part of any true right.

I am fed up with those who would achieve equality by lowering the standards of all to the lowest common denominator rather than undertake the arduous chore of raising the standards of some to a qualifying level.

Fed up with those who would, with lavish hand dispense to one and all, with reckless abandon, the cherished beliefs and possessions earned and won by many through hard work, sacrifice, and even their lives—once again this largess without thought to any worthiness on the part of the recipient.

I am fed up with those who equate compromise with appeasement. Compromise we must have. Appeasement leads but to further encroachment.

Compromise requires that both parties must have something of value to offer and at the same time must exercise a willingness for objectivity. Both are conspicuously absent among the so-called revolutionary elements today.

So I am fed up. So I suspect, are a great many of you.

I am so fed up I am ready to stand up. So, I would hope, are many of you.

Stand up and say "this has gone far enough."

Let us put ourselves squarely on the side of those charged with enforcing our laws. Let us demand from every administrator, policy maker and leader a fair but uncompromisingly stern discipline and enforcement.

SENATOR RANDOLPH SPEAKS AT OPENING OF SCHEDULED JET AIRLINE SERVICE

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago scheduled jet airline service was inaugurated between West Virginia's two largest cities and Washington and other major air terminals. This was a landmark event which came about only after numerous major difficulties were overcome. The new service will place both communities directly in the mainstream of future national air traffic patterns and economic development.

It was most fitting indeed that the keynote speaker on the occasion of inaugurating the new service was our distinguished senior West Virginia Senator, JENNINGS RANDOLPH. No other American has contributed more to the phenomenal growth of civil aviation than Senator RANDOLPH. For over 30 years he has provided vision supported by definite goals and practical programs to an industry which could not have grown without Government assistance. His views expressed on this special occasion merit attention as always, and with permission I will include the following text of his address, which I recommend to your attention:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH AT INAUGURATION OF JET SERVICE BY EASTERN AIRLINES, TRI-STATE AIRPORT, HUNTINGTON, W. VA., APRIL 27, 1969

As I relaxed in my seat aboard the plane this morning, I was able to look down and enjoy the beauty of our West Virginia hills, which are now taking on the colors of another lovely spring.

As I gazed downward, I could also reflect on the ease of the jet trip from Washington to Huntington. Making this flight was not always so easy. In fact, until this morning it was never so easy.

Our mountains must have seemed an impenetrable barrier to the first men who faced them from the gentle slopes of the Piedmont area along the Atlantic seaboard. They had only their own legs and their horses to take them across hundreds of miles of rugged, uncharted lands.

Fortunately for all of us, transportation has changed immensely since those early days, and a journey to the banks of the Ohio River that once took weeks is now measured in minutes. When viewed in this total context, the improvements made in transportation in the past 200 years are truly miraculous. I never cease to marvel at, to be thankful for, and to enjoy the speed and efficiency with which we can move about the earth today.

Along the journey over the years from footpower to jet power there have been many milestones. We are observing another transportation milestone today, one that is of enormous importance to the Tri-State area.

The inauguration of jet service to Tri-State Airport by Eastern Airlines is the latest in a continuing series of milestones that began late in 1952. It was my privilege then to speak at the dedication of this fine airport and to have participated in other notable events in its history over the years which have intervened.

Until very recently we could not have predicted the nature of the extraordinary events that have taken place in aviation.

I have always been optimistic about the future of aviation. Even as far back as 1938, when I was one of the sponsors of the original Civil Aviation Act, I was confident that the future of commercial aviation was bright with promise of better things for all Americans.

But it has turned out, I, like so many other aviation optimists, underestimated in my predictions. Aviation in this country has outstripped anything foreseen for it in the past. And there is no indication that aviation won't continue to bedazzle us with its advances and growth.

Tri-State Airport has shared in aviation's growth and has provided airline service to increasing numbers of persons. In 1953, Tri-State's first full year of operation, 32,240 passengers were accommodated here. By last year, this number had grown to 163,126 people, either arriving or boarding planes.

There are other indicators of the value of this airport, too. The volume of air freight handled here is now nearly 15 times what it was that first year and amounts to almost 1.5 million pounds a year.

And I can see no reason why this increased usage of the airport won't continue as the services offered keep abreast of the demands of the traveling public and the air freight forwarders. That this will take place is evident today as we see and participate in the beginning of the jet age at Tri-State Airport.

While use of the airport has grown in the 16 years it has been in operation, the community has continued to invest in this valuable facility to keep it up to date. This investment now totals five and a half million dollars, making the airport area a much different looking and vastly more useful facility than it was in 1952. Now, for instance, you have a splendid terminal building capable of accommodating many passengers with comfort and efficiency.

And it was only six months ago that I participated in the dedication of new service and safety facilities here.

The entire community can be justifiably proud of Tri-State Airport, but I would caution you not to rest on your laurels.

The very event we observe today can also act as a warning that the development of this airport is not completed. The fact that jet aircraft will operate here under moderate restrictions should be encouragement for further upgrading of Tri-State Airport, whether permanently or on an interim basis.

Planning already is underway to lengthen the runway, an action that would reduce or eliminate these restrictions, thus resulting in even better and more reliable airline service. I urge you to proceed, turning planning into action as soon as local and Federal financing will permit.

We have to be realistic about the airport situation in our nation today. The need for new facilities is far greater than the resources for providing them. I have said before that no significant progress can be made to alleviate the national airport crisis until a totally new approach to Federal participation in airport construction is adopted. Only when means and methods are found and authorized to generate the massive amounts of money needed can we begin to meet effectively the accumulating needs.

This holds as true for West Virginia as for the country as a whole, even though airport requirements may vary from city to city and state to state. Therefore, it makes good sense for the Tri-State areas to continue developing its airport. This is the only airport you will have for several years regardless of what may happen in the future when, hopefully, we will have resolved the questions and uncertainties that now surround the financing of construction of new airports.

The inauguration of Eastern Airlines' new service at Tri-State means not only that this important part of the region now has access to commercial jets. It also means that within the past six months airports serving West Virginia's two largest cities have entered the jet age. And these two airports handle a large majority of the state's airline passengers.

I am pleased to see the arrival of the world's fastest mode of public transportation in the Tri-State area. It is at the same time a tribute to the citizens who provide and benefit from the facilities and the beginning of a new era of travel for this region.

CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS DEFENDS THE DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, in 1965 Congress wisely determined that a priceless natural resource at the south end of Lake Michigan should be preserved for the en-

joyment of future generations. The establishment of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore was the result of that determination. Recently there has been talk of attempting to undermine Congress' earlier decision on the Indiana Dunes by reducing the area within which the National Park Service would be authorized to acquire land for the future park. Thankfully there are Members of this body who are alert to repulse such attempts. In a recent editorial the South Bend Tribune took note of Congressman JOHN BRADEMAS' efforts in this regard. It is my pleasure to insert the editorial which describes those efforts at this point in the RECORD. Congressman BRADEMAS obviously realizes that it will take constant vigilance and effort to finally implement the decision for the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore that Congress intended—a park for all the people.

The editorial referred to follows:

TO THE BARRICADES

It is a pity that the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore project should be swept up again in the waves of controversy.

But it has. Rep. Earl F. Landgrebe, R-Valparaiso, would drastically reduce the size authorized by Congress when it passed the compromise Dunes park bill. Unless his move to sabotage the project is beaten back, the eventual development of the park along the lines heretofore agreed upon will be in grave trouble if not laid to rest permanently.

Rep. John Brademas, D-South Bend, has rushed to the barricades in defense of the project.

Developments of a wide variety, he notes, ranging from a discussed new highway and airport, industrial expansion and rising costs of land loom as suffocating threats to the project.

Mr. Brademas gave his views in urging the House Interior Appropriations subcommittee to approve a National Park Service request for $10 million to get on with land acquisition and development of the property.

The request is relatively modest, considering the fact that the total budget for the park was set at $27 million, only $8.5 million has been appropriated and the $10 million sought would be spread over fiscal 1970 and 1971, half each year.

Mr. Brademas came directly to the point of the need for the park on the scale envisioned by Congress when he said that the urban complex stretching along Lake Michigan "is a perfect example of a megalopolis in desperate need of recreational facilities."

There has been one bright development. The Chicago South Shore and South Bend Railroad has withdrawn its request to the Park Service for 26 acres included in the lakeshore. The carrier will build its marshalling yards outside of land intended for the park.

The South Shore is to be complimented for its co-operation.

Meanwhile, we hope that Mr. Brademas will find allies in the Indiana delegation and elsewhere in his battle to see that park development is carried out in conformity to the lines spelled out by Congress when it authorized the project.

WORLD SYMPOSIUM HONORING DR. WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, next year a World Symposium on the Great Frontier will be held in Texas to commemorate the works and dreams of the late Dr. Walter Prescott Webb.

The University of Texas was the academic and geographical hub for Dr. Webb. He came to Austin as a freshman and began teaching there in 1918—but his world was larger than the 40 acres he loved. Actually, Dr. Webb belonged to the West and to all that this last frontier has meant to the United States. Even this broad expanse is too confining for a man of his stature. Dr. Webb's teachings and writings carried him throughout the world.

In recognition of his work and the impact it will have on our future, the Friends of Walter Prescott Webb has been formed. Meeting at Friday Mountain Ranch earlier this year, the Friends set forth some creditable priorities: to sponsor and establish a professorship or chair honoring Dr. Webb at the University of Texas; strengthening and expanding the Hinds-Webb student loan fund at the University of Texas; encouraging and emphasizing an intense development of the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures at the University of Texas at Arlington, particularly relating to Webb's personal contribution to the field of western history, economics, philosophy, sociology, and geography; and sponsoring the world symposium.

The Texas Senate took note of the Friend's pursuits and passed the following resolution:

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB MEMORIAL FUND COMMITTEE

Whereas, Walter Prescott Webb, through forty-five years of brilliant and inspired teaching at The University of Texas at Austin and other institutions; through his books and articles, particularly those pertaining to the influence of the American and world frontiers on history, won him international acclaim both as historian and man of letters; through his conduct as a citizen deeply concerned not only with the welfare present and future of his state and nation but of all mankind; through his integrity of character, his honesty and his courage to state the truth as he found it, brought prestige and honor to his native state of Texas; and

Whereas, to the average Texas citizen Webb epitomizes the ideal of what a Texan should be; and

Whereas, Walter Prescott Webb's death six years ago removed from our presence one of the strongest intellectual figures in the whole history of Texas; and

Whereas, this Legislative body is deeply humble before the magnitude of his accomplishment. Our founding fathers charged us with creating a university of the first class, but this one man probably has done more than we can do to achieve this ideal; and

Whereas, on the sixth anniversary of his death, friends of Walter Prescott Webb assembled March 8, 1969, at Friday Mountain Ranch, near Austin, Texas, to honor his memory; and

Whereas, this delegation of friends, in a formal business session that followed essays on the contribution and greatness of Professor-Author Webb by colleagues and friends formally approved programs designed to provide a continuing tribute to Walter Prescott Webb and to assure financial and other assistance to students and scholars in the humanities and teaching profession, especially for those interested in the areas of History, Economics, Philosophy, Sociology, and Geography;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Senate of the State of Texas tender its encouragement and support of the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Fund Committee for undertaking a program to:

(1) Underwrite the Hinds-Webb High School Scholarship Fund making means available to deserving high school graduates who otherwise might not have funds to attend college;

(2) Provide continuing financial assistance for the support of the annual Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures at The University of Texas at Arlington;

(3) Encourage historical research and publication by promising young scholars and mature scholars through:

(a) the establishment of research grants for young scholars in The University of Texas System;

(b) the establishment of endowed professorships and endowed chairs of history at The University of Texas System;

(4) Sponsor a world symposium on the ideas and concepts of Walter Prescott Webb.

Be it further resolved that The University of Texas System and the Texas Library and Historical Commission, as appropriate agencies of State Government, give encouragement and assistance to the aims and objectives of this program, and to the ideals and work of Walter Prescott Webb.

Mr. Speaker, it is obvious the reverence this man generated among his friends, students, and readers. It is just and fitting that these efforts to honor Dr. Webb should begin now, 6 years after his death. Webb, himself, once said that his work might not be appreciated until 1990. He would not mind these efforts to rush things up a bit, however.

Dr. Webb, although well-loved, is often described as a controversial historian. I join the legions who are thankful that he was such an unorthodox chronicleer. Webb's special remarks pulled no punches, enhancing greatly his rustic reputation.

Webb refused to write for other historians, professors, and intellectuals. Instead, he put everything on paper for the express benefit of an imaginary man from Boston—this style made his works so readable.

Webb wooed his mythical Bostonian with sporadic bursts of writing best described as white heat. His output was sparse in terms of page numbers; but, in themes, his output will prove to be immortal.

His most noted and most controversial books are "The Great Plains" and "The Great Frontier." He also wrote "Divided We Stand," "The Texas Rangers," "Washington Wife," "Handbook of Texas," and many others. Additionally, he published many papers about the West—not all of them in the scholarly journals of his era, much to the consternation of the more disciplined historians. More often than not, Webb's writing would be found in a well-thumbed issue of Harper's magazine.

One of the ill-kept secrets of Webb's life was that he wanted to be a writer, a novelist. By now, it is no secret that Webb was indeed the writer he dreamed of being.

The dreams of the man were the mysterious inner stuff his writings were made of. He would bounce between heaven and earth and beyond as he pounded an old typewriter in Austin. Often, Webb was criticized for letting his imagination outrun his documentation. But it did not cause him to falter. John Fischer, editor of Harper's once said in this regard:

Dr. Webb thought of himself as a kind of scout on the frontiers of history. His job was to explore the terrain, to spot the big ideas, to discover new watersheds of the mind. More pedestrian characters could follow later, to document his findings and stake out the section lines with surveyors' accuracy.

Webb cannot be faulted, and should be congratulated, for practicing history as a branch of literature. Although he once challenged this by saying that "literature is a branch of history, as is all knowledge."

Webb never let a historian's objectivity shackle his opinions. If he believed something, Webb would express strong opinions about leadership, economics, politics, and Republicans—and the consequences be hanged.

However, Webb was not all brimstone; in fact, he was far from it. He was influenced by an act of kindness before his career was ever expressed in thought. As a poor farm youth, he wrote to a magazine saying he was uneducated and broke, but he wanted to write. A reader responded. William E. Hinds, of Brooklyn sent back books. Later he sent money. Webb would go to school a year and work a year to repay the loan.

Mr. Hinds died in 1916. The two never met, but Dr. Webb repayed his debt in a moving article, "The Search of William E. Hinds," Harpers, 1961. The bond is perpetuated in the Webb-Hinds scholarship which Dr. Webb created at the University of Texas.

This initial kindness was repaid by other acts of kindness. Countless times, Dr. Webb cosigned a student loan, hired them to work at Friday Mountain, and encouraged them all to work and study.

And he had his fun doing it. After lending a man $100, Webb learned the recipient was a habitual drifter and con man. With righteous indignation, Webb chased the man down aboard a train leaving town. When asked the results of the confrontation, Webb answered:

You know, that fellow was so open and above board about the whole matter, I let him have another $100.

Dr. Webb found an art in everything, even in a crook and a scoundrel.

Dr. Webb's sense of humor permeated his writing. Talking about the Plains Indians who ate their horses if they had to, he wrote:

The Indian rode his commissary into battle.

As we remember this great man, we must honor him for his incisive writing. Walter Prescott Webb wrote and preached about the land he loved—the West, the Great Plains, the last frontier. And he did it in such a style that it will live long after the plains and the West are forgotten:

A thousand farms in the East will each have six or seven cows, with as many more calves and yearlings—ten thousand head. But they attract no attention. They are incidents of agriculture. In the West a ranch will cover the same area as the thousand farms, and will have perhaps ten thousand head, roundups, rodeos, men on horseback, and all that goes with ranching. Hot days in the branding pen with bawling calves and the smell of burned hair and flesh on the wind! Men in boots and big hats with the accompaniment of jangling spurs and frisky horses. Camp cooks and horse wrangler! Profanity and huge appetities! . . . The East did a large business on a small scale; the West did a small business magnificently.

Webb did more than just write about the West—he understood it. He equated the horse to the rivers and canoes on the other side of the 98th meridian. He admired the ingenuity of the repeating Colt revolver as compared with the cumbersome long rifle of the East. He knew the way the differing physical conditions affected the psychology of the West.

There is something infectious about the magic of the Southwest—

Webb wrote—

Some are immune to it, but others must spend the rest of their lives dreaming of the incredible sweep of the desert, of great golden mesas with purple shadows, and tremendous stars appearing at dusk in a turquoise sky. And I am one of these.

Mr. Speaker, books have been written about this thunderous man; books that I cannot compete with. But I want to call the attention of my colleagues to this man, his works and the heritage he pointed out for all of us.

I heartily endorse the activities of the Friends of Walter Prescott Webb. Hopefully, many of you can attend the world symposium in 1970.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, I regret that I was unable to be present today when the vote on H.R. 5554, was taken. However, I have always supported the milk-for-children programs in the past, and if I had been present and voting this afternoon, I would have supported this bill as well.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the debate over improvements of the electoral college soon to reach the floor, I believe a column by Mr. Stanton Evans in the Tuesday, April 29, National Review Bulletin is worth pondering.

Personally, I am a supporter of the district vote concept. I am hopeful that the debate on the floor will be thorough and objective and will result in practical improvement in our method of electing a President.

The column referred to follows:

AT HOME

(By M. Stanton Evans)

Continuing debate on the electoral college suggests there may be, after all, no "best" approach to electing a President. In a world of imperfections we are given a choice of evils and required to decide which among them is least-worst.

This was the mood, of course, which produced the electoral college in the first place—a compromise of principles and politics made necessary by the clash of interests in the constitutional convention. And although the system has not worked out as the founders envisioned, it has served the nation fairly well and provided us with a certain degree of stability. The question before us is whether suggested improvements will in fact improve anything.

All the proposals for change have defects which would either trade existing problems for new ones or intensify some we already have. Still, among the imperfections, there are choices to be made. The available evidence suggests the so-called "district plan" would help more than it would hurt, and thus qualifies as least-worst of the pending proposals. The "most-worst" accolade goes to the highly-publicized suggestion for a straight-out popular referendum.

The present system has a number of evils which stand in need of changing. Foremost among these, perhaps, is the possibility that no candidate at all will receive a clear majority of the electoral vote, thus throwing the election into the House of Representatives. Another is the likelihood that fraudulent votes in Chicago or other major cities can have a decisive effect on the outcome. Suggested changes should at a minimum remedy rather than aggravate these problems.

On both counts, the popular vote fails to get the job done. Not only would it strike a blow at the federal character of our system, it would also increase the chance that no clear winner would emerge from the balloting. The negative influence of third-party candidates would be enormously heightened, since every increment in their vote could have potentially greater impact on the national outcome. And if such parties became more numerous and more powerful, the likelihood that no single candidate could get a majority or a stipulated 40% plurality would be correspondingly enlarged.

Advocates of the popular vote talk of "making sure that the man who gets the most votes sits in the White House"—ignoring the question of whether the votes received are real or imaginary. Under this proposal, a candidate who wins by the margin of a half-dozen stolen votes in Chicago could become President as a direct result of fraud. The popular vote system would put an even greater premium on big-city bosses and stolen ballots than the present "winner-take-all" approach in the major urban states.

More appealing on a number of counts is the district vote idea. Under this proposal, electors would run in constituencies similar to congressional districts (they can in fact be identical) with two additional electors chosen at large by the statewide vote. This would keep the electoral totals as they are now, since electors correspond to the number of congressional representatives in a state plus the two senators. Such a plan would help correct the evils which the popular vote would intensify.

The district vote would minimize the impact of fraud in a single area and prevent distortion of the national outcome by a few big cities where corruption is notorious. Chicago, for example, would no longer be able to dominate all of Illinois or, as under the popular-vote approach, the nation. The effect of questionable voting would be confined to the district or districts where it occurs. For those who favor an honest rather than a rigged election, this would seem a good change.

Depending on the desire of the states, an absolute majority could be required to win the electoral vote of a given district, thus

heading off the splinter effect of the minor parties. Even without this requirement, however, the minor-party impact would be limited. Third parties might take root in a few districts where unusual conditions prevail, but experience suggests such development would be relatively rare.

This plan would also serve to strengthen rather than weaken American federalism. It would maintain the authority of the states as basic electoral units, while providing a further extension of the federal principle within the states. It would join the popular aspect of the House with the state prerogatives of the Senate. Instead of moving us toward greater centralization—the radical evil of our times—it would be a step toward decentralization.

It is interesting to note in this respect that James Madison said election by districts was the approach "mostly, if not exclusively, in view when the Constitution was framed and adopted." Efforts to establish a uniform district system were favored by Jefferson, Hamilton, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Van Buren and Webster, among others. The district approach was in fact used in a number of states up through the election of 1832—after which, by a political Gresham's law, it was driven out by today's "general ticket" system.

On the whole, the district idea would correct deficiencies in the electoral college, but avoid the popular vote solution of throwing out the baby with the bath water. It would go far to correct what is wrong with existing practice while preserving those elements that are right. It isn't perfect—no political system is—but it seems less imperfect than any other arrangement being discussed.

THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, we who have been privileged to share the Dartmouth tradition greet Dartmouth College at this exciting time of her 200th birthday.

Beginning as a small Indian school before this country was a nation, Dartmouth has survived the vicissitudes of 200 years, including wars and rumors of wars, depressions, droughts, floods, and eight or 10 generations of undergraduates. She has remained flexible, concerned, progressive, and has grown in strength as she pursues her function of expounding the liberalizing arts to succeeding generations and producing concerned and thinking and doing citizens of this great country. May her next 200 years be even more productive for this country and for the world.

A NEW ROLE FOR THE MATERIALS TESTING REACTOR

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the materials testing reactor—MTR—at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho was completed in 1952. Since that time, it has played a key role in the Nation's developing nuclear industry as a major testing and research facility for the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

The MTR is one of the most versatile research reactors in the world. It is the only high-flux beam reactor west of the Mississippi River. It was the first test reactor designed primarily to supply neutrons for the widest possible variety of experiments.

The MTR has a highly trained and skilled technical, operating and maintenance staff which includes a concentration of highly talented scientific personnel. Because of the knowledge and experience of the technical staff, research programs by educational institutions and others outside the NRTS can be initiated and completed at a fraction of the cost in time and money that it would cost without such help.

During the past 17 years, the MTR has written an important chapter in the Nation's nuclear energy story. Work at the reactor has contributed significantly to the storehouse of nuclear knowledge that others can now draw upon. The MTR has compiled an enviable record of firsts which have been of great value to research and development programs of the Atomic Energy Commission and to nuclear energy projects sponsored by private industry.

Mr. Speaker, with the testing role of the MTR now nearly completed, increasing attention has been centered on its promising potential as a research facility. A proposal to redesignate the facility as the Western Beam Research Reactor—WBRR—has gained widespread support throughout the West, particularly among colleges and universities that are anxious to take advantage of the unique research capability which the reactor and its highly qualified staff can provide.

The past role of the MTR in university-sponsored research and other educational programs has clearly demonstrated the much greater potential of the Western Beam Research Reactor to serve the academic and research needs of educational institutions, particularly those in the West. Enthusiastic expressions of support for the new role of the proposed WBRR have come from the Western Governors' Conference, the Rocky Mountain Science Council, the Western Conference of the Council of State Governments, the board of directors of the Federation of Rocky Mountain States and many individual colleges and universities throughout the West.

The State of Idaho has indicated its willingness to assume a share of the responsibility for future financial support of the reactor facility. The Idaho Legislature recently appropriated $200,000 for the support of nuclear-oriented research to be conducted at the proposed WBRR, together with another $200,000 for short-term applied research projects which will include nuclear research. A previous session of the Idaho Legislature created the five-member Idaho Nuclear Energy Commission to stimulate further development and diversification of Idaho's nuclear energy industry. Last year, business, labor and other community leaders took a major step forward by organizing the Eastern Idaho Nuclear Industrial Council to bring to other industries in the States the benefits flowing from nuclear energy research and development activities at the National Reactor Testing Station.

Idaho Nuclear Corp., the principal operating contractor at the NRTS, contributes over a $100,000 each year to support educational programs at the NRTS.

Mr. Speaker, on February 21, 1969, President Nixon made an important statement outlining the basic policy relating to the use by university scientists of the equipment of Federal laboratories. He said:

The equipment of many Federal laboratories is superb and often unique. This investment should be viewed as a national resource and not one for the exclusive use of the laboratory staff members. While many scientists and engineers from universities now frequently use Federal research facilities, an even closer and more extensive cooperative relation will be productive. I am therefore approving a policy designed to bring this about. Dr. DuBridge will be able to implement the policy with the help of the Federal Council for Science and Technology, which has recommended its adoption.

On the same date the Federal Council for Science and Technology issued a policy statement which I include as a part of my remarks:

POLICY ON EXPANDED USE OF FEDERAL RESEARCH FACILITIES BY UNIVERSITY INVESTIGATORS

Unique, unusual, and expensive-to-duplicate facilities at Federal laboratories and federally-supported research centers should be made available to the national scientific community to the maximum extent practical without serious detriment to laboratory missions, especially to qualified academic scientists and engineers. Criteria for such use should be the scientific merit of the proposed experiment, its relation to the agency research mission, and its contribution to national research and research training.

When such facilities are used by academic scientists and engineers, the costs incurred by the laboratory or center for the operation of its unique or unusual research facilities should be funded by the agency responsible for the operation of that facility, except for any significant incremental costs incurred in support of research not directly related to the agency's mission. The research costs incurred at the experimenter's home institution and significant costs for specialized equipment fabricated at the center primarily for use by the particular experimenter should normally be borne by the granting agency, the home institution, and/or other sponsoring organization. However, when the research is sufficiently related or useful to the host agency's responsibility, these costs may be borne by the agency responsible for operation of the center.

Continued Federal support of the proposed WBRR is in keeping with the objective announced by the President and with the criteria outlined in the policy statement of the Federal Council for Science and Technology.

To assist in the implementation of the proposed version of the MTR, a group of educators, scientists, and other nuclear energy industry leaders in Idaho have prepared an outline describing the unique capability of its staff and facilities to play an exciting new role as a Western Beam Research Reactor:

THE ROLE OF THE WESTERN BEAM RESEARCH REACTOR

I. INTRODUCTION

The Materials Testing Reactors (MTR) at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho has been a major testing and research facility of the United States Atomic Energy Commission for the past 17 years. Within a few months its testing role will be largely completed, but its research role can carry on as the Western Beam Research Reactor (WBRR); the research will be more vigorous. An integral part of the reactor and its programs is the staff of the Nuclear Technology Branch. The reactor provides the major stimulus for this staff and conversely the capabilities of the staff provide the dynamics and quality of the reactor research.

The capabilities and contributions of the reactor-staff combination can be grouped into three general areas. First, the unique technical capabilities that reside at the WBRR, unique in the sense that no other group can or has performed similar experiments. The uniqueness of these capabilities range from regional to world wide. Second, the reactor-staff combination, because of their competence, perform many tasks that meet needs of the AEC. Some of these are in support of AEC efforts of nation-wide scope and some are support of NRTS efforts. Third, the reactor-staff stimulate and support university programs, mainly in the Intermountain West but occasionally nation wide. There are some research ventures that are too extensive to be conducted on campus so these are conducted by university personnel at AEC labs. Very high flux reactor research is one such venture and the WBRR fills this need in the West. It is the only very high flux reactor available to the Western United States and the third most intense beam reactor in the world. In addition, the mere presence of a world renowned scientific community associated with WBRR provides a lift to the cooperating university departments.

II. UNIQUE CAPABILITIES

The reactor-staff combination possesses unique capabilities in areas of basic research and applied technology vital to the United States. These capabilities include:

A. *Filtered Beams* (world wide): Development work initiated less than two years ago has culminated in our ability to extract several very high-flux, monoenergetic beams from the reactor. No other reactor has such beams—the starred one listed below. Already the importance of such beams has been demonstrated. These unique beams and other filtered beams available at the WBRR and their uses are:

Beams	*To measure*
*Scandium Filtered (2 KeV)	($n\gamma$) Reactions
*Iron Filtered (24 KeV)	Fission Distributions
*Silicon Filtered (150 KeV)	Activations
*Oxygen Filtered (2.35 MeV)	Counter Calibrations
Thermal	Biological Damage and Neutron Radiography
Epithermal	Precise Cross Sections

In addition to their many other uses, these beams supply valuable information for the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactor Program. This project is the major thrust toward advanced power reactors of the Reactor Division of the AEC at this time.

B. *Isotopic Analysis by Cross Sections* (world wide): Within the last six months an analytical method has been developed at the WBRR to determine the isotopic constituents of samples by measuring the neutron resonance cross sections. This is a non-destructive method. Initial results throw doubt on the accuracy of some aspects of presently accepted mass spectrometry methods. This method also provides vital support to the LMFBR program.

C. *High Resolution Neutron Radiography* (world wide except France): Within the last year a capability of neutron radiography has been developed at the reactor. The very intense fluxes of this reactor are needed to obtain high resolution pictures. Radiographs have been obtained here that were not successful at lower flux reactors. This work, too, supports LMFBR and many other programs.

D. *Neutron Cross Sections of Radioactive Samples* (world wide): The MTR fast chopper, assisted by the radiochemists, has the unique capability to measure neutron cross sections of highly radioactive samples. This information is needed in basic science and in AEC programs.

E. *Alpha Measurements with Manganese Bath* (world wide): The reactor-staff have the capability and equipment to make very precise measurements of alpha (the capture to fission ratio).

F. *High Pressure Neutron Diffraction* (world wide): Three years ago this program was initiated at the MTR. Now others in the U.S., France and elsewhere are copying us. None can yet equal our 100 Kbars (million and half lbs./in.^{2}) of pressure.

G. *Liquid Dynamic Studies* (Western U.S.): The capabilities to study the dynamics of liquids on a microscopic scale using neutrons reside in the WBRR and staff.

H. *Neutron Molecular Spectroscopy* (world wide): Ten years of effort have culminated within the last two years in our capability to make precise molecular spectra measurements using neutrons.

I. *Beam Activations* (Western U.S.): The WBRR has the most intense neutron beams in the Western U.S. and these can serve the many needs of activation. Such beams are needed for activations of large objects. Beam activations and in-core activations (see II–M) are non-destructive and show promise in helping to solve the nuclear materials surveillance problem.

J. *Shielding Studies* (world wide): A spin-off of the filtered beam development is that the WBRR can be used to study the deep penetration of 1–500 KeV neutrons in shielding. Such data are needed for the LMFBR and weapons programs.

K. *Nuclear Correlation Chopper* (world wide): A nuclear correlation chopper is being designed which, coupled to the WBRR, will allow measurements of partial cross sections of radioactive samples that cannot now be done. These are needed particularly by the AEC Production Division.

L. *On-Line Mass Separator* (Western U.S.): Plans are being made to have a mass separator intimately connected to the reactor. This will supply radioactive sources that cannot now be obtained.

M. *Activations* (Western U.S.): The high fluxes and rabbits allow special activations to be made.

N. *Neutron Capture Gamma Analysis*: Using the intense beams (see II–A) trace and greater quantities of elements can be detected in samples. This method detects different and additional elements than indicated in II–I and M. The method is attracting particular interest in biology and medicine.

Besides the unique capabilities that are directly associated with the WBRR, the staff has other unique capabilities. These capabilities exist at the site because the WBRR exists; it is a vital enough research facility to hold the highly qualified staff. These capabilities include:

O. *Hot Sample Preparation* (world wide): Radioactive samples have been made that have not been duplicated elsewhere.

P. *Computer Graphics and Data Evaluation* (world wide): The staff is now recognized as exhibiting the state-of-the-art in data accumulation and evaluation by computer graphics and man-machine interfacing.

Q. *Cross Sections from Nuclear Explosions* (world wide except LASL and Livermore): The Nuclear Technology Branch staff with the staff of the other two labs represent the state-of-the-art in obtaining neutron cross sections using nuclear explosions as the source.

R. *β-Ray Spectrometer* (Western U.S.): The staff has recently put into operation a high precision β-ray spectrometer. This machine represents the only such machine in the Western United States.

S. *NaI, Ge(Li) and Si(Li) Gamma-Ray Detectors* (world wide): The staff is recognized as leaders in the use of these detectors. The cataloging of the gamma-ray spectra (6,000 copies have been distributed) is one facet of this work which has found world wide recognition and acceptance in many highly varied areas of scientific research.

T. *CFRMF* (U.S.): This device, the Coupled Fast Reactivity Measurement Facility, is providing important integral cross section data for the LMFBR program.

U. *Proton Recoil Counter* (U.S.): Our proton recoil counter development, particularly calibrations, have revealed critical discrepancies in currently accepted techniques of neutron flux measurements.

V. *Alpha Spectrum Catalogue* (U.S.): As with the gamma spectra, (section S) a catalogue of alpha particle spectra has been produced by the staff.

W. *Elemental Analysis Using X-ray Fluorescence*: Developments in the techniques of high-resolution gamma-ray spectroscopy pioneered by members of the Nuclear Technology Branch have now led to the development of techniques of quantitative X-ray spectral analysis. This effort, utilizing X-ray spectrometers having energy resolutions as good as comparable devices anywhere in the world, has as one emphasis the development of non-destructive elemental assay techniques. These techniques have wide applicability in many areas of both pure and applied science.

III. AEC TASKS

The major thrust of the WBRR–staff combination is to perform tasks needed in the AEC's varied program. Some of these are mentioned in the previous section under Unique Capabilities. Some of these tasks are nation wide while others are centered on the NRTS. Nation wide, some of these are:

A. *Cross Section Measurements Near Thermal* (see II–A, B, D, E, I, K, L, M, O, P, S): These are to meet the needs of the thermal reactor development program (such as Molten Salt Breeder Reactor) and the AEC Production Division.

B. *KeV Cross Sections* (see II–A, D, E, I, J, P, Q, S, T, U): Neutron cross section data in this energy region, in which it is difficult to obtain intense neutron beams, are needed by the fast reactor development programs and the weapons programs.

C. *Data Evaluation* (see II–P): An important task of the AEC is to evaluate the many sets of data and arrive at a best set for reactor designers.

D. *Data Compilation* (see II–H, S, V): An urgent task of the AEC is to analyze and compile existing data so that they can be accurately and efficiently retrieved and used. Data from these tasks are being filed in ENDF/B file.

E. *Method Development*: Development of basic and analytical methods is an important part of the staffs efforts. Such development has come in the following fields: computer hardware and software, gamma detection, NASA support, proton recoil counters, neutron radiography, correlation choppers, con-

ventional choppers, neutron-beam filters, radioactive samples, isotopic analysis, high pressure neutron diffraction, neutron molecular spectroscopy, CFRMF and many others.

On-site the reactor and staff supply support to the following tasks in which the starred tasks require the WBRR:

A. **Neutron Radiography* (see II–C): Radiographs of cold and radioactive specimens, such as fuel pins, are taken for about a dozen different programs. Many are samples irradiated in the test reactors and EBR–II.

B. **Activation Analysis* (see II–I, M): Many activations are made in the WBRR because of its high fluxes, fast rabbits and convenience.

C. **Isotopic Analysis* (see II–B): This technique is being used to complement mass analysis, burnup and alpha measurements of samples from the test reactors.

D. *Computer Capabilities—Software and Hardware* (see II–P): These are being put to use in on-line data acquisition and anlysis.

E. *r Detection Development* (see II–E): These capabilities serve many needs, particularly the routine surveillance of radioactivity.

F. *Hot Cell Development* (see II–O): New methods of handling radioactivities are developed.

G. *Hot Chemistry Capabality* (see II–O): Besides handling radio-active samples, much chemical development must be pursued to put the samples in the best form.

H. *Flux Measurements and Standardization* (see II–E, I, M, S, T, U, V): Much effort is directed toward accurate measurements of neutron and gamma fluxes.

I. *Alpha Particle Detection* (see II–V): Our alpha detection capabilities allow application in radioactivity detection during fission breaks, etc.

J. *Beryllium Surveillance*: The branch provides help in surveillance of radiation damage in the beryllium of the test reactor.

K. **Fission Capability*: Many fission detectors have been made and fission cross sections measured; these provide a basis of knowledge upon which others call.

L. *Electronic Development*: The branch contains staff that are experts in advanced electronics development.

IV. UNIVERSITY SUPPORT

President Nixon has stated, "The equipment of many federal laboratories is superb and often unique. This investment should be viewed as a national resource and not one for the exclusive use of the laboratory staff members. While many scientists and engineers from outside now frequently use federal research facilities, an even closer and more extensive cooperative relation will be productive. I am therefore approving a policy designed to bring this about. Dr. DuBridge will be able to implement the policy with the help of the Federal Council for Science and Technology, which has recommended its adoption." Part of the INC charter is to foster universities in the area. Since the WBRR is the major research facility in the area, it is the backbone for such support. The NRTS, where possible, should supply those research facilities that universities cannot maintain on campus. An example of such activities, the efforts of the Nuclear Technology Branch staff in cooperation with universities, is outlined below. These activities are for the year July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968.

A. *INC Educational Fund*: The Idaho Nuclear Corporation contributes $100,000/year to educational activities, and part of these contributions are connected with the Nuclear Technology Branch. Such connected funding during FY 1968 for faculty to visit or work at the NRTS is as follows:

Faculty member, university, and project area

D. R. Winder, Colorado State University, Neutron Molecular Spectroscopy.

R. J. Pugmire, University of Utah, Solid State Physics.

L. X. Finegold, University of Colorado, Solid State Physics.

B. *Associated Western Universities Program*: Under the auspices of the Associated Western Universities, scientists are able to use the facilities of the National Reactor Testing Station to conduct research projects, participate in existing programs or carry out independent research leading to advanced degrees. During the 1968 fiscal year ten faculty members from eight different colleges and universities worked in the Nuclear Technology Branch under the AWU program. They were:

Faculty member, university, and project area

J. K. Wood, Utah State University, β-Ray Spectrometer.

S. K. Vegors, Idaho State University, Radioactive Decay.

J. E. Price, Idaho State University, Radioactive Decay.

J. J. H. Berlijn, Valdosta State College, Radioactive Decay.

D. A. Tripp, Weber State College, Radioactive Decay.

D. M. Grant, University of Utah, Neutron Molecular Spectroscopy.

J. P. Plummer, State University of New York, Theoretical Physics.

G. C. Summerfield, University of Michigan, Theoretical Physics.

A. E. Wilson, Idaho State University, Nuclear Engineering.

R. J. Kearney, University of Idaho, Solid State Physics.

During this period seven graduate students also carried out research projects under the joint direction of their on-campus major professor and under a Nuclear Technology Branch staff member. They were:

Student, university, staff director, and project area

Earl Mark, University of Idaho, R. P. Schuman, Surface Absorption.

Ted Rupp, Idaho State University, J. E. Cline, C. W. Reich, Radioactive Decay.

Gordon Prather, Utah State University, J. E. Cline, Nuclear Level Structure.

Hugo Bezdek, University of Colorado, R. E. Schmunk, Solid State Physics.

Tom Worlton, Brigham Young University, R. M. Brugger, High Pressure Neutron Diffraction.

Robert Harrison, Idaho State University, R. G. Helmer, Nuclear Level Structure.

Gary Ostheller, University of Idaho, R. E. Schmunk, Solid State Physics.

C. *Summer Employees:* In addition to the AWU-supported program, faculty members and graduate students are brought into the company as regular employees for short periods during academic vacations. This allows the university people to become acquainted with facilities and programs at the NRTS site. During fiscal year 1968 those employed under this program included two graduate students, Mathew Petrin of the University of Montana and Kelby Anderson of the University of Colorado. They were employed in the Chemistry Section and the Reactor Experiments Section, respectively.

D. *Faculty and Staff Exchange Program*: During this report period, Idaho Nuclear Corporation established a program by which staff members of the company could be assigned to teach at a university. There are basically two kinds of arrangements that can be made:

1. For a period of a semester or a year, a staff member and a faculty member can exchange positions.

2. Where the school is within commuting distance of the NRTS, a staff member may be assigned to teach on a half-time basis, i.e. either two or three days a week, while continuing to work the balance of his time on his regular job.

Under the first program, an exchange was arranged between INC and the University of Idaho for the fall semester of 1967–1968. H. L. McMurry taught at the University while R. J. Kearney of the University Physics Department spent the semester working in the Solid State Physics Section of this branch.

K. T. Faler, a participant in the second program, was assigned to teach half time in the Chemistry Department of Idaho State University. He taught both semesters of the academic year.

E. *Adjoint Professorships*: In several of the situations where a graduate student at a regional university has completed his course work toward an advanced degree and plans to carry out thesis research at the NRTS, arrangements are made whereby the staff member of the Nuclear Technology Branch responsible for supervising the on-site research is appointed to the university staff as an Adjoint Professor. This arrangement has in the past proved to be a highly beneficial one, greatly improving the communication between the university and the NRTS. During this fiscal year, four members of the branch have served in this capacity with Utah State University. They are J. E. Cline, R. L. Heath, R. G. Helmer and C. W. Reich.

F. *NRTS Education Program*: Idaho Nuclear Corporation, in cooperation with the University of Idaho, administers a continuing educational program at the NRTS which leads to the degree of Master of Science in various technical fields. Members of the Nuclear Technology Branch have been active in all phases of this program since its inception. At the present time, approximately fifteen staff members of the branch are affiliated with this program, holding the rank of instructor. During the current academic year, four of these people are actively engaged in teaching courses in the program. They are: O. D. Simpson, teaching Calculus; T. G. Worlton, teaching Selected Topics in Advanced Physics; J. J. Scoville, teaching Advanced Engineering Math; and E. Fast, teaching Remedial Math.

G. *University Seminars and Colloquium Presentation*: The staff of the Nuclear Technology Branch is frequently called upon to provide seminars and colloquia at universities. In FY 1968 these were:

Staff, university, and topic

R. M. Brugger, University of Colorado, "Neutron Molecular Spectroscopy."

R. E. Schmunk, Case Institute of Technology, "Neutron Inelastic Scattering and Lattice Dynamics."

R. E. Schmunk, Utah State University, "Neutron Inelastic Scattering and Lattice Dynamics."

R. E. Schmunk, University of Colorado, "Neutron Inelastic Scattering and Lattice Dynamics."

P. D. Randolph, Utah State University, "Slow Neutron Scattering From Liquid Metals."

J. J. Scoville, Texas A. & M., "Resonance Integral Measurements."

R. G. Fluharty, Texas A. & M., "Pulsed Neutron Experiments."

G. W. Griffing, University of Washington, "Slow Neutron Scattering by Molecular Gases."

H. L. McMurry, University of Colorado, "Calculations of Crystal Vibrations."

J. R. Smith, University of Washington, "Manganese Bath Measurements of Eta."

G. E. Stokes, University of Idaho, "Cross-section Measurements of Radioactive Samples."

C. W. Reich, University of Idaho, "Current Models of Nuclear Structure."

R. L. Heath, University of Idaho, "Experimental Techniques in Gamma-Ray Spectrometry."

K. T. Faler, Idaho State University, "Nuclear Structure for Capture Gamma-Rays."

R. G. Helmer, Idaho State University, "Measurement of Gamma-Ray Energies."

R. M. Brugger, Idaho State University, "High Pressure Neutron Diffraction."

R. M. Brugger, University of Idaho, "Neutron Scattering in Solid State Physics."

W. W. Black, Brigham Young University, "Applications of Computers to Nuclear Spectroscopy."

W. W. Black, Utah State University, "Application of Computers to Nuclear Spectroscopy."

R. C. Greenwood, Utah State University, "Neutron Capture Gamma-Ray Measurements."

H. Support of Secondary Schools: The staff of the Nuclear Technology Branch has been engaged in a number of cooperative programs with the local school districts. During the reporting period members of the staff were instrumental in encouraging and assisting in the acquisition of a small computer for Idaho School District #91. They are assisting the school in implementing the machine into programs for computer assisted instruction (CAI) and computer techniques in problem solving.

Mr. Speaker, the staff and facilities of the proposed Western Beam Research Reactor are truly a national asset. Judged on the basis of their past performance and future potential service to the Nation, they are deserving of continued Federal financial support.

U.N. PEACEKEEPING: TIME FOR ACTION

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in the 89th and 90th Congresses, I was proud to be part of a bipartisan drive to establish a permanent United Nations Peacekeeping Force. Indicative of the support for this idea was the fact that House Concurrent Resolution 130 had 66 cosponsors last year, from both sides of the aisle.

Peacekeeping forces have done much to maintain peace over the last two decades, and in my view, an effective permanent peacekeeping force under the supervision of the United Nations is one of the great hopes for world peace and law for the future.

The advantages of such a peacekeeping force, and U.S. leadership in this effort are aptly described in the May 2 editorial in the Pittsburgh Press, which I include herewith for the attention of my colleagues:

U.N. PEACE FORCE

In thinking about the national security interests of the U.S. in the rest of the century, two aims stand out:

To avoid a catastrophic nuclear war with the Soviet Union (or any other nuclear power).

To find a way to lighten the heavy burdens the U.S. carries in trying to build a system of peace around the world.

The first goal will be met if we maintain the strategic balance with the Soviets. Not necessarily at higher and costlier levels, but if arms control agreements can be struck, at lower, cheaper and safer levels.

And the second aim can be achieved only if more countries than at present share the global peacekeeping responsibility.

It is with this latter objective in mind that a group of 26 American leaders has proposed the U.S. Government work for establishment of a 40,000-man United Nations military force for peacekeeping operations under the U.N. banner.

Assembled by the U.N. Assn. of the U.S.A., this is no group of visionaries but an experienced panel including retired Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Cyrus R. Vance, former deputy secretary of Defense; Najeeb E. Halaby, Pan American World Airways president, and Joseph L. Block, Inland Steel Co. chairman, among others.

There has been many a previous U.N. peacekeeping operation: Korea, Kashmir, the Middle East, Congo, Cyprus and others. But there was usually a damaging flaw.

They were organized after, not before, the violence broke out. Command was often a matter of dispute. Financing was shaky at best.

Often the U.N. force was undermanned and underequipped. In one memorable instance, the U.N. emergency force in the Middle East was a success until the secretary-general ordered its withdrawal.

The U.N. Assn. panel proposes these errors be avoided by making a U.N. peace force permanent, controlled by a special peacekeeping section in the U.N. secretariat and financed by a special fund.

Article 43 of the U.N. Charter provides for such a standing military force, but it never has been established because of great power disagreement and small power fears.

Now, both the U.S. and Soviet Union have hinted at new interest. And 56 U.N. member-nations have provided military personnel for one or more U.N. field operations, while 10 currently earmark some 11,000 men for future U.N. service. Surely that is something to build on.

A real U.N. peace force was a good idea a quarter century ago. But the times were not right for it. It seems time to study the idea again.

CHAIRMAN EMANUEL CELLER: OUR DEAN

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the birthday of a great distinguished American—our esteemed dean, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER.

Mr. CELLER has long and studiously served his constituency in Congress. He has made most profound and significant contributions to the general welfare of our country during his years as a Member of Congress.

His long service in Congress is replete with occasions wherein he fought vigorously for the cause of the common good.

Chairman CELLER has been an effective leader in the enactment of many constitutional amendments which were adopted. His skillful work in framing the new civil rights legislation has indelibly marked his name in the history of our country. He has exhibited grave concern for immigrants and refugees and I have had the privilege to work with him for these humanitarian causes.

As ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary, I feel I express a unanimous feeling of the members of the Judiciary Committee, present and past, that no chairman has conducted hearings with more concern and consideration of all members.

Best wishes for continued good health.

AN APPRAISAL OF COMMUNITY PROGRESS

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I periodically review the progress of the many communities in my district to determine for myself how we stack up with the Nation, State, and our neighboring area. Generally speaking, I say without hesitation that the 21st Congressional District of Pennsylvania—which includes all of Westmoreland County and two townships in Fayette County—is one of the most progressive and prosperous areas we have.

There are several reasons for this, but first among them is the unity and cohesiveness found within each community. This association between people has spread throughout the area and the ideal of working together has become our way of life. This is true in all matters, not only social.

We work together as an area to welcome a major manufacturing facility—like our new Chrysler plant—which will ultimately employ 5,000 of our workers. We also work together within our communities to bring needed improvements. In this regard, we have been especially fortunate.

Most of my communities, in my opinion, have been successful in getting State and Federal assistance for local projects. This is obvious when one visits them. There is one, however, which seems to stand out; and that is the city of Monessen.

Monessen has been the recipient of large sums of Federal and State money. That is a fact. It is also a fact, however, that the only reason Monessen has done so well is because the citizens of that community, through their public officials and other leaders, long ago recognized the need for urban renewal, housing, educational and cultural refinements, increased recreation and health facilities, and a modernization program in general, and had the initiative and perseverance to do something about it. Too many community leaders sit around and talk of urban renewal and other improvements in vague terms and never take any specific action. They are the ones who bemoan their lack of outside assistance. They apparently feel the Federal and State governments should come to them.

Monessen, on the other hand, developed specific proposals and made application in Harrisburg and Washington for financial assistance. This began in 1954, before either the Federal or State governments even had money available in significant amounts for local projects. But the city fathers saw the writing on the wall; and when I say "city fathers" I mean it in the broadest possible sense. I am speaking of a city government led with incredible foresight and confidence in the community, and public officials with the courage to take up the challenge

of that leadership. I am speaking of the city's leaders of commerce, labor, and industry, who made their community's needs at least equal in importance to their own individual business concerns. I am speaking of the local newspaper publisher who hammered hard and long to arouse his community to the fact of the future. And most importantly, I am speaking of the good citizens of Monessen who did become aroused and who united in a massive effort to make their city responsive to the changing world we live in.

The results of this foresight took a while to develop but when they came, it was fast and furious—and Monessen was ready. For instance, since 1960, the city of Monessen has received over $33 million in Federal and State money for a multitude of projects. Keeping in mind the fact that this community has a total population of about 18,000, this is an incredible amount. It figures out to over $6,000 of Federal and State money received for each of the city's taxpayers. All the while, the total cost to the city was slightly more than $1 million. I am willing to bet that no other community in the United States—regardless of size—can boast of receiving that much outside assistance per citizen.

For their million dollars, the people of Monessen did pretty well. They got the go-ahead on Westgate, a huge urban renewal project. New roads and sewage outlets crisscrossed the city. Recreation and play areas appeared along with educational and cultural improvements. Homes for the elderly were dedicated, and the best community library in the entire area was given a needed expansion. A health and welfare building was approved and bids for construction will soon be submitted. There were many other advances. Eastgate, another major urban renewal project, was developed and it was fitting that the first tenant was the local newspaper, still published by the same man who years earlier had helped inspire his community to take on its new facade.

The cost to the city in terms of money was small. But the endless hours of talent and dedication that went into planning and development represents an enormous contribution by the community and its leaders. It is this quality which distinguishes Monessen from communities that complain they have been overlooked. It is this type of devotion to a city and its people that makes the difference between leadership excellence and mediocrity; and, incidentally, the difference between a vibrant, progressive community, and one which is no more than a place to live.

I salute the people of Monessen and their outstanding leaders and promise them I will continue to work with them as they prepare even more adventurous plans for their community. I am also giving this same support to the other communities in my district who are moving in the right direction, and to all those whose need is demonstrated and whose desire is sincere. But ultimate success can only be inspired at the local level, with the full cooperation of all the community's elements. This is the true catalyst so necessary to progress and prosperity.

VIETNAM, 1969

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, over 13 months have passed since President Johnson called for a beginning of peace talks for Vietnam. The killing goes on, the stockpiling continues, the generals still back up their tenuous hold by claiming victory after victory.

The tragedy of Vietnam is real. It is unneeded death for thousands of Americans, thousands of Vietnamese. It is the tragedy of a corrupt and authoritarian puppet government imposing conditions which always hinder chances of real settlement. It is the tragedy of misallocation of resources both here in America and all throughout Southeast Asia, resources which should be used for building, but instead go toward destruction and dislocation.

As an indication of reaction to the Vietnam muddle, I would now like to insert in the RECORD an analysis of the situation today as given in a white paper by the American Friends Service Committee; along with the white paper, I would like to include resolutions on ending the war as adopted by two major national labor organizations over the past months—one by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the other by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union:

VIETNAM 1969: AN AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE WHITE PAPER ON ENDING THE WAR, MAY 5, 1969

The last year: It has been more than a year since the rhetoric of peace began in Vietnam. During this time scores of thousands of men and women and children have died in the fighting. They continue to die today, and every evidence in Vietnam is that they will continue to die tomorrow unless there is an unparalleled demand from the American people that the slaughter be halted. The American Friends Service Committee calls for a halt—now.

Like millions of others the world over, we felt a sense of relief a year ago that our country was at last moving toward a Vietnam settlement. We welcomed the initiation of the Paris talks, the halting of the bombing of North Vietnam, and, more recently, the reports of an Administration decision to undertake some form of U.S. military disengagement. We have hoped these steps would lead to a cease-fire and our country would begin to right its distorted priorities that require spending billions on destruction while our cities decay and our poor people despair. But hope has not been enough. Little has really changed in the year that has passed.

Present illusions: We believe U.S. military and government leaders are fostering illusions in regard to Vietnam. Our own experience in Vietnam is so at variance with official interpretations that we cannot reconcile what we have seen with what is officially reported. Americans are under the impression that the war is all but over; it is not. They are being told that the U.S. military policy is one of restraint in the interest of progress in Paris; it is not. They are encouraged to think that the Thieu-Ky government is becoming more acceptable to the Vietnamese, that it is politically more secure, more resolute in carrying on the war, more ready to institute reforms, more competent to carry on with diminishing U.S. help. We find no evidence that these things are so.

In our judgment, the human situation in Vietnam today is worse than it has ever been; the cumulative result of U.S. involvement (on top of 25 years of warfare) borders not on Vietnam's salvation, but on its death. An entire nation is being physically, morally, and spiritually destroyed—and the tempo of destruction has increased, not decreased, since the beginning of the Paris talks and the bombing halt.

AFSC qualifications to comment: Our judgment on these matters is based on 15 years of relationship with Vietnam, the last four with fulltime staff stationed variously in Saigon, Vung Tau, My Tho, Danang, An Khe, Pleiku, Hue, and, for the last two years, Quang Ngai. As far back as June 1954, we urged the U.S. not to follow the French example of trying to deal with Indo-China's problems in military terms, insisting that "nothing but disaster lies down that road."[1] Since the U.S. military involvement escalated in 1965, our field staff, speaking Vietnamese and living as closely as possible among the people, have regularly reported to us on the conditions around them. These reports make hard reading, chronicling as they do a tide of destruction that has gradually engulfed a people and torn apart the fabric of their lives. Here is what these reports have recorded:

Refugees: Four million people—one-third of the rural population of this rural nation—have fled their homes and become refugees in a country where land and village roots have an importance unknown in western culture.[2] Most have fled to the cities, which are quite unprepared to cope with the influx. Saigon's population has swelled to 2,800,000, making it the world's most crowded city, with more than twice the population concentration of Tokyo.[3]

Destruction: Physical destruction is enormous. Hundreds of thousands of acres have been defoliated, countless villages have been razed, and bomb craters pockmark the countryside. B–52 raids alone have torn 2½ million holes 45 feet in diameter and 30 feet deep[4]—holes that are now filled with water and serve as breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes and other insects. More tons of explosives have been dropped on this tiny country than were dropped on all the Axis powers in all of World War II, and with every month that passes the loads are bigger and the bombs heavier.[5] In December 1968, the U.S. for the first time began using in Vietnam 10,000-pound bombs that had been stored in military depots for 15 years.[6]

Economic impact of war: The basic economy of the country has been destroyed, and only heavy imports of consumer goods from the U.S. and Japan keep inflation from assuming explosive dimensions. Corruption is epidemic. Vietnam's ancient Buddhist culture, with its village roots, its veneration of ancestors, its reliance on the extended family, has been torn apart by the impact of having quartered in its midst a half million foreign troops who know nothing of its ways or sensibilities. Prostitution and black marketing are rampant.

Suffering: In all of this the suffering of the Vietnamese has reached levels that would appall the American people if they could see it. Many thousands have been forced from their homes on short notice, incarcerated in tent cities and then after weeks or months been permitted to return to their villages—their homes destroyed, their animals dead, and their fields mined.[7] More thousands are caught under the bombs or between the contending forces, and the result is carnage.[8] Even before the 1968 Tet offensive it was estimated that there were from 150,000 to 200,000 civilian casualties annually.[9] Provision for caring for the victims is hopelessly inade-

Footnotes at end of article.

quate. Provincial hospitals today have few doctors, poor facilities, and often a shortage of medical supplies and even pain killers.[10] The American Friends Service Committee, which has been involved in the relief of war suffering for more than half a century, has rarely encountered such misery as is found in Vietnam today.[11]

U.S. escalation since November 1, 1968: The United States, while it is publicly committed to a search for peace, has in fact stepped up its military activity since the bombing of the North was halted on November 1, 1968. Consider the following:

1. There are more U.S. troops in Vietnam today than there have ever been since the war began. On March 15 this figure was 540,500, in addition to 45,000 in Thailand and 35,000 in the Navy offshore.[12]

2. The number of battalion-sized operations initiated by the Allies and in progress during each month has grown steadily since the bombing halt. In November the figure was 800; in December, 956; in January, 1077.[13] The actual figures for less-than-battalion-sized operations in this same period are still classified, but it is known that they, too, reflect a steady increase. Enemy-initiated actions in both of these categories are substantially lower than allied actions during these months, which indicates that it is the allies who have been pressing the fighting.[14] Indeed, the North Vietnamese withdrew 30,000 to 40,000 troops from South Vietnam after the bombing halt.[15] The inclusion of small scale terrorist activity by the NLF forces does not significantly alter the picture. These actions remained relatively constant through December at a level of approximately 100 a month, involving the deaths of from 350 to 450 civilians monthly.[16]

3. Despite the cessation of missions over the North on November 1, the total tonnage of bombs dropped on Vietnam has increased every month since then, except for a slight decrease in the shorter month of February. In November 115,000 tons were dropped; in December, 127,700; in January, 129,700; in February, 115,800.[17] The January figure represents the highest monthly tonnage dropped since the war began.[18]

4. Since October the war has been carried into ostensibly neutral Laos with greatly increased intensity. Before November 1 there was an average of 150 bombing strikes daily over Laos in 1968.[19] By the end of January the U.S. had 300 to 400 planes a day over Laos, or more than double the number being used before the November 1 bombing halt.[20] U.S. commanders have also been permitted to cross the border and carry ground fighting into Laos when they have felt the military situation required it.

5. U.S. battle deaths—always the inexorable barometer of the level of military action—offer final confirmation of the validity of the preceding statistics. These show a rise every month since the bombing halt: 600 American men lost their lives in October; 703 in November; 749 in December; 795 in January; 1073 in February; 1265 in March.[21] Renewed military initiatives by the NLF and DRV forces did not begin until the last week of February.

Where is there evidence in these statistics of a scaling down of allied operations?

U.S. Aims in Vietnam: Americans are assured that U.S. goals in Vietnam are limited ones. Earlier talk of victory has ceased as the death toll has risen and as the decimation of Vietnam has become apparent. Today the apologists for continued U.S. military action argue that our commitment will be fulfilled if our forces can achieve a reasonably pacified countryside, a reasonably stable government, and a reasonably effective Vietnamese army, capable of defending itself against its opponents. The American people are being assured that progress toward these goals is being made.[22] On the basis of our experience, however, and without considering whether these are appropriate goals for the U.S. to be seeking, we do not believe they are in fact attainable:

1. Pacification efforts have repeatedly failed over a ten-year period, and they will continue to fail. The Hamlet Evaluation System, a U.S. introduced, computerized measurement of territorial security, may show the country to be 75% secure, but all who know the Vietnamese countryside dismiss such figures out of hand. They are worthless because the sources of data are biased, and the definition of "security" is elusive. As the recent Tet offensive has shown once again, the NLF can still move with impunity into any part of Vietnam, even into the very centers of U.S. military power. Despite the contrived reports of the computers and despite the billions of dollars spent on pacification, there is today no part of Vietnam that is truly secure. Neither the U.S. nor Saigon is "winning the minds and hearts" of the Vietnamese. The countryside has not been pacified; it is less secure in 1969 than it was in 1965. Even the major cities, though ringed with fortifications, are vulnerable to attack and infiltration.[23] Quaker workers and Vietnamese sources report to us that anti-American feeling has never before been so intense as it is now.

2. The Thieu-Ky government does not offer any promise of future stability. The government in Saigon is a military dictatorship propped up by U.S. power, despised by most Vietnamese and notoriously corrupt. Freedom of speech is suppressed. No one knows exactly how many Vietnamese political prisoners languish in Vietnam's prisons, but the figure is certainly in the thousands, and includes many of the country's leading intellectuals: university professors, religious leaders, lawyers, students, newspaper editors, politicians—anyone who has dared to advocate political initiatives to end the war. Many of the leading figures in the present Saigon government fought for the French against their own countrymen. They represent an old and vanished order. Whatever the outcome in Vietnam, they will be swept away the moment the Vietnamese regain control of their own affairs. They are too weak a reed on which to pin any U.S. hope for future political stability.[24]

3. The South Vietnamese armed forces will never successfully take over the military burden now carried by the United States. It is not hardware or training that is lacking in Saigon's armies. It is will, the one ingredient the United States will never be able to provide. Thieu's soldiers have no heart for this struggle and have not had any for years. Indeed, one of the most striking phenomena of the war is the contrast between the contending forces; a Vietnamese dressed in the peasant garb of the NLF is one of the world's most formidable fighting men; the same man in the uniform of Saigon is one of the world's poorest. Why? Because one believes he fights to drive the foreigner from his soil while the other fights only to sustain the power of a corrupt military clique.

Why the U.S. should withdraw: If, therefore, as the American Friends Service Committee believes, a continuing U.S. military presence in Vietnam will not result in any genuine pacification of a war-weary and embittered countryside, and will not make palatable a government that is not palatable, nor an army fight that has no will to fight, it becomes useless to pursue further a course that is leading nowhere. It is useless to stay on even for the purpose of a bargaining position in Paris, because we find no reason to think that time will serve to strengthen the U.S. position. This is why we believe that the only viable option left for the U.S. in Vietnam is to withdraw from the whole tragically misconceived adventure.

This is something the U.S. can do. Our military can cease all offensive action, all search-and-destroy missions, all air and sea attacks, and withdraw U.S. troops to port areas for repatriation. This action would have the paramount advantage of returning the future of Vietnam to the Vietnamese, where it belongs. Questions of reunification and political settlement are questions for the Vietnamese to answer, because the Vietnamese, whether they live in Hanoi or in Saigon, are still a single people. They were divided by foreign fiat at Geneva; they have been kept divided by U.S. preoccupation with anti-communism; but fiat and power do not undo the history of a thousand years. The Vietnamese remain one people and not two. They are presently torn by strife between North and South, and between contending forces within South Vietnam, but these struggles can only be resolved by the Vietnamese themselves.

As the only foreigners in South Vietnam, the U.S. and its allies have nothing to negotiate but the rate and manner of their withdrawal. If our leaders were to acknowledge this and move to act on it, it would at once open up a whole new range of possibilities for the good offices of other nations to be used in mediation and in arranging for sanctuary or amnesty for those open to reprisal. This in itself would be a hopeful development.

There will be suffering and turmoil if the U.S. leaves. There may be a government in Saigon led by Ho Chi Minh; there may not be. Withdrawal does not mean that justice will be done. It does not insure fair elections or well-protected freedoms. It does not even insure that urgently needed resources will at last be released for use in America's cities, since the Pentagon has plans to use any savings for its own new weapons projects. But whatever happens, or fails to happen, will, in our judgment, be preferable to going on with the present agony of death and destruction that is literally destroying Vietnam, undermining our own domestic social fabric, and damaging our country's name in the world community.

The real problem for the United States in unilateral withdrawal is not in the military consequences in Vietnam, but the political consequenecs at home. We do not underestimate their magnitude, or the courage that would be required to face them. The President is under great pressure, and it may seem safer and wiser for him to pursue a less drastic course. But we believe that both the American people and the world at large would respond to forthright leadership to withdraw our country from this war, especially if it were made clear simultaneously that the U.S. stood ready to assist generously in the task of economic reconstruction. We are not calling for the United States to abandon Vietnam, but only to replace a destructive American presence with a constructive one that will act in concert with an international effort to provide such economic help as may be requested by the Vietnamese.

This approach would give us a whole new position in Southeast Asia. At the very least, it would change the present tragic image of the United States. Every day sees the armed forces of the world's most powerful nation raining bombs and chemicals and napalm on the rice fields and bamboo huts of one of the poorest and most defenseless countries. As long as this continues, millions must wonder whether the Americans have indeed become the New Barbarians.

Let us therefore order a cease-fire and withdrawal from Vietnam, unilaterally and immediately. Let us get on with what is really important: the rebuilding of their country—and ours—and the lifting of the burden of poverty from the backs of Vietnamese and Americans alike. These are tasks in which Americans can join with enthusiasm.

GILBERT F. WHITE,
Chairman.
BRONSON P. CLARK,
Executive Secretary.

Footnotes at end of article.

FOOTNOTES

[1] June 8, 1954, Public Statement issued by the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee.

[2] Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees, Senator Edward Kennedy, chairman. May 9, 1968. The same report indicates that 80% of these refugees fled because of U.S. bombing. In our Quaker experience, this percentage is a conservative estimate.

[3] The Vietnam Guardian, March 22, 1969: "Saigon: The World's Most Crowded City." Average density of Saigon is reported as 148 persons per acre; Tokyo, the second most densely populated city in the world, averages 63. Densities in Saigon are up to 830 persons per acre.

[4] The Nation, April, 21, 1969. Report from Professors E. W. Pfeiffer and G. N. Orians of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, as quoted in editorial, "Ravaging Vietnam."

[5] November, 6.94 tons per sortie; December, 7:00 tons per sortie; January, 7.55 tons per sortie; February, 7.55 tons per sortie. These estimates were computed on the basis of figures on total tonnage and total number of sorties provided by the Southeast Asian News Desk, Directorate for Defense Information of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), March 26, 1969.

[6] Washington Post, December 27, 1968: "10,000-Pound Bombs Used to Clear Viet Landing Zone." These bombs, too big for conventional fighter-bombers, are reported as being dropped from C-130 cargo planes or flying crane helicopters.

[7] In one such removal, during Operation Bold Mariner in January 1969, 12,000 peasants from the Batangan Peninsula were taken to a waterless camp near Quang Ngai over whose guarded gate floated a banner saying, "We thank you for liberating us from communist terror." These people had been given an hour to get out before the USS New Jersey began to shell their homes. After 8 weeks of imprisonment they were ferried back to what was left of their villages, given a few sheets of corrugated metal and told to fend for themselves. When asked what they would live on until new crops could be raised, the Vietnamese camp commander said, "Maybe they can fish."

[8] A Quaker worker, writing from Quang Ngai late in February 1969, describes the situation as follows:

"Several of us went to the roof about 3 a.m. The Americans unleashed the terrifying 'Puff the Magic Dragon,' a DC3 that spews forth 5000 machine gun bullets per minute. As I watched it circle overhead last night, silhouetted against the low clouds in the light of the flares, flinging indiscriminate bolts of death earthward, I could vividly visualize the scene below. Men, women, children and animals, caught like rats in a flood. No place to hide, no way to plead their case of innocence to the machine in the sky, no time to prepare for death. The beating the civilians are taking in this war is beyond adequate description.

"Sitting behind the others on the roof I felt tears welling up and was shocked as I became aware of feelings foreign to my conscious self, which surfaced under the indescribable strain of watching man slaughter man en masse. The cold, mechanical, compassionless way that monster circled around and around and around, ruthlessly pursuing an unseen 'enemy,' stabbing viciously earthward again and again, probing, searching, killing and maiming all in its path . . . We have survived, but a lot of Quang Ngai people didn't make it. And a lot more who are now clinging to life over at the hospital will not make it until morning. If only we could bring this horrifying scene of human devastation in its true dimensions home to the people who must know what it's like. The ones who are pulling the strings on this deadly puppet show. Man's inhumanity to man has reached its climax in Vietnam."

[9] Report of the Kennedy Subcommittee, cited above. These figures, the report notes, are prior to the 1968 Tet offensive, which greatly increased the rate of civilian casualties.

[10] In Quang Ngai's 500-bed provincial hospital, for example, there were in late February over 600 patients, the great majority war-related. At one point, our Quaker physician was the only non-Vietnamese medical personnel available to care for this overflow load, with the exception of a single Vietnamese doctor.

[11] Consider the following, taken from one of many recent reports from Quaker workers in Quang Ngai:

"How can I tell you what it was like! These people coming in filthy, with glazed looks, numb. Nobody talking, nobody crying and the sounds of furious battle not yet ended pursuing them in the door. The emergency room floor still covered with blood from yesterday's casualties, smelled in the heat of the day and was oppressive . . .

"One little fella of ten or so, shot in the face. Three bullet or fragment holes in the back and buttocks, one of which had exited through his abdomen, the others lodged somewhere. He, like most of the others, came in lying in a pool of blood. Feces and ground up bits of bone were flowing out of the buttocks wound. Vomitus ran from his mouth and mixed with the blood pouring from the face wound. We worked with him for a long time but his chances are slim. He was in shock (most of them were) and struggling to get up from time to time, at times opening his eyes wide to beg for water or complain of the pain in his belly and then lapsing into unconsciousness. His father stood by silently, grief written all over his face. A girl, maybe seven years old, with a head wound and skull fracture. Also major portions of one foot missing. Mother and grandmother crying quietly while trying to help us dress the wounds. A mother lying on a stretcher on the floor smeared with blood and with her infant lying silently on her chest. The baby also was covered with blood and I never saw it move.

"I've seen all this before! Why can't I get used to it?! Each lifeless form, every scream of anguish, each blank stare of those who have suffered too much strikes pain in the pit of my stomach. Are there really those who can look at a scene like this and not suffer with the people?"

[12] Figures provided by the Pentagon's Southeast Asian News Desk, March 26, 1969.

[13] Ibid.

[14] This is confirmed by the New York Times, April 18, 1969 ("U.S. Battle Let-Up Denied in Saigon") which reports that "American troops are continuing to follow a policy of maximum pressure against the enemy. Allied units are continuing to patrol and pursue the enemy aggressively." Later in the story an unidentified colonel is quoted as follows: "All our battalions and brigades are out and operating from one end of the country to the other, just as they've been doing for months. If the casualty figures are down, it's because the Vietcong didn't want to fight—not the United States."

[15] Figures provided by the Pentagon's Southeast Asian News Desk, March 26, 1969. Senator George McGovern, speaking on the Senate floor March 17, 1969, reports this withdrawal was of "22 full regiments." Sources differed as to the reason for the withdrawal. The military attributed it to the need of North Vietnam to rest its battered forces; Senator McGovern suggests it was in response to the bombing halt.

[16] South Vietnamese government figures, as reported by the Pentagon's Southeast Asian News Desk, March 26, 1969. Data available only through December 1968. These show 443 killed in October, 440 killed in November, 355 killed in December.

[17] Figures provided by the Pentagon's Southeast Asian News Desk, March 26, 1969.

[18] Representative Don Edwards (Dem., Calif.) in a speech on the floor of the House, March 26, 1969.

[19] New York Times, November 1, 1968. William Beecher, "Laos Route to Be Pounded."

[20] U.P.I., January 29, 1969.

[21] Pentagon figures, updated from those quoted by W. F. Ryan (Dem., N.Y.) in the Congressional Record, March 26, 1969.

[22] New York Times, January 3, 1969. Charles Mohr, "Major Gains Made by Vietnam Allies, Even Critics Assert." Reader's Digest, February 1969, an interview with Admiral John S. McCain, Jr., "In Vietnam the Enemy Is Beaten." When the NLF stepped up the fighting late in February 1969, the military made efforts to keep the vision of U.S. progress alive by downgrading these actions. See New York Times, March 11, 1969, Charles Mohr, "Field Checks in Vietnam Show Allies Understated Foe's Gains." The American Friends Service Committee can document this charge from its own experience as far as Quang Ngai is concerned, since the city has more than once since February 23 have been subject to night ground attacks that have resulted in an occupation of at least 25% over a period of several hours. Yet, as far as we know, these actions have not been reported by the military briefers.

[23] Quang Ngai, as one provincial capital, for example, has over the past year been regularly infiltrated at night. In the weeks following Tet 1969, heavy street fighting erupted twice around our unarmed and unprotected Quaker compound, which is well within the city limits. Every house in Quang Ngai city has its sandbagged shelter to protect the occupants. This is the situation in a provincial city garrisoned by allied troops. Is this security?

[24] Estimates from our AFSC contacts in Vietnam suggest 20% as the maximum support that Thieu-Ky could claim, with 80% in opposition. Some U.S. government estimates use these same figures but in reverse. We find it difficult to understand the basis for the official U.S. optimism on this point.

RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION 18TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION LOS ANGELES, CALIF., APRIL 1969: END THE VIETNAM WAR

Whereas: It appears that a majority of our fellow Americans now agree that intervention in Vietnam was a disastrous mistake, harmful to our nation's welfare; and

Whereas: ILWU members can take patriotic pride in the fact that their union spoke out against this mistaken policy from the beginning. They can be proud that ILWU, along with leaders of a number of AFL unions, gave support to the courageous and farsighted early minority which strove to arouse the American people to the ways in which the war was damaging and endangering our nation; and

Whereas: The 1967 ILWU Convention called for our union to persuade the rest of the labor movement to get into the fight for peace. We took part in a noteworthy effort by many leading AFL–CIO and independent union officials to establish a Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace to show that the war program did not have solid labor support; and

Whereas: Worthwhile as these efforts were, it is only fair to say that the leadership in the peace movement has not come from labor. It has come primarily from the young people whose lives and values are directly threatened by war and militarism, and from their natural friends and sympathizers—women, teachers and clergymen. The peace movement has been powerfully assisted too by the upsurge of Black resentment against the waste of national treasure and energy on foreign war to the neglect of poverty and injustice in our own backyard; and

Whereas Labor has every reason to take a leading, active part in the peace movement. American workers pay for the immense cost of the war. Their paychecks are cut by inflation, taxes and surtaxes. At the same time the conditions of life deteriorate because the war prevents government attention to the problems of transportation, pollution, crime, inadequate schools and community facilities and

Whereas: Our union must help reinforce the peace movement. A year ago LBJ's dramatic announcement of a halt in the bombing of the North diffused that movement—and thereby made it possible to continue a war which had become politically unacceptable—by deluding the American people that the war was being ended; and

Whereas: Far from scaling down the fighting, the aggressive search-and-destroy actions and the instant-pacification program ordered in the last months of LBJ's term escalated the level of combat and produced more American casualties; and

Whereas: The atrociousness of the war was escalated for civilians as well. Our bombers were shifted away from their wasteful and ineffective missions in the North to the "protective" destruction of the southern countryside; and

Whereas: Then, as so often before, Americans were asked by Dean Rusk to be patient and support one more effort which would bring the "honorable" settlement we had been fighting for all along: a permanently divided Vietnam with an anti-communist government in the South. This is the unrealistic objective for which the Eisenhower administration and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles first started American interference in Vietnam affairs; and

Whereas: Up to now the Nixon administration has gone along with this program, while the military commanders repeat the same old bunk which has kept casualties mounting for the last six futile years: "We are winning, give us a little more time and we can bring the boys home and let the Saigon troops take over"; and

Whereas: The war will continue indefinitely—both the killing and draining of money we urgently need at home—unless a national decision is made to abandon the foolhardy objectives set by Dulles, Rusk and the military hawks, and negotiate a political settlement; and

Whereas: To bring about such a decision will apparently require a massive new popular anti-war protest, of which Labor must be a part. Our union must take a leading role in such a drive, doing all it can to encourage new allies from other unions, but moving ahead nevertheless. We must seek out and develop every natural alliance with other elements—youth, Blacks, and other minorities, the poor and exploited, and the growing number of clergymen, scientists and intellectuals who are concerned for peace and social progress. We need them and they need us to win our common objectives;

Therefore be it resolved: We want and will work for these objectives:

1. Stop the killing—ceasefire.

2. Negotiate a political settlement with the people who are doing the fighting.

3. Withdraw all support from the present Saigon government if it does not cooperate in the peace negotiations.

4. Cut back on military spending and use the money for urgent domestic needs.

5. Eliminate the 10% surtax.

6. No more Vietnams! Stop pouring money down the drain all over the world. Stop trying to be a world cop. Let us straighten out our own house and show how democracy can be made to work at home before we try to tell the rest of the world how to live.

7. Reassert Congressional control over the military-industrial complex. Investigate the extent to which unwarranted military secrecy has been used to hide the squandering of public funds and manipulation of public opinion for the advantage of private profits and personal careers.

8. Strengthen the United Nations.

9. End the Cold War. Seek peaceful coexistence between nations with different social systems; and

Be it further resolved: That we demand that the Nixon Administration begin the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and that the negotiators in Paris be given instructions to move the peace talks ahead with the proposal for the withdrawal of all and any foreign troops and to leave the Vietnamese to decide their own affairs;

And be it further resolved: That we make this resolution public by sending it to all news media, our Congressmen, Senators, Secretary of State Rogers and President Nixon.

Be it finally resolved: That we urge the officers and members of this union to take all appropriate action to these ends and to develop understanding and support for these policies in our communities and among our elected representatives.

RESOUTION 89: PEACE AND VIETNAM

(NOTE.—Adopted by the International Executive Board to whom the resolution was referred by the delegates to the AFSCME 17th International Convention.)

Whereas, It is now generally agreed that the most pressing immediate problem is for our country to get into a condition of peace, as distinguished from a condition of war—undeclared or otherwise, and

Whereas, The cost of war is borne primarily by working people through higher prices, higher taxes, and reduced services, while the profits of large corporations have increased astronomically, and

Whereas, Only in a condition of peace will it be possible to bring to actuality the necessary public services, educational programs, and social welfare programs which are presently bottled up in Congress due to priority conflicts over where to allocate funds, and

Whereas, It has become increasingly obvious that the needs of the majority of people in our country can best be met by a country at peace,

Therefore be it resolved: That this International Convention expresses its sincere desire for an immediate and rapid de-escalation of the war in Viet Nam.

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE SHOWS THE WAY

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, an article that deserves more than passing attention at this time is David S. Broder's article "Political Image Is Deceiving When It Comes to Achievements," published in this morning's the Washington Post. While the article speaks for itself, I am proud of our House Judiciary Committee and its very able chairman, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, for his leadership.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the article into the RECORD and commend it to the attention of all our colleagues. It reads as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 6, 1969]

POLITICAL IMAGE IS DECEIVING WHEN IT COMES TO ACHIEVEMENTS

(By David S. Broder)

The gap between appearance and reality in politics was nicely illustrated last week by the contrasting performances of the Republican Governors and the leaders of the House Judiciary Committee.

To all outward appearances, the Republican Governors are the kind of men who should be managing the affairs of the country—young, vigorous and tuned in to the contemporary problems of the kind they find in running 30 states with three-fourths of the American people. Or so it would seem.

To all outward appearances, 80-year-old Rep. Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn and 67-year-old Rep. William McCulloch of Ohio, respectively the Democratic chairman and the ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, are a pair of fusty fuddy-duddies, symbols of the well-known decadence of the Congressional seniority system. Where the Governors stride, Celler and McCulloch shuffle. Where the Governors speak in well-modulated television tones, Celler and McCulloch tend to mumble.

And yet last week it was the old men who furnished an outstanding example of political leadership in bringing the constitutional amendment for direct, popular election of the President out of committee with a bipartisan 4-to-1 majority, while the Governors were again making a spectacle of themselves.

Their three-day session in Lexington and Louisville, designed to bring the GOP Governors to Kentucky at the height of the Derby social season, was a pinnacle of political irrelevance. As usual, the Governors' meetings produced not one statement of substance on any significant issue before the country.

These semi-annual junkets by the Republican Governors have become something of a political scandal. As they have frolicked their way through the country's plushest resorts, from Palm Beach to Palm Springs, smiling their satisfied smiles and garciously allowing themselves to be entertained at the homes and clubs of the local white business aristocracy, the Governors have systematically undercut any claim to serious consideration as officials concerned with or capable of handling the problems of this country.

When these men come out of the country club just long enough to assert—as they did again last week—that the Federal Government must deal with the cities, city dwellers and city problems only through the Governors themselves, it is hard to believe that they are not knowingly inviting ridicule.

So one turns with relief from them to Celler and McCulloch, the two old men devoid of the stuttings of ambition, who showed last week what a splendid thing the committee system of Congress can be when it is employed to encourage the play of argument and the clash of ideas on a fundamental issue of public policy.

At a time when the Governors were golfing and the campus radicals were playing the politics of confrontation, Celler and McCulloch and their Judiciary colleagues showed the vitality of the tradition of non-violent political discourse.

Expert testimony, reasoned argument and careful weighing of evidence changed men's minds, as the Judiciary Committee considered what to do about the way the President is elected. The result was, as Celler said, "the first bold step" in many long years toward a fundamental reform of our system—a reform which now stands a far better chance of final passage because of its conspicuous quality of procedure that produced it.

The Republican Governors showed that some politicians can frolick while their country is being torn apart. Celler and McCulloch showed there are politicians who know how to act when the situation cries out for action. One can hope the voters will treat them with the contempt or the respect their conduct deserves.

BEST RESPONSE EVER TO 1969 QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, nearly 25,000 residents of the 18th Congressional District of Michigan took the time and trouble to answer my 1969 questionnaire last month. It was easily the most enthusiastic response ever to this annual program.

For the first time this year I invited senior classes in most of the high schools in the 18th District to participate. In a small way, I thought it would provide them a means for making their views known at a time when so many young people urgently need a sense of participation. More than 1,500 seniors replied. Their views are summarized below and provide an interesting comparison with the replies of the adults.

Adults and teenagers agreed by an identical 2-to-1 margin that the surtax should be extended until inflation is under control. By the same 2-to-1 ratio adults said they would oppose a "thin" anti-ballistic-missile system if the installations were located away from major population centers. The senior split on the ABM issue.

Predictably, the young people heavily supported lowering of the voting age to 18 while the adults opposed such a change 2-to-1. Both adults and students favor establishment of a volunteer army to replace the draft after Vietnam.

More than half of the adults and students replying said they favor both stricter law enforcement and more programs for the cities and slum areas in dealing with civil disorder. But the remaining 35 to 40 percent split dramatically. Of this group the adults overwhelmingly supported stricter law enforcement measures while the students favored more social programs.

Nearly 80 percent of the adults who replied favored conversion of the Post Office to a Government-owned corporation to operate on a self-supporting basis, but nearly 60 percent of the young people opposed the idea.

A majority of adults and teenagers agreed on the need for electoral college reform, Federal firearms licensing and registration, Federal tax rebates to the States, and social security payments tied to the cost of living.

A tabulation of the replies to each question follows: The percentage of blank or undecided replies to each question is omitted:

[In percent]

	Adults	Students
Regarding the 10-percent surtax, do you believe it should be:		
(a) continued until inflation is under control?	60.90	61.0
(b) removed this year under any circumstances?	33.07	33.0
In dealing with civil disorder, do you favor:		
(a) stricter handling of riots and demonstrators by police and courts?	30.30	9.6
(b) more programs for improvement of the cities and slum areas?	3.06	34.0
(c) Both?	65.58	58.0

	Adults		Students	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Do you favor lowering the voting age to 18?	32.28	66.34	72	29
Do you believe a volunteer army should be established to replace the draft after Vietnam?	63.10	32.88	70	29
Should the Federal Government develop laws to help prevent strikes by public employees?	80.25	17.29	49	50
Do you favor tying social security payments to the cost-of-living index?	83.26	14.14	67	25
Do you favor Federal registration and licensing of firearms?	70.00	28.54	80	20
Would you oppose investment in a "thin" antiballistic missile system, if the installation were located away from metropolitan areas?	61.03	32.54	47	48
Do you favor legislation which would return to the States and local governments for use as they see fit, a percentage of the money now collected in Federal income taxes?	79.02	17.49	69	25
Would you favor replacing the electoral college placing greater emphasis on the direct popular vote in electing the President?	90.65	7.51	87	14
Do you support the proposal to convert the Post Office into Government-owned corporation to operate on a self-supporting basis?	77.37	17.04	38	56

URBAN DYNAMICS

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the annual Bourgeois lecture at Merrimack College featured a lecture this year by the former mayor of Boston, John F. Collins, who in his speech on Urban Dynamics gave his view that a continued reliance on the present programs to revitalize core cities will only result in failure. The lecture series, made possible by a grant from a prominent trustee of the college, Homer W. Bourgeois, was, in his words, "timely," and useful in involving Merrimack College and the community in its problems.

Mayor Collins, who has been researching the problems of urban affairs as a visiting professor at MIT, told his audience that a new approach is needed to save the cities. He cited the lack of understanding of the complexities of the urban life cycle which he has been studying through the use of systems management techniques.

The systematic study that Mr. Collins has undertaken of the manifold and complex factors involved in the growth or decline of a city has produced some controversial suggestions and an attack on several long held assumptions. I commend the report on the lecture published in the Lowell Sun to those interested in the problems of our cities and in the use of systems techniques as an important research tool which can be utilized to provide an understanding of what the problems really are, and I submit this article for inclusion at this point in the RECORD:

BOURGEOIS LECTURE—FORMER HUB MAYOR SAYS SIMPLE SYSTEMS CAN'T SOLVE URBAN ILLS

(By Frank Phillips)

ANDOVER.—Former Boston Mayor John F. Collins said last night that the multiplicity of program which have been instituted to help cities may be doing significant and lasting harm.

Speaking to a group of area business men at Merrimack College, Collins said he came to this conclusion as a result of research of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is presently a visiting professor of urban affairs at MIT.

Collins was invited to address the group as part of the college's Bourgeois Lecture series, made possible by a grant from Homer W. Bourgeois, a Lowell resident and business man. Included in the audience were some dozen Greater-Lowell business executives and civic leaders.

Collins said the results of the research will be published in a book to appear May 8. He attributed the major responsibility of the work to MIT professor Jay Forrester. Collins aided Forrester in the research and has written the introduction to the book, which is authored by the MIT professor.

According to Collins, the research involved a thorough analysis of a model urban area which included all the variables and dynamics that make up the modern city. The basic assumption of the study was that urban area has a life cycle of growth, maturity, and degeneration. The study also was based on the theory that rules which govern simple systems cannot be applied to those rules of management of far more complex systems.

Collins claimed that the failure of many of the existing programs to improve the cities is a result of people's not understanding the complexities of the urban life cycle and the reliance on the assumption that the rules for simple systems cannot be applied to a complex social system. He laid part of the blame on the immediate pressures, both political and social, on the government leaders to relieve the immediate situation.

Collins cited low-cost housing as a prime example of a program which actually cause degeneration of the urban area rather than the intended regeneration.

Low-cost housing, he said, does relieve the immediate problems of over crowded housing conditions, but at the same time deprives the area of valuable land use. According to Collins a more valuable use of the land would involve the construction of job-creating industry. The residents in the area could then obtain the financial means to move out of the area and into areas of more "relative attractiveness."

The results of low-cost housing also increase the number of under-employed in the area by creating the availability of new housing for underemployed people, who would migrate to such an area, according to Collins.

The increase of pressure on available land area exerted by the low-cost housing program has a large negative effect on the creation of the rate of new enterprises and the rate of creation of class and labor-class housing. Thus, the number of business units in the area declines along with the pool of available jobs, with the resulting economic pressures creating an outward migration of all classes of population.

Collins claimed that similar results were found concerning job training programs and generalized financial aid programs.

He urged that the federal government commit itself to exploring new research and evaluation methods which should be built into each existing program designed to improve the complex situation of urban area.

Responding to a question of whether he would have acted differently as mayor of Boston had he been aware of the analysis he had just described, Collins said that he would have proposed a different alternative

to the controversial Washington Park Project. He claimed the Project is a typical low-cost housing program which has done considerably more harm than good. He said the housing has locked the residents in the area in decent housing but has not given them the opportunity of jobs and financial ability to move to more attractive areas.

Collins was also asked about the immediate problems of the cities in light of his suggestion that the country must commit itself to long-term analysis of the problems and their solutions. He responded that a blend must be found between the short and long term programs, with eventual weeding out of the ineffectual and harmful projects. He said proper analysis would provide the answers of which programs are good and which are bad.

After the lecture, the guests adjourned to the Andover Country Club where the members were able to discuss informally with Collins the substance of his speech.

The guests from the Greater Lowell area were very much impressed by Collins' provocative talk.

Bourgeois, sponsor of the lecture series at Merrimack College, called the address "timely", particularly in his view as a supporter of urban redevelopment. He added that he was pleased to sponsor such a lecture which can involve Merrimack College and the community and its problems.

Joseph P. Donahue, president of the Greater Lowell Chamber of Commerce, said that Collins' point of more emphasis on the evaluation of existing programs was excellent. He said he felt that federal efforts should be concentrated on gathering data and evaluation of the urban situation and the effects of the present programs.

HE SPOKE FOR AMERICA

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD an article written by Stephen N. Sestanovich in the April issue of the Foreign Service Journal. His account of his father's deep love for his adopted country is a superb testament to the privileges and responsibilities of U.S. citizenship. Roy Sestanovich has assisted countless foreign-born to become citizens. His example is an inspiration to all of us and represents an inherent strength in this country which we sometimes forget. I am proud to join in this tribute to a great American. The article follows:

HE SPOKE FOR AMERICA

(By Stephen N. Sestanovich)

(NOTE.—To my father, naturalization was a sacrament, like baptism, confirmation or matrimony.)

Throughout his life my father has carried on his shoulders the burden of his immense debt to the United States of America. He was still a young man when he decided to do something about liquidating it. How he inspired and helped hundreds of immigrants from other lands to pay their own debt to Uncle Sam is one of those unique achievements which constantly nourish the American dream. I remember well what he did, for it touched my life as well.

I was seven years old in 1920, and only recently arrived in the United States, when I fell under the spell of my father's fierce patriotism. My mother and I had been stranded on a small island off the Dalmatian coast where we sat out World War I. Father left us there in 1914 to go to California to set up a home for us, intending to have us join him in a few months. But in a few months the conflagration was upon us and six years were to pass before our reunion in Oakland, California.

On our arrival I sensed immediately my father's alarm over my lack of physical and educational development. Here was his sickly American son who spoke no English and was a stranger in America. He set upon the task of building me up physically, teaching me English, and instilling in me knowledge and appreciation of the customs and institutions of the wondrous land to which I had just come.

Father was 35 then, of medium height and weight, fair hair and complexion, and very strong. For a skinny seven-year-old my work-study schedule was rigorous. Calisthenics morning, noon and night at the local Sokol gymnaisum were followed by huge glasses of milk, lots of hot bread and honey and great quantities of fresh fruit. There were language lessons, and what Father considered most important of all—committing to memory the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Address, names of the states, names of the Presidents, the pledge to the Flag and the Lord's Prayer.

In a month I was ready to enter school. I was more than ready, for no other first-grader at St. Joseph's elementary school had heard of Bunker Hill, Gettysburg, or Chester A. Arthur, or government of the people, for the people, by the people. I felt out of place. But that was Father's way. Nothing pleased him more than to direct my Americanization and to see me excel over other kids.

My father looked on America as a personal property which he possessed, which he cared about, and whose virtues he intoned to all who would listen. Indeed, he was impatient with immigrants who didn't immediately catch the fire of his zeal, or who delayed even for a few days after stepping off the boat taking the first steps leading to their naturalization.

To my father naturalization was a sacrament, like baptism, confirmation, or matrimony. He disapproved strongly of those who let their citizenship lapse, didn't take an active part in civic affairs, or who didn't take the trouble to vote.

The wave of immigration to the United States after World War I created the usual problems of displacement and relocation. And in those days there were no government or private programs to assist the newcomer. Immigrants gathered in ghettos. On their own the men looked for work in railroad yards, the women in the canneries, and the children helped farmers bring in their crops. All of them worked long hours for little pay. Precious little could be spared for education or recreation. The average immigrant had two aims: to stay off relief and to build the family's savings for a better life later on.

To my father the failure of immigrants to invest in education signaled a wavering of faith in democracy. He went to the ghettos, reasoned with their dwellers, some of whom were relatives and fellow-townsmen from the old country.

"Look," he pleaded with them, "you *must* send your children to school and you've got to study and become American citizens. America will reward your unskilled work and be grateful for it, but the big rewards for you and your children will come only with education, lots of it."

Some of the men snickered bitterly. In the old country only the children of the rich could hope for education and advancement. "It will be the same here." "Let's be grateful we have work," they argued.

The women were more astute. At work they had heard of someone's cousin or a nephew who had finished high school and rose to become a clerk at the Southern Pacific round house. They wanted their kids to do the same.

My father decided on an independent course of action. He bought a dozen language books, readers, a quantity of arithmetic books, and a few copies of the famous old green book so familiar to every candidate for US citizenship, "Questions and Answers for American Citizenship." He made a deal with the Sokol club to use their hall and several rooms for his classes. He talked to the principal of Prescott Junior High School, Mr. George E. Mortensen, and arranged to have Mrs. Gladys Webb teach citizenship.

By this time I was 12 years old, filled with knowledge of American history and institutions, and thus pressed into service at Father's school as a teacher of citizenship.

All classes were at night. Little by little the immigrants came—first the women, then the children, finally the men. In no time at all the classes became overcrowded.

The students learned English, Serbo-Croatian, and American government. Instruction was free. The Sokol organization charged nothing for the hall. Mrs. Webb's services were donated by the Oakland Board of Education. My father naturally applied his services and mine to pay off the patriotic debt. Students paid only one dollar a month, which was supposed to cover the cost of the books and classroom supplies, but often didn't.

Between his own classes my father would visit each of the other classes nightly. "Learn learn, learn, you blockheads. You must learn," he shouted at the dullards and backsliders over and over again.

What always pleased Father immensely was any opportunity to exhibit his great knowledge of American institutions. He took advantage of any occasion to pound home lessons on the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, our system of checks and balances, or to describe how a bill becomes a law in the Congress.

Father swore at the Eighteenth Amendment. To him this "dry law" was "a devilish limitation of personal freedom." "But just because I don't like it doesn't mean I don't have to obey it," he used to say. "It is the law of the land and obey it we must until men of reason prevail and change it." My country right or wrong was an aphorism he often used.

My father loved the heroes of America. "Tell me who your heroes are and I'll tell you a great deal about yourself," was one of his favorite sayings. He never stopped exhorting his students to emulate America's heroes, quoting from the poets, statesmen and scholars who have recorded the nation's history.

"Where but in America will you find a man like Abraham Lincoln?" he would ask his classes.

"Let his life be an example to you. Work as he worked in the midst of poverty, remembering how he found dignity in splitting rails, blacksmithing, clerking, and how the same dignity was still there when he became President.

"Be his kind of do-it-yourself student—the penniless Lincoln hankering to be a lawyer, borrowing books from a neighbor miles away, reading them lying stretched out on a store counter with his head resting on a parcel of calico.

"Let me teach you his prayers: 'If God has a place and work for me, and I think he has, I believe I am ready.'

"Learn something of Lincoln's sense of fair-play, and his stick-to-it-iveness: 'With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan

—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.'

"And Jefferson," he would say, "a different kind of man. A democrat, but an intellectual aristocrat. Think of all the things this man taught himself to do. To write eloquently. To grow grapes. To practice law. To speak in six languages. To design furniture. To play the violin. To be an architect. To invent useful tools. To build a great university. To make bricks. To make nails. To make democracy work."

Slowly Father's and my pupils were ready for their examination. Each week one day was set aside in the superior court of Lincoln S. Church to hear applicants for US citizenship. For a number of years my father and I provided candidates for these sessions. Each sitting of this court was a solemn occasion, especially for my father, more like a service in a great cathedral a court of law.

Judge Church's court was large, majestic with its walnut paneling, heavy drapes, a brilliant chandelier. High up on the bench sat Judge Church, in silk robe, himself a revered figure with a stentorian voice, good looks and a huge body adding to the awe.

My father and I were there always, it seems. We sat in the audience. "Wonderful, wonderful," Judge Church said to me once. "Steve, you're only 12 years old, only five years in the United States, and already you are making American citizens. How wonderful."

The judge called the first applicant. The first was always one of our pupils. Father knew what the first question would be. There was an unrehearsed plan between him and Judge Church, a design of two patriotic wills to select a candidate who could set the stage, instill pride in country, as if to light the candles on the altar.

"Mike Lipan, you want to be an American citizen. Good. Then tell us if you will whom you admire most in America, and tell us why," Judge Church would ask.

Mike was just 21 years of age. He was a big, chubby fellow, round-faced and eager. In the old country he received a sixth-grade education. He was able to read the newspapers, and when something complicated was said on the radio he was able to interpret it to the ghetto folks. I worked with him for weeks. We went over and over the green book questions and answers. He recited, repeated and memorized. Mike was better able to face that court than most American high school graduates.

"I think Michael Pupin is best American," he said.

Father and I were stunned for a moment. Hadn't we drilled Mike on Benjamin Franklin? We had, but apparently Mike's love of science outpaced our tutoring program.

"I know Michael Pupin." Mike continued. "He was born poor in small Serbian village of Idvor, not far from where I was born. He came to America. He studied. He became American citizen. He saved his money. He go to night school, later to Columbia University, and to Cambridge University in England. He became great inventor. He now is professor of electromechanics in Columbia University. Few months ago he was invited by University of California in Berkeley as Charter Day speaker. More than 50,000 big-shots went to Greek Theater to listen to Dr. Pupin. In New York, Columbia University built big engineering building that they call Michael Pupin building. Michael Pupin is great American citizen. I want to be American citizen like Michael Pupin," concluded Mike Lipan.

Judge Church's courtroom was silent. Indeed, the altar candles had been lighted. Mike's simple sincerity was magnificent.

As often happens history was to drag its feet. Mike didn't become a Michael Pupin. He became a chef instead, but his son is now a nuclear physicist at the big research center in Livermore, California, working on some of the most important projects in that field.

Mike became a citizen that day. And week after week Father's other pupils would do the same. More than 200 humble peasants, fishermen, dishwashers, cooks and bakers, delivery boys, waiters were ushered through the rite of American naturalization, their first step toward a new and cherished way of life. They brought little from the old country, but what they brought was truly valuable—integrity, devotion, perseverance. And from Father they learned the meaning of patriotism in a land of opportunity. Today, their sons and daughters occupy professorial chairs at universities across the land, practice medicine and law, sit in the councils of government. Many have fought and some have died for the nation's honor in three wars.

By the 1930s Father felt that he had made at least a sizable payment on his debt to Uncle Sam. The classes which he started were absorbed by the Oakland public school system and Father and I retired from this engaging hobby to do other things—he to pay more attention to his business and I to go off to college.

For a long time people said good and kind things about Father's contribution to America's heritage. None was so appreciative as a young district attorney of Alameda County whose name was Earl Warren, now Chief Justice of the United States. On one occasion the young district attorney stopped by the old Sokol club to pay his respects to Father. He told a group gathered there:

"It is always a pleasure to be in this hall over which Roy Sestanovich presides. Judge Lincoln (S.) Church has told me some interesting things about Roy which I want to pass on to you.

"Judge Church, as many of you know, grants more US naturalization certificates than any judge in this county. And every time his court meets, says Judge Church, there is Roy Sestanovich—beaming, and presenting another group of immigrants for naturalization.

"These are extraordinary candidates, says Judge Church. They are people whom Roy has taught, coached and imbued with the spirit of America. Judge Church has told me that Roy has taught the principles of American government to hundreds of immigrants and brought them to his court personally to be sworn in to the dignity of American citizenship. I know that in Roy's book American citizenship is the highest honor to which a man can aspire. He prizes his citizenship, and he has imbued his students with great respect for it.

"I can tell you as District Attorney that there are no delinquents in Roy's group, no vagrants, no drunkards. They are ideal Americans. They love their country. They take care of themselves."

And so it was. One man's simple effort elevated a generation of men to full participation in the wider life of the nation. I know it was a worthy effort for I was its principal beneficiary.

A TRIBUTE TO HENRY McDONOUGH

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to a fine and decent American who passed from our midst Monday night after a lifetime of devotion to public service. I am speaking about Henry McDonough, a close and cherished friend and a dedicated lawyer and public servant who served as executive chairman of the Bronx County Democratic Committee since February of 1967.

His leadership was an inspiration to so many of us. His contributions to Bronx County, the city of New York, our Nation, and the Democratic Party were both genuine and outstanding. He had the courage of his convictions, possessed tremendous ability, and was always implicitly fair to his fellowman.

Among his many duties, he served as counsel to the Bronx County Public Administrator since 1965 and was a partner in the law firm of McDonough, Schneider, and Marcus in the Bronx. Before becoming executive chairman of the Bronx County Democratic Committee, he served as its secretary and treasurer.

Henry McDonough was born on March 30, 1904, in the South Bronx where he attended PS 9. He went on to Stuyvesant High School, Dartmouth College, and Fordham Law School. He was admitted to the bar in 1930.

He could never tolerate bigotry of any kind and was a champion of civil rights back in the 1930's when it was hardly a popular cause. His crusades for equal rights for our Jewish brethren, Negroes, and all mankind are legend.

I remember Henry McDonough telling me how he became a lifelong Democrat. His father, who owned a laundry in the Bronx and was a district captain, was responsible for that. Henry recalled:

My father took me to vote for the first time. In those days, paper ballots were used and my father showed me how to put an "X" at the top of the Democratic line to vote the straight party ticket. He told me to make sure I put that "X" in the same spot every year.

Since then, no one could ever question Henry McDonough's loyalty to the Democratic Party. And we, of course, owe a debt of gratitude to the senior Mr. McDonough for introducing his boy to the Democratic Party. It was one of the finest and worthiest unions I have seen in American politics.

But now Henry McDonough is gone and we have lost a great son. I know, however, that his work and his deeds will live on and many of us will look back on occasion to draw inspiration and strength from all that he has done.

HONOR STUDENTS

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, with all that we hear and read every day concerning student demonstrations, uprisings, occupations, and so forth, it is heartening to find that many college students, indeed the vast majority, are still pursuing with outstanding scholarship the quality of education which our excellent universities have to offer. Two such outstanding students are

cited in a current issue of the Trojan Family, the newspaper of the University of Southern California. They are Roland Trope and Mrs. Phyllis Moore Sanders, both seniors of USC. I would like to include the article in the RECORD and to commend both of these fine students on their outstanding achievements:

PRIZED HONORS FOR TWO STUDENTS—WILSON, MARSHALL, DANFORTH AWARDS TO TROPE

Two young USC seniors—Roland Trope and Mrs. Phyllis Moore Sanders—have been announced as multiple winners of several of the nation's most prestigious academic awards.

Young Trope, a straight-A student in the College of Letters, Arts and Sciences, is one of but 24 American college and university students to receive a Marshall Scholarship for two years of graduate study at Oxford University in England; he is one of 113 students in the nation to win a Danforth Graduate Fellowship for an additional four years of graduate study leading to a Ph. D. degree; and he has been designated a Woodrow Wilson Fellow.

Another straight-A student, Mrs. Sanders, has been given a Danforth Fellowship; the University has provided her with a National Defense Education Act Fellowship; and UCLA recently gave her a Chancellor's Teaching Fellowship.

In addition to the honors he has received already, Trope has been nominated for the Dart Award for innovate teaching and curricula. The brilliant student is the first undergraduate in USC's history to teach his own class under the formal auspices of the College of Letters, Arts and Sciences. The course, which he helped to conceive, is called "Community Encounter."

The Marshall Scholarship program was established in 1953 as an expression of Great Britain's gratitude for the European Recovery Program (the Marshall Plan). The scholarship provides Trope with tuition, living and travel expenses at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he will work for the equivalent of a master's degree in philosophy, political science and economics.

The Danforth Fellowships, provided by the Danforth Foundation of St. Louis, are designed to encourage outstanding college graduates to prepare for careers in college-level teach.ng. The Woodrow Wilson Fellowships are also aimed at the same purpose.

His studies at USC in his undergraduate years have prepared him well for his coming graduate work, Trope said. These includes his senior year of independent study in political philosophy, ethics and religion, and Urban Semester. The latter is an innovative program of education in urban life that gives its students extensive autonomy. Trope has served as a teaching assistant in the Urban Semester Summer Session.

He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and of Phi Kappa Phi.

Mrs. Sanders, a history major, is the wife of J. Stanley Sanders, an attorney in Los Angeles. She said she will use her fellowships to earn master's and doctor's degrees in the intellectual, social and cultural history of the United States.

She attended USC from 1964 to 1966 and then interrupted her education to be with her husband while he studied for his degree at the Yale University Law School. She resumed at the University last September and will graduate in June.

Her husband, prior to his law studies, spent two years at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar.

Mrs. Sanders began her undergraduate work at USC as a music major, specializing in piano. She changed her major to History, however, because, she said: "As a history major I had room to explore ideas and concerns of many academic fields."

She has participated in many extracurricular activities, including writing for the Daily Trojan, and working in the Tutorial Project for community children.

WE, THE PEOPLE

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, on March 22, 1969, I had the privilege of addressing the Edwin H. Ewing Post No. 74, Ludington, Mich., on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the American Legion.

At the time Miss Jennie McDonald, a high school student of Ravenna, Mich., presented her oratorical essay that won first place in the Ninth District competition, and the runner-up position in the zone competition before the Merritt Lamb American Legion Post of Muskegon, Mich.

Jennie McDonald is proud of her country, and I am proud of the fact that she is so dedicated in her love and respect for her heritage.

Her essay follows:

WE, THE PEOPLE

Before I started school, my mother used to spend an hour of every afternoon reading stories to me. There were many of the typical fairy tales: Cinderella and Snow White, each with the typical fairy tale meanings, "anybody can be a princess, or, beware of shady looking characters." But there was one story which really didn't fall into any of these categories. It was the story of a small boy who, by some miraculous feat, pulled a sword from a stone and became a king. I think what amazed me most was the land of which he was king. It was a place where perfect delightment and contentment were enjoyed all year round. A place where snow had a definite depth and March second marked the end of winter. Perhaps you, too, have heard the story. I'm sure you have, for you see, it's the land of Camelot.

Arthur, the small boy's name, had a vision of a union of men who would help to keep his country united. From this came the Round Table, composed of the strongest and most honorable knights of the world.

Perhaps you may find it hard to believe, but we, America that is, are very similar to a Camelot. I guess you could even call us a Camelot. We stand for peace, unity and prosperity. And we have a hope for this. And in an odd sense, we too, have a Round Table. The *Constitution!*

The Round Table was the real backbone of Camelot. Likewise, it's our Constitution that gives us the strength and courage to go on when there seems to be no hope. But Arthur had his knights to fight for his Round Table; What does our Constitution have? Let's take a look at the first few words of the preamble, maybe it can tell us. "We, the people." Do you suppose that it's we, the people, who are the knights of our Constitution? But the knights were also the destruction of the Round Table. Do you suppose that it's we, the people, who will be the destruction of our Constitution? This may seem harsh, even cruel. But how many times have you picked up a newspaper, turned on the television or radio, and been so disgusted by the riots and draft card burners that you have said, "This makes me sick." To you, Mr. American, I say congratulations. To those of you that gave a nonchalant shrug of the shoulders and sighingly said, "This is too bad," I say welcome to the crowd, Mr. Average. This, too, may seem harsh to you, yes, even cruel, but that's just what you are; Mr. Average American. Most of us work an eight hour day for an average five day week. What little variation we do get in our lives is a Saturday afternoon golf game or a Sunday afternoon trip to our mothers-in-law, and after a month or two, this too becomes routine and mundane. And then, when we, the people, are called up to serve, we the people, cannot, because we, the people, have resigned ourselves to the fact that it's easier to let someone else be responsible. Then if something should go wrong, we, the people, won't have to worry about being called failures.

Think back; if George Washington and Thomas Jefferson hadn't had a definite desire or longing for freedom, if Patrick Henry or John Adams hadn't minded being embarred or having fun poked at them, where would we be? I'm not saying that there weren't Mr. Averages in their day. Please don't get me wrong, but what I am saying is that now, in 1969, there are four to five times as many. Carl Sandburg put it aptly when he said that the people will live on, the learning and blundering people will live on.

America is one of the most prosperous nations in the world. Her income is changing and so are we, the people. It must be expected, I guess, yet my mind can't help wandering back to Camelot. You see, it too changed. The knights could no longer get along, and within six months, there was no longer a Round Table. Greed was the real and pure cause for this destruction. It can do nothing but destruct and we, the people, must see, must know this. How can anything get anywhere if there is a constant battle of one against another. Imagine in your mind how far the Constitutional Congress would have gotten if they couldn't decide where each representative was going to sit. And imagine what would happen if we, the people, didn't have our Constitution.

Our Camelot will be 200 years old in seven years. It was then that we, the people, and our Round Table began. I can only hope and pray that we, the people, and our Round Table are still standing strong and defensive in the fight for democracy.

There is a segment from Camelot I'll always remember. King Arthur felt Camelot doomed and so forced to war. On the morning before an important battle, he was sitting in the woods when a small boy came upon him. Arthur, naturally, being human and therefore curious, asked the small boy what he was doing there. A large smile came across the lad's face as he replied, "I'm going to Camelot, because I'm going to be a knight of the Round Table." Smiling, a distraught man replied, "Go home, my son, but as you grow older, please always remember my final wish. Don't let it be forgotten that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment, that was known as Camelot."

For the last few minutes, I have been standing here comparing for you, our country to a Camelot. I can almost see the wheels of your minds turning. Many of you may think it utterly ridiculous, while others in some way have been emotionally or patriotically stirred. I can only once again say that to me, an American youth, the dreams and hopes which I hold for my country are very similar to the dreams and hopes which were the foundations of King Arthur's Camelot. I, a small and unimportant member of the mighty we, the people, am ready to fight in any way I can to keep fast my Constitution and to protect America, my home. There is a song which was written about my country which says more than I ever could:

"The land I love is America,
Land where men are free.
Free to work, and love, and pray,
As God wills men should be.

"The land I love is a mighty land,
It sweeps from sea to sea.
With mountains high and rivers broad,
It re-echoes liberty.

"The land I love is a happy land,
It sings a fine free song.
A song which all mankind may join,
In voices full and strong.

"The land I love is America,
Happy, strong and free.
May God's firm hand upon our land,
Guide us eternally."

God forgive us, my friend if we, the people, ever forget that we, the people, are the real backbone and strength of our Camelot and our Constitution. God forgive us if our children ever have less than total love and respect through eyes undimmed by years of disappointment and despair. May we pass on a heritage of patriotism unknown in years gone by capable of causing them to dream only of greatness for themselves and their Constitution.

I recently read a prayer written by Abe Lincoln, a man we all respect for his courage and strength to face great problems. He prayed for courage and strength in a time when his nation faced war. May each of us have this courage and concern today. Enough that we, the people, may protect our Camelot and our Constitution. It is indeed a very fitting and proper prayer and it is for this reason that I now repeat it:

"Our heavenly father, we pray that we may hold our liberty in high esteem. We thank Thee for this wonderful country in which we are privileged to live. Inspire each one of us to hold sacred this glorious heritage. We pray that the horrors of war will soon pass from this earth and peace will reign. We ask this in Thy name. Amen."

Thank-you.

NEW YORK STUDENTS EXTEND THROUGH POETRY THEIR CONGRATULATIONS ON 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF HAWAII STATEHOOD

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the 10th anniversary of Hawaii statehood was commemorated by a series of delightful poems written by members of the Eighth grade class of the Holy Family Civics Club in New York City. These creative works reflect a grasp of Hawaii's role in our national life that is nothing short of remarkable when one considers the youth of the authors and the distance that separates them from the subject of their poetic inspiration.

I am sure that my colleagues and others will enjoy reading these poems, which express so well the spirit of Aloha, and I am pleased to insert them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

FIFTIETH STATE

(By Linda Romano)

Hawaii, out "Showcase of Democracy"
Home of our Pacific Naval Fleet
People's symbol of friendship—the lei
Welcomes tourists there every day.

Although she is still in her prime
Her population doubled since '59
Incorporated as a territory in '98
This "Gem of the Ocean" now our fiftieth state.

ISLAND OF PARADISE

(By Ronald Ciaffaglione)

Ten short years as a state
Very small, but O so great!
Flowers everywhere smell so sweet
Home of Pacific Naval Fleet

Island of Paradise all say
The Showcase of Democracy.
Half million tourists come and go
Oh! Hawaii, we love you so.

Hawaii, Hawaii a great state by far
We are glad you became our 50th Star.
So Congratulations from New York in the East
To a great Island State in the far far East.

HAWAII

(By Assunta Galasso)

Hawaii, Island of Paradise
A land of friendship
Its beautiful symbol, a lei
Tourists who go for many a day
To become Hawaiians, many stay.
The Nene, Red Hibiscus, and Palm tree
Are all part of Hawaii.
To this "Showcase of Democracy"
We send greetings aplenty
Happy Birthday, Sister State
From us in New York State.

HAWAII: THE GEM

(By Cornelius Griffin)

Land of true democracy
Gem in a deep blue sea
Land where man is truly free
Where all creeds do live in harmony.

Isle of beauty and serenity
Land gloried infinitely
Here friendly people greet you
And make you feel like royalty.

Congratulations on your tenth birthday
From New York City in the Empire State.

THE ALOHA STATE

(By Barbara Parziale)

Hawaii, the Aloha State
And Asia's friendly Gate
Throbbing Heart of the Pacific.
Melting pot is its magic.

Once a nation with king and queen
Hawaii, our best American scene
Home of U.S. Pacific Naval Fleet
Hawaii, Hawaii, you can't be beat.

Your symbol of friendship, the lei
Makes all visitors wish to stay.
Your beaches are best by far
So you became our fiftieth star.

I say congratulations
On this happy occasion.

THE ISLAND STATE

(By Michael Michalski)

It's not too soon and not too late
It's just the time to celebrate
Hawaii's birthday as a State.

Land of Perpetual summer
Tourists about in this new comer
Congratulations from us, New Yorkers.

HAWAII, THE GATEWAY

(By Sam Spata)

Hawaii, Hawaii, the world's Pacific Pearl
More beautiful than any native girl,
The Paradise of the Pacific as friendly as the lei
That its people offer in their peaceful island way.
The gateway to the Orient, a Pacific melting pot.
And there aren't many things we have that Hawaii hasn't got.
Surfers tumble o'er wave in go-go Waikiki,
No place for oldsters but for kids like me.
Oh Aloha state this day all honor goes to you.
Beautiful Pacific Isle on a sea of blue.

GREETINGS, HAWAII

(By Joann Quail)

Hawaii, Hawaii, the Island Heart-beat
With your Great Naval Pacific Fleet
Hawaii, Hawaii, you are out far
We're glad we gave you our fiftieth star
Congratulations ten times over we say
Happy Birthday from New York way.

VALLEY OF DISSENT HAS TWO PASSAGES

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note the proper credit which our colleague, the Honorable HAROLD R. COLLIER, Republican, of the 10th Congressional District of Illinois, received in an article in Suburban Life, Thursday, May 1, for the initiative he took in calling the attention of the Justice Department to the history of leadership in student anarchist activities of a Danny Cohn-Bendit, an avowed Communist agitator among student groups.

The article which follows tells the story:

VALLEY OF DISSENT HAS TWO PASSAGES

(By Patrick O'Sullivan)

A tip of my fedora goes to Cong. Harold R. Collier (R-10th), of Western Springs, who was instrumental in denying entry to the United States to Daniel "Danny the Red" Cohn-Bendit.

Cohn-Bendit, a known communist, was invited by student groups to speak at Georgetown University, Washington, and the University of California at Berkeley.

The German-born troublemaker was one of the foremost leaders in the French rioting last year. There's little doubt in my mind that had he been granted entry into this country he would have done all in his valedictory power to stir up the students at Georgetown and at Berkeley.

Fortunately, Cong. Collier saw through the ruse and took his insistent petition to John N. Mitchell, the U.S. attorney general, after attacking the issuance of the visa on the floor of the House of Representatives.

Cohn-Bendit, according to the State Department, was ineligible for a visa but the law permits the attorney general to waive the grounds for denial and issue a visa. Collier's wire to the attorney general stopped that move short.

Collier's action should point out the necessity of stopping the riots and disturbances on the campuses of universities throughout the nation.

Don't get me wrong, I have no objections to students voicing their rights to dissent or to bring their protests to the proper, authorities. Protest and peaceful assembly to air the protests are guaranteed under our Constitution.

What I do object to is the storming and taking over of administrative buildings, student centers, etc., and the breaking of windows, defacing of walls, destruction of furniture and rifling and destroying of confidential files.

At this point, as I see it, the rampaging students have forfeited their rights and have become no better than hooligans.

Furthermore, they have the unmitigated gall to demand of school officials that they be granted amnesty or immunity from arrest as conditions of surrendering the buildings.

They will harass and do battle with police

who may be summoned to quell the disturbances or remove the dissidents from the buildings and then turn around and blame the "fuzz" for the disturbances.

There's a gag making the rounds concerning a college student who called his father and said he was bringing the college dean home. When the father asked how long the dean would stay the son answered," Until the college pays the ransom." It's a joke, but the point is there.

Many of the demands the dissident students are making have merit and the problems deserve attention. Many of the other protests are nothing but smoke screens put down by student leaders as an excuse for throwing the campus up for grabs.

And how about those "student leaders" who are highly placed in national student organizations and who are conspicuous by their presence at college uprisings all over the country? In my opinion, they're professional rabble rousers and not representative of the students in general.

There are peaceful routes open for protest; they should be followed. When they're not the laws should be enforced.

UNITED STATES-SOVIET TALKS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the article which appeared in today's Washington Post by Henry Owen, director of the foreign policies study program of the Brookings Institution, provides what I regard as a particularly balanced and realistic assessment of the value of possible United States-Soviet talks on various international problems. Mr. Owen makes the important but frequently overlooked point that such talks may well be highly useful even if they fail to produce formal agreements. His observations provide both an excellent set of expectations with which to approach possible United States-Soviet talks and additional reasons why this country should proceed with utmost urgency to commence such talks, particularly on nuclear arms control. I highly recommend Mr. Owen's article to my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD:

CONSIDERING GOALS OF UNITED STATES-SOVIET TALKS

(By Henry Owen)

As the United States enters a period of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on both the Middle East and arms control, the general public view of these negotiations is clear and simple: Either they produce agreement—in which case they're a success, or they don't—in which case they're a failure. This view reflects the traditional American desire for tangible results. But it also reflects a dangerously over-simplified view of both prospect and policy.

It would be good if specific explicit U.S.-Soviet agreements could soon be achieved, and this should be our goal. But such agreements could prove as short-lived as the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, a great success in its day, if there were no provision for continuous dialogue and adjustment to changing conditions. Conversely, even if explicit agreements were not achieved, continuing dialogue could yield large benefits. Which is simply to say that in this, as in other areas, Marshall MacLuhan's dictum that "the medium is the message" has a good deal to commend it. The process of negotiation, especially if it leads to creation of machinery for prolonged dialogue, can be beneficial and important—whether or not concrete agreements result.

U.S.-Soviet agreement on a Middle Eastern settlement, reached in four-power discussions and followed by Arab-Israeli consensus would be a tremendous accomplishment. But the odds of this coming about are not great. The greater likelihood is that the Middle East will remain in turmoil and tension.

This is a human tragedy. But that tragedy would be multiplied a millionfold if it led to wider war, involving the superpowers. If this happens, it is more likely to come about through miscalculation than design. When Germany and Russia were drawn into war in 1914 by the dispute between their smaller allies—Serbia and Austria-Hungary—it was partly because they had misread each other's intentions: The Kaiser thought that Russia would not defend Serbia; the Czar under-estimated the vigor of Germany's last-minute effort to rein in Austria. An able historian has noted that those who made the final decisions for war "were acting under the influence of . . . misconceptions which would not have existed if the European diplomats had done their work somewhat more intelligently."

Continuing U.S.-Soviet discussions of the Middle East could help to avert this kind of misconception. It would enable each power to understand better what the other considered to be its vital interests in the area, and what it was prepared to do in defense of these interests. This sort of basic understanding cannot be ensured by last-minute messages on the hot line, useful though these are, any more than it was achieved by the "Willy-Nicky" telegrams which passed between Czar and Kaiser on July 29 and 30, 1914. Day in, day out, face-to-face dialogue about underlying sources of dispute and changing circumstances is required. The great advantage of four power discussions is that they provide a mechanism for just this kind of discussion.

The same may be true of U.S.-Soviet discussions on arms control. A formal agreement limiting strategic arms would be by far the best outcome of these discussions, and should be sought. But even if it is achieved, some mechanism for continuing discussion will be required to avert post-agreement misunderstandings. And if a formal agreement is *not* achieved, such a mechanism will be even more useful in abating the arms race.

Expensive steps in that race have some times reflected uncertainty or misunderstanding about what the other side was up to. Our 1961 decisions to expand United States strategic forces may have owed something to that uncertainty, and to resulting exaggerated fears of a "missile gap." As George Rathjens has pointed out, "if doubt exists about adversary capabilities, or intentions, prudence requires that one respond, not on the basis of what one expects but on a considerably more pessimistic projection . . . The degree of over-reaction is directly dependent on the degree of uncertainty about adversary intentions and capabilities."

This sort of escalating misunderstanding can be mitigated, if not avoided, by continuing U.S.-Soviet discussion of strategic programs. But this will only happen if the upcoming negotiations are used not merely to exchange formal proposals, but also to explain what each side is up to and why: Each side could describe the degree of restraint that it was prepared to observe under stated assumptions about the other side's programs, and the kind of expanded programs that it would be compelled to carry out if these assumptions proved unfounded. Mutual restraint—verified by unilateral inspection capabilities—might usefully result.

But this approach will require public willingness to see the negotiations about arms control, as well as the Middle East, continued over an extended period, even if they do not lead to early agreement. It will also require a willingness to judge the administration by the patience and sophistication with which it conducts these negotiations, rather than merely by whether early diplomatic triumphs are achieved. To say that this is not the way most of the press and public now see the matter is to indulge in considerable understatement.

The President has said that the United States and U.S.S.R. are moving from confrontation to negotiation. The period of confrontation began in the late 1940's with a widespread public expectation that it would eventually be resolved by a dramatic slowdown. Only gradually did we come to recognize that its resolution would more probably be a slow historic process—made up of many barely discernible happenings. The same understanding will be needed in the era of negotiation that lies ahead.

ASPEN SYSTEMS CORPORATION OF PITTSBURGH WORLD LEADER IN COMPUTER STORAGE AND RETRIEVAL

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr Speaker, as one who has been very much involved in the movement to modernize the legislative process—particularly in awakening an interest in "computers for the Congress," it gives me great pleasure to salute a Pittsburgh corporation for their remarkable achievements in legal information retrieval.

The story of Aspen systems, and its new "System 50," under the capable and innovative leadership of President John Horty, is narrated in an excellent article from the Washington Post of April 28, which I include herewith for the attention of my colleagues:

NEW SYSTEM OF LEGAL RESEARCH BY COMPUTER TAPES DEVELOPED

(By Claude Koprowski)

A system which may revolutionize the whole concept of legal information retrieval has been developed by the Aspen Systems Corp. of Pittsburgh.

Demonstrated to government officials here this week, the Aspen system showed that it could search the codes of the 50 states and the U.S. Code for any legal concept. According to John F. Horty, 40, Aspen president, the system is a radical departure from traditional searching methods in that it does not rely on indexing. It searches complete legal texts.

Here is how it works: Law codes are retyped from legal tomes on to computer tapes exactly in the way the books are written. There is no particular indexing. Coders start at the beginning of the texts and work their way through. The computer then numbers each word by its location on the tape.

When a word or phrase is being searched the computer equates it with words and phrases on the tape by the numbers and prints out all relevant material on the subject. On occasion, it also prints out texts which have no bearing on the subject being searched.

But in most instances, according to Horty, the tape reveals many things that a human search can not. As an example, he said that

a search through New York State codes revealed 1600 statutes relating to banking which were not in the banking sections of the State Code. In Pennsylvania one search revealed 11 sections which still provided for fines to be paid in shillings and pence.

The cost for a search ranges from $300 to $6000 respectively for a review of one state's laws or a review of all the codes on tape.

Another service the Aspen System offers is the publication of codes. Horty hopes to take advantage of this market. Two states, Hawaii and Missouri, have already used Aspen by putting raw code data on tape and having it printed by Aspens photocomposing subsidiary, Aspen Computype, Inc.

According to Horty, production costs run a shade less than normal printing costs, but the method has the advantage of putting all codes on computer tape, for easier subsequent retrieval. Horty predicts that this method will eventualy revolutionize the way laws are written and probably do the same for information gathering and retrieving in the future. He insists that his is an information retrieval firm, not a legal house or a software company.

In concept Ashen began nine years ago when Horty received a grant to try a computerized retrieval system. At that time he was an instructor at the University of Pittsburgh Law School.

Horty and his associates continued developing the system—named whimsically for Horty's favorite city—until 1968 when they formed the company. Then they had the statutes of 11 states on their tapes.

They received $1.9 million in backing when they became a public corporation last year and completed the tapes for all 50 states. Horty estimates that the finished product represents 30 man-years and an estimated cost of $5 million.

Today the company has a staff of 150 including 14 lawyers. Horty says the firm conducts searches, develops special files for companies, and offers consulting services. He notes the company can easily record the materials generated at Congressional hearings and by and large unread or unremembered. He says eventually the system will be adapted to other fields, possibly intelligence information, patents and other areas.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, May 3 was the 178th anniversary of the adoption of the May Constitution by the Polish Diet. In the spring of 1791 this now revered document held forth the promise of new liberties and justice for all the Polish people. In the Polish Constitution we find these words.

All power in civil society is derived from the will of the people.

This shattered many of the old class barriers to social justice. Commoners gained the right to own land, to become commissioned by army officers, and to be employed in the formerly aristocrat-dominated civil service. No longer was it true that being a peasant meant being denied the full protection of the law. Moreover, religious freedom was guaranteed to all Polish citizens. But the Constitution went even beyond extending these rights and privileges to the Polish people. It sought to guarantee their future protection by providing for the separation of powers between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

The Constitution of 1791 is remembered not only because it marked such a high point in the struggle for personal liberty in Poland, but it is remembered also because it provides an inspiration to the Polish people today who live under a foreign dominated Communist government.

Soon after the adoption of the May Constitution, Poland was conquered by the armies of three great powers—Russia, Prussia, and Austria. This began the long night of foreign domination from which Poland did not emerge as an independent state until the end of World War I. This new-found Polish independence was short lived.

On the first of September, 1939, the armies of Nazi Germany marched into Poland and thus began a new night of foreign domination. This is not yet over, for Soviet Russia still tyrannizes the Polish nation.

Freedom is an essential basic to the progress and spiritual well-being of mankind. The Polish people have long realized the value of freedom and boldly demonstrated their belief throughout a turbulent history.

We in America have read many times of the special contribution to our fight for freedom in the Revolutionary War by Gen. Casimir Pulaski and Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko. Adopted in 1791, the Polish Constitution was inspired by the American Declaration of Independence. Both of these historic declarations represent great historical instruments in the march of freedom. Both of them are based upon the recognition that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights and that for the protection of these rights government is created from among those and by those who are going to be governed.

During the last 178 years, Poland has faced many a crisis. This courageous nation has suffered many reversals. The Polish people has suffered severely from tyranny and cruel dictatorship. In these recent years, Poland suffered from the shackles of cruel and godless Russian communism. In the not too far distant future, I believe a virile, courageous, powerful Poland, under the direction of God, will once again be a bulwark of freedom in Eastern Europe.

TITLE I GRANTS PROMOTE BETTER SCHOOLS

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all of us are aware of the dramatic change in education which has been brought about by funds made available under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This change has been particularly impressive in some of the smaller school districts in low income areas where local fund sources are limited.

In its edition of May 1, the Pryor Jeffersonian reported on the assistance title I funds have been to four dependent schools districts in Mayes County, Okla. When I read this article, I was impressed by the imaginative and progressive ways the title I funds have been put to use to meet specific pressing needs in each district.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to have this article, entitled "Title I Funds Help Mayes County Schools," appear in the RECORD:

TITLE I FUNDS HELP MAYES COUNTY SCHOOLS

Federal grants, known as Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, are giving students in Mayes county dependent schools the opportunity for a better education.

The help came three years ago in the form of financial assistance from the federal government, designed specifically for "educationally deprived children."

This means children who have the greatest need for special educational assistance in order that their level of attainment may be raised to that appropriate for children of their age.

The term includes children who are handicapped or whose need for special education assistance is a result of poverty, neglect, delinquency or cultural or linguistic isolation from the community at large.

The amount received by each school district is determined on the basis of the number of AFDC children and those in foster homes, ages 5 to 17. However, all children of the community profit directly, or indirectly, from the program.

Mayes county Title I Cooperative organization is composed of four dependent schools, Langley, Mazie, Wickliffe and Osage.

The cooperative is administered by Robert O. Williams, county superintendent, who is responsible for making applications, revisions, quarterly reports and annual reports and evaluation of the program.

The secretary and coordinator for the cooperative is Mrs. Sammy Howard.

Title for the project this year is "Upgrading General Education and Attitudes of Pupils" and the instructional activity is "English—Other Language Arts."

For the fiscal year 1968–69, Langley school district was allocated $1,938, most of which was used for the employment of a teacher's aide.

This service has been one of the most successful and profitable programs under Title I because it frees a teacher from routine duties and allows him more time to spend with individuals.

The aides assume clerical duties, record grades, check tests and summarize results. They have monitorial duties in the cafeteria, playground, study hall and classroom and can assist in extra-curricular programs.

Polly Pore and Marie Midgett have been employed as teacher aides in the Langley school.

Mazie school district was allocated $3,876 which has been used to upgrade general education and attitudes of pupils by employing Mrs. Penny Martin as a teacher's aide, purchasing textbooks, workbooks and other instructional material.

Several children from low income families have been provided with free lunches and a movie projector was purchased.

The teacher's aide is especially effective at Mazie because some of the children just starting to school do not speak English well enough to remain on the same educational level as other children of the same age.

The movie projector, plus other equip-

ment purchased in earlier years, broadens the educational opportunities and benefits comparable to those received in cities and towns.

An allocation of $10,853 was given to Wickliffe school district which was used mainly for the employment of a teacher and for food services.

The food program is probably the most outstanding activity at Wickliffe as all the children are provided with free lunches. The Title I program with assistance from the state lunch division and the Indian division, provides well-balanced, nourishing meals for the children.

As in Mazie school, the language barrier is a concern at Wickliffe and the use of a Title I teacher, Mrs. Lena Haddan, allows a reduction in class size to the extent that the teacher can give individualized attention to the students who have to learn to speak English.

A part of the money is used for maintenance and operation and the purchase of instructional material.

Osage school district used their Title I grant of $1,172 for library books, instructional material and some lunch room assistance. Children in the district have demonstrated a sincere interest in learning through the process of reading and the library books have been an asset to the school.

Each district shares in the cost of administration of the program and also participates in a testing program. A standardized test is given yearly to help evaluate the benefit of the Title I program.

Test results are compared with the results of the preceding year and this, with other means of evaluation, is reported to the State Department of Education.

Patrons in the districts where Title I funds are used are invited to make suggestions as to specific needs in the schools.

ILLINOIS NATIONAL GUARD IN VIETNAM

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the key units of the National Guard to serve in Vietnam is the 126th Supply and Service Company, Illinois Army National Guard, headquarters at Quincy, Ill. The callup of this unit occurred shortly after the *Pueblo* incident and the sacrifices this entailed for the men in the unit—many of them heads of families, operators of farms and other small businesses—were of course substantial. The May issue of the national magazine entitled "The National Guardsman," pays appropriate tribute to the contribution this company has made to our military position in Vietnam. Below is the text of the article and with it I express my appreciation for the services and sacrifices of these men:

ILLINOIS UNITS SUPPORT "AMERICAL"

CHU LAI.—When you get to Chu Lai, a seaside location in the Southern I Corps Tactical Zone—smile, buddy, you're in Americal country. For this is the location of the Command Post of the Americal Div which is notable for several things besides the fact that the Americal insigne is likely to be stamped on anything that doesn't move as well as on many things that do!

For one thing, the Americal is the only U.S. Division with a name instead of a number (it originated in WW II out of various National Guard units); for another, it has a huge area of operations and has accumulated attachments far in excess of those normally augmenting an Infantry Division.

As a consequence, the Americal has an enormous logistical task and an enormous logistical responsibility. One of the outfits which makes a big difference to the Americal's Support Command is the 126th Supply & Service Co, composed of Army Guardsmen from Quincy, Ill., under Capt Donald L. Keil.

For reporting purposes, the 126th comes under the Army's 57th Transportation Bn—but its job is to support the Americal. Its men work in the rations breakdown section of the Americal's 23d S&T Bn; others run the vast Class II and IV yards which are also Americal responsibilities. Still others operate miniport refueling facilities which service Americal choppers and which pump POL into the huge 500-gallon blivets which then are "hooked out" to combat bases and landing zones by chopper. On one typical day a typical two-man miniport operation had pumped 11,380 gallons of fuel—and it was only 2:30 in the afternoon at the time of our visit.

The Co is the descendant of a Medical Co in an Infantry Regt of the old 33d Div. It became first an Ordnance Field Supply Co and then, in the Feb. 1968 reorganization, a QM Supply & Service Co. This was but a few scant weeks before it was alerted (in April) that it would report for active duty in May.

Part of the newly-organized Co, at this point, included members of a former Rifle Plat in an Infantry outfit. This became an interesting point of contention since they were quickly retrained to perform Co duty but they nevertheless were pulled out and processed as Infantry replacements upon mobilization, thereby leaving the Co short-handed!

The Co's outmoded equipment was replaced at Ft Carson and an intensive training program was undertaken. It was at this time, says Capt. Keil, that most of the men began to appreciate just how valuable their two-week training at Tooele Army Depot (Utah) in 1967 had been. "This was where most of them really gained important knowledge in working in stock control and handling of supplies." Even 'though the Co's Stock Control Specialists and Supply Handlers previously had been in the Ordnance field, they experienced little difficulty in translating this knowledge to their new areas of responsibility.

The 126th today has the job of providing Class I (rations), Class II and IV, and some Class III support to approximately 25,000 troops along a 90-mile Main Supply Route. Their tanker fleet with an attached Platoon from the USAR 842d POL Co supplies approximately 75% of the bulk POL in the Americal area of operations. They are responsible for 50% of the Class II and IV yard operation which carries a 75-day stockage and for 50% of the Class I operation in the area.

Capt Keil formerly commanded the 128th Field Supply Co, a sister outfit in the Illinois ARNG which was called up in the Berlin Crisis. The Co's 1st Plat Leader (Petroleum Plat) is 2d Lt James C. Jones, a Guardsman from Quincy. The 2d Plat Leader (Supply Plat) and tacit XO is 1st Lt James R. Roberts from Pickneyville, an Active Army OCS graduate who *sounds* like a Guardsman because of his pride in the 126th.

Stationed at Ft Carson when the 126th arrived there, Lt Roberts considers himself fortunate to have joined the Guardsmen. "I just had the right MOS," he says. Recently, when Capt Keil went on leave, Lt Roberts found himself running the Co. "But actually," he says, "it sort of runs itself." The unit, he says, tends to police itself. "I think the many family relationships—cousins, in-laws, brothers, etc.—all help to account for this."

The Co area is well-protected. A huge underground bunker has been completed and every night the Co provides men for perimeter guard posts. The Chu Lai area has been hit by rockets and mortars a number of times—just enough to keep everyone alert.

But the greatest day-to-day chances of enemy contact are with the members of the Petroleum Plat, plying the famed 18-mile stretch of Ambush Alley down to Duc Pho. On one occasion, three of the big tankers ran down a road—and right over a mine—which was detonated by an empty lowboy from a following unit!

The 126th S&S is just one small Co—but one with a mighty big job, and its work has been hailed by a number of pleased senior Commanders including Lt Col Bill Bishop, CO of the Americal's 23d S&T Bn. "They do a man-size job," he says.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most effective civic organizations involved in public issues is the League of Women Voters. The Iowa City, Iowa, chapter is currently conducting a campaign to raise additional funds with which to pursue their work. The campaign is more fully described in a recent editorial in the Iowa City Press-Citizen:

[From the Iowa City Press-Citizen, Apr. 16, 1969]

LEAGUE CAMPAIGN

The Iowa City League of Women Voters, an organization of more than 300 women who take their obligations of citizenship more seriously than most, wants to do a better job. It's asking the community to help it do so in a $10,000 fund drive.

The Iowa City league's campaign is part of the national organization's effort to raise $11 million. Both campaigns mark the 50th anniversary of the national league which grew out of the organizations seeking votes for women, an objective achieved in 1919. The Iowa City is almost 50 years old, having been founded early in 1920. It's been an active group ever since.

In its letter to prospective contributors, the Iowa City league describes some, but only some, of its activities in the last year and what it hopes to do with the money sought as follows:

"During the past year our members wrote, published and distributed three pamphlets supporting the low cost housing referendum, the bond issue for the county maintenance building and improved mental health services. In addition we worked for passage of all five constitutional amendments . . .

"The league is a reliable source of nonpartisan voter information. The league sponsors candidates' meetings, writes questions for candidates for all elected offices, which with the candidate's answers are published with the cooperation of the Iowa City Press-Citizen. The league also provides other information to encourage citizens to vote.

"The funds you contribute will be used to support more voter service (on a nonpartisan basis), more educational activities and services for the community, more publications, more professional resources for research and counsel in attacking government problems and more opportunities for interchange of ideas."

The Iowa City League of Women Voters has made a difference in this community, county as well as city. With support in the current fund drive, it can make more of a difference in the years ahead.

SUSPENSION OF FEDERAL AID TO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WHICH FAIL TO TAKE APPROPRIATE CORRECTIVE MEASURES IN CAMPUS DISORDERS

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, like many Americans I have been shocked and perplexed in recent weeks by the widespread disturbances that have erupted on college and university campuses all over America. Many of us never expected to witness in our country the outrageous conduct which has occurred on the grounds of institutions which predate the founding of our Republic. We have seen brazen bands of militants take over the offices of school administration officials and in some instances forcibly eject presidents of colleges. At one major university militants armed with guns and knives have taken over the administrative offices of the school and brought to a halt the process of formal education. In other instances college officials have been forced to accede to student demands which have been mixed with obscenities and shouted by ignoramuses.

Many of the things which have occurred in the United States in the past several months are unbelievable but even more difficult to believe is the passiveness with which certain college administrations have dealt with the problem. They have coddled, placated, and pussyfooted to such an extent that most right-thinking Americans have completely lost patience with their inactivity.

I have today introduced a bill similar to that offered by a number of other Members of the House which would suspend Federal financial assistance to colleges and universities which fail to take corrective measures to deal with disorders on their campuses. The bill would require that the Commissioner of Education suspend financial assistance "by way of grant, loan or contract, to any institution of higher education at which by reason of violent demonstrations, riots, seizure of institution property, or other disorders, there is a substantial disruption of the institution, or students, teachers, or officals are prevented from pursuing their studies or duties and the administration officials of such institutions fail to take appropriate corrective measures forthwith."

We are today spending literally millions of Federal dollars to provide all kinds of financial assistance to institutions of higher learning and to students who attend these schools. It is only right and proper that the Federal Government see that its investment in the program of education is protected. I do not believe that we should use Federal law enforcement agencies to put an end to the chaos as the responsibility for maintaining law and order is up to the school administrations or with such local police systems as the institutions may request. We do not want to get into the business of having the Federal Government move in with force and therefore suspension of Federal funds in those cases where the schools will not act, is the only remedy which we have. Enactment of such legislation should put some backbone in certain college officials who have let things get out of hand. Unless something is done—and done quickly—we may well be seeing the beginning of revolution in this country.

As it is now, millions of dollars in Federal money is being spent, not for the benefit of the student bodies as a whole, but to pacify and placate minority elements with little regard for the public good or education in general. The conduct of certain student groups has been deplorable but the response or lack of response by certain college officials has in itself been disgraceful. If we allow this passive attitude to establish a pattern whereby militant groups can demand change and coerce college officials into bringing about change with little or no objection it will only be an encouragement for other students and revolutionaries to do the same—or worse. In my opinion much of the trouble in many parts of the country has clearly been fomented and organized by outside elements. This Congress has a duty to investigate such incidents and to bring to the bar of justice those who would wreck our institutions, undermine our Government and destroy all that we have built up in the past 200 years without regard to the ultimate effect. The organizers of these disorders are known by agencies of the Government and frankly I feel that we have been remiss in not taking forceful action under laws which are already on the book. Much of this trouble can be placed squarely on the pussyfooting on the part of some college administrators who have attempted to sacrifice the very foundations of their schools for ridiculous laboratory experiments in catering to certain minority elements. Under these experiments certain low-standard students from minority groups have been brought into colleges in order to create a modernistic environment and now the experiments have backfired in revolutionary disorders. The school officials in many instances are too embarrassed or too stubborn to admit their mistake.

Militants who have used guns and knives to force their demands are a disgrace to America and the cause of education. Long ago society is supposed to have progressed from the point where victories were won by the sword and the gun and education has paved the way to our newly found sense of democracy. Now the officials of the very schools which have aided in instilling these principles are sitting idly by and kowtowing to and placating people who act like savages. It is high time that we call a halt to this before all that we hold dear is wiped away and we sit on the destruction and wish that we had seen the folly of our ways.

Certain groups have already refused to testify before committees of the Congress because they say they do not want to recognize Congress as a duly constituted instrument of Government. This is anarchy any way that you advocate it—and it should be treated as such. It is inconsistent with our national purposes to be sending one group of our young men to fight for freedom in Vietnam, where many are dying, and then have another group go wild at home and allowed to move at will to destroy the institutions of authority. What will our boys have to come back to if this is carried to its logical conclusion.

It is only fair to say that practically all of the disorders which have occurred in recent months have been caused by a minority of the students at the schools involved. Most of the students at our institutions of higher learning are trying to get an education and adhere to the time-tested principles on which our system of education is based in America. Frankly they are being cheated in their quest of an education by those who would disrupt campus life and by school administration officials who let them down. More attention has been paid to militant minority pressure groups than is paid to the vast majority of those who seek a good education. The disorders have been caused by a minority element which, in many cases, has been coddled and placated from the beginning. It would be interesting indeed to have information on what kind of grades these militants make, who is paying their way and how many of them were actually lured on to the college campuses just to prove a point. If the Federal Government is going to be spending millions of dollars in the furtherance of higher education, we have a right to know.

Those who have advocated Federal aid to education have said from the beginning that the Federal Government has a responsibility to see that our people are properly educated. If this is true, it also follows that the Government has a right to see that its funds are properly spent and that militant minorities do not thwart the will of the majority. I am always amazed at those liberal elements in our society which speak loud and clear in order to involve the Federal Government in providing funds for all kinds of activities but who suddenly disappear when something like this occurs.

Fortunately we have not had in Virginia so far the kind of disorders which have occurred in other States. We have had some difficulties and we may as well let our people know now that we mean business and that we will not tolerate the kind of disorders which have wrecked other campuses. We would be remiss in our duty if we did not do that which is right and I for one propose to see that right is done.

This philosophy of allowing people to do what they feel in their own mind is right has got to stop somewhere and the sooner we come to our senses and call a halt to the ridiculous actions which have been perpetrated in recent months the better off we all are going to be.

Sometimes I feel that many of us expect that when communism comes to take over our country it will be shouted from the lips of those who are leading the disruption and will be identified by signs on those who lead the parade. The student disorders are clearly organized and inspired by some unseen force. They

follow a pattern which is not coincidental and the leaders of this movement spout the phrases of Marx and Lenin. We may as well recognize the truth of the problem which faces us and confront it forcefully and without reservation.

WAR ON CRIME

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, as Congress and the executive branch of Government girds for war on crime in the streets, the Mafia and Cosa Nostra, an article in the May 5, 1969, issue of the Des Moines Register by Mr Clark Mollenhoff, provides an excellent background.

In the light of recent developments, to this may well be added the need for stern measures to be taken against those in high places who, under the cloak of responsible jobs and respectability, play fast and loose with the public trust and thereby make a devastating contribution to the breakdown of morality and law and order.

The article follows:

WAR ON CRIME

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—President Richard M. Nixon now has committed himself to tough new laws, tough enforcement, and appointment of tough-minded judges in the war on crime that hits out at everything from the Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) to the Cosa Nostra.

And, it appeared that congressional committees, headed by Democrats, were willing to assist Republicans in pushing through the kind of legislation that the President wants to deal with the militant left as well as the top figures in organized crime.

Even as the network of evil of the Cosa Nostra was exposed through testimony before the McClellan rackets committee in recent years, the leaders of Cosa Nostra have continued to operate in such a quiet manner that the public could hardly view the activities of this underworld society as a threat to them.

IMPETUS FOR LAWS

Ironically, the impetus for passage of major tough crime legislation to deal with the Mafia-type organizations will come as a result of the noisy activities of the New Left.

Congressional investigators commented privately last week that the law-breaking activities of the S.D.S., and the brutality of the militant black nationalists, will probably create the conditions that will cause Congress to pass crime legislation that may be even tougher than the crime package asked by President Nixon.

The President, an experienced lawyer and former congressional investigator, laid down a crime message to Congress that indicated he knew the difficult problems of obtaining evidence, of protecting witnesses from intimidation, and of winning and sustaining convictions through the courts.

WIRETAPPING DEVICES

His first message on crime exhibited no uneasiness about lawful use of eavesdropping and wiretapping devices against either the subversives or the top leaders of the Mafia mobsters.

Atty. Gen. John Mitchell was authorized to use the wiretapping authority against the organized criminals in an effort to break the corrupting influence they hold over local, state, and federal politicians in some areas.

The President's message spoke of the $20 billion to $50 billion take on illegal gambling profits alone, and he traced how these underworld profits are used to crush competition and to grab monopolistic control of a wide range of otherwise legitimate business activities in such large cities as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston.

The facts the President reeled out in his first major crime message read like a speech by Senator John J. McClellan (Dem., Ark.), the leading racket buster of the Senate, who for a dozen years has been trying to warn the public of the enormous hold that organized crime has on society.

It was all reminiscent of the warnings of the late Senator Estes Kefauver (Dem., Tenn.) who conducted the first major national crime hearings in 1950 and 1951.

Senator Kefauver spelled out facts and accurately predicted the rise of power of the criminal underworld, and he sought in vain to obtain passage of much of the same legislation that President Nixon and Senator McClellan now seek.

Kefauver wanted legalized wiretapping for use against subversives or organized crime, and he wanted more and better trained police, action to strengthen the weak and corrupt courts, and the tools to protect witnesses from intimidation, and to force other witnesses to testify against the underworld chiefs through the granting of immunity from prosecution.

KEFAUVER HEARINGS

The Kefauver crime hearings had tremendous national political impact, and made Kefauver a front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination.

But leaders in Congress—House Speaker Sam Rayburn (Dem., Tex.), Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (Dem., Tex.) and Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas (Dem., Ill.)—rejected Kefauver's demands and little of the Kefauver program was enacted into law.

McClellan conducted labor racket probes in the late 1950s, bringing out new evidence of the growth of crime and its links with dozens of major labor leaders, including Teamsters Union presidents James R. Hoffa and Dave Beck and Laundry Workers Union treasurer Eugene C. (Jimmy) James.

The McClellan hearings forced passage of the Landrum-Griffin labor reform legislation in 1959, but there was little progress in obtaining the public climate necessary to force action on the broader crime bills including legalized wiretapping.

Even the personal attention of the late Robert F. Kennedy as attorney general in a Kennedy administration could not bring about the public interest in legislation believed desirable by Kefauver, McClellan and Kennedy.

The climate of the country is vastly different now, especially because of reaction to college unrest. The current series of S.D.S.-led disturbances on more than a dozen university campuses has outraged many members of the college faculties.

The apparent popularity that has greeted the tough position taken by President S. I. Hayakawa of San Francisco State College has not been overlooked by members of the Senate and the House.

For several months, chairman McClellan and Senator Karl Mundt (Rep., S.D.), ranking Republican on the Senate permanent investigating subcommittee, have been directing an in-depth study of the financing and operations of the leaders of a dozen militant groups, including the S.D.S. and the Black Panthers.

Some executive sessions will be conducted within the next two weeks, and these will be followed by public hearings that will put the focus on what some feel are similarities in the operations of the militant organizations of the left and organized crime.

USE OF TELEPHONE

There will be stress laid upon the need for wiretapping in establishing how the real leaders of the Cosa Nostra or the S.D.S. are able to finance and control their subordinates through use of the telephone.

It will be contended that wiretapping is essential to establish the identity of the real leaders, and to develop evidence of the financing of left-wing rioting or Cosa Nostra corruption of public officials.

While McClellan and his Senate subcommittee are dramatizing the importance of tougher laws, and tougher courts, there will be hearings in the House education and labor subcommittee that will be hammering out a similar theme relative to the S.D.S. and the college disturbances.

On the House side it will be a liberal congresswoman, Mrs. Edith Green (Dem., Ore.), who will chair the investigation into unrest on the college campuses.

Mrs. Green, a former school teachers, is a champion of the right to dissent and she was one of the original sponsors of the War on Poverty.

However, her experience with the radical left in her home town of Portland, Ore., has soured her on the management of the poverty war by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and has brought to her attention the role of the OEO in financing some disruptive militant elements at educational institutions in Oregon.

DESTROY SOCIETY

"I don't understand what these people are saying," Mrs. Green commented last week relative to the S.D.S. members who are engaged in college rioting. "About all I can see is they want to tear down society—destroy it. I want to know what they plan after they've done that, if we ever let them.

"Our institutions of higher education are far too important to society for society to stand by idly while they fall victim to the disruptive tactics of a minority of students and faculty," Mrs. Green said.

Her view was echoed by a large number of the most liberal members of the House and Senate, and by virtually all of the conservative and middle-of-the-road legislators.

It can be anticipated that the more hearings Congresswoman Green and Senator McClellan conduct, the more public demand there will be for the total crime package that President Nixon is seeking.

In 1950 and 1951, the televised Kefauver crime hearings startled most viewers and caused at least momentary alarm over crime. But, that crime picture was of some place that was far away, and was from the world of television.

The hearings of McClellan and Mrs. Green will be against a background of a soaring crime rate, and in a national atmosphere where the fear of crime has become very real. In virtually every state, and in nearly every large community, there have been instances of crime that have startled the average citizen.

Although the Cosa Nostra seeks to operate quietly with pay-offs to officials and quiet intimidation of witnesses, the noisy antics of such organizations as the S.D.S. and the Black Panthers may be setting the stage for its downfall.

APPEALS COURT

President Nixon, who has frequently noted the importance of the courts in his criticism of crime, has made two nomination to the United States Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia that some applauded as bringing "balance" to that much-criticized appeals court which is regarded as the most liberal on law enforcement of all of the appeals courts.

Its pattern under the leadership of Chief Judge David Bazelon has been far beyond even the most criticized opinions of the United States Supreme Court.

In his first appointment to remake that appeals court, Mr. Nixon named two experienced trial lawyers who are considered to be conservative and "tough" in the sense that they believe the decisions have been unbalanced to protect criminals with too little attention to the rights of the victims of crime.

The nominees are Roger Robb, of Washington, D.C., and George MacKinnon of Minnesota.

Robb is regarded as one of the most competent trial lawyers in this area.

He was hired by the Atomic Energy Commission to handle the hearings that resulted in a finding that the late Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had lied to security officers about his associations with Communists. It resulted in the lifting of the security clearance of Oppenheimer.

MacKinnon was a United States attorney in Minnesota in the 1950s, and handled the investigation and prosecution of a half dozen or more Teamsters officials ad associates on charges of violation of the Taft-Hartley labor law.

In convicting the Minnesota labor racket figures, MacKinnon bested a number of the top criminal lawyers of the area as well as Edward Bennett Williams, the nationally publicized criminal lawyer from Washington, D.C.

Both nominations were warmly applauded last week by Senator McClellan and by a majority of the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

One Justice Department lawyer commented that the Robb and MacKinnon appointments "will go a long way toward bringing some balance into the court."

A United States district judge commented that "if Nixon can remake enough of the courts with such appointments, there will be less need for drastic revision of the laws to cope with crime."

The Washington Star applauded the nominations of Robb and MacKinnon as helping to "restore to that tribunal a long-overdue judicial balance."

The tone of his words and his actions to date indicate that Richard M. Nixon means business about cracking down on criminals—militant leftists as well as the underworld.

WASHINGTON STAR HITS THE NAIL ON THE HEAD

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a fine editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Monday, May 5.

This editorial, entitled "Preserving Newspaper Competition," sets forth clearly and concisely the reasons 98 of us in the House and 33 Members of the Senate are sponsoring the Newspaper Preservation Act.

This legislation is essential if we are to preserve active competition between newspapers in 22 cities. The economics of the publishing business are such that many more cities may be faced with the loss of an editorial voice in the future unless this bill is passed.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to have this editorial appear in the RECORD, and I hope all Members of the House have a chance to read this fine explanation of this vital legislation:

PRESERVING NEWSPAPER COMPETITION

It is no accident that an ever-smaller number of cities is served by two or more daily newspapers. Rather, it is a simple matter of economics. The costs of producing newspapers are skyrocketing. Yet the newsstand price needs to be kept within reach of the ordinary man's budget. Moreover, there is increasing competition from television and other media for the advertising dollar.

This is the context in which a bipartisan group of lawmakers have introduced the Newspaper Preservation Bill. The bill is designed to prevent a sudden, further decrease in competing newspaper voices by exempting newspapers from the broad sweep of a recent Supreme Court decision involving two Tucson, Arizona, dailies.

Tucson's Star and Citizen had cut costs by a joint operating arrangement, entered into 29 years ago, whereby they pooled production, advertising and circulation facilities, but maintained separate news and editorial departments, thus offering the community separate and competing newspaper voices.

The Supreme Court by a seven-to-one vote held this arrangement to be in violation of anti-trust laws. There are 21 other cities where two or more newspapers are maintained by virtue of joint operating arrangements. Each such arrangement would be affected unless the newspapers involved can prove that, at the time of their commercial merger, one paper was on the verge of bankruptcy and could not find another purchaser. The catch, of course, is that a newspaper once on its deathbed hardly ever recovers its readership and advertisers.

As a Justice Department lawyer told the Supreme Court, "if an exception (to existing anti-trust laws) is to be made, legislation is the proper course."

At this point, there is substantial bipartisan support for the Newspaper Preservation Act in the House and the Senate. Extensive hearings on this general subject have already been told. The time to act is at hand. Congress should pass this bill in the current session.

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, a week ago, Israel celebrated her 21st anniversary as a nation. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee sponsored a 2-day program on Middle East policy in honor of this joyful occasion.

As many of my colleagues know who attended these meetings, including the distinguished Speaker, we were extremely privileged to hear an address by Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein of Temple B'rith Kodesh, in Rochester.

Rabbi Bernstein, who is honorary chairman of the committee and a noted expert on Israel, has made many pilgrimages to Israel. He spoke from first-hand experience when he said:

A great, strong, progressive, viable democracy has risen to confront destiny in the ancient Holy Land. This is not only a reaffirmation of the Jewish spirit but of the human spirit, that a people so decimated and destroyed could so swiftly resurrect itself through its own blood, sweat and tears, the true self redeemers.

My dear and good friend spoke about life in Israel and its relevance to American society. He spoke of the will and determination of the people, of their gaiety, of their inner and outer strengths.

I am proud to share with my colleagues the inspiring remarks of Rabbi Bernstein:

ADDRESS BY RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

Having just recently returned from a visit to Israel, I will briefly present a report on those aspects of its life which are relevant to our concern here today.

The mood throughout the land is one of confidence and assurance. There is a pervading sense of inner and outer strength. Let me illustrate.

I participated in the Seder with a large Air Corps group. These are, as they say, "the cream of the cream." They carry out the most dangerous missions with precision, with competence and with courage. But never have I seen such gaiety as on this Seder night. This was the spontaneous joy of young men who were sure of themselves and of the future of their land.

I visited Hamadiyah in the Bet Shean area and spent some time with the family of Moshe Sharrett's youngest son, who are members of the Kibbutz. They are never for a single moment free of danger. The Hamadiyah area was shelled by terrorists several times in the past week. The children sleep in shelters and some of the younger ones have never known any other way of life. But what a happy bunch of kids. They are already involved in the nation's dangers and determination and they would have it no other way. In fact when they were invited to spend Chanukah with the children in another kibbutz far away from the frontier, they politely declined saying that they would be glad to accept the invitation when the danger was over. There are thirty-three settlements in the Jordan valley and along the borders of Jordan which are constantly exposed to attack. Thirty thousand people live in shelters but not a single member of a kibbutz or moshav has left. Instead, people came from elsewhere to join them and to help.

As a Reform Jew I was particularly impressed with the determination of young Orthodox Jews to repay their debt to their fathers in the Hebron hills. Twice were Jews slaughtered in that place. First in the 1929 pogrom when saintly teachers and pious students were cut to pieces by Arabs who claimed the Jews were about to take over the Dome of the Rock, the Moslem shrine. Then again in the War of Independence in 1948 when this area was cut off from reinforcement and hundreds were put to death by the Arabs while those who were imprisoned were treated with incredible brutality. Some of the children of these martyrs are rebuilding in this particular area. They are working very hard, in fact they were practically working around the clock to get one of the places ready for the Passover, and they live in the midst of hostile Arabs who would attack them in a moment if it were possible. But they are keeping the faith. There is a zeal and a dedication and a pious resolve before which I bow in utmost respect.

We picked up a young man on the Golan Heights. He was probably under twenty but was already sporting a handlebar moustache. And also a Sten gun. He had a day off and was going to spend it with friends in Kiriat Hashmoneh. He was from London and we offered to telephone his parents when we would be there in a few days. He gave us their phone number but only on the condition that we would not tell his mother where he was. She thought he was in a safe kibbutz in the valley. Nobody can be certain of tomorrow with the trigger happy Syrians

nearby. They have proved in the past to be maniacal and irresponsible. But a dozen or more settlements have been established on the Golan Heights to make certain that the people in the northern Galilee will be able to sleep at night.

I report then no heroic posturing, no braggadocio, no false heroics, no militarism in this peoples' army and in this peoples' mood, but assurance and quiet confidence and a sense of strength. Any government, any power, any leader that underestimates this will be making a grave mistake.

I would not in this report minimize the problems created by the terrorists, but I would make clear what everyone knows who goes to Israel, that these are exaggerated and distorted by the American press. The terror is peripheral to the life of Israel, not primary.

The Hebrew University is an example. A bomb was placed in the cafeteria and some Israeli students were hurt. The perpetrators were apprehended and proved to be two Arab students who had misused the opportunities given them by the University, and the daughter of a prominent East Jerusalem attorney. So now, reluctantly, a fence has been erected around the University grounds with controlled entrances. And when you go to a building your briefcase is inspected. But these are just minor nuisances. The University, quo university, moves forward on every front. I was particularly impressed by their school to provide educators for the Diaspora. And we in America have much to learn from their crash program of several months special preparation for disadvantaged but bright students with potential, chiefly from Arab and eastern lands. The University is not lowering its standards. It is not surrendering to demands of inferiority, but has a special program to prepare the potentially capable for the University's higher standards.

I was in the first class at the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus forty-three years ago. You can imagine how I felt to return to the University buildings abandoned and neglected for two decades and now renovated and restored to a high usefulness. How thrilled one is to see the picture of Harry S. Truman where the Peace Center dedicated to this great American and friend of Israel will be erected.

As to the terrorists themselves, the Israelis say that if in six days they could defeat the combined armies of the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq, they don't need to worry too much about the dangers from a few thousand terrorists who have already learned that they dare not invade Israel and are now content with nighttime shelling of Israel villages and towns.

It is also clear that the terrorists function with the knowledge, consent and support of the Arab governments. If and when the Arab governments are interested in peace they can and will control the terrorists themselves. In the meantime Israel may be annoyed by them but not in the slightest deterred.

There are of course many grave problems confronting Israel and much internal dissension. Political differences are tough, raucous and potentially explosive. But on the basic questions of Israel's defense and security and future there are no substantial differences. There is a remarkable sense of national unity and purpose and a completely dedicated youth. The survival and strength of Israel is their accepted national goal. They all realize there is no alternative and all are ready to work and fight and if necessary die, so that the people of Israel may live.

Consequently any nation, any group of powers, any leaders, who think that Israel will sacrifice its security for anything less than a dependable peace will again be making a grave miscalculation. The Israelis remember too clearly the Bermuda and Evian conferences on refugees which only highlighted the unwillingness of Western powers to admit Jews. They recall only too painfully the indifference of the world to the slaughter of the six million. They remember how they had to stand alone in 1948 with almost bare hands against the invading armies of six Arab nations. They will not forget the daily and nightly Fedayeen attacks which led to the war of 1956. Nor will they ignore the withdrawal of U.N. peace keeping forces at Nasser's demand in May, 1967. Nor the pathetic futility of the western powers to keep the Straits of Tiran open, as they were equally helpless in the Suez situation after 1957. So, though needing friends and needing arms, they will in the final analysis depend upon their own determination and their own strength with the help of their one sure ally, the Jewish people of the world. There will be no weakening, no compromise, no surrender on basic objectives. They will not accept another Munich, another illusory "peace in our time." They haven't the slightest faith in the good intentions of the Soviet Union which with one hand arms the Arabs for aggression and with the other pleads for peace lest there be another world explosion. Too clearly they see what is happening to the Jews in the Soviet Union, and also to Czecho-Slovakia.

Therefore, they will not surrender their present strategic advantages short of a true peace settlement. And that peace settlement can only be achieved through direct participation by the Arabs. In this sense the Four Power Conference is rendering a disservice for it is taking Nasser off the hook. It is in effect saying you may go ahead with attacks on Israel, and if and when you get beaten we will bail you out. This is a very shortsighted approach to the problem. The solution, a just and lasting peace, can only come when the Arabs recognize that Israel is here to stay and they must come to terms with it. Therefore, Israel has no alternative but to stand firm and the friends of peace in the Middle East should do the same.

I should like to conclude this report with a spiritual note. The Haftorah portion of the past Sabbath tells the story of Naaman and the Prophet Elisha. Naaman was a captain in the Syrian guard and was stricken with what was then known as leprosy. He had heard that there was a wonder working prophet in Israel who could cure the lepers and went to him. Elisha, the gentle, kindly humanitarian, was no miracle worker but dare we say, he practiced psychosomatic medicine for his time. He said to the Syrian, "Go bathe in the waters of the Jordan and they will wash you clean." "But," angrily responded the Syrian officer, "Are not the rivers of Damascus bigger and better than the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them and be clean?" His servants urged him to do what the prophet had said and he did and was healed. He learned that it wasn't size, nor physical might, but the spirit that was decisive.

In my opinion the spirit of Israel will be decisive now. Can we forget that it was just at this time in the year 1943 that our brethren were making their last ditch stand in the Warsaw ghetto? When the smoke had cleared six million Jews had been slaughtered. A million babies, potential Einsteins and Heifitzes and Weitzmanns, had been done to death. The great centers of Jewish life had been obliterated forever.

And now only a quarter of a century later a great, strong, progressive, viable democracy has risen to confront destiny in the ancient Holy Land. This is not only a reaffirmation of the Jewish spirit but of the human spirit, that a people so decimated and destroyed could so swiftly resurrect itself through its own blood, sweat and tears, the true self redeemers. This is what you sense wherever you go in Israel today.

And it is also sensed by the most idealistic young people who find themselves now in Israel. More young American Jews are coming to Israel and finding fulfillment there. More idealistic young non-Jews are finding the answers to needs which elsewhere erupt in riots and dissension.

I met a young Swede driving a tractor in Hamadiah. The combination of danger and social idealism and hopefulness for the future and purpose was the answer to his own inner need. There were the young Germans who were trying to make some moral restitution for the crimes of their fathers. There was the beautiful young Gay Symington, the niece of Senator Symington, who has found undreamed of fulfillment in Kfar Blum.

From Israel is coming light and healing and hope for humanity. That too one learns is at stake in Israel's survival.

If I have a prayer for Israel as it celebrates its 21st anniversary, it is for the fulfillment of the promise in the Haftorah portion for the Sabbath from the prophet Amos.

"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord,
That the plowman shall overtake the reaper,
And the treader of grapes him that soweth seed;
And the mountains shall drop sweet wine,
And all the hills shall melt.

And I will turn the captivity of My people Israel,
And they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them;
And they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof;
They shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them.

And I will plant them upon their land,
And they shall no more be plucked up
Out of their land which I have given them,
Saith the Lord thy God."

VITAL INFORMATION NEEDED TO MAKE JURY SELECTION ACT EFFECTIVE

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, when the House of Representatives passed the Federal Jury Selection Act of 1968—Public Law 90–274—it was the primary intention of those who supported the measure that the new law would mean the end to prejudice and discrimination in the selection of juries in our Federal courts. However, one provision of the new law which I opposed at the time of its passage permits those who receive questionnaires for jury service to decline to answer questions relating to his or her race or color and certain other subjects considered sensitive to the person involved.

It was my position then and now that such questions regarding race and color required direct answers in order for the new jury selection system to work in favor of those whom it is intended to benefit.

A most important study of this aspect of the new Federal jury selection law was made recently under the auspices of American University. The study touches on the critical need for full information regarding race and color in jury cases tried in Federal courts. In addition, the unique approach employed by Dr. Alan E. Morris, of American University, director of the project resulting in this study, represents an innovation in the analysis of a critical legislative problem.

The study supplies the kind of vital

information upon which the Congress may intelligently decide such a controversial and sensitive legislative issue as that involving the answers to questions concerning one's race or color. Indeed, the study leave no real doubt as to the answer. Dr. Morris and his associates make it crystal clear that to leave the answer of such questions to the discretion of the person to whom a questionnaire is directed is virtually to thwart any real opportunity for a person to establish that he or she has been the victim of prejudice based upon race or color.

The American University study and report has employed a systems analysis approach to this problem. After carefully programing the problem as to the questions touching upon race, color, or other sensitive subjects the American University team made generous use of sophisticated automatic data processing equipment in projecting results which would inevitably flow from provisions permitting the voluntary withholding of critical information to which the entire jury selection measure was directed.

Mr. Speaker, I am including at this point the full text of the report as follows:

FEDERAL JURY SELECTION ACT OF 1968—THE EFFECTS OF OPTIONAL INFORMATION ON JUROR SELECTION, JUNE 1968, SEMINAR IN OPERATIONS RESEARCH, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

(NOTE.—This study was undertaken at the request of Representative ROBERT MCCLORY and was directed by Dr. Alan D. Morris, Director for Operations Research at the American University and by Dr. Ellis A. Johnson, Adjunct Professor at the American University. The study was performed by three graduate students in the Operations Research Program: Mr. Joseph A. Bizup, Mr. Robert J. Lange, and Mr. Robert A. Hallex.

(ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: The study group would like to express appreciation to the following people for their comments, suggestions, and critical reviews offered during the course of preparation of this paper: Mr. William E. Casselman, Legislative Assistant to Representative MCCLORY; Dr. Samuel G. Kneale, Principal Scientist, Operations Research Incorporated; Dr. Vincent V. McRae, Technical Assistant, Office of Science and Technology; Mr. Robert L. Chartrand, Legislative Reference Service, The Library of Congress; Dr. W. Edward Cushen, Chief, Technical Analysis Division, National Bureau of Standards; Dr. George Suzuki, Deputy Division Chief, Technical Analysis Division, National Bureau of Standards; and Mr. Thomas A. Goodman, Analyst, U.S. Naval Weapons Systems Analysis Office.)

SUMMARY

Background

Some civil rights' proponents have objected strenuously to the inclusion of racial designation as required information on forms and questionnaires of all kinds. As a result of this movement, the removal of possible discriminatory information from documents has become quite widely accepted, particularly in programs directly or indirectly supported by the Federal Government. For the most part, the removal of this information has been directed through either legislation or executive order. The main rationale behind this effort has been that such identification facilitates discrimination and therefore should be removed. Now, however, second thoughts are being given to this rationale within the Federal Government and professional circles.

These removal actions, brought about to enforce non-discrimination, are now causing serious frustrations. Federal laws, if they are to be strong, must be monitored and enforced. But how can there be effective monitoring and enforcement in the absence of the necessary information? This is a fundamental issue now before the Federal Government. The success achieved by the movement to remove information about race from forms in order to reduce discrimination now appears to be a major stumbling block in the enforcement of powerful policies aimed at removing discrimination.

This present study is applicable to the above problem, although it specifically concerns itself with the ability of the federal courts to monitor and enforce the Jury Selection Act of 1968, and the ability of anyone concerned to prove that discrimination exists in the selection of federal jurors.

During the consideration of the Federal Jury Selection Act by the House of Representatives, Representative Robert McClory of Illinois objected to a committee amendment which allowed potential jurors the option of omitting certain information, such as race, color, religion, national origin, economic status or occupation; information he considered necessary for the effective enforcement of the legislation. This study was undertaken at the request of Representative McClory to test the hypothesis. That deletion of this necessary information would render the aims of the act unattainable.

Problem

The study established a methodology for determining the value of having only partial information concerning race, color, religion, national origin, economic status, etc., as opposed to having complete information, available to a litigant or court or law enforcement official in proving that discrimination exists or does not exist in the selection of federal jurors.

Methodology

A statistical model has been developed to evaluate the criticality of information, at various levels of completeness, to indicate the significance a court could attach to pleadings of discrimination by a litigant. Assuming it had complete information about the characteristics of the members of a jury wheel, a court could declare that discrimination existed when some significant deviation in the composition of the qualified jury wheel and the community is shown. When the court has less than complete information, how great must the deviation be for the court to declare discrimination? The model chosen to evaluate this question is a sampling model employing confidence intervals based on the binomial distribution.

Findings

1. The ability of a litigant or any official to prove discrimination when discrimination actually exists, rapidly declines as the percentage of complete information regarding race, color, religion, etc., at the qualified jury wheel level departs from 100 percent. If less than 80 percent of the prospective jurors fail to provide complete information, a litigant has almost no chance statistically to prove that discrimination exists, even though, in fact, it does exist.

2. A very high percentage (95 precent) of information regarding race, color, religion, etc., of the prospective jurors on the qualified jury wheel and on the venire, must be available to the courts in order to ensure compliance with a law that states that selection lists must represent a fair cross-section of the community and that juror names be drawn by random selection.

3. As minority groups become smaller relative to the percentage of the population or community, it becomes more difficult for their members to prove discrimination with less than 100 percent complete information.

4. Confidence intervals can be used to isolate areas of discrepancies if bias does exist as being a result of either a nonrandom selection technique or a non-representative selection list.

Recommendations

1. That, to render the Jury Selection Act effective, complete information on the juror qualification form be required.

2. That, to establish areas and causes of bias and to pinpoint areas where corrective action must be taken, the methodology developed in this paper be applied.

I. INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the law

The purpose of the Jury Selection Act of 1968 is to provide improved judicial machinery for the selection, without discrimination, of Federal grand and petit juries. Its aim is to assure all litigants that potential jurors will be selected at random from a representative cross section of the community and that all qualified citizens will have the opportunity to be considered for jury service.

History of the law

The Jury Selection Act of 1968 was originally drafted as proposed legislation by the Committee on the Operation of the Jury System of the Judicial Conference of the United States. It was approved by the conference in March 1967. The Judicial Conference bill had the support of the American Bar Association and the Department of Justice. Hearings were held in the Senate on federal jury selection in the first session of the 90th Congress. The measure passed the Senate in December 1967, passed by the House of Representatives and was signed by the President in March, 1968.

Views of Hon. Robert McClory and Hon. Charles E. Wiggins

The following is a direct statement from the Report of the Committee on the Judiciary [1] reflecting the views of Congressmen McClory and Wiggins on the bill (S. 989) on Federal Jury Selection before it was sent to the floor of the House.

"The purpose of S. 989 is to eliminate discrimination in the selection and service of jurors in Federal courts. However, it is because we agree with the principle that we are constrained to state these additional views.

"This legislation was not needed to guide those people who embrace the principle of nondiscrimination. Rather, this legislation is directed at those of a different persuasion.

"Thus this legislation must be judged by the efficacy of its enforcement procedure. When a litigant claims that discrimination has been practiced, what is his remedy? Unless the discriminators openly admit their wrong, the litigant must compare the characteristics of the community. And apparently as when similar constitutional claims are made, the litigant must prove that there is an appreciable discrepancy between the make-up of the jury pool and that of the community. See Whitus V. Georgia, 385 U.S. 545 (1967).

"At this critical stage when the challenger needs proof of just who is in the jury pool, this legislation refuses to insure its availability. For every person who is instructed to complete a juror qualification form is also instructed that he need not answer the essential questions concerning race, color, religion, national origin, economic status, or occupation.

"Thus the challenger may be denied the very information he needs to make the bill work. If a significant number of people fail to supply the necessary data in completing

[1] Federal Jury Selection Act, Report from the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Report No. 1076, February 6, 1968.

the juror qualification form so that the character of the jury pool cannot be gleaned from the forms, the challenger will then be compelled to undertake his own survey. We fear that the burden of that task will retard the enforcement of this legislation.

"It is particularly with regard to discrimination on the basis of race that we find the right not to cooperate most perplexing. Indeed, racial discrimination is the primary evil we seek to eliminate. The color of a man's skin is hardly a private matter. It is evident to the eye. If the bigoted note the color of a man's skin to harm him, cannot the law do the same in order to protect him?

"The argument is made that it may offend a person's sensibilities to ask him his race. Even if that is true, we would think discrimination the greater evil. Sometimes one must bear such an effront to one's sensibilities as a fact of life.

"We would prefer to believe that all would take pride in their citizenship, pride in their race, pride in their color, even pride in their ethnic and religious backgrounds—whatever they might be. In order to make this legislation effective and to make it most useful and most readily available to the racial and religious minorities it is intended to benefit, questions which we deem essential to be asked would seem to be sufficiently important to require answers."

Purpose of the study

In January 1968, Congressman McClory asked Dr. Alan D. Morris and Dr. Ellis A. Johnson of American University to study the then proposed Federal Jury Selection Act, giving particular attention to the optional information requested on the juror qualification form concerning race, color, religion, national origin, economic status, or occupation. Mr. McClory's primary concern was that by making information that is necessary to the effectiveness of the legislation optional, rather than mandatory, the machinery for enforcing the law would be impaired. His intuitive concern over the effects on the law of having this information versus the possibility of not having the information is the primary focus of the study.

Problem definition

The specific problem addressed by the study group is to determine what is lost, as far as proving or disproving discrimination, if vital information is not filled in or only partially filled in on the juror qualification forms. This problem is pertinent to the Federal Courts inasmuch as these courts, with no information or partial information, must determine whether the Selection Lists within their districts represent cross sections of the respective communities.

II. DISCUSSION OF THE ACT

Summary of the act

The Federal Jury Selection Act defines the right of litigants and citizens "to a jury venire selected at random from a cross section of the community" and seeks to protect this right by establishing certain uniform selection procedures.

Each Federal District Court is directed to establish a plan of compliance which must meet the approval of the judicial council of the circuit. The plan must, however, meet certain minimum requirements. It must use as the source of names of prospective jurors either voter registration lists or actual lists of voters. Other sources in addition to the above mentioned voter lists may be used when necessary to ensure that the lists adequately reflect a cross section of the community. The plan must also: comply with any rules the Judicial Conference may prescribe; include provisions for statistical reports; and insure that discrimination along urban-rural lines is avoided. The plan also requires the use of a master jury wheel containing either one-half of one percent of the names from the source list or, if that would be cumbersome, no less than 1000 names. Each plan shall establish when the master jury wheel must be refilled. It must also specify the number of names to be publicly drawn at random and specify occupational classes or other groups that may request excuses from service on the ground of hardship. Local exemptions must also be stated. In no event may classes of excuses or exemptions be established that would undermine the basic purposes of the act.

The bill also provides for a juror qualification form prepared by the Administrative Office and approved by the Judicial Council. Every person whose name is drawn from the master jury wheel for the purpose of filling the qualified jury wheel must fill out and return a juror qualification form.

Juror qualification form

The juror qualification form requests two types of information—mandatory and optional. The mandatory information includes name, address, age, education, length of residence within the judicial district, distance from residence to place of holding court, prior jury service, citizenship, and whether the prospective juror: should be excused or exempted from jury service; has any physical or mental infirmity impairing his ability to serve as a juror; is able to read, write, speak and understand the English language; has been convicted or has pending any charge for a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment for more than one year and has not had his civil rights restored by pardon or amnesty. The optional information includes sex, race, occupation, and any other information required by the district court plan, which is in the interests of the sound administration of justice, and is not inconsistent with the provisions of the law. The juror qualification form must contain words clearly informing the prospective juror that the furnishing of information with respect to his race, color, religion, national origin, economic status or occupation is not a prerequisite to the qualification for jury service, and that the information need not be furnished if the prospective juror finds it objectionable to do so.

The law specifies that instances of disqualification, exemption, and excuse must be determined exclusively by reference to the information on the juror qualification form. Only a judge has the power to make these determinations.

Challenging compliance

The law establishes the procedures for challenging compliance with the act in the selection of both grand and petit juries. The Attorney General and the defendant in criminal cases, and both parties in civil cases are allowed to challenge the selection procedures. The provisions of the bill are designed to reduce the possibility that such challenge will be used for dilatory purposes. The bill sets strict time limitations upon when challenges will be allowed. Challenges must be made before the voir dire examination begins, or within seven days after the defendant discovers or could have discovered the grounds for the challenge, whichever is earlier.

Random selection versus key man

The new law forces a complete replacement of the "key man" jury selection system by a random selection system for selecting federal jurors. Most jurisdictions used the so-called "key man" system of selection whereby "key men", thought to have extensive contacts throughout the community, supply the names of prospective jurors. On its face, the "key man" system seems susceptible to intentional discrimination inasmuch as it allows for individual choice of names. In fact, the "key man" system in many cases produced "blue ribbon" juries composed largely of professional and managerial men, who were usually well educated and in the higher income brackets. Not only was the "key man" system susceptible to discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, etc., it often caused underrepresentation of craftsmen, service workers, and laborers.

Random selection from voter lists is not a new method for selecting federal jurors. It had been used by a number of federal district courts for many years, partly because it can easily be used to produce a large number of juror names.

In other federal districts, citizens have complained about the frequency with which they are called for jury service while others, equally qualified, are not called at all. A random selection system would go far toward eliminating these complaints, both because anyone whose name appears on the voter lists has a chance of being selected equal to that of any other listed person, and because voter lists contain a sufficiently large number of names to insure that no one need be called for more than his fair share of jury duty. However, more important, a truly random jury selection system prevents discrimination of all types.

Procedure for selecting juries

The law states that voter registration lists or actual voter lists shall be used as a basic source of juror names. During the Senate hearings on the bill, testimony was given that these lists provide the widest community cross section of any list readily available, yet statistics show that in some areas as little as about 40 percent of the eligible community is represented on voter lists. The bill uses the term "fair cross section of the community" in order to permit minor deviations from a fully accurate cross section. During the Senate hearings on the bill it was stated that the voters lists need not perfectly mirror the percentage structure of the community, but that any substantial deviations must be corrected by the use of supplemental sources. The definition of "substantial" would be left to the process of judicial decision. The law does not suggest how the district courts can determine whether the voters lists for the district need supplementation, and if so, how supplemental lists might be obtained. Answers to these questions would be possible only if the necessary information relating to sex, race, etc., were available on either the voters' list, the master jury wheel or the qualified jury wheel.

The law requires each plan to include a master jury wheel composed of more than 1000 names which must be refilled periodically. An investigation of the proposed plan of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia shows that the Norfolk, Richmond, and Alexander Divisions require approximately 10,000 names each, but never less than one-half of one percent of the total registered voters in each Division. This plan specifies that the master jury wheel will be emptied and refilled every 8 years to coincide with the presidential election. As a candid criticism of this newly established plan, it would appear that within 8 years these master jury wheels could become almost completely out-of-date, particularly in highly transient areas such as Alexandria and Norfolk. Out-of-date master jury wheels will introduce a selection bias since people who relocate every few years may never have an opportunity to be selected. One suggestion to help eliminate this bias might be to reduce the size of the master jury wheel to about 2500 names and to refill it every 2 years, thereby keeping the wheel up-to-date without placing undue hardship upon the clerk of the court or jury commission.

The law provides that the selection procedure between the voters' list and the master jury wheel must be random. The random procedure designated by the Eastern district of Virginia plan is to draw 2 numbers at random, the first determines the starting name on the voters' list, the second prescribes the interval between names. For example, if the first number drawn is 21, and the second number is 30, the 21st, 51st, and 81st names,

etc., would be put into the master jury wheel.

The law also requires that from time to time, as directed by the court, a public random selection from the master wheel will be made to select sufficient prospective jurors for a certain period of time. Each person whose name is drawn will be sent a juror qualification form to determine whether a person is qualified for, exempt from, or excused from jury duty. A complete record of all names drawn will be maintained showing whether each person selected was exempted, excused, or disqualified for jury service and the reasons therefor. It is at this level that the district courts will possess the most information, therefore it should be at this level where all challenges concerning discrimination should be made.

Those names selected for jury service from the juror qualification forms are placed on the qualified jury wheel. From time to time, the jury commission or the clerk shall publicly draw at random from the qualified jury wheel the number of names required to fill jury assignments over a relatively short period of time. These persons are then summoned (venire) to appear at the court to commence jury service at a particular date. The Eastern District of Virginia has specified in its proposed plan that the number of names on the qualified jury wheel shall never be less than 300 at the time of each drawing, and that the qualified jury wheel shall be emptied and refilled between October 1 and November 30 of each year.

From the venire, specific jury panels are selected and sent to the various courtrooms. Each panelist is then subject to voir dire examinations by the trial attorneys before he can take his place as a member of a jury. The Federal Jury Selection Act has not changed any of the preemptory challenge procedures at the voir dire examinations.

III. METHODOLOGY

Challenges

The principal question investigated by this study may be stated as follows:

What is the value of requiring certain information, such as sex, race, occupation, economic status, etc., to be furnished by prospective federal jurors?

Since the law is designed to prevent discrimination upon the basis of race, sex, occupation, economic status, etc.; how can the law be challenged or enforced if the data upon which such a challenge must be based is voluntary and therefore may be unavailable? The two criteria upon which a litigant has to base such a challenge is to show that the selection source list was not a representative cross-section of the community, and was not supplemented to make it so, or that the selection process was, in fact, not random. Either of these conditions are sufficient to show that the law has not been complied with, and a new jury panel must be drawn in the case of petit juries, or the indictment must be dismissed in the case of grand juries. It is assumed in this paper that the composition of the community is known and provides a valid basis for comparisons.

Enforcement

In addition to the problems of challenging the law, the alternative methods of enforcing the legislation were investigated. The most obvious aspect of enforcement is the determination of how a litigant could prove that discrimination existed when, in fact, it did exist. As stated previously, the only realistic method to show that discrimination exists is to show a substantial deviation in the composition of the list selected at the qualified jury wheel level (including those excused, exempted, and disqualified) and the community. Such a substantial difference would show that either or both of the following events have occurred:

A. The selection source was not a representative cross-section of the community and it was not supplemented to make it representative as required by Section 1863 of the Jury Selection Act, or,

B. The selection process itself was not random as required by the law.

However, the litigant is effectively denied the information required to show A or B above if a significant number of the prospective jurors refuse to complete the voluntary section of the jury qualification form. This refusal by prospective jurors to provide the voluntary information, may prevent the litigant from proving discrimination when it actually exists.

Value of information

The following analysis investigates the value of requiring all prospective jurors to complete the voluntary portion of the jury qualification form. The value of this information has two major aspects:

A. Value to the litigant attempting to prove to a court that discrimination actually exists and,

B. Value to the chief judge, clerk of the court, or jury commission when attempting to comply with the law.

It should be noted that the same information is required in either of the above cases and neither effective challenges nor effective enforcement are possible without sufficient information. The following analysis is confined to the determination of the amount of information that is necessary for effective challenge or effective enforcement of the legislation.

Approach to the problem

The approach used to evaluate the criticality of information required the development of a statistical model which would indicate, at alternative levels of known information, the significance a court could attach to pleadings of discrimination by a litigant. If, with complete information, a court would declare that discrimination existed when some significant deviation in the composition of the jury wheel and the community is shown, how much greater must the deviation be when less than complete information exists?

Secondly, a measure of the relative value of alternative levels of information was developed. This measure may be simply stated as "What is the value of less than complete information?" Is 90% complete information 90% as effective as 100% complete information when attempting to prove that discrimination exists? Or is it worth some value less than 90% (for example only 50%)?

The model

The model chosen to evaluate the above question is a sampling model. From such a sampling model certain characteristics of a population or universe may be determined with any specified degree of confidence from the characteristics of a sample drawn from the population or universe. As an example, suppose a sample of 100 balls was randomly selected from a population which is known to consist entirely of blue and gold balls. Suppose that this randomly selected sample contained 60 blue balls and 40 gold balls. A statement could be made, then, with 80% confidence of being correct, that the percentage of gold balls in the population would be between 33.5% and 46.9%. Alternatively, from the same sample, a statement could be made with 98% confidence of being correct that the number of gold balls in the population would be between 28.8% and 52.0%. A much larger or much smaller sample may be drawn (assuming a very large population) which would also change the percentage of gold balls we believe to be in the population at both the 80% and the 98% confidence level. If the percentage of gold balls were significantly different from the 40 observed in the first sample, the confidence bounds would also shift significantly. It is seen then that such a sampling procedure depends upon the size of the sample, the composition of the sample (outcome) and the level of confidence desired. It should be noted that the jury selection process is analogous to the gold and blue ball sampling process described since the law specifies that the selection of prospective jurors must be both random and drawn from a source list (population) which is a representative cross-section of the community. The jury selection process then is identical to a random sample of names selected directly from the community. Statements that can be made about the number of gold and blue balls in the population or universe of balls may also be made about the number of males or females, Negroes or non-Negroes, etc., in the community by observing the composition of jurors which are in the sample of jurors; given, of course, that the process was in fact random and taken from the community as a whole. Since the makeup of the community as a whole is known, and since the random sampling procedure allows very positive statements with high levels of confidence to be made about the population from which names of prospective jurors were drawn, then, if no discrimination existed, the population from which the sample was taken and the community would be identical. However, if the two are substantially different, it can be shown with a high degree of confidence that bias or discrimination exists since sampling theory indicates that the population from which the sample was drawn does not include the entire population of the community but is some sub-set of the community.

It must be assumed that at some confidence level (possibly a very high confidence level) a court would be willing to rule that discrimination existed. As an example of this procedure, suppose that a court would accept evidence offered at the 98% confidence level as proof of discrimination. Then, with complete information concerning the prospective jurors selected, the level would be in a range between X% as a lower bound and Y% as an upper bound if the process for selecting the jurors was random. The court also would be 98% certain that discrimination did, in fact, exist if it is known that there are less than X% or more than Y% of this group in the community. However, if less than 100% of the jurors fill out the voluntary information on the juror qualification form, the changes in the values of X and Y such as that shown on Figure 2 would result. If information is available from all 100 jury qualification forms in the sample, the court can say with 98% confidence that the percent of minority in the population from which the prospective jurors were selected was between 28.8% and 52.0%. If the court knew that the actual percentage of minority in the population is either less than 28.8% or more than 52.0% it could be 98% certain that bias existed in the selection process. However, if only 80% of the prospective jurors filled out the jury qualification form, the court could say, with 98% certainty, that the population from which the jury was selected contained between 11.6% and 71.2% minority. Note that this is the same sample as in the previous case, that is, it actually contains 40% minority or 40 minority members and the sample size is 100. Yet the 20% not filling out the voluntary portion may have been distributed a number of ways between minority and majority since some number of minority group members between 0 and 20 may not have completed the form. The distribution of jurors is called the adverse case distribution since it makes two assumptions in respect to the jurors who failed to complete the forms. In the case of the lower confidence limit, it is assumed that within the sample, the smallest number of minority members possible filled out the form, and that the unfilled forms relate to members of the majority group. That is, of the 80 people filling out the form, only 20 were minority

group members and the unknown 20 were assumed to be majority group members. For the upper confidence limit the opposite assumption is made, that is, the most minority members possible fill out the forms and the unfilled forms relate to members of the minority group. In this case, 40 minority members filled out the form and the unknown 20 were also assumed to be members of the minority group. It should be noted that this adverse case distribution completely bounds the problem since the best and worst possible assumptions in respect to the minority group are made.

A second distribution which is called a favorable distribution is evaluated. This distribution assumes that the jurors filling out the form will be distributed in the same manner as the minority and majority jurors are distributed in the samples. That is, if 80% of the forms were completed, then 80% of the majority and 80% of the minority in the sample completed the forms. The assumptions concerning the unfilled forms are the same as above. It is noted that the assumptions used are the best and worst assumptions that can be made since the confidence limits encompass all possible degrees of uncertainty, while, some of the uncertainty is removed by assuming that some information concerning minority group jurors is available at all levels of complete information. It is seen that a large amount of discrimination could exist before being detected if a significant portion of the forms are not completed. Very little proof of discrimination would be possible if, for example, 40% of the prospective jurors did not complete the forms, since all that could be said of the population from which the sample was drawn is that it contained between 0% and 88.4% minority members.

The effects of a change in the distribution of the majority and minority members are most interesting. In cases where 90% is composed of majority and only 10% minority, the shift in confidence bounds due to this composition is readily apparent. There appears to be a reasonable chance of proving that discrimination exists if 100% information is available since all that is required is to show that the community actually contains either less than 4.4% or more than 19.2% minority. However, if only 80% information is available, the litigant must show that the community actually contains 42% minority before the court would rule that discrimination exists. Note that it would be impossible to show minority discrimination with 60% or less information since the litigant must show that the population consists of more than 50% minority.

In fact, provided that 100% information were available a litigant would have an excellent chance of proving discrimination if it exists. However, as the information available to the litigant decreases, the probability of proving discrimination rapidly decreases. A sample consisting of 60% majority and 40% minority, reveals that, in each case, the lower confidence limits approach 0% at the same point (60% complete information) and the upper confidence limits approach 100% at the same point (40% complete information). This comparison shows that as sample size increases the probability of proving discrimination greatly increases, but *only if high levels of information are available.*

Also, it can be seen that it is easier to prove discrimination when it exists if the court will accept proof of discrimination offered at a lower confidence level, however, similar to the case of larger sample size, this is true only at the higher known information levels.

Relative value

The illustrations in the previous section have shown the rapid decline in the ability of the litigant in proving discrimination when it may actually exist because of a lack of information. A measure of relative value of this information may be shown as follows:

If, 100% information has a known value in determining discrimination (shown to depend upon sample size and a confidence level established by the court).

And, less information allows more discrimination to exist before being detected.

Then, the value of any percent of complete information may be related to the value of 100% complete information.

Where the relative value of information is plotted versus the percentage of information received, the relative value of information may be plotted. Where an upper line is drawn to represent samples consisting of 50% "majority" and 50% "minority" group members with varying levels of response one may measure the theoretical best relative value that could be expected from a sample of 100. A lower line may be drawn to represent samples in which the percentage of minority approaches zero and is the worst case that could be encountered. All possible values of majority-minority distributions and all assumptions as to distribution of jurors completing these forms must lie between these two bounds. It is seen that the relative value of information necessary to prove discrimination decreases much more rapidly as amount of received information decreases from 100% information received, and that an extremely high level of complete information is necessary in order to prove discrimination. As an example, assume 80% information is received. That is, 20% of the jurors did not complete the voluntary portion of the forms. In the worst case, 80% information is only about 20% as useful as 100% complete information when attempting to prove discrimination. In the best case 80% information is only about 60% as useful as 100% complete information. Because the relative value of information declines very rapidly, a very high level of information, (95% complete information and greater), is necessary before a litigant can expect to have much success in proving discrimination when it actually exists. Therefore, unless a very high percentage of prospective jurors will voluntary provide the information relating to race, sex, economic status, etc., the primary aim of the Jury Selection Act to eliminate discrimination in the selection and service of jurors will be unenforceable unless the courts choose to apply very lenient statistical standards. Also, depending upon the characteristics of the population, a very high percentage of response will be necessary for the legislation to be enforced or tested as it will be extremely difficult to detect discrimination when it actually exists. It also will be extremely difficult for the chief judge of the Federal District Court to ensure compliance with the law. With only partial information available, he is no more able to detect discrimination than is the litigant.

IV. OTHER PROBLEM AREAS

Introduction

While studying the problem of proving or disproving discrimination in light of incomplete information as discussed earlier in this report, many other related problem areas were discovered. This section discusses these problems and shows how they relate to the jury selection procedure. Also the discussion of these other problem areas can be used as a basis for future studies in jury selection.

It was felt that although these problems are important and would make worthy subjects of study relating to jury selection, it must be kept in mind that to analyze these areas properly the need for complete (or nearly complete) information is essential. The value of acquiring this information is the most basic problem to evaluating jury selection procedures.

Source lists

The Jury Selection Act specifies that the lists from which prospective jurors are selected must be a fair representation of the community. The act further specifies that the source must be a list of registered voters or an actual voters' list and that it shall be supplemented if it does not adequately represent the community.

The Justice Department has studied the question of source lists and during Senate hearings on the Act has stated that voter registration lists are the best available source. However during the same hearings, it was admitted that up to 60% of the population are not on such lists. Because of this, and because voter lists become outdated quickly, since few states attempt to keep them current, the selection source has been a recurring area of discussion within the study group.

The Justice Department studies were not available to the study group, but it is believed that this problem should be studied in depth to arrive at a list, or a combination of lists that would be more representative of the current community.

The reason that the selection list is so important to the Jury Selection Act is that if the list does not fairly represent the community, the entire selection process will be open to challenge. Since information concerning the population characteristics of the list is unavailable in most states, a comparison of the qualified jury wheel and the community is the only possible comparison. If the list is not representative of the community, a random selection from such a list will show a bias as compared to the community, and the entire jury selection procedure will be opened to challenge.

Random selection versus fair representation

During a meeting with Dr. Vincent MacRae the merits of a random selection process as opposed to fair representation on juries was discussed. Because, in most communities, the percentage of Negroes is quite small, a random selection procedure may never produce a jury that would contain a majority of Negro members. It is also possible, through the use of preemptory challenges, legally to exclude Negroes from most of those juries since the number of Negroes appearing on the jury panels would almost always be less than the number of preemptory challenges. This problem would not arise in communities in which the minority group is 40% or even 30% of the community.

The problem of random selection versus fair representation is subjective in nature. The significance of this discussion is that even though there is some question raised as to the applicability of random procedures to jury selection, the need for information is obvious in either selection procedure. If a fair representation criterion were instituted, information would still be needed to police, implement, and enforce the proposed selection procedure.

Determination of a random selection process

There are many available processes for randomly selecting jurors. Random number generators can be used, or less sophisticated processes can be used, such as randomly selecting a starting point on the list and picking a name from that list at regular intervals.

The problem is not so much the designing of a particular process, but that the process itself be random in nature. If it is not random, the law will be open to challenge, and new juries will have to be selected, or verdicts may be overturned.

Filling of jury wheels

The law specifies that the jury wheel must be filled at regular intervals. The length of this interval is not specified, and may be as long as eight years, as in the Eastern District of Virginia. It is felt that in highly mobile areas the master jury wheel will become out of date during a time span of this length. The master jury wheel should be refilled at intervals that will keep it up to date so as to remain representative of the community. If this is not accomplished and the wheel

becomes nonrepresentative, the selection procedure may be challenged on the basis that the list, and therefore the jury wheels, do not reflect the population composition of the community.

Responses to optional questions

The requirement to supply most of the information necessary to deal with the problem of discrimination is to be made optional. The need for this requirement to combat discrimination is shown clearly in the previous sections of this paper. Without relatively complete information it is very difficult to make statistically meaningful comparisons between the jury lists and the community. The question obviously arises as to the percentage of the population which will fill out the optional questions. If it is found that a high percentage, perhaps 95% or 99%, will fill out all the questions, no further steps need to be taken. However, if it is found that less than 95% of the prospective jurors will complete the form in its entirety, several alternative methods of obtaining the information may be necessary. The design of the form may be changed in such a way as to encourage the completion of the forms, or minority group members may be informed that it is to their benefit to complete all the questions, or completion of forms may be made mandatory.

Applications to other areas

The same basic problems addressed in the paper concerning the Jury Selection process are equally evident in any area where discrimination may exist, such as employment, housing, and education. Their solutions also involve the need for information, enforcement of laws, and implementation of policies.

Discrimination versus right of privacy

It has been pointed out to the study group that a demand for information such as race, creed, etc., may be an invasion of an individual's right of privacy. Be that as it may, it is conclusively shown in this paper that without such information, discrimination is almost impossible to prove. Therefore without information, discrimination can exist without discovery. A subjective analysis must therefore be made weighing the invasion of an individual's right to privacy against the possibility of discrimination.

Information and discrimination

During the House Committee hearings, it was inferred that the information on the juror qualification form regarding sex, race, color, religion, etc., should be optional rather than mandatory since a clerk of the court or a Jury Commission could use this information to discriminate in the selection of juries. If such an inference is based on fact, why should a Jury Commission request the information? Since the same information that permits a clerk of the court or Jury Commission to discriminate in the selection of jurors is also needed by a litigant to prove that he has been discriminated against, the question of which is more important must be explored. If the clerk of the court wants to discriminate in the selection process, he can do so with only partial information; however, except in extreme cases, a litigant requires virtually complete information in order to prove statistically that he has been discriminated against. The study group submits that a clever clerk of the court, intent upon discrimination, can do so by using only the required information (such as address which may imply race or economic condition); yet this same information cannot be used to prove discrimination because it is not perfect information. The Jury Selection Act, at present, tends to aid a court intent upon discrimination, since sufficient information will be available for discrimination to be practiced, yet the Act denies to anyone else the ability to prove that discrimination exists, since any amount less than 100% information severely degrades the capability to furnish statistical proof of discrimination.

Multiple minority groups

In developing the methodology used in this paper it was assumed that the community being analyzed contained only one minority group. In reality a community can, and often does, contain a number of minority groups. The methodology however, can be applied to a multi-minority situation. In this case, each minority group must be analyzed separately to determine whether or not the proper percentage of that minority group was included in the jury selection process. If a community does contain more than one minority group, it is likely that these groups, taken independently, are quite small in relation to the community. The discussion earlier on the value of information showed that the need for information is most critical for a minority group that is a small percentage of a community. Therefore when dealing with a community that does contain a number of small minority groups the need for complete information is underscored.

A litigant, when challenging the selection procedure may choose to combine several criteria, such as race and religion, to prove discrimination. If this is done, the effect is to make smaller the percentage of that combined group in the community than either of the separate groups taken independently. Because the need for information becomes greater when the percentage becomes smaller, the litigant thus adversely affects his chances for proving discrimination. For this reason it was not felt necessary to analyze the situation of combined criteria as it would be to the litigant's benefit to make separate and independent challenges based on each criterion with which he has an interest. That is, he should make separate challenges for *each* of race, religion, etc., without overlap.

Conclusion

The discussion above points out serious problem areas concerning the Jury Selection Act. Some of the problems are analytic in nature, some subjective, and some psychological. Each of these areas is worthy of more extensive analysis than that given here, and each could be made a study in itself.

The study group considered all these areas but concluded that the problem of showing the need and value of information was a prerequisite to the analytical solution of the other problems. The need for information is basic to addressing any of the above problem areas. This paper provides a basis from which other areas of interest may be studied and contributions may be made to questions concerning discrimination, freedom of individuals, and the right of privacy.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Findings

The major findings of this study are:

1. A high percentage of complete information on prospective jurors concerning race, sex, religion, etc., is necessary at the qualified jury wheel level in order to permit:

a. Compliance with the law by the Federal District Courts.

b. Enforcement of the law by the Executive Department.

c. Challenge of the law by litigants who suspect discrimination.

2. As minority groups become smaller relative to the percentage of the population or community, it becomes more difficult for their members to prove discrimination with less than 100 percent complete information.

3. Confidence intervals can be used to isolate areas of discrepancies, if bias does exist, as being a fault of:

a. Nonrandom selection techniques.

b. Nonrepresentative selection list.

Discussion

The measure of the relative value of incomplete information developed by the study shows conclusively that a high percentage of complete information is necessary before any meaningful statements can be made concerning the composition of the population or community from which a list of prospective jurors, such as a qualified jury wheel, is selected.

Information concerning prospective jurors is need at the qualified jury wheel level to aid the clerk of the court to comply with the law. If the source list from which the jury wheels are selected is not a fair representation of the community, the clerk of the court is required by law to supplement the source list to make it so. Information concerning the characteristics of the prospective jurors constituting the qualified jury wheel would provide the clerk of the court a tool which he could use to make meaningful and valid estimates concerning the composition of the source list. These estimates could then be compared to the composition of the community (it is assumed that the composition of the community is known), and the source list could then be supplemented if a substantial discrepancy between the juror list and the community became evident. Without information at the qualified jury wheel, such comparisons would be impossible. Therefore, the clerk of the court would be unable to ascertain the composition of the source list and unable to comply with the law.

For the same reasons as stated above, without complete information, it would be difficult if not impossible to enforce the law. The composition of the source list, the master jury wheel, and the qualified jury wheel would be in doubt. Since the lack of information at these levels negates the enforcement of the law, discrimination may be encouraged rather than discouraged. Persons could be striken from the jury wheels on the basis of address or name. Without the information necessary to uncover such procedures, a valid statistical proof of discrimination would be difficult.

Challenging the selection procedure and proving discrimination would be extremely difficult without complete information. With only partial information concerning the composition of the qualified jury wheel, only the most general statements can be made concerning the population from which the names on the wheel are selected. Since the proof of discrimination rests on the litigant, he must have at least all the *available* information to aid in the challenge. Also because of the severe time constraint on the litigant to initiate a challenge, a maximum of seven days, it would be impossible to conduct a personal survey to determine the composition of the qualified jury wheel without great expense and effort.

Once the need for information of the qualified jury wheel was established, a procedure was developed in this study to isolate the cause of bias (if it exists) in the jury selection procedure. The qualified jury wheel level is a sample from various other larger population levels, namely the master jury wheel, the voter registration list or selection list, and eventually the community. The qualified jury wheel is the first level in the jury selection process where complete information can be made available, and therefore inferences in this study concerning the composition of previous levels in the selection process had to be made back from the composition of the qualified jury wheel. To make these inferences, use was made of confidence intervals. The selection of a confidence level (C) will yield a probability of C that the constructed confidence interval will contain the true percentage of the minority group in the population from which the qualified jury wheel was chosen. If the percentage of the minority group does not fall within that interval, it can be stated that there is a probability of C that bias exists.

Once an occurrence of bias is observed, the confidence intervals can then aid in isolating the causes of the bias.

A discrepancy between the community and the source list would indicate that the list is not representative of the community, that the selection list would need to be supplemented, and that a new selection of jury wheels should be initiated.

If no discrepancy is found between the community and the source list, however, and yet if a bias is observed, the random selection technique is in question. In this event, the area where this nonrandom selection occurred can also be isolated as being between the selection list and the master jury wheel and/or between the master jury wheel and the qualified jury wheel.

Once the cause and the area of bias are discovered, proper corrective actions can be taken. Because it is at the qualified jury wheel where the most valid data can be made available, all comparisons should be made at this level in the jury selection procedure.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The evidence presented in this paper indicates that a high level of complete information concerning the composition of the qualified jury wheel is imperative before the legislation in the Jury Selection Act can become effective. The exact methodology of obtaining this information has not been studied in depth, but the least expensive, most easily implemented, and the most consistent method for obtaining complete information is to require that all items of information on the juror qualification form be completed. Therefore, to protect the public, it is recommended that all information on the juror qualification form be made mandatory.

Furthermore it is recommended that the confidence interval approach for establishing areas and causes of bias be used to determine if bias exists, and if it does, to be used to pinpoint areas where corrective action must be taken. No particular level of confidence is recommended, but it is felt that a 98% level is a reasonable value.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the foregoing report, I have prepared and am introducing today corrective legislation which will permit the objectives of the Federal jury selection system to be fulfilled. In other words, requiring the disclosure of information regarding race or color will make the system foolproof and establish beyond doubt that Federal juries in the future will be selected without regard to race or color.

As the report of the American University indicates, without this amendment, the utility of the Federal Jury Selection Act—Public Law 90–274—is greatly diminished to the point where its purposes could be completely frustrated by voluntarily withholding vital information touching upon the race, color, and other sensitive subjects of persons considered for jury service.

The graphs which appeared in the original report, are omitted from the above reproduction as required by the Rules of the House. The graphs may be examined by contacting me.

THE CHILD MILK PROGRAM IS A VERY WORTHY ONE

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, few things in life, if any, are as depressing as the knowledge that a child was deprived of something so basic as proper nutrition.

For that reason, it has given me great satisfaction and pleasure to support amendments set forth in H.R. 5554 which preserve the Federal milk program for children and increase the appropriation from $120 to $125 million. I am particularly heartened by the fact that H.R. 5554 permits this program to function indefinitely.

Nutritionists have long noted that children of school age need a minimum of 1 quart of milk per day to insure sufficient calcium intake. Available statistics show that this need is not always fulfilled—especially with respect to children from low-income families. The Federal milk program has made good progress toward correcting this deficiency.

A Department of Agriculture survey shows that in low-income areas the per capita intake of milk averaged nearly 4 ounces more for children attending special milk program schools than for those attending other schools. The 4-ounce average represented rural and urban areas combined. The difference between low-income schools under the special milk program and those not under the program was even greater.

But we are moving ahead. Since 1960, the number of children served has increased from 13 to 17 million. Each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia are participating in the program. Last year, this represented 88,042 schools and 6,380 child care institutions.

The special milk program is one of but a few governmental programs currently in existence which are able to reach a wide segment of our population. It is a very worthy and effective program and I hope that we continue to fund it in the future to whatever degree is necessary.

Our children are the men and women of tomorrow. When we take care of them, we are securing America's future.

MRS. KING AND THE HOSPITAL WORKERS OF CHARLESTON, S.C., DESERVE SUPPORT AND A JUST SETTLEMENT

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the recent events in the streets of Charleston, S.C., serve to further underscore the need for continued progress in securing equal rights for all citizens of this country. The courage of the hospital workers and their supporters, under the courageous leadership of Mrs. Coretta Scott King, is inspiring because it shows us that the spirit of nonviolence and dedication to justice, which Dr. Martin Luther King stood for, can still be a viable and relevant force for social change, even in the violence-tinged times through which we are passing.

As a member of the California State Legislature, I worked with my colleagues in that body to establish fair labor practices for hospital workers who were in a predicament similar to that of the workers in Charleston. It is deeply disturbing to see that these conditions continue to exist in South Carolina. Governments and businesses which persist in holding an intransigent attitude toward legitimate demands by members of the labor force—whose working conditions and compensation are archaic and outdated—are likely to encounter increasing turmoil and disruption if there is no progress toward reform.

I support the efforts of the workers in Charleston to bring their labor conditions into the 20th century. I admire their restraint and courage in pursuing nonviolent and peaceful tactics to achieve their goals. These are the tactics which Dr. King and others used to bring about the greatest advances in civil rights history—progress made not at the expense of others' rights, damaged property, or the shedding of blood. Instead, this is the progress of public opinion, right against wrong and a public sense of justice. It is my hope that those involved on both sides of the confrontation in Charleston will continue to show not only restraint, but also a willingness to move forward to a fair and just settlement of the sensitive issues involved.

The days of management's exploitation of minorities in this country must be brought to a swift and final close. The rights of workers to bargain for fair and decent compensation and conditions have long since been established. For a State or institution to deny those rights to a small segment of the work force is no longer acceptible or justifiable. Let us hope that those with the authority and responsibility to correct the injustices in South Carolina will exercise that responsibility with an urgent sense of justice and fair play. The times we live in do not permit anything less.

THOSE INDOMITABLE POLES

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the other day we observed the 168th Polish Constitution Day, and we all paid tribute to the people of Poland and their strong defense of freedom.

Every so often we come across a historical vignette which shows that the Poles have not only fought for their own country's freedom, but have also fought bravely for the freedom of others.

I should like to call my colleagues' attention to one such vignette.

We all know that Generals Kosciuszko and Pulaski came to fight for freedom in the American Revolution.

Today, I should like to call my colleagues' attention to another son of Polish ancestry who was born in Greece and who made a great contribution toward that country's great struggle for freedom.

He was Constantine Smolenski—Smolenitz—Greek general, born in Athens, in 1842, the son of Leonidas Smolenski, high Government official. Graduated from artillery school in Brussels, in 1869

completed military studies in France. As an officer he took part in the Franco-German War of 1870–71.

With the outbreak of the war in Turkey in 1896, he was given command of a brigade and proved himself a most worthy Greek general of leadership and skills in strategy. He gained widespread popularity and was promoted to the rank of a full general. In 1897 he was appointed Minister of War.

In 1898 he resigned from that office to seek election to the Parliament. Having lost this bid he retired to private life.

GRANT CONSOLIDATION

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, I have today joined with the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations (Mr. FOUNTAIN) in introducing the administration's proposed Grant Consolidation Act of 1969.

I am pleased to announce that we have been joined as cosponsors of this important legislation by the distinguished minority leader (Mr. GERALD R. FORD), the gentleman from New York (Mr. HORTON), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ERLENBORN), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN), the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. VANDER JAGT), the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLOSKEY), the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. WIDNALL), the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CRAMER), the gentleman from New York (Mr. HALPERN), and the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. ROTH).

This bill, Mr. Speaker, is designed to implement the recommendations of the President contained in his message to Congress last week. It would authorize the President to submit to Congress plans for the consolidation of certain Federal assistance programs under conditions similar to those governing the submission of plans for the reorganization of Federal departments and agencies.

The grant consolidation authority, therefore, would be closely complementary to the reorganization authority both in a procedural sense and in terms of their mutual objectives, the increased efficiency, effectiveness, and economy of Government operations. Similarly, grant consolidation is closely related to the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 in that both are aimed at improving Federal-State-local relations by rationalizing the administration of Federal grant-in-aid-programs, simplifying procedures, eliminating redtape, and otherwise making it possible for State and local governments to make better use of Federal assistance, especially in hard-pressed urban areas.

The need for grant consolidation has become increasingly apparent in recent years with the vast proliferation of assistance programs. Variously estimated at from more than 400 to approximately 1,200 in number, these programs are marked by a host of different, and often conflicting, procedures, requirements, standards, and regulations. In addition, there is considerable duplication and overlapping of programs especially in such areas as education, job training, and sewage treatment.

As a consequence, Mr. Speaker, the whole system of Federal aid has become excessively confusing, time consuming, and costly, for all concerned. For States and localities in particular, it has become a jungle in which, ironically, the richest are best able to survive and succeed. Reform is overdue, and the Grant Consolidation Act can be a most useful vehicle for reform.

On the personal level, Mr. Speaker, I am especially pleased that President Nixon has given such a strong and persuasive endorsement to the idea of grant consolidation. First recommended as a result of extensive studies by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, on which I have the privilege of serving alongside our distinguished colleagues from North Carolina (Mr. FOUNTAIN) and Oregon (Mr. ULLMAN), a grant consolidation title was first introduced in the 90th Congress as a part of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act. A revised version of this title was incorporated in the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act Amendments of 1969, which I cosponsored earlier this year, and the administration bill reflects further improvements.

I am confident that early enactment of the Grant Consolidation Act will equip the President and the Congress with a most valuable tool for shaping Federal assistance into a more useful and effective means of solving many of most urgent national problems.

As such, it will become, I hope, a key part of the achievement of what posterity will know as the "More for Your Money" Congress.

KATHLEEN KUBA WINS HAWAII'S LAW DAY ESSAY CONTEST

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the text of a winning essay written by a Castle High School senior, Kathleen Kuba. Miss Kuba's contribution, entitled "Involvement in Law: Your Responsibility to a Free Society," was adjudged the best in the 1969 Law Day essay contest held in Hawaii.

Commenting on this year's topic, Miss Kuba noted that "society must begin to listen to the criticism of youth seriously and then reevaluate its basic attitudes and assumptions." She also stated that if the indifference of the majority of apathetic students can be "stimulated to creative activism, and if this creative force, along with the fringe extremism, can be directed to function within the limits of the law, perhaps problems such as racial injustice can begin to be solved."

As a means of congratulating and commending Miss Kula, and in recognition of the constructive suggestions which our youth can offer in meeting present day adult problems if only we of the so-called establishment would pause in our predetermined activities to listen, I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of Miss Kuba's thought-provoking essay which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of May 1, 1969:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, May 1, 1969]

WINNING LAW DAY ESSAY NOTES STUDENT POWER DRIVE

(By Kathleen Kuba)[1]

In their quest for justice and equality, America's youth are questioning the causes of the ills and evils prevalent in society's attitudes, values, and goals. In their attempt to remedy these evils, the student activists have prompted the changing role of the university.

Until recently, this institution was considered an intellectual refuge from the conformity and ills of society.

Today, however, because the campus demonstrations exhibit more than the age-old rebelliousness of youth, and because the involved youths are greater in number and more vocal than ever before in American history, the university has become the primary impetus for social change.

In response to this changing role of the university, three courses of action have been presented.

For society, the Establishment, to accept change that might threaten its rigid security is extremely difficult. Thus, one of the responses society has displayed is repression of this dissension.

Through this action, however, society will be complying with the goals of those extremists who seek to destroy it. With backlash, a vicious cycle involving increasing animosities will be created.

Another response would be to ignore or resentfully tolerate student activism.

People with this attitude cynically believe that the years extinguish a person's fervor in righteousness and that when these students become middle-age citizens, they will be required to conform to and uphold society's values and goals.

By suppression or apathy, America will be losing the potential for building a freer stronger nation.

John D. Rockefeller III says, "There's a unique opportunity before us to bring together our age, experience, money, and organization with energy, idealism, and social consciousness of the young . . . We badly need their ability and fervor."

Thus expressed the third alternative is to simply become responsive to the energy of our youth.

They must be trusted and given the confidence to pursue their idealism even as the impediments of realism oppose them. Intellectual vitality is imperative in avoiding the perils of stagnation.

Students, then, must be insured civil liberties. But in exercising these rights, what are the limitations?

Henry David Thoreau, a 19th century essayist, has questioned the lawful extent of civil liberties.

If it is maintained that unjust laws do exist, shall we be content to obey them? Or, shall we endeavor to amend them and obey they until we have succeeded in changing them? Or, finally, shall we transgress them at once?

The majority of the youth today adhere to

[1] Kathleen Kuba, a Castle High School senior, won the 1969 Law Day essay contest with her following contribution on "Involvement In Law: Your Responsibility to a Free Society."

the first query. This apathetic or non-committal attitude stifles the potential enthusiasm, that, if positively channelled and directed, could begin to reform society's injustices.

The extremist fringes in the youth revolution are endeavoring to rectify society's imperfections by supporting the third alternative. But, disobeying laws, however unjust, is committing a greater evil, for it involves transgressing the general structure of law.

Civil disobedience, then, is not a civil liberty and thus carries with it an obligation to submit to the processes of law when it is invoked against one.

However, the majority of involved youths are attempting to channel their efforts through the legal framework of society. They are exercising their civil liberties by petitioning, picketing, and forming organizations to promote justice in our society.

But, this movement is sustained by only a minority of our youth, and a smaller percentage of our adults.

If the indifference of the apathetic students can be stimulated to creative activism, and if this constructive force, along with the fringe extremism, can be directed to function within the limits of the law, perhaps problems such as racial injustice can begin to be solved.

And, more importantly, society must begin to listen to the criticism of youth seriously and then re-evaluate its basic attitudes and assumptions.

Only in this way can our existing institutions of law be continually revitalized, and when this occurs, our values and goals will become more relevant to today's problems.

You can contribute to finding the solutions, or remain part of the problem. What is your decision?

MODEL CITIES: WITH BUILT-IN BROTHELS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Romney, present Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, not only entertains revolutionary ideas for wasting taxpayers' money he has an interesting past which qualifies him most eminently for the Who's Who of Untouchables in the unelected leadership of our Government.

One wonders what President Nixon must tell his church friends about using tax dollars to rebuild model cities which includes planning for houses of prostitution.

But then, poverty excuses all.

Mr. Speaker, I submit Frank Capell's Herald of Freedom for April 18, "Don't Let George Do It," and Mr. Romney's autobiography from the "Congressional Directory" for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Herald of Freedom, Apr. 18, 1969]

DON'T LET GEORGE DO IT

George Romney, who rides to power on plans and organizations "for the good of the people" which turn out to be "for the good of George," has developed a new vehicle—the model cities program. As with the "compact car," the idea was originally someone else's but George plans to take advantage of it and reap the potential personal and political power it can produce.

On Saturday, April 5, 1969 "informed sources" leaked the fact that "Secretary of Housing George Romney is advocating expansion of the Model Cities program to include entire cities." An Associated Press dispatch from Washington, D.C. stated:

"Romney's proposals . . . could in time establish the program administered by his Department of Housing and Urban Development as the government's chief mechanism for the coordination and delivery of social services to all the nation's cities." On Monday, April 7th, the "Romney plan" was presented to President Nixon at a meeting of the Council on Urban Affairs at the White House. The N.Y. Times of April 8, 1968 stated:

"George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, proposed today that the Nixon Administration make basic alterations in the Model Cities program. . . .

"Under the proposed plan, the states would be brought more into the planning and operation of Model Cities and the White House would see that departments and agencies other than housing would allocate more of their resources to Model Cities.

"The changes, which would require approval of the President and *considerable changes* (Emphasis ours—Ed.) in the laws by Congress, would have a far-reaching effect both on the Model Cities program and on the administration of domestic programs in towns and cities."

George Romney, the first Republican (?) to win the office of Governor of Michigan after long years of Democratic control, succeeded in his few short years in that office in nearly bankrupting the state. The N.Y. Times article concerning the "Model Cities" states that "some large city Mayors believe that already insufficient funds will only be dissipated if applied over broader areas" so we can see what an opportunity this gives George to help bankrupt the United States. Romney was reported by the "sources" as believing that the changes can be made without boosting anticipated spending for the program for which he anticipates seeking $1.3 billion for fiscal 1971. It would be interesting to see how he plans to expand a program without expanding expenses for it . . . someone is going to have to finance it. Romney, Nixon's rival for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968, has a record of disassociating himself with the Republican label in his home state where he turned the Republican Party into the Romney Party. He is another in the long list of unfortunate Nixon appointments which have dismayed conservative Americans.

George Wilcken Romney was born in Chihuahua, Mexico, on July 8, 1907, the son of Gaskell Romney and the former Anna Pratt. His family lived in a Mormon colony established by Mormons who fled from the United States when Congress outlawed polygamy in 1885. His grandfather had thirty children by four (some sources say five) wives. When George was five years old his family was driven from Mexico with other Americans by the revolutionary, Pancho Villa. When safely over the border in Texas, they were forced to live on government relief before moving to Los Angeles where George's father went in the contracting business. In 1921 a business recession brought financial reverses and the Romney family moved again—this time to Idaho—and finally settled in Utah.

George worked his way through the Latter Day Saints University High School from 1922 to 1926 and after graduation spent the next two years as a Mormon missionary in England and Scotland (1927 and 1928). In 1929 he returned to school briefly at the University of Utah and then went to Washington, D.C. (reportedly to be near his high school sweetheart and future wife, Lenore LaFount) where he worked as a typist in the office of Senator David I. Walsh, a Democrat from Massachusetts. (By the time his biography appeared in the 1966–67 edition of Who's Who the position had been upgraded to "tariff specialist.") During this period (1929–30) he also attended George Washington University.

In 1930 he became associated with the aluminum industry, going to work as an apprentice for the Aluminum Corporation of America in Pittsburgh, Pa. In 1931 they sent him to their Los Angeles office as a salesman and in 1932 Romney returned to Washington, D.C. as a lobbyist for ALCOA and the Aluminum Wares Association. He remained in this position until he left to work for the Automobile Manufacturers Association in 1939. While still the aluminum lobbyist, Romney was president of the Washington Trades Association Executives in 1937 and 1938.

Romney took up residence in Michigan when he became manager of the Detroit office of the Automobile Manufacturers Association in 1939. He was promoted and became general manager of the Automobile Manufacturers Association in 1942, remaining until 1948 when he accepted a position as special assistant to George Mason, chairman of Nash-Kelvinator. During the war years he was considered the chief spokesman for the automobile industry. Current Biography 1958 states: "He often appeared before Congressional committees to testify on war production methods, labor, and management in the auto industry. He helped to organize and became managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production in 1941 and helped to create the Automotive Committee for Air Defense. He was one of the organizers of the Detroit Victory Council and served as explorer-member of the labor-management committee of the War Manpower Commission for Detroit."

Romney joined Nash-Kelvinator in 1948 and became a vice president of the company in 1950, and executive vice president and director in 1953. In 1954 American Motors was formed from the merger of Nash-Kelvinator and Hudson. When George Mason died a few months later Romney succeeded him as chairman of the board and president in October, 1954, becoming general manager as well. He acquired fame and fortune through the success of the American Motors compact car, the Rambler. As of January 11, 1958 Business Week stated: "To auto industry observers too often tempted to believe that GM, Ford and Chrysler have a monopoly on brains, George Romney looks like the smartest or luckiest man in Detroit."

Another version appears in the book: "The Romney Riddle" by Gerald O. Plas:

"One of the most popular Romney myths is that he saved American Motors from certain destruction by first inventing the idea of a 'compact car' and then single-handedly changed the entire structure of automobile demand in America so that customers flocked to buy Ramblers. . . . It was George Mason who conceived the idea of the Rambler and put Nash-Kelvinator into the compact field."

The compact car boom lasted from 1958 to 1963, by which time Romney was out of the auto manufacturing business and into the Michigan governor's mansion. By 1966 American Motors was in trouble again and its problems were blamed by top executives on "bad judgment" on the part of "previous management." At the height of his success as a businessman, Romney trod the volunteer citizen route to a political future.

He began in 1959 by joining and eventually heading the Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs in Detroit (where he did not live) after not having shown any interest in school needs in Bloomfield Hills (where he did live). After a successful stint with this group, Romney started his own "citizens group," called Citizens for Michigan whose purpose, according to Romney, was "to enable individuals to become better informed and to discuss and formulate recommendations on the State's needs." This group worked for the calling of a constitutional convention to rewrite Michigan's "outdated" constitution.

In spite of much public protestation that he would not think of using his Citizens for Michigan as a springboard for public office, Romney considered running for U.S. Senate in 1960. He reconsidered, however, when members accused him of using the group merely to further his political ambitions . . . they could wait at least a little while longer. He was able to get more publicity as delegate to the Constitution Convention. He reluctantly had to identify himself as a Republican to run for the delegate position and fully expected to be elected president of the Convention. He settled for the position of one of the two vice presidents, however, at the urging of his sympathizers.

Before his election as a delegate, Romney was quoted as stating piously, "It would be reprehensible for a candidate to use the constitution convention as a base to further his political or personal ambitions." Four months later, with the work of the convention only half finished, Romney announced his candidacy for Governor of Michigan. "The Romney Riddle" states:

"During the course of the convention Romney's activities received as much publicity as the work of the whole convention itself, and both were usually mentioned together as if Romney was single-handedly writing the new basic document. As it appears from his statements, this is how Romney felt about it, too. . . . Throughout the Con-Con, Romney was continuously in the headlines as the self-appointed spokesman for the delegates."

The Richmond News Leader of October 25, 1962 commented on Romney's race for governor:

"Of the handful of gubernatorial campaigns attracting national attention, the strangest of all is the sick race being run in Michigan. If George Romney were not being boomed as an understudy for Nelson Rockefeller in the 1964 elections, the whole story could be written off as another chapter in the political and economic collapse of Michigan. But the Romney campaign is a good example of the so-called 'citizens' groups whose influence suggest a serious breakdown in the American system of opposing political parties . . . groups of 'citizens' began to call for Romney, who had rescued American Motors by introducing the compact car, to take over the GOP and lead it to victory. There was only one catch: No one knew whether Romney was a Republican or not. Romney refused to comment.

"There was little clue in Romney's record . . . His only political appointment had been as Truman's official delegate to the Stockholm and Geneva meetings of the International Labor Organization's Metal Trades Conference. As President of American Motors he attacked right-to-work laws and set up a controversial profit-sharing plan hailed by Walter Reuther . . .

"As a Republican candidate, Romney has published some highly unusual campaign literature: The word Republican cannot be found on it, nor are any other Republican candidates mentioned . . . He operates not from the Republican Party Headquarters, but from the Romney-for-Governor Headquarters."

Romney's close friend and fund raiser is Max M. Fisher, considered by many to be the most influential man in the United States. The April 12, 1962 issue of the Birmingham (Mich.) Eccentric stated:

"Max M. Fisher, who was the 1961 general chairman of the United Foundation Torch Drive in Metropolitan Detroit, will be the finance chairman of George Romney's campaign for Governor of Michigan.

"In announcing the appointment, Romney said, 'I am delighted that we will have the benefit of Mr. Fisher's skill and experience in our state-wide effort to develop broad citizen financial support as well as participation . . .'

"Fisher, 53, of 27751 Fairway Hills Drive, Farmington Township, is chairman of the board and president of Aurora Gasoline Co. with which he has been associated since its inception in 1933. He is also board chairman of Speedway Petroleum Corp. . . .

"Fisher has been president of the Jewish Welfare Federation in Detroit for the past four years . . . He also serves as a national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal."

In describing "The Men Around Romney," Detroit Free Press writer, Saul Friedman, states (April 27, 1967):

"As important to the Romney operation as any man in his employ is one who is not—Max Martin Fisher of Detroit, financier, oilman, philanthopist, and money raiser. One of Romney's closest friends, and finance chairman in his first campaign, Fisher heads the United Jewish Appeal, the nation's largest fund-raising organization, among many civic roles."

Fisher was also the subject of an article in The Detroit News Magazine of Feb. 23 by Avrum Schulzinger who states that Fisher first made his millions by taking control of the oil industry in Michigan:

"Now, when you count the pies into which this man's fingers probe, you can list blue chip stocks, real estate holdings, sports and theatrical adventures, excursions into insurance, politics and manufacturing—and your hands come up dripping oil. He sits on the boards of the Michigan Consolidated Gas Co. and Michigan Bell Telephone. He is Chairman of Fisher-New Center Co., a director of Safran Printing Co., Fruehauf Trucking Co. and Allen Industries. His real estate holdings include a partnership in the huge $150,000,000 Somerset Park apartment complex in Troy, Mich., as well as the Fisher theater chain."

The article describes Fisher as a fund-raiser and consultant to President Nixon as well as a supporter of the Negro revolution. He is quoted as stating: "The growth of the Black Power concept is healthy because there was no leadership for the Negro before." The Detroit Free Press of April 4, 1969 published Fisher's sentiments concerning the incident in which a policeman was killed and a skirmish between police and black militants ensued. After all but two of those arrested had been quickly released by Negro Judge George W. Crockett, Jr., who has a long Communist-front record, there was much criticism of the judge's action. The article in the Free Press states:

"Crockett Says He Acted Properly—Fisher Agrees . . . Recorder's Court Judge George W. Crockett Jr., angered over widespread criticism, Thursday defended his conduct in the Linwood incident as 'legal, proper and moral.'

"Only an hour earlier, New Detroit chairman Max M. Fisher spoke out in Judge Crockett's defense, praising his 'very good judgment' in freeing persons arrested in the Linwood incident."

The purpose of New Detroit, Inc., of which Fisher is chairman, is purportedly to get employment for the "inner-city" unemployed. However, Fisher is reportedly making money out of the situation by getting Detroit-based industries to move out from the core city into the suburbs and onto property owned by a company in which he is heavily interested.

Another pro-revolutionary friend of Romney is Saul Alinsky, if Alinsky's literature can be believed. A handbill announcing a lecture by Alinsky in Wisconsin in October, 1966 carries the following line at the bottom: "Saul Alinsky is a friend and informal consultant to Michigan's Governor George Romney."

Romney himself has been involved in an organization which might be considered revolutionary on a high level. This is the Council on World Tensions which carried Romney's name on its Board of Directors. The group was spawned at the UNESCO House in Paris in 1950 under the name of "World Brotherhood." It carries on "educational" activities with and for other left wing organizations such as the National Education Association and the Council on Foreign Relations. Among its financial supporters is the Ford Foundation; and among the others listed with Romney on its letterhead are Adlai Stevenson, Andrew Cordier, Paul Hoffman, Charles Percy and Ann Rosenberg Hoffman.

Romney is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations (Detroit Committee), a life member of the NAACP and a past member of the Board of Directors of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He was Chairman of the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants. He is a Mormon and president of the Detroit Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. He was married on July 2, 1931 to Lenore LaFount, former stage and screen actress and they have four children: Lynn (now Mrs. Loren G. Keenan), Jane (now Mrs. Bruce H. Robinson), Scott and Willard Mitt.

Even before he entered the governor's mansion in Lansing after his 1962 election, Romney had his eye on the White House. Readers Digest published an article condensed from Newsweek of February 19, 1962 (Romney had only just announced his candidacy for governor Feb. 9th) under the heading "George Romney: Dark Horse, Off and Running," which stated:

"At rare intervals, there appears on the American political scene a figure who through indefinable alchemy becomes overnight a contender for the U.S. Presidency. In 1959 Romney was elected chairman of the Citizens for Michigan, whose members included Robert S. McNamara, then a vice president of Ford Motor Co. In the light of this experience in citizens' groups, it was hardly surprising that Romney's name should be brought into the 1962 gubernatorial race. Richard Nixon and Dwight Eisenhower encouraged him to run. Romney, said Eisenhower, would 'make an attractive candidate' in 1964. In 1964 the Republican Party might find it hard to resist Romney."

However, in 1964 the Republican Party resisted Romney quite well and chose as its candidate, Barry Goldwater. Romney ran for re-election as governor and completely disassociated himself with the other Republican candidates, especially Goldwater, whose views were never "clarified" sufficiently for Romney. Romney started early preparing for the 1968 Republican presidential nomination even quietly seeking the support of H. L. Hunt, a patriotic American, vilified as a "right-wing extremist." Mr. Hunt wrote: (Manchester Union Leader of February 15, 1968):

"The office staff of Governor Romney publicized about January 11 its burning of 400 of my books which I had donated to Governor Romney, suggesting the use of them in his state's rehabilitation movement as recommended by Rev. Earl Grandstaff, D.D., past president of the National Society of Prison Chaplains.

"About June 6, 1967, Governor Romney reached me long distance and outlined his philosophies to which I took no exception. He solicited my assistance in his campaign for the presidential nomination . . ."

Romney is not only a book-burner but a hater of "extremists" (of the right, that is). In November 1965 he was sued for $1 million by a member of the John Birch Society for making "slanderous" statements about the Society. A statement which caused the complaint allegedly was: "I have found that the John Birch Society, as an organization, uses methods of infiltration and subversion and tactics that we associate with other secret organizations, like the Communist Party." Romney continued with the suggestion that the Republican Party "repudiate" the John Birch Society. In 1959 Romney, speaking to an audience of 30,000 people, stated: "The word 'capitalism' should be even more repugnant to Americans than to Communists."

On March 9, 1965 Romney led an illegal march of 10,000 in Detroit protesting "police brutality" in Selma, Ala.

After being re-elected governor in 1966, by a "landslide," Romney really thought he had it made as far as the presidency was concerned. Even Rockefeller was supposedly supporting a Romney-Javits ticket. But a funny thing happened—an off-the-cuff statement about having been "brainwashed" concerning Vietnam upset all the well-laid plans and Romney took himself out of the presidential race in February 1968. As it turned out, however, Rockefeller really wanted the nomination himself.

Personally Romney has been described as "a No. 1 egotist who runs roughshod over everyone," "a first-rate opportunist who talks out of all sides of his mouth," "extremely shallow . . . I think he would be dangerous in Washington because he can rationalize that an end justifies any means." Romney had been known for having a vicious temper but is reportedly "controlling it better but he has a hard time admitting he's wrong."

Romney is now in Washington where even an avowed liberal has said he would be "dangerous." President Nixon is handing him power and funds. Work is to start instantly on rebuilding riot-torn areas such as Detroit which need not have been "riot-torn" if Governor Romney had been able to keep law and order. Detroit's "Model City" program calls for legal houses of prostitution. We wonder what the "pious" Romney thinks of this! Will George be allowed to spend billions of dollars for model ghettoes with built-in brothels and wall-to-wall open housing? We say: Don't Let George Do It.

[From the "Congressional Directory"]

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

George Wilcken Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, took office January 22, 1969; born July 8, 1907, in a Mormon colony in Chihuahua, Mexico, of American parents; while still a child, the family returned to the United States settling in California, later in Idaho and Utah; attended Roosevelt Junior High School, Latter-Day Saints High School, and Latter-Day Saints Junior College (1 year), Salt Lake City; became a Mormon missionary, served 2 years in England and Scotland; studied at University of Utah, 1929; worked in office of Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, 1929–30; employed by Aluminum Company of America, 1930–36; while Alcoa's representative in Washington served for 2 years as president of Washington Trade Association Executives; director, Detroit office of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, 1939; managing director, Automotive Council for War Production, 1942; general manager, Automobile Manufacturers Association; member, United States employer delegation to the International Labor Organization, 1946–49; in 1948, joined Nash-Kelvinator Corp. as assistant to the president, became vice president, 1950, executive vice president, 1953; in 1954, with merger of Nash-Kelvinator Corp. and Hudson Motor Car Co. to form American Motors, became assistant to the president and executive vice president; on October 12, 1954, became president, general manager, and chairman of the board of American Motors; his involvement in public affairs began in Detroit over 20 years ago; member, Citizens Housing Planning Council, Detroit Victory Council; chairman, Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, 1956; spearheaded founding of Citizens of Michigan, 1959; Republican constitutional convention delegate, 1961; Governor of Michigan, January 1, 1963, until he became Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; over the years, active in many organizations, including: Detroit Tomorrow Committee, Detroit Trade Association, United Foundation, United Negro College Fund, Detroit Round Table of Christians and Jews, Boy Scouts, and Project Hope; received many awards and citations, including: Man of the Year in Industry Award from the Associated Press for 4 consecutive years, 1958–61; Man of the Year Award from the National Management Association; American Democratic Living Award from B'nai B'rith; Edward Lamb Management Award from Columbia University, and Charles Evans Hughes Award for Courageous Leadership in Governmental Service from National Conference of Christians and Jews; honorary degrees from a score of universities; honorary fellow of Israel's Bar-Ilan University, 1965; married Lenore LaFount, July 2, 1931; four children: Scott, Willard M., Lynn (Mrs. Loren Keenan), and Jane (Mrs. Bruce Robinson); the Romneys have 12 grandchildren.

TRIBUTE TO ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, among the men who have most influenced the course of U.S. social and political history is Asa Philip Randolph, who celebrates his 80th birthday this month. As president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, vice president of the AFL–CIO, and leader of the black people, he has gained for his race substantial victories in their struggle for political and economic freedom.

A champion of the cause of civil rights, a leader of organized labor, an advisor to Presidents, and a dedicated, self-sacrificing man, A. Philip Randolph has been the recipient of many honors and awards, including the highest civilian honor the President of the United States can bestow, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. A White House statement issued at the time of that award noted that Mr. Randolph "for many years has been in the vanguard of his people's fight against discrimination in industry, in organized labor, and in the Armed Forces."

On this 80th anniversary of his birth, I should like to join in honoring a great man, whose selfless motives, noble actions, and dedicated leadership have contributed so much to his country and to his people.

MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has traditionally responded to emergencies and has provided disaster relief abroad without political concession or excess involvement in the internal affairs of the recipient nations. Disaster relief, essentially, is humanitarian and should remain so.

With this tradition in mind, it is always encouraging to learn of organizations who are likewise concerned with starvation throughout the world and who are doing everything humanly possible to provide whatever assistance is necessary to stem the tide of famine and promote the survival of our fellowman.

An article which appeared in the April 26 issue of the magazine America entitled "Mission to the Middle East," by Vincent S. Kearney, has been called to my attention and I wish to share it with my colleagues. The Pontifical Mission for Palestine under the capable direction of Msgr. John G. Nolan of the Albany, N.Y., diocese, has devoted more than 19 years to the cause of human betterment in the Middle East. In terms of the spectacular, the work of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine cannot match the Biafra relief effort. Since its existence, however, the Mission has funneled more than $100 million in relief to the Middle East.

I am pleased to call Mr. Kearney's article to the attention of my colleagues.

MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Vincent S. Kearney, associate editor of America)

Meeting Constantin C. Vlachopoulos has been one of those unforgettable experiences. As executive director of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, he was on hand to greet my Ahtalia jet as it touched down at Beirut International Airport during the late evening of last February 13. Just two weeks previously that same airstrip had been turned into a flaming beacon visible for miles around as a result of the Israeli reprisal raid that had made burned-out wreckage of 13 Arab airliners. The people of Beirut had not yet quite recovered from the shock of being so suddenly and realistically plunged into the midst of the Arab-Israel quarrel.

The weary American traveler who arrived in the Middle East at that particular point of heightened tensions and aroused anti-U.S. feelings could be pardoned a few apprehensions. What sort of welcome was in store? I soon discovered however, that fears were groundless. For Constantin C. Vlachopoulos, who creates the immediate impression that he knows everyone in the Middle East worth knowing, steered me through immigration and customs not only without unsavory incident, but with a bit of fanfare to boot.

In the ensuing five weeks, wonder at the executive director of the Pontifical Mission was to grow. A former UN employee, he had worked for 14 years as public information officer of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the arms of the world organization that has sought since 1948 to cushion the impact of war, of displacement and, in many instances, of economic ruin on one and a half million people in the Middle East the refugee victims of two decades of Arab-Israeli conflict. The humanitarian objectives of UNRWA had become so much a part of his life that on his retirement from UNRWA he was easy prey for Msgr. John G. Nolan, of the Albany (N.Y.) Diocese, the dynamic director of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, who directs its relief work from the New York office of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (CNEWA) at 330 Madison Ave.

The Pontifical Mission was to earn several extra, not insignificant, dividends from the hiring of Constantin C. Vlachopoulos. As the name suggests, he is a Greek Orthodox, who has received the highest honors his Church can confer on a layman. His presence on the staff of the mission has made of its work a genuinely ecumenical venture. Born in the Middle East, moreover, he knows the area, its peoples, its way of life and the inner

workings of its politics, an important qualification even for such an apolitical organization as a Catholic voluntary relief agency.

Beirut and my meeting Constantin C. Vlachopoulos, was the first stop on a five-week reporting assignment to cover the work of the Pontifical Mission in the Middle East. In terms of the glamorous and the spectacular, I was to discover, the mission's various programs are no match for the efforts of similar relief agencies that have been engaged for months in the crash program to cut down deaths from starvation in beleaguered Biafra. There is no comparison between landing at Beirut in a posh Alitalia-Caravelle and hitching a risky night flight into Biafra on a chartered cargo plane.

On the other hand, though the Pontifical Mission has settled down to a certain permanence in the Middle East and become part of the scenery. Its work is no less dramatic than the frantic efforts to snatch the children of Biafra from the edge of starvation. Its achievements in alleviating some of the misery that mark 54 Arab refugee camps throughout the Middle East is a response to the same human need.

To comprehend fully the circumstances in which the Pontifical Mission goes about its work, one might best review the refugee situation in the broader context of UNRWA. For the mission—and the other voluntary agencies that co-operate with the UN—supplements the work of the world organizations by providing what UNRWA, in a given instance, may lack the means to provide. In the disruption and chaos that followed on the war of June, 1967, for example (an occasion on which Msgr. Nolan also experienced the perils of chartered cargo flights into a war zone), the Pontifical Mission was able to lift some of the burden off an already groaning UN budget by channeling $4.25 million worth of emergency relief supplies to newly stricken refugees. Sent by Catholic relief sources around the world, tons of food, clothing, blankets, tents, mess kits, cooking stoves, medical supplies, antibiotics and vitamins were pouring in even before the hostilities had ceased.

Besides being on hand for such emergencies, the mission has for two decades been probing into the hidden, and very often just as critical needs of a people made destitute by war, occupation and economic collapse. Perhaps its greatest asset in responding to human need is the flexibility of its approach to the problem.

As defined by the United Nations, a Palestinian refugee is technically one "whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum period of two years immediately preceding the outbreak of the [Arab-Israeli] conflict of 1948 and who, as a result of that conflict, has lost both his home and his means of livelihood." He has settled in one of four "host" countries—Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and that portion of Palestine known as the Gaza Strip which, until the June, 1967, war, had been under Egyptian administration.

According to U.N. reckoning, there are 1.5 million such persons registered on the U.N.'s rolls. (This figure includes the additional refugees who fled Palestine in June, 1967.) Contrary to popular assumption, less than half have remained so totally dependent on international charity since 1948 that they actually dwell today in UNRWA camps. Contrary to another popular assumption, only a little more than half actually depend on UNRWA's bread line, the supplementary food rations, the UN agency doles out once a month.

Indeed, so much mythology has grown up around, and beclouded judgment of, the refugee situation that it is difficult to decide where to begin the demythologizing process. At its worst, 20 years of propaganda have pictured the Arab refugee as a ne'er-do-well, unwilling to help himself and passively content to exist on a dole. As a matter of fact, if the average refugee had to subsist on the dollar per man per month the UN contributes to his daily diet the refugee problem would have resolved itself in drastic fashion long ago. The 1,500 calories a day (1,600 in the winter months) UNRWA provides might constitute an excellent reducing diet for overweight American matrons. It will not do a permanent fare. Distributed once a month, the rations consist of 22 pounds of flour, 1.3 pounds of sugar and pulses (dried beans, peas, lentils, etc.), 1.1 pounds of rice and 13 ounces of edible oils and fats—hardly a balanced diet, even if it were adequate.

More than is generally recognized, the refugee has over the years manifested a determination to help himself. While traveling through southern Lebanon, for example, I passed mile after mile of orange groves along each side of the picturesque coastal road from Saida (the Sidon of Scripture) down to the Palestinian frontier. These groves were nonexistent before 1948. The region blooms today under the expert hands of Palestinian Arab citrus cultivators from the UNRWA camps at Rashidich, Burjel-Shamati, el Buss, etc.

Unfortunately, like so many of the jobs the refugee is likely to find outside the camps, agriculture in one of the host countries, for reasons I shall discuss later, provides at the most seasonal, temporary employment. It normally does not give the refugee the opportunity to cut himself loose from at least partial dependence on UNRWA. Refugees, it is true, have over the years been able to strike out on their own and move into the towns. But those so fortunate have been mainly of the middle class, who already possessed the professional and occupational skills that enabled them to fit into an urban environment and adjust to a new life.

UNRWA's ultimate objective, as I soon came to realize is not to apply Band aids. It is to create a new generation with new skills. The UN agency has deliberately refused to be tied to a soup-kitchen mentality. The three big items on its budget are education, health and the basic staff costs required to keep the agency functioning. While a ceiling on the amount of money expended on food rations has remained fairly constant over the years—with the result that one-third of the refugee children in Jordan who qualify for the UN's supplementary rations do not get them—the cost of UNRWA's various educational programs has skyrocketed. All refugee children receive an elementary education. Those who satisfactorily complete the elementary course move on to three years of preparatory training. A limited number, selected on the basis of need and merit, are given the opportunity to advance further through grants to government and private schools in the host countries. UNRWA also offers university scholarships to the more gifted.

But it is in the area of vocational training that UNRWA is convinced it has discovered the key to unlock the door to a new life for the average Arab refugee youth. The UN staffs ten vocational-training institutions in the host countries. To cite the statistics for one year alone, 1966 saw 1,650 vocational-training graduates. 275 of whom continued for another year of on-the-job industrial training in foreign countries—Sweden, Switzerland, West Germany, France and the United Arab Republic.

Thus, over the past 15 years (the technical-training program got out of the planning stage in 1953) UNRWA has been turning out young men and women in impressive numbers who are equipped with the skills that will help them to fit into a still developing technological society. Young men are trained in the building, electrical and mechanical trades and for such semi-professional and commercial occupations as architectural and engineering draftsman, assistant pharmacist, laboratory technician, land surveyor, etc. Girls are trained in the secretarial and clerical fields, dressmaking, home and institutional management and home economics teaching. Graduates of these vocational training institutions can now be found throughout the Arab world, especially in the oil-producing Persian Gulf states, where there is always a need for craftsmen.

The success of this program of UNRWA logically suggests the question that goes to the core of the political problem in the Middle East. If progress toward self-sufficiency has been so promising, is not the problem itself of the Arab refugee capable of self-resolution? Why has it persisted for two decades?

According to Dr. John H. Davis, who, as former commissioner general of UNRWA, has lived with the problem as few others have, it always has been, and remains today, capable of gradual solution. But how gradual? For every two thousand or so young men and women who are acquiring the skills to enable them to cut themselves loose from the degrading conditions of the camps, another 35,000 to 40,000 yearly swell the UNRWA rolls. This is the rate of natural increase each year among the Palestinian refugees.

(In an ironic sense, UNRWA has been its own and the refugees' worst enemy. The excellent health service that UNRWA provides, which constitutes the second most important feature of its program, has maintained the infant mortality rate in the camps at a level comparable to that of any underdeveloped country. For 20 years, moreover, despite every reasonable expectation to the contrary, despite the crowded and very often miserable conditions in the camps and despite the problem of providing adequate drinking water and sanitation facilities, UNRWA has never had an epidemic on its hands. By keeping the refugees alive and in relatively good health, UNRWA has also kept the problem alive.)

This natural increase of the refugee population by a half million since 1948 is perhaps the most frustrating aspect of the problem of the Palestinian Arab. For it has rendered almost impossible his total absorption into the economies of neighboring Arab countries. Roughly 70 per cent of the original refugees were agricultural workers with no other means of livelihood. Their misfortune befell them in an era when most under-industrialized countries suffer from a glut of farm workers. The Middle East where cultivable land is at a premium and where young people generally come of age three times faster than they are needed to replace their parents on the farm—is no exception. The farm itself is usually too small to support a family of eight or ten, or to employ modern agricultural equipment effectively.

The misfortune of the father—his inability to find work suitable to his occupational background—has been visited on the son. In a culture in which 95 per cent of the youth has traditionally learned its work habits by toiling alongside their parents, many of the young men in the UNRWA camps have been condemned to idleness. Few, moreover, are able to compete with the youth of the host country, who themselves are moving city-ward in increasing numbers because of the lack of opportunity in rural areas.

The situation in the Gaza Strip is an extreme example of the plight of the Palestinian refugee. The Strip is a narrow finger of land, 25 miles long and between four and six miles wide. Located on the Mediterranean coast, it is bounded on the north and east by Israel and on the south by the now occupied area of Sinai. Of the Strip's 87,000 acres, only 42,500 are cultivable. About half its land area is either desert or sand dunes.

Previous to 1948, Gaza, with its population of 80,000 people, was economically integrated with the rest of Palestine. Its people made a respectable living from agriculture, weaving, pottery and other handicrafts. Many worked outside the Strip. Near Beersheba, which is now in Israel, they grew wheat and barley, which was then loaded onto ships off Gaza

or delivered by rail to Haifa and Jaffa. The town of Gaza itself was a key administrative and marketing center.

Today Gaza is for all practical purposes isolated from the rest of the world. It has seen its original population swell to 430,000, of whom 70 per cent are refugees. Of these, only 20,000 are classified by UNRWA as self-supporting.

In another sense, practically everyone living in the Strip is a refugee. The surplus labor supply and the lack of opportunity for work have had devastating economic consequences even for the original 80,000 inhabitants of this tiny spit of sand. With wages at a fraction of their previous level, many have become "economic refugees," people whose sources of income have all but vanished. Ineligible for UNRWA assistance, they are in many instances worse off than the actual refugee.

UNRWA, it may be concluded, is not yet in a position to write a happy ending to its mandate, despite the encouraging results of many of its programs. It is even possible that in the coming months the UN agency may be forced to cut back certain of those programs. Its budget has been laboring under a $4-million deficit, only half of which it has been able to make up from one source or another. Faced with a crucial financial problem and fully conscious that its potential is limited, UNRWA has come to a new realization of the value of such voluntary agencies as the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, which has worked for 19 years in the Middle East in close co-operation with the UN.

The Pontifical Mission for Palestine is perhaps best described as the Palestine-refugee arm of that older organization known as the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. CNEWA grew out of the concern of the Church for the Armenian refugees, who poured into Greece during the years immediately following World War I and for the Russian Catholic exiles who experienced a similar fate during the same era. The association was founded to coordinate the fund-raising activites of the Church on behalf of both these groups of displaced persons.

The first president of CNEWA was the late Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., who had headed the papal relief mission to Russia in 1922–23. By 1931, the organization had become the official fund-raising organ for the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches. In that capacity, its influence stretches today as far east as India, where it finances seminary training and the construction of churches and village chapels.

The outbreak of hostilities in Palestine in 1948 and the subsequent displacement of some 800,000 Palestinians put new demands on CNEWA. Through the efforts of Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon, then national secretary of CNEWA, relief work for the Palestinian refugees was co-ordinated in the following year under the Pontifical Mission for Palestine.

The creation of the Pontifical Mission has had several far-reaching effects. The fact that it works in close co-operation with other voluntary agencies, as well as with UNRWA, has removed much of the sectarian competitiveness out of relief work in the Middle East. With its stress on field work and the need for field-work personnel, the mission has put a new complexion on CNEWA, which up to 1949 had been strictly a fund-raising instrument. Lastly, with the creation of the Pontifical Mission, Catholic relief in the Middle East was responding for the first time to the needs of a people who were for the most part non-Christian. (In fact, in his lighter moments, the Christian Arab has been heard to refer to the organization as the "Pontifical Mission for Muslims.")

In the 19 years of its existence, the mission has funneled more than $100 million in relief to the Middle East. Except for rare instances, when a crash program to provide the bare necessities of life may be indicated by circumstances, it, like UNRWA, shuns the bread-line approach to human need.

The mission was on hand to carry out a house-repair project in the Bab Hutta district of Old Jerusalem in order to insure that the homes damaged during the June, 1967, war would be able to withstand the winter. During the winter of 1967–68 personnel of the mission prepared and served more than 5,000 hot meals a day for needy Arab children in and around Jerusalem. It is frequently called upon, besides, to act as a social service agency investigating appeals for aid and distributing funds on behalf of other organizations or of donors who wish to remain anonymous.

The personnel of the mission, however, would insist that this type of aid does not really represent the basic philosophy behind the approach of the Pontifical Mission to social welfare in the disturbed conditions that prevail in today's Middle East. That philosophy was perhaps best expressed by Carol Hunneybun, who, with Helen Breen (both members of the Grail) works out of the Pontifical Mission office in Jerusalem under the youthful-looking, energetic Msgr. Edward C. Foster, of the Burlington (Vt.) Diocese, resident assistant in Beirut of Msgr. Nolan. "It is better to plant an apple tree, than to distribute apples," she remarked to me one day. Giving a child an education, in other words, is a far better gift than handing him a dole.

Hence, like UNRWA, the Pontifical Mission early recognized the importance of education in its approach to the problem of the Arab refugee. It has constructed two elementary schools in two of the largest camps in Jordan—Baqa'a and Jerash—where children, predominantly Muslims, are being given a head start toward a new life. In two Christian camps outside Beirut—Jisr el Bacha and Dbayhc—the Pontifical Mission administers two elementary schools and a secondary institution.

The Pontifical Mission also recognizes the value of vocational training. It provides scholarships for needy boys at the Salesian Technical School in Bethlehem, an institution that compares favorably with any one of UNRWA's technical-training centers. It operates a school for the blind in the Gaza Strip, whose personnel, both teachers and students, are Muslim. Despite the high incidence in the Middle East of trachoma, a disease that often ends up in loss of sight, no such school had existed, until, in 1962, UNRWA turned to the Pontifical Mission for help. The mission responded, provided the buildings and continues to contribute financially on a yearly basis, while UNRWA has assumed the administrative responsibility.

Similar financial assistance made possible the new school for deaf-mute boys of Fr. Ronald Roberts, which nestles alongside a Lebanese mountain village a half hour's drive from Beirut. Outside Bethlehem, an orphanage for 54 girls owes its continued existence to the financial aid of the Pontifical Mission.

The tradition of Christian service in the Holy Land and the surrounding countries is well established. Hospitals and clinics, usually among the first concerns of welfare organizations, have long been in existence. The institutions are run by religions who are themselves Arabs and who are therefore accepted as part of the landscape. Their presence cuts down on the construction and administrative costs the Pontifical Mission would doubtless have been called upon to share.

The mission contribution to the health needs of the poor consists, therefore, mainly in such projects as the endowment of beds in an already existing hospital. The mission, moreover, is constantly looking for new ways to provide additional health care. The feasibility of financing a mobile clinic, staffed by a volunteer doctor and nurse, either from the United States or from the area of the Middle East itself, is now under consideration.

In the long-range view, it is not easy to pinpoint the most meaningful contribution made by UNRWA and such voluntary agencies as the Pontifical Mission is the cause of human betterment in the Middle East. The fact is unchallengable, however, that they have made life a little easier and brought some hope of a better future for a people whose lives might overwise have been made intolerable by war and the inequities that often trail in the wake of international politics. Doing that, they may well have made a greater contribution to an eventual peace—perhaps even a reconciliation—in the Middle East than they themselves would dare dream.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is a special pleasure to join with many of our colleagues in extending congratulations to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, the distinguished president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, an occasion which will be marked tonight at a testimonial dinner at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City.

In extending congratulations, we also have a valuable opportunity to honor Mr. Randolph for his many and vital contributions to the well-being of our country. This great American has labored long and fruitfully, tirelessly and selflessly, for what is good for America. His achievements in extending and strengthening democracy in the labor movement, especially his successful fight to win recognition for his union; his role in desegregating the armed services; his influence in the establishment of the World War II Fair Employment Practices Commission; and his leadership of the 1963 March on Washington for jobs and freedom—all have been major milestones in the history of a Nation learning to live in freedom and brotherhood.

A. Philip Randolph deserves our tribute. But, more, he deserves our unremitting support of a lifetime of dedication to the ideals of equal rights and equal opportunity. He has shown the way to all of us, black and white alike, the way of commitment, of responsibility, of determination to make right prevail.

WORLD POPULATION GROWTH PROBLEMS: ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the 19th century, the English philosopher-economist Thomas Malthus published his classic "Essay on the Principle of Population" which said that unchecked breeding of

man causes population to grow by geometrical progression whereas the food supply only increases by an arithmetrical progression.

Malthus' theory noted that real wages could not go much above subsistence levels because any rise in well-being would lead to growth in the supply of workers; whenever wages fell below subsistence, the surplus supply of workers would be reduced through death. Malthus was an undue pessimist, and his theories led economics to be termed "the dismal science."

Although most of Malthus' more negative theories have been disproved over time, his observations regarding population and wage levels do hold relevance for the many millions of persons who live in poverty throughout the world.

One result of economic development is better health services for low-income families. And, as health conditions improve, death rates drop, and there is the tendency for population growth rates to shoot up very quickly. Any increase in population causes new demands to be made of whatever resources are available, and since the most dramatic health benefits usually come in the lowest age brackets, new demands are not offset by increases in the labor supply.

All nations—rich and poor—pay the price of rapid population growth. Poorer countries find themselves more strapped to allocate their sparse and expensive resources, while richer nations tend to aim development assistance more at immediate problems rather than dealing with investments for longer term growth.

The population bulge already ranks as perhaps the most important long-run problem now faced by man. Action should be undertaken at once to establish programs to cut into the high population growth rates found in so many poor nations.

Early this year, the report of the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning outlined a number of steps which this country should take over the next few years. The President's Committee proposed, and I strongly endorse these recommendations:

First. That the United States continue to expand its programs of international assistance in population and family planning as rapidly as funds can be properly allocated by the United States and effectively utilized by recipient countries and agencies;

Second. That in establishing priorities for its international assistance programs in population, the United States should relate family planning to maternal and child health programs wherever appropriate but also recognize that family planning efforts can be successfully conducted in their own right;

Third. That consideration be given to appropriate communications techniques, including television and other mass media, as possible methods for breaking through the barriers of illiteracy and misinformation;

Fourth. That special attention be given to research, development, and operational projects on the administrative aspects of family planning programs;

Fifth. That where appropriate, U.S. assistance in population matters continue to be channeled through qualified nongovernmental organizations and multilateral agencies;

Sixth. That international assistance programs should be funded for periods of at least 2 years and projected for at least 5 years;

Seventh. That an advisory committee of experts from outside the Government should be appointed to meet at regular intervals with governmental officials concerned with population programs to review and advise on major policies and programs; and

Eighth. That experienced specialists from other countries be invited to serve on advisory groups for both our domestic and international programs.

I believe that special emphasis must be placed on the multilateral international agency as the key action agency for family planning programs. Last week, Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, delivered a perceptive and provoking address on the worldwide population problem to the students and faculty at the University of Notre Dame. I urge each Member to give careful attention to the points that Mr. McNamara makes in his speech, which I now place in the RECORD at this point:

ADDRESS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME
(By Robert S. McNamara, President, World Bank Group)

I am grateful for this award, and pleased to become an honorary alumnus of Notre Dame.

This university, over the years has become a catalytic center of creative thought. It does what universities do best: it probes. It probes the past for what is most relevant to the present. It probes the present for what is most formative of the future. And it probes the future for what will most enlarge man's freedom and fulfillment.

I want to discuss with you this afternoon a problem that arose out of that recent past; that already plagues man in the present; and that will diminsh, if not destroy, much of his future—should he fail to face up to it, and solve it.

It is, by half a dozen criteria, the most delicate and difficult issue of our era—perhaps of any era in history. It is overlaid with emotion. It is controversial. It is subtle. Above all, it is immeasurably complex.

It is the tangled problem of excessive population growth.

It is not merely a problem, it is a paradox.

It is at one and the same time an issue that is intimately private—and yet inescapably public.

It is an issue characterized by reticence and circumspection—and yet in desperate need of realism and candor.

It is an issue intolerant of government pressure—and yet endangered by government procrastination.

It is an issue, finally, that is so hypersensitive—giving rise to such diverse opinion—that there is an understandable tendency simply to avoid argument, turn one's attention to less complicated matters, and hope that the problem will somehow disappear.

But the problem will not disappear.

What may disappear is the opportunity to find a solution that is rational and humane.

If we wait too long, that option will be overtaken by events.

We cannot afford that. For if there is anything certain about the population explosion, it is that if it is not dealt with reasonably, it will in fact explode: explode in suffering, explode in violence, explode in inhumanity.

All of us are, of course, concerned about this.

You, here at Notre Dame, have been giving constructive attention to this concern for several years. And yet it may seem strange that I should speak at a center of Catholic thought on this awkward issue which might so conveniently be ignored, or left to demographers to argue.

I have chosen to discuss the problem because my responsibilities as President of the World Bank compel me to be candid about the blunt facts affecting the prospects for global development.

The bluntest fact of all is that the need for development is desperate.

One-third of mankind today lives in an environment of relative abundance.

But two-thirds of mankind—more than two billion individuals—remain entrapped in a cruel web of circumstances that severely limits their right to the necessities of life. They have not yet been able to achieve the transition to self-sustaining economic growth. They are caught in the grip of hunger and malnutrition; high illiteracy; inadequate education; shrinking opportunity; and corrosive poverty.

The gap between the rich and poor nations is no longer merely a gap. It is a chasm. On one side are nations of the West that enjoy per capita incomes in the $3,000 range. On the other are nations in Asia and Africa that struggle to surivve on per capita incomes of less than $100.

What is important to understand is that this is not a static situation. The misery of the underdeveloped world is today a dynamic misery, continuously broadened and deepened by a population growth that is totally unprecedented in history.

This is why the problem of population is an inseparable part of the larger, overall problem of development.

There are some who speak as if simply having fewer people in the world is some sort of intrinsic value in and of itself. Clearly, it is not.

But when human life is degraded by the plague of poverty, and that poverty is transmitted to future generations by too rapid a growth in population, then one with responsibilities in the field of development has no alternative but to deal with that issue.

To put it simply: the greatest single obstacle to the economic and social advancement of the majority of the peoples in the underdeveloped world is rampant population growth.

Having said that, let me make one point unmistakably clear: the solution of the population problem is in no way a substitute for the more traditional forms of developmental assistance: aid for economic infrastructure; aid for agriculture; aid for industrialization; aid for education; aid for technological advance.

The underdeveloped world needs investment capital for a whole gamut of productive projects. But nothing would be more unwise than to allow these projects to fail because they are finally overwhelmed by a tidal wave of population.

Surely, then, it is appropriate that we should attempt to unravel the complexities that so confuse this critical issue.

II

One can begin with the stark demographic dimensions. The dynamics are deceivingly simple. Population increase is simply the excess of births over deaths. For most of man's history the two have been in relative equilibrium. Only in the last century have they become seriously unbalanced.

Though the figures are well known, they are worth repeating—if for no other reason than to forestall the familiarity with unpleasant facts from cloaking itself with complacency. It required sixteen hundred years to double the world population of 250 million, as it stood in the first century A.D. Today, the more than three billion on earth will double in 35 years time, and the world's population will then be increasing at the rate of an additional billion every eight years.

To project the totals beyond the year 2000 becomes so demanding on the imagination as to make the statistics almost incomprehensible.

A child born today, living on into his seventies, would know a world of 15 billion. His grandson would share the planet with 60 billion.

In six and a half centuries from now—the same insignificant period of time separating us from the poet Dante—there would be one human being standing on every square foot of land on earth: a fantasy of horror that even the *Inferno* could not match.

Such projections are, of course, unreal. They will not come to pass because events will not permit them to come to pass.

Of that we can be certain.

What is not so certain is precisely what those events will be. They can only be: mass starvation; political chaos; or population planning.

Whatever may happen after the year 2000, what is occurring right now is enough to jolt one into action.

India, for example, is adding a million people a month to its population—and this in spite of the oldest family-planning program in Southeast Asia.

The Philippines currently has a population of 37 million. There is no authorized government family-planning program. At the present rate of growth, these limited islands—in a brief 35 years—would have to support over one hundred million human beings.

The average population growth of the world at large is 2%. Many underdeveloped countries are burdened with a rate of 3½% or more. A population growing at 1% doubles itself in 70 years; at 2% it doubles in 35 years; at 3½% it doubles in only 20 years.

Now, if we are to reject mass starvation and political chaos as solutions to this explosive situation, then there are clearly only three conceivable ways in which a nation can deliberately *plan* to diminish its rate of population growth: to increase the death rate; to step up the migration rate; or to reduce the birth rate.

No one is in favor of the first choice. On the contrary, under the impact of public health programs, death rates are falling throughout the underdeveloped areas. Even simple medical improvements—better sanitation, malaria suppression, widespread vaccination—bring on a rapid and welcome decline in mortality. The low-level death rates which Europe required a century and a half to achieve are now being accomplished in the emerging areas in a fifth of that time.

The second choice is wholly inadequate. Increased migration, on any scale significant enough to be decisive, is simply not practical. Countries concerned about their own future crowding are understandably disinclined to add to it by accepting more than a limited number of foreigners. But the more important point is that the continually expanding increment, on a global basis, is already so massive that migration as a solution to population pressure is manifestly unrealistic. We can put a man on the moon. But we cannot migrate by the millions off our own planet.

That leaves the third choice: a humane and rational reduction of the birth rate.

Is it feasible? It is.

Is it simple? It is not.

Is it necessary? Without question.

It is necessary because the consequences of continuing the present population growth rates are unacceptable.

III

Let us examine those consequences.

One cannot sense the inner significance of the cold, remote, impersonal demographic data by merely tracing a line upward on a graph, or by scanning the print-out from a computer.

The consequences of rapid population growth—piled on top of an already oppressive poverty—must be grasped in all their concrete, painful reality.

The first consequence can be seen in the gaunt faces of hungry men.

One half of humanity is hungering at this very moment. There is less food per person on the planet today than there was 30 years ago in the midst of worldwide depression.

Thousands of human beings will die today—as they die every day—of that hunger. They will either simply starve to death, or they will die because their diet is so inadequate that it cannot protect them from some easily preventable disease.

Most of those thousands of individuals—individuals whose intrinsic right to a decent life is as great as yours or mine—are children. They are not mere statistics. They are human beings. And they are dying; now, at this very moment; while we are speaking.

They are not your children. Or my children. But they are someone's children. And they are dying needlessly.

And yet the thousands who die are perhaps the more fortunate ones. For millions of other children, suffering the same malnutrition, do not die. They live languidly on—stunted in their bodies, and crippled in their minds.

The human brain reaches 90% of its normal structural development in the first four years of life. We now know that during that critical period of growth, the brain is highly vulnerable to nutritional deficiencies: deficiencies that can cause as much as 25% impairment of normal mental ability. Even a deterioration of 10% is sufficient to cause a serious handicap to productive life.

This is irreversible brain damage.

What is particularly tragic in all of this is that when such mentally deprived children reach adulthood, they are likely to repeat the whole depressing sequence in their own families. They perpetuate mental deficiency, not through genetic inheritance; but simply because as parents they are ill-equipped mentally to understand, and hence to avoid the very nutritional deprivations in their own children that they themselves suffered.

Thus hunger and malnutrition forge a chain of conditions that only spiral the total human performance dismally downward. Alertness, vitality, energy, the ability to learn, the desire to succeed, the will to exert an effort—al' these inestimable human qualities drain away.

How many children today are caught up in this crisis? How many of them subsist at levels of hunger and malnutrition that risk their being irreversibly mentally retarded for the rest of their lives? Some three hundred million.

But the population explosion's corrosive effects on the quality of life do not end with hunger. They range through the whole spectrum of human deprivation. With entire national populations, already caught up in the dilemmas of development, now doubling in as short a time as 20 years, there is a chronic insufficiency of virtually every necessity.

Current birth rates throughout the emerging world are seriously crippling developmental efforts. It is imperative to understand why. The intractable reason is that these governments must divert an inordinately high proportion of their limited national savings away from productive investment simply in order to maintain the current low level of existence.

Each additional child brought into the world must not only be fed, but clothed, housed, medically cared for, and supported by at least minimal educational services. All of this requires new capital—new capital that cannot be invested in other desperately needed sectors of the economy. For approximately the first 15 years of their lives, children cannot contribute economically to the nation: simply because they are young they are consumers rather than producers.

If the number of children in the total population—as a result of high birth rates—is very large, a nation is under the compelling necessity to expend ever greater resources simply to keep its people from slipping beneath minimum subsistence levels. A treadmill economy tends to emerge in which the total national effort will exhaust itself in running faster and faster merely to stand still.

More and more classrooms must be built; more and more teachers must be provided; more and more vocational training facilities must be established. But despite all this effort both the quantity and quality of education will inevitably decline. It simply cannot keep pace with the mounting waves of children. Thus, one of the prime movers of all human development—education—is sacrificed.

Further, as ill-educated, perhaps wholly illiterate, children reach the age when they ought to become producers in the economy, they are engulfed by the hopelessness of underemployment. In many of the world's shanty towns 50 to 60% of the adolescents are out of work.

Not only are these youngsters unequipped for the jobs that might have been available, but the total number of meaningful jobs itself tends to decline in proportion to the population simply because the government has been unable to invest adequately in job-producing enterprises. The capital that ought to have been invested was simply not available. It was dissipated by the ever rising tide of additional children.

This, then, is the cruel and self-perpetuating dilemma that governments face in underdeveloped countries overburdened for long periods with high birth rates.

Their plans for progress evaporate into massive efforts merely to maintain the status quo.

But what is true at the national level is repeated with even greater poignancy on the personal family level. Millions of individual families wish to avoid unwanted pregnancies.

And when these families cannot find legal and compassionate assistance in this matter, they often turn to desperate and illegal measures.

Statistics suggest that abortion is one of the world's most commonly chosen methods to limit fertility—despite the fact that in most societies it is ethically offensive, illegal, expensive, and medically hazardous.

In five countries of western Europe, it is estimated that there are as many illegal abortions as live births.

In India, the estimate is that each month a quarter of a million women undergo illegal abortion.

In Latin America, illegal abortion rates are among the highest in the world. In one country, they are said to total three times the live birth rate; in another, to be the cause of two out of every five deaths of pregnant women. Further, there are indications that the illegal abortion rate in Latin America is increasing, and that multiple illegal abortions among mothers are becoming common.

The tragic truth is that illegal abortion is endemic in many parts of the world. And it is particularly prevalent in those areas where there is no adequate, organized family-planning assistance.

The conclusion is clear: where the public authorities will not assist parents to avoid unwanted births, the parents will often take matters into their own hands—at whatever cost to conscience or health.

IV

Now I have noted that this entire question of population planning is incredibly complex. There are, of course, certain precise and painful moral dilemmas. But quite apart from these, there is a vague and murky

mythology that befogs the issue. Not only does this collection of myths obscure the essentials of the problem, but worse still, it builds barriers to constructive action.

I should like to turn now to that mythology, and examine some of its more irrational premises.

There is, to begin with, the generalized assumption that somehow "more people means more wealth." As with all fallacies, there is a deceptive substratum of plausibility to the thesis. With the earlier rise of nationalism in the West—and the more recent emergence of newly independent countries in Asia and Africa—rapid population growth has often been regarded as a symbol of national vigor. It provided, so it was believed, the foundations of a more powerful military establishment; an economically advantageous internal market; a pool of cheap labor; and, in general, a prestigious political place in the sun.

But in the underdeveloped world, nearly every one of these assumptions is false. Because rapid population growth tends seriously to retard growth in per capita income, the developing nation soon discovers that its economic vigor is diminished rather than enhanced by the phenomenon of high fertility. The hoped-for internal market becomes a mere mass of discontented indigents, without purchasing power but with all the frustrations of potential consumers whose expectations cannot be met.

"Cheap labor" in such countries turns out not to be cheap at all. For sound economic growth requires technological improvements, and these in turn demand higher levels of training than the strained government resources can supply. Though individual workers may be paid lower salaries than their counterparts abroad, their efficiency and productiveness are so low that the nation's goods are often priced out of the competitive export market. The "cheap" labor turns out to be excessively expensive labor.

Even the argument of expanding the population in order to provide a powerful military force is suspect—not merely because the expansion of one nation's forces will, in time, lead to a reactive expansion of its neighbors' forces, but also because modern defense forces require an increasing ratio of educated recruits rather than mere masses of illiterate troops.

As for political prestige, nations caught in the catastrophe of an uncontrolled population growth do not enhance their position in the family of nations. On the contrary, they find it slipping away as their once optimistic plans for progress turn inevitably to the politics of confrontation and extremism.

Akin to the myth that "more people means more wealth" is the notion that countries with large tracts of uninhabited open land have no need to worry about birth rates, since there is ample room for expansion.

The argument is as shallow as it is misleading. For the patent fact is that mere open land does not, in and of itself, support a high rate of population growth. Such open land—if it is to become the home of large numbers of people—must be provided with a whole panoply of heavy government investments: investments in roads, housing, sanitation, agricultural and industrial development.

The sound economic argument is quite the other way round. What such raw space requires first is not surplus people, but surplus funds for investment. And it is precisely surplus people in a developing economy that make the accumulation of surplus funds so incredibly difficult.

What is equally overlooked is that a rational restraint on fertility rates in an emerging country never implies an absolute reduction of the total population. It simply hopes for a more reasonable balance between birth and death rates. And since death rates in the future are certain to drop with continued advances in medicine—and in highly underdeveloped countries the drop in the death rate is characteristically precipitous—there are no grounds whatever for fearing that a nation's population, under the influence of family planning, will dangerously ebb away. The danger is quite the opposite: that even with family planning—should it be inadequately utilized—the population will proliferate in the future to self-defeating levels.

A still more prevalent myth is the misapprehension that official programs of family planning in a developing country are wholly unnecessary since the very process of development itself automatically leads to lowered birth rates. The experience of Europe is cited as persuasive proof of this theory.

But the proof is no proof at all, for the theory is hopelessly irrevelant to today's conditions in the underdeveloped world. There are no comparable circumstances between what happened in Europe's early period of modernization, and what is happening in the emerging world today.

Aside from a lapse of logic which fails to grasp that the current population growth in these areas inhibits the very economic development which is supposed to curb that growth, the historical fact is that conditions in Europe during its initial developmental period were far more favorable to lower rates of population growth. The birth rates were much lower than they are in the underdeveloped world today, the death rates had not yet drastically fallen, and by the time public health measures had accomplished that, the infrastructure of industralization was already in place.

Further, in nineteenth century Europe, unlike in the developing countries today, marriages were entered into later, and the level of literacy—always an important factor affecting population growth—was considerably higher.

Even in spite of all these advantages, it required some 70 years for Europe to reduce its birth rates to present levels. Today the average birth rate for developing countries is 40 to 45 per 1000 of population. To get this rate down to the 17 to 20 per 1000 that is common in contemporary Europe would require a reduction in the developing world of some 50 million births a year. To suppose that economic advancement by itself—without the assistance of well organized family planning—could accomplish this in any feasible time-frame of the future is wholly naive.

Indeed, even with family planning, no such promising results are feasible in less than two or three decades. What is feasible—indeed what is imperative—is the establishment of family planning on a scale that will stave off total economic and political disintegration in those countries where social progress is being seriously limited by the glut of unwanted births.

No government can, of course, ultimately succeed in convincing its own population to undertake family planning, if parents themselves do not really want it.

But the almost universal fact is that parents do want it. They often want it far more then their own political leaders comprehend.

People—particularly poor, ill-educated people—may not understand the techniques of family planning. Most of them have only the most tenuous understanding of human biology. Often their limited comprehension is tragically confused by gross misinformation.

But the notion that family-planning programs are sinister, coercive plots to force poor people into something they really do not want, is absurd.

The pervasive prevalence of voluntary illegal abortion should be enough to dispel that fiction.

The poor do not always know how to limit their families in less drastic and dangerous ways, but there is overwhelming evidence that they would like to know how.

Another serious misunderstanding is the fear that family planning in the developing world would inevitably lead to a breakdown of familial moral fiber—and that it would encourage parents to limit the number of their children for essentially frivolous and selfish reasons: that it would trade the responsibility of having a large number of children for the opportunity of acquiring the needless gadgetry of an advancing consumer economy.

But one stroll through the slums of any major city in the developing world is enough to dispel that concept. If anything is threatening the fiber of family life it is the degrading conditions of subsistence survival that one finds in the sprawling camps of packing crates and scrap metal. Children on the streets instead of in non-existent classrooms. Broken men—their pride shattered—without work. Despondent mothers—often unmarried—unable to cope with exhaustion because of annual pregnancies. And all of this in a frustrating environment of misery and hunger and hopelessness. These are not the conditions that promote an ethically fibered family life.

Family planning is not designed to destroy families. On the contrary, it is designed to save them.

All of us accept the principle that in a free society, the parents themselves must ultimately decide the size of their own family. We would regard it as an intolerable invasion of the family's rights for the State to use coercive measures to implement population policy. We can preserve that right best by assisting families to understand how they can best make that decision for themselves.

The fact is that millions of children are born without their parents desiring that it happen. Hence, a free, rational choice for an additional child is not made in these cases. If we are to keep the right of decision in the hands of the family—where it clearly belongs—then we must give the family the knowledge and assistance it requires to exercise that right.

Nor need anyone be deterred from appropriate action by the pernicious, if pervasive, myth that the white western world's assistance in family planning efforts among the non-white nations of the developing areas is a surreptitious plot to keep the whites in a racial ascendancy. The myth is absurd on purely demographic grounds, as well as on many others. Non-white peoples on the planet massively outnumber whites. They always have and always will. No conceivable degree of family planning could possibly alter that mathematical fact.

But a more relevant answer is that if the white world actually did desire to plot against the non-white nations, one of the most effective ways possible to do so would be for the whites to deny these nations any assistance whatever in family planning. For the progressive future of the non-white world is directly related to their indigenous economic development—and that, in turn, as we have seen, is dependent upon their being able to bring birth rates down to a level that will allow a significant increase in per capita income.

v

There is one more myth that obstructs the road to action. It is the belief that the time for decisive action is past, and that sweeping famine is inevitable.

The distinguished British scientist and novelist, C. P. Snow, has recently noted that it is the view of men of sober judgment that "many millions of people in the poor countries are going to starve to death before our eyes."

"We shall see them doing so," he adds, "upon our television sets."

He stresses that when the collision between food and population takes place, "at best, this will mean local famines to begin with. At worst, the local famines will spread into a sea of hunger. The usual date predicted for

the beginning of the local famines is 1975–80."

In summing up his own view, he suggests that "The major catastrophe will happen before the end of the century. We shall, in the rich countries, be surrounded by a sea of famine, involving hundreds of millions of human beings."

"The increase of population," he predicts, "all over the rich world may get a little less. In the poor world it won't, except in one or two pockets. Despite local successes, as in India, the food-population collision will duly occur. The attempts to prevent it, or meliorate it, will be too feeble. Famine will take charge in many countries. It may become, by the end of the period, endemic famine. There will be suffering and desperation on a scale as yet unknown."

Now, though Lord Snow is a brilliant and perceptive man of good will, I simply do not believe that one need feel quite so near despair—even in the face of a situation as ominous as this one.

Wholesale famine is not inevitable. I am convinced that there is time to reverse the situation, if we will but use it. Only barely sufficient time. But time nevertheless.

It is the time which has been given us by those who have created the revolution in agricultural technology: a revolution based on new seeds, hybrid strains, fertilizers, and the intensified use of natural resources.

It is a revolution which already has increased the yields of food grains by more than 100% in parts of Southeast Asia, and which promises to boost yields by one-half ton per acre throughout Asia. It is a revolution which has expanded the number of acres sown with the new seeds from 200 in 1965 to 20,000,000 in 1968—and an estimated 34,000,000 in 1969—but which has yet to touch more than a small percentage of the rice and wheat-producing acreage of the world.

If we will but speed the spread of this agricultural revolution—by adequate and properly administered technical and financial assistance to the developing countries—we can expect that for the next two decades the world's food supply will grow at a faster rate than its population.

The predicted spectre of famine can be averted.

It will take immense energy and organizing skill, and significant infusions of new capital investment—but it is possible to stave off disaster.

What is required to accomplish this is not so much a psychologically comforting optimism, as an energetic, creative realism.

I believe enough of that realism exists among men of good will—both in the developed and in the emerging world—to do the job.

This is the fundamental reason I do not share Lord Snow's degree of discouragement.

There is no point whatever in being naively over-optimistic about a situation as full of peril as the population problem.

But I am confident that application of the new technology will dramatically expand the rate of agricultural growth and will buy two decades of time—admittedly the barest minimum of time—required to cope with the population explosion, and reduce it to manageable proportions.

VI

How can this best be done?

To begin with, the developed nations must give every measure of support they possibly can to those countries which have already established family-planning programs. Many have. The governments of India, Pakistan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore have established both policies and specific targets for reducing population growth rates and have shown some measurable progress.

Ceylon, Malaysia, Turkey, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Kenya, Mauritius, Chile, Honduras, Barbados, and Jamaica are giving government support to family-planning programs, but need substantial technical or financial assistance before any significant reduction in birth rates can occur.

Some 20 other governments are considering family-planning programs.

In other countries, where governments are only dimly aware of the dangers of the population problem—but would like, nevertheless, to ponder the matter—the developed nations can quietly assist by helping with the demographic and social studies that will reveal the facts and thus point up the urgency of the issue, and the disadvantages of delay.

It is essential, of course, to recognize the right of a given country to handle its population problem in its own way. But handle it, it must.

The developed nations can point out the demographic facts; can explain the economic realities; can warn of the consequences of procrastination. They can—and should—inform. They should not—and cannot—pressure.

Technologically advanced countries can make one of their greatest contributions by initiating a new order of intensity in research into reproductive biology. They have starved their research facilities of funds in this field. The result is that we are still only on the threshold of understanding the complexities of conception, and therefore only at the outer edge of the necessary knowledge to help make family planning in the developing countries beneficial on a meaningful scale.

Annual worldwide expenditures for research in reproductive biology now total roughly 50 million dollars. The hardheaded estimate is that the sum should treble to 150 million dollars annually—for the next ten years—if we are to develop the knowledge necessary for the most effective and acceptable kinds of family planning.

Our parsimony in this matter in the United States is illustrated by the discouraging fact that out of a total budget of nearly one billion dollars, the National Institutes of Health this year are spending less than ten million dollars for research in population-related phenomena. Hundreds of millions of dollars for death control. Scarcely 1% of that amount for fertility control.

And research efforts should range far beyond biology.

Demography, as a fully developed science, remains in its infancy. It is likely that fewer than half the world's births are even registered. And while the crude estimates of birth rates almost inevitably turn out to be too low, it is essential that more precise data be developed in those areas where the population problem is the most acute.

Similarly, there is a pressing need for far more research in the socio-cultural aspects of family planning. There is manifestly a great deal more to population planning than merely birth control. Attitudes, motivation, preferences differ from country to country, and this essential research can clearly best be conducted locally. The developed nations should be generous in their financial support for such studies and surveys.

Above all else, there is a need to develop a realistic sense of urgency in all countries over the population problem.

Programs are beginning to show progress in limited areas. But no reduction in birth rates has yet been achieved anywhere in the underdeveloped areas which can significantly affect overall world population totals.

This means that family planning is going to have to be undertaken on a humane but massive scale. Other massive efforts in our century—for example, in the field of public health—have been mounted and have been successful. And granted all the difficulties, there is no insuperable reason this one cannot be.

The threat of unmanageable population pressures is very much like the threat of nuclear war.

Both threats are undervalued. Both threats are misunderstood.

Both threats can—and will—have catastrophic consequences unless they are dealt with rapidly and rationally.

The threat of violence is intertwined with the threat of undue population growth. It is clear that population pressures in the underdeveloped societies can lead to economic tensions, and political turbulence: stresses in the body politic which in the end can bring on conflicts among nations.

Such violence must not be allowed to happen.

You and I—and all of us—share the responsibility of taking those actions necessary to assure that it will not happen.

There is no point in despair.

There is every point simply in getting busy with the job. That is surely what God gave us our reason and our will for: to get on with the tasks which must be done.

I do not have to convince you of that here at Notre Dame.

You, and the Roman Catholic Church at large, are completely dedicated to the goal of development. One has only to read the Second Vatican Council's *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, and Pope Paul's *Populorum Progressio* to understand that. Both these impressive documents call for a solution to the population problem as it relates to development. Such controversy as remains in this matter is merely about the means, not at all about the end.

I am confident that you in this university, and those in the Catholic community that reaches out around the globe, and the fatherly and compassionate Pontiff who stands at your helm—as well as men everywhere of whatever religious allegiance—I am confident that all of us are dedicated to that end however much we may disagree on the specifics of the means.

The end desired by the Church—and by all men of good will—is the enhancement of human dignity. That, after all, is what development is all about.

And human dignity is severely threatened by the population explosion—more severely, more completely, more certainly threatened than it has been by any catastrophe the world has yet endured.

There is time—just barely time—to escape that threat.

We can, and we must, act.

What we must comprehend is this: the population problem *will* be solved one way or the other. Our only fundamental option is whether it is to be solved rationally and humanely—or irrationally and inhumanely. Are we to solve it by famine? Are we to solve it by riot, by insurrection, by the violence that desperately starving men can be driven to? Are we to solve it by wars of expansion and aggression? Or are we to solve it rationally, humanely—in accord with man's dignity?

There is so little time left to make the decision. To make no decision would be to make the worst decision of all. For to ignore this problem is only to make certain that nature will take catastrophic revenge on our indecisiveness.

Providence has placed you and me—and all of us—at that fulcrum-point in history where a rational, responsible, moral solution to the population problem must be found.

You and I—and all of us—share the responsibility, to find and apply that solution.

If we shirk that responsibility, we will have committed the crime.

But it will be those who come after us who will pay the undeserved . . . and the unspeakable . . . penalties.

MISSOURI, CENTER OF AMERICA'S TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, OBSERVES NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION WEEK

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, National Transportation Week, May 11 to 17, 1969, provides an appropriate opportunity for us to look back on the vital role of the transportation industry in enabling this country to expand, to consolidate its expansion within our present borders, and to defend this country in time of national emergency or all-out war. It is also an appropriate time to look forward to the new challenges this industry will face. As a member of the Joint Committee on Defense Production, I am deeply aware of the importance of our transportation industry—land, sea, and air—in moving the hundreds of billions of dollars worth of goods which Americans produce, sell, consume, export, and import. Unfortunately, we usually wait for some periodic interruption of service in some branch of our transportation system before becoming conscious of our grave dependence upon it.

National Transportation Week is being observed initially in St. Louis at a luncheon meeting Monday, May 12, of the Traffic Club of St. Louis, Inc., of which Mr. Frank Kintz of the Famous Barr Co., is president. The chairman of the St. Louis National Transportation Week observance is Mr. Donald Eloff of the Santa Fe Railway Co.

Mr. Ben Pucci, of the St. Louis office of the Lee Way Motor Freight Co., of Oklahoma City, Missouri State chairman of National Transportation Week, points out that no industry is more vital to the economic welfare of the people of Missouri than transportation. He declared:

> Missouri has prospered largely because of its superior network of highway, rail, air, pipeline and waterway transportation facilities. All communities in Missouri, from metropolitan areas to the smallest farm centers, share equally in the good things of life because of the unparalleled transportation system serving people everywhere.

ST. LOUIS—GATEWAY TO THE WEST

Mr. Speaker, as a representative of the city of St. Louis in the Congress of the United States, I am deeply proud of the role of my city as gateway to the West and also, I think we can say, as portal to the East, to the North, and to the South. Through St. Louis flows a steady movement of goods of all kinds, to destinations throughout the country and the world. Here are joined the eastern and western railway systems, the Missouri and Mississippi waterway traffic, our vast system of pipelines, one of the greatest accumulations of motor carriers in the world, as well as one of the busiest airports.

I am pleased to note the pledge of our Missouri transportation industry, as expressed by its leaders, that Missouri, which has a proud record in the development of all forms of transportation "will expand its transportation leadership as the economy of the State and of the Nation continues to grow."

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to salute the men and women who make up our vast transportation system on the occasion of National Transportation Week, May 11 to 17, and National Defense Transportation Day, Friday, May 16.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, aware, as we all are, of the continuing responsibility of Congress to enact legislation which protects society from criminal conduct, the Congress still lacks a regular and independent source of information on criminal matters. For this reason, I was extremely gratified when on Thursday, May 1, my colleagues recognized an urgent need, under these circumstances, and voted, overwhelmingly, to create a select committee to study crime in the United States.

This committee has been charged with the task of investigating and studying the broad range of criminal activity in the United States. It will focus on the causes, extent, detection, and prevention of crime. It will also collect, prepare, and disseminate statistics on crime, so that we may all be aware of the actual impact of crime on the country.

The passage of House Resolution 17 has particular significance to me as a cosponsor of the bill. My own experience as a law enforcement officer has impressed upon me the need for concerted action on the part of individual citizens as well as the U.S. Congress to aid the police in their effort to combat crime.

Divided as this Nation may be on many of the important issues of the day, there is one subject which we are all of the same mind—one subject upon which we all agree, rich and poor, black and white. This is the necessity of finding immediate solutions to the tragic problem of crime which is destroying the very fabric of our American society.

The American public is plagued by the fear of crime and by a crime rate that is increasing almost nine times more rapidly than our population. Evidence of a fear that is paralyzing the Nation is clearly demonstrated in the findings of a recent survey. This survey in high-crime areas of two major cities showed that 43 percent of those interviewed stayed off the streets at night; 35 percent did not speak to strangers; 21 percent used only cabs and cars at night, and 20 percent wanted to move to another neighborhood because of fear.

Why so much fear? Here is why: Serious crime in the United States increased 17 percent in 1968 when compared with 1967 according to the most recent FBI statistics. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said that all serious crimes increased substantially in volume. Crimes of violence were up 19 percent, led by robbery up 29 percent, murder and forcible rape up 14 percent each, and aggravated assault up 12 percent. The crimes against property rose by 17 percent as a group. Individually, larceny $50 and over in value rose 21 percent, auto theft up 18 percent, and burglary was up 13 percent.

Hand in hand with these figures goes the increasingly threatening problem of drug addiction. The consequences of drug addiction for a city like Washington, D.C., are alarming. Dr. Murray Grant, District Health Director, estimates that the average addict has a $50-a-day habit. To maintain it he must steal $200 to $500 a day in merchandise and sell it to a "fence" to obtain his $50.

Using the lower figure of $200 worth of merchandise a day and a figure of 5,000 users in the District of Columbia, that puts the cost to this city alone at $1 million daily. It is, then, no wonder to any of us, why we are constantly faced with armed robberies in our large cities.

It is my hope that in carrying out the purpose of the resolution, the select committee on crime will discover new measures and programs for increased respect for the law and for our law enforcement officers, new measures for the reduction, prevention, and control of crime, and new ways of treating and rehabilitating persons convicted of crimes so that we can reduce the number of criminal recidivists—or repeaters—in crime.

I was proud to cosponsor this resolution in the House and I hope that it will meet with the same degree of approval by the Members of the Senate.

UNITING TO COMBAT SOVIET EXPANSION

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have inserted in the RECORD material on the Soviet naval buildup in the Mediterranean, a subject which is extremely important to those who are concerned with the national security of the United States and the preservation of freedom throughout the nations of the free world.

In January of this year Mr. Frans Goedhart, a member of the Dutch Parliament and vice chairman of the Defense Committee of the Western European Union, submitted to that organization recommendations on the security in the Mediterranean and the Middle East which were adopted without change. As a matter of information, the WEU was established in 1954 and actually was a modification of the Brussels Treaty of 1948 which included as signatories Britain, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. It is significant to note that this treaty resulted from the realization that the Soviet Union, under Joe Stalin, had no intention of cooperating with its wartime allies in making the United Nations an

effective peacekeeping organization. On the contrary, it soon became evident that Communist aims included the takeover of other European nations wherever and whenever possible.

In 1954, West Germany and Italy were invited to join this union which was renamed the Western European Union. Members of WEU, all of whom are members of NATO, agree that if any member nation is under armed attack in Europe, that the other members will lend military and other aid and assistance for its defense.

The concern expressed in many circles about the Soviet naval buildup is evident in the WEU report. If the Mediterranean is not to become a Soviet mare nostrum, free world alliances such as the Western European Union will have to work in concert to block further efforts by the U.S.S.R. to expand its military influence.

I request that excerpts from the above-mentioned document, "Recommendations on Security in the Mediterranean and the Middle East," submitted to the Western European Union by Mr. Frans Goedhart be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

RECOMMENDATIONS ON SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The Assembly,

Recalling its Recommendation 160 adopted on 5th December 1967, and mindful of the Council's largely negative reply thereto;

Regretting the absence of constructive alternative proposals from the Council;

Noting that the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and four other communist countries has modified the political and strategic situation in the Mediterranean region;

Deploring the continuance in power of a non-parliamentary regime in Greece, which could have the effect of promoting communism in that country;

Noting the continued presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean on a permanent basis and expressing concern at the growing submarine threat and at the numbers of Soviet military personnel reported in Algeria, Egypt and other Arab countries;

Welcoming the establishment of a new NATO maritime surveillance command, MARAIRMED,

Recommends to the council:

1. That it urge on appropriate member governments the advantages of friendly visits by their national fleets to non-aligned Mediterranean countries, who should be encouraged to demonstrate their non-aligned status by equal treatment of prospective visitors;

2. That, as a precautionary measure, member governments be urged to participate fully in NATO arrangements to provide ceaseless air surveillance of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, particularly of its submarines, and that, to this end, the member countries participating in the NATO Maritime Air Forces Mediterranean Command should increase the numbers of patrol aircraft available to the Command and assign to it the greater part of their flying time;

3. That in view of the strategic situation Greece should be helped to acquire maritime patrol aircraft to be assigned to the NATO Maritime Air Forces Mediterranean Command;

4. That it request member governments to urge the establishment by NATO of a special Mediterranean Committee which should inform and advise the North Atlantic Council on the evolution of political and military events in the Mediterranean area;

5. That it request member governments to urge the strengthening of the ACE Mobile Force;

6. (a) That it urge member governments, in consultation with all other governments concerned, to strive to regulate all supplies of armaments to the Middle East, through agreements between the major supplying countries;

(b) If it proves impossible to control the total arms supply to the Middle East, because the co-operation of all supplying countries cannot be secured, that it urge western countries to continue sufficient arms supplies to Israel to counteract any attempt by the Soviet Union to upset the balance of forces;

(c) That it seek to have the Secretary General of the United Nations instructed to publish a periodical register of all transfers of armaments between States, based on reports of supplying and receiving countries and on any other information.

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

(Submitted by Mr. Frans Goedhart, Rapporteur)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. This is the third report your Rapporteur has had the honuor to present, on behalf of the Committee on Defence Questions and Armaments, on the security of the Mediterranean area. The first report, in April 1961, emphasised that the defence of the NATO southern flank depended on the Mediterranean It pointed out that "the key to any Mediterranean strategy is to be found in denying the enemy access to the sea". The second report, of December 1967, showed how the Soviet Union had succeeded both politically and militarily in penetrating the Mediterranean area and building up a substantial naval force there on a permanent basis.

2. The Assembly has referred to the Committee on Defence Questions and Armaments a motion for a recommendation on the "Adoption by the AEU Council of common policies on the Mediterranean and Middle East areas" (Document 444). Consequently the present report has been produced. It is aimed at bringing the 1967 document up to date, in particular by outlining the most significant developments concerning the military security of the region.

3. The Presidential Committee has also on this occasion placed on the agenda of the Assembly a report from the General Affairs Committee on "The political implications of the Soviet penetration of the Mediterranean" (Rapporteur Mr. Eldon Griffiths) which will concentrate on political aspects.

4. The Presidential Committee discussed the desirability of co-ordinating the two reports, and the possibility of submitting a single substantive text to the Assembly.

II. RECOMMENDATION 160

5. On 5th December 1967 the Assembly adopted Recommendation 160, which accompanied the report that your Rapporteur presented on behalf of the Defence Committee (Document 431). On 15th May 1968, the Council replied to this recommendation. Before passing on to recent developments and the present situation in the Mediterranean, your Rapporteur first wishes to comment on the Council's reply. Although, judging by the experience of the Assembly, it would perhaps be over-optimistic to have expected a definite and positive reply from the Council on this matter, your Rapporteur and members of the Assembly had wished in view of the urgency and importance of the situation in the Mediterranean, that the Council would have at least avoided a completely negative attitude. The Assembly's proposals might well have been inadequate: if so, alternative policy suggestions from the Council would have been welcomed by the Assembly. In the event the Council neither agreed to the Assembly's recommendations nor proposed any alternative policy of their own. The security of the Mediterranean area, in view of the Soviet naval build-up there, is a question of crucial importance to NATO, WEU and the West. The Council, by the terms of its reply to Recommendation 160, has given the impression that this question is one of little significance or urgency, and by its negative attitude even gives the impression that it is indifferent to the whole problem.

6. More than once in its reply the Council states that proposals of the Assembly that are of interest to other countries besides the seven WEU members should be studied by all the interested States. To thus evade the need to take a definite stand, is merely to take the line of least resistance. If the Council of WEU is prepared to recommend its member governments to take action only on matters that affect the seven countries alone, it is, in the view of your Rapporteur, abdicating the political rôle given to it by the modified Brussels Treaty and is showing itself to be politically neuter.

III. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

7. In December 1967, your Rapporteur concluded that: "the problem of Mediterranean security is not so much a military one but a political one. Soviet penetration cannot be resolved by a shooting match. What is needed is for the countries of WEU and of the Alliance to demonstrate to friendly countries in the area that they will be protected and supported against overt political and military pressures and against subversion. . . ." Your Rapporteur made specific proposals concerning action that NATO and its southern flank countries should take to counter the build-up of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, but the military significance of Soviet policy in this area was judged to be of secondary importance compared to its political implications.

8. The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia has radically changed this judgment. As Mr. Manlio Brosio, Secretary General of NATO stated when he addressed the North Atlantic Assembly on 11th November 1968:

"The Soviet presence in the sea, which has now become permanent, albeit fluctuating in size, has now acquired a new significance in the light of the events of Czechoslovakia and of possible dangers for Yugoslavia, Albania or Rumania. Before those events, it was maintained by the more optimistic, that the presence of the Soviet navy was mainly a consequence of the Middle East conflict, and was dictated more by political reasons of prestige and influence with the bordering countries, than by military reasons."

He continued by saying that the Soviet Mediterranean deployment deserved new consideration and created new uneasiness, viewed in connection with possible pressures on the communist States of South-Eastern Europe.

"On the other hand, the persistent risk of a new conflict between Israel and the Arab States may acquire new gravity if linked with the possibility of a new crisis in the communist community. In the light of both chains of possible events, the action of the Soviet fleet may become a source of further complications of a real military significance. . . . We are told that the policy of Moscow remains purely defensive, limited to protect and consolidate her communist empire. But we are not sure at all that a repressive action would not be extended to Yugoslavia or Albania, if Moscow judged that their degree of evolution or of autonomy had become intolerable. The Soviets would then be beyond the limits of the Warsaw Pact, and right to the shores of the Mediterranean."

9. The Soviet military action in Czechoslovakia has not only provoked a feeling of nervousness and insecurity on the part of Yugoslavia and Albania but has also underlined the isolated and difficult strategic position of the NATO southern flank countries:

Italy, Greece and Turkey. At least, in compensation, since the publication of the WEU Assembly report of December 1967, western opinion has focused with much greater awareness on the problem of Mediterranean security, and the interest of the governments of the Alliance and the Council and the Military Committee of NATO in this problem has quickened.

10. It is now clearly recognised within NATO that the Soviet penetration of the Mediterranean is a military problem as much as a political one.

IV. SOVIET PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

11. Your Rapporteur will not recapitulate the information set out in his previous report (Document 431) but will merely comment on new developments that have occurred during 1968.

12. Press reports have given the public a somewhat confused picture of the Soviet naval strength in the Mediterranean. Widely differing estimates of the level of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean have appeared in different magazines and newspapers. There are two reasons for this. First, the number of Soviet naval vessels to be found in the Mediterranean varies from day to day with the passage of vessels in and out of the Mediterranean into the Black Sea and the Atlantic. The Soviet desire to maintain a larger fleet in all areas of the world, thus completing Soviet evolution to the status of a "global" as well as a "super" power, endowed with a world-wide, or at least ocean-wide capability for military intervention, has led to a considerable increase in the number of ships in transit from the Soviet Black Sea ports. Second, estimates of Soviet naval strength in the Mediterranean have also varied on account of the differing definitions of "warships"—some estimates including and others excluding auxiliary vessels, oceanographic research vessels and spy "trawlers."

13. Your Rapporteur wishes to clarify this situation as far as possible. Here, first, is a list of the fifty odd Soviet naval vessels present in the Mediterranean on one day in October 1967:

One helicopter carrier, the *Moskva*.

Two cruisers (one equipped with guided missiles).

Seven destroyers (six equipped with guided missiles).

Five destroyer escorts.

Three mine-sweepers.

Four amphibious craft including one *Alligator* (NATO code name) capable of landing 500 men or between six to eight light tanks.

Twenty auxiliary craft including tankers and supply vessels and also including ten intelligence trawlers.

Ten to twelve submarines including one with a nuclear missile launching capability.

14. In view of the fluctuations already referred to, it is misleading to consider this a "typical" day. What is more important than a day to day assessment of the number of Soviet vessels in the Mediterranean, is the general pattern of Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean that emerges over a period of several months. Looking at the naval situation at the end of 1968, it is clear that the increase in the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean was considerably greater in 1967 than in 1968. During 1968 the number of Soviet naval vessels in the Mediterranean has varied between 30 and 60, and in general it has remained at a level comparable to or slightly below the 1967 peak.

15. The most interesting addition to the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean during 1968 was that of the *Moskva*. The *Moskva* is a helicopter-carrier but is at the same time equipped with guided missiles, also possessing a cruiser-type capability. It has four pads for launching helicopters from its top deck and is thought to be capable of carrying from between 20 and 30 helicopters depending on their size. It is probable that the main role of the *Moskva* will be an anti-submarine one, and it is probable that the helicopters are mainly intended for anti-submarine work. In view of the size of the vessel (which is estimated to be between 15 to 20,000 tons displacement), it is possible that it could carry marines or other troops.

16. The *Moskva* (and its sister ship *Leningrad* yet to be seen in the Mediterranean) are an innovation, in that the Soviet Union has not previously built vessels to carry substantial numbers of helicopters. If it has dual amphibious assault or anti-submarine capability the *Moskva* may be compared with the two British commando carriers or with the eight United States amphibious assault ships (LPH). Although the Soviet Union does not possess any aircraft carriers such as the 15 attack carriers of the United States navy, it is now demonstrating its ability to build sophisticated types of vessels geared to modern naval strategy.

17. Although the presence of a large number of auxiliary craft is less dramatic than that of a helicopter-carrier and submarines, it is this factor which is strategically perhaps of greater interest. The naval auxiliary building programme in the Soviet Union is now second only in size to that for submarines. This implies a new strategic concept. The Russians seem to have followed the United States technique, first developed during the second world war and since refined in the practice of the Sixth Fleet, of self-supporting fleets which are not dependent on shore bases for supplies and equipment but which carry their own floating bases with them in the form of auxiliary and supply vessels. The use of this technique means that a fleet can operate at great distances from the ports of its home country and without regard to the friendliness of neighbouring countries. The application of this technique by the Soviet navy also offers the possibility of a more aggressive naval strategy than in the past, particularly in view of the greater emphasis on long range submarines, landing-craft and new types of vessel such as helicopter-carriers.

18. During 1968 the Soviet fleet extended its area of operations in the Mediterranean Whereas in 1967 Soviet vessels relied mostly on port facilities in Port Said and Alexandria in Egypt, and Latakia in Syria, in 1968 use was also made of Torphus in Syria and Algiers in Algeria. During 1968 Soviet vessels anchored and refuelled in shallow waters, outside territorial limits, at such places as: the Isle of Alboram, north of Morocco; the Galite Islands, off the north Tunisian Coast; the Gulf of Hammamet, to the east of Tunisia; the Balearic Islands; east of Gibraltar; off Rota, in Spain; at Kithira, south of Greece; at the Hurd Bank to the east of Malta; and off the Levantine Coast, to the east of Cyprus.

19. Following up Mr. Brezhnev's declaration at Karlovy Vary in April 1967, there have been further Soviet declarations in 1968 emphasising the Russian intention to play a prominent rôle as a Mediterranean power. Continuing attacks have also been made concerning the presence of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. On 11th November, 1968, *Izvestia* demanded that the United States call its ships home and allow the Russian navy to "keep peace in the Mediterranean." On 12th November 1968, Vice-Admiral Nikolai Smirnov of the Soviet Navy accused the Sixth Fleet of trying to dominate the Mediterranean "in order to be prepared to strike blows from the sea and air against enemy targets using nuclear and conventional weapons." He explained that "the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are named as the principal enemy."

20. Following the NATO Ministerial meeting in Brussels in November 1968, the Soviet News Agency Tass stated on 23rd November:

'Those taking part in the (North Atlantic Council) session showed increased interest in the Mediterranean region. It goes without saying that if they were able to act as masters and according to their own pleasures in the various European regions, the Mediterranean and the Near East, it would suit them very well. They said the presence of the Sixth American Fleet in the Mediterranean was entirely natural, but, the United States are thousands of miles away from this area and have no direct interest in it. But the presence of the Soviet fleet seems to annoy them for it curbs their aggressive interest. As a power of the Black Sea, and therefore a Mediterranean power, the Soviet Union is exercising her undisputable right to be present in this area. The Soviet warships are not there to threaten any nation or State. Their duty is to contribute to stability and peace in the Mediterranean.

V. OTHER SOVIET ACTIVITIES

21. Although the dramatic build-up of the Soviet naval force in the Mediterranean has been the main centre of interest, there have been other significant moves by the Soviet Union which have increased tension and insecurity in the Mediterranean region. Your Rapporteur's 1967 report described the way in which Soviet technicians and military advisers had been placed in the United Arab Republic, Syria and Algeria before, and in greater quantity following, the Arab-Israel war of June 1967.

22. 1968 saw an intensification of this process. The Soviet Union has continued the rearmament (described in Document 431) of those Arab States engaged in the June war. It is estimated that the air forces of Egypt, Syria, and probably Iraq are now back at their pre-war levels: 500 planes in the case of Egypt, 120 in that of Syria and 200 in that of Iraq. These totals include a high proportion of modern planes such as Mig-21, and SU-7, as well as the older Mig-17 fighters and Ilyushin-28 and Tupolev-16 bombers. It is now estimated that Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq presently have a superiority of more than 2 to 1 in tanks and combat aircraft over Israel. Israel now has about 800 tanks and about 270 combat aircraft. Egypt alone now has some 700 tanks and 500 combat aircraft. The *Luna* rocket with a 40 mile range and conventional warhead and tank-landing craft have also been delivered to the Egyptian army. The Egyptian navy has more than replaced the losses it suffered in the June war. It has been equipped with new submarines and destroyers and is building up its fleet of *Komar* motor launches which are equipped with the *Styx* missile.

It was a missile of this type that sank the *Eilat* in 1967. With the rearmament of the Arab States there has been a considerable influx of military advisers, and it would seem that Egypt and Syria overtly, and Algeria implicitly, are now so dependent on the Soviet Union for military aid and equipment that they would find it very hard to resist any Soviet requests for port or other military facilities from them. It is not clear whether the recipient countries had to pay financially as well as politically for this military aid.[1] Besides the massive presence of Soviet military advisers and technicians in Russia's client Arab countries, there has been no relaxation in Russia's intensification of political and military relations with these countries. A visit by Marshal Grechko, the Soviet Chief of Staff, to Mers-el-Kébir in Algeria was only cut by the development of the Czechoslovak crisis in August, and, as is demonstrated later in the report, the Soviet grip on Algeria has tightened. After a detailed and thorough investigation of the situation in Algeria your Rapporteur is now convinced despite official Algerian, Soviet and French statements to the contrary, that the Soviet

[1] In an interview with *Look* on 19th March 1968 President Nasser said: "They sell us things—their military equipment is not a gift, you know—and they buy from us."

Union intends to station naval personnel permanently in the key naval base of Mers-el-Kébir. Besides this, the Soviet Union has apparently taken over three military air bases in the Algerian Sahara.

23. A final development that further complicates the Mediterranean military balance and adds to tension in the area is the alleged agreement (reported in the press and on the radio on 8th December 1968) between the Albanian and Chinese communist governments by which Albania is said to have agreed to allow China to station military forces in Albania.

24. Looking back over the events of 1968, it is clear that communist military activity in the Mediterranean area has increased. The tension between Israel and its Arab neighbours, marked by limited but provocative acts of war by Isratel's Arab foes, the continuation of the Middle East arms race and the strengthening of Soviet influence in the Arab States to which Russia has provided military aid and advisers, and the continued presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean on a permanent basis have all contributed towards heightened tension in the area. The military agreement between Albania and communist China has added a dangerous new factor and, above all, the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia has presented a potential threat that the Soviet "socialist commonwealth" might be extended, if necessary, through Yugoslavia and Albania down to the shores of the Mediterranean.

VI. NATO AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

25. NATO was slow to react to the growing presence of the Soviet navy in the Mediterranean, which both threatened the supply routes of the NATO southern flank countries and altered the political and military balance of the area. However, growing public concern and belated alarm in governmental circles led to the North Atlantic Council eventually requesting the Permanent Representatives to draw up a report on the security of the Mediterranean. With the assistance of NATO's Military Committee the Permanent Representatives submitted a report which was considered at the Ministerial meeting at Reykjavik in June 1968.

26. Paragraphs eight and nine of the final *communiqué* of the Ministerial meeting stated:

"8. Ministers examined and approved a report from the Permanent Council which dealt with the situation in the Mediterranean and related defence problems. They directed their Permanent Representatives to consult fully on this situation and to extend their consultations in range and depth if circumstances required. To this end, the Secretary General was requested to co-ordinate the exchange of information among members of the Council and to keep the Council closely advised on the situation in the Mediterranean. It is, of course, understood that member countries, or the Secretary General, may put forward matters to be considered by the Council in accordance with their rights and responsibilities.

"9. The Ministers of the countries taking part in the Defence Planning Committee, concerned at the recent expansion of Soviet activities in the Mediterranean, decided that their Permanent Representatives, with the assistance of the NATO military authorities, would take into early consideration measures designed to safeguard the security interests of NATO members in the Mediterranean area and to improve the effectiveness of allied forces in that area. The Permanent Representatives will also consider other measures or organizational changes that may be needed to enhance the effectiveness and coordination of allied surveillance activities in the Mediterranean and that may require further authorisation."

27. France did not associate itself with the decisions referred to in paragraph 9 of the communiqué. At this point your Rapporteur wishes to take the opportunity of expressing his regret that France continues to choose to conduct a separate policy outside the integrated military structure of NATO. In this way French policy continues to pose, despite the excellent co-operation between the French navy and the fleets of its allies, difficult political and strategic problems for the other members of the Alliance. Fortunately, there have recently been signs that French public opinion and political circles have become alarmed by the increasingly grave military and political situation in the Mediterranean, especially in view of Soviet activities in Algeria, which lies across from France on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Whilst it is, perhaps, too much to expect that a Gaullist government will ever bring France back inside the integrated military structure of NATO, it is to be hoped that the first French government of another political complexion will rapidly bring France back to its rightful place in NATO. France is too important to its allies for its government's policies and intentions to be uncertain in time of danger.

In view of the continuing unpredictability of President de Gaulle's foreign and military policies, it is particularly gratifying to be able to note that French maritime reconnaissance squadrons are co-operating with MARAIRMED.[1] The extensive French participation in NATO's "Eden-Apple" naval exercise in the autumn is also a welcome and noteworthy development. The aircraft carrier *Foch* was transferred from the French Atlantic fleet to the Mediterranean especially for this exercise which was commanded, at one point, by Vice Admiral de Scitivaux-Degreische, Commander in Chief of French naval forces in the Mediterranean. Another pointer to increase French co-operation in the Mediterranean was the recent renting by France of 2,000 kilograms of enriched uranium to Italy as fuel for the Italian nuclear powered naval vessel, *Enrico Fermi*. This followed an Italian decision to buy 18 Breguet-Atlantique reconnaissance aircraft from France.

29. The general mood of the Reykjavik meeting was one of guarded optimism. There seemed to be no cloud on the clear blue sky of détente and Ministers were largely concerned with the possibility of arriving at an agreement with the Soviet Union on the balanced mutual reduction of force levels. This dream was rudely shattered in August when Soviet forces invaded Czechoslovakia. The Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean took on a new and more dangerous meaning in the context of the events of August. When the next meeting of the Ministerial Council of NATO was held in Brussels, between 14th and 16th November 1968, all thoughts of mutual force reductions had vanished. A tough communiqué was adopted and the Ministers stated in paragraphs 5 and 6 that:

"5. The new uncertainties resulting from recent Soviet action also extended to the Mediterranean basin. This situation requires that the allies continue by every available means their efforts to promote stability and a just and equitable peace, as well as mutual co-operation and understanding, in the area. The expansion of Soviet activity in the Mediterranean, including the increased activity of Soviet naval units, requires vigilance to safeguard allied security.

"6. The members of the Alliance urge the Soviet Union, in the interests of world peace, to refrain from using force and interfering in the affairs of other States. Determined to safeguard the freedom and independence of their countries, they could not remain indifferent to any development which endangers their security. Clearly any Soviet intervention directly or indirectly affecting the situation in Europe or other Mediterranean areas would create an international crisis with grave consequences."

29. France went along with its 14 allies in accepting these two paragraphs. The Ministerial communiqué was regarded by the majority of members of the Alliance as being the "unmistakeable signal" to the Soviet Union that had been called for before the meeting by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Michael Stewart.

30. The NATO communiqué has been thought, by some commentators, to mean that NATO had decided to extend its protection to countries or areas outside the treaty area. This is not so. Mr. Dean Rusk, United States Secretary of State, has clarified this situation as follows:

"Certain things could occur outside the geographical region covered by the treaty and that could give rise to problems. When the Soviet forces went westward in Central Europe it created problems for the Alliance. The Soviet activities in the Mediterranean also present problems for NATO."

31. The United States Secretary of Defense, Mr. Clark Clifford, also rejected as false any interpretation of the communiqué that implied that NATO was extending its treaty guaranteed defence area. Speaking on television, he said:

"Now NATO was not, repeat not, expanding its area of either surveillance or of control. What they were saying to the Soviet Union, was any additional incursions on your part into an independent nation will be looked upon with most extreme seriousness by NATO because we think it increased danger, and that was their point. What they would like to do would be to issue this warning so the Soviets might take that into consideration before they embarked on any other adventure."

32. At the Ministerial meeting of the Defence Planning Committee at Brussels on 14th November 1968, member countries generally decided to check the slide toward defence reductions and in some cases committed themselves to strengthening their forces.

33. Of the representatives of southern flank countries, the Greek Minister stressed the measures his government was taking to strengthen its defences and to increase its defence budget. But, he pointed out that the Greek economy could not bear its defence burden alone, and he welcomed the reference that had been made in the discussions to the continuing validity of previous Council decisions regarding defence aid to both Greece and Turkey. The representative of the Italian Government said that the Italian national defence budget for 1969 was to be increased by 7% over that for 1968. Numerous measures are being taken to improve the effectiveness of the Italian forces, including placing of an order for modern anti-submarine craft, the army, navy and air forces would be transformed according to a continuing programme, one to increase their efficiency. As already mentioned Italy has also ordered eighteen Bréguet Atlantique maritime patrol aircraft. The Turkish Minister pointed out that his country's defence effort continued to require help in the form of military aid from some of its partners.

34. The British Government also announced, in July 1968, its intention to increase its commitment to the defence of the Mediterranean. In particular, it decided to transfer a squadron of Shackleton long-range maritime reconnaissance aircraft to Malta for MARAIRMED. They will eventually be replaced with the more modern Nimrods. It also decided to add, in 1970, a guided missile destroyer to the British frigate force in the Mediterranean and to station there for part of that year a commando ship, accompanied by a Royal Marine commando group. At the Brussels Ministerial meeting in November, the British Government announced that it would maintain either an

[1] See paragraphs 34 *et seq.* below.

aircraft carrier, a commando ship or an assault ship "almost continually" in the Mediterranean as from January 1969.

35. France's 14 allies had gone further at Reykjavik than appeared in the ministerial communiqué. In fact the representatives of the 14 reached, at that meeting, a decision to establish a new NATO subordinate command, Maritime Air Forces, Mediterranean (MARAIRMED), which was officially activated on 21st November 1968. It is a subordinate command of AFSOUTH and thus comes under CINCSOUTH, Admiral Horacio Rivero, of the United States Navy. MARAIRMED, whose headquarters are at Naples, is commanded by Rear-Admiral E. C. Outlaw of the United States Navy. It is concerned with co-ordinating air surveillance throughout the Mediterranean to keep track of Soviet naval units, both surface and submarine.

36. Italy, Britain, and the United States participate in this new command. Although France does not formally take part in MARAIRMED, it is co-operating actively in its work. It is possible that Greece may take part later if it acquires any suitable aircraft.

37. Admiral Outlaw has power to co-ordinate the maritime surveillance flight plans proposed by the participating countries, and to request additional flights to cover specific areas. The aircraft concerned are "earmarked" by the participating countries to be made available in war or for exercises. It is not yet clear from the limited experience of this command that existing co-ordination plans are adequate to cover unpredictable movements of Soviet vessels at short notice. In any event the new command represents a determined step by the Alliance to increase its vigilance concerning Soviet naval activities in the Mediterranean and as such is to be welcomed. As well as collecting information, MARAIRMED is also responsible for disseminating it to the interested NATO countries.

38. It is interesting to note that the establishment of the new MARAIRMED command was preceded, over a period of some time, by a series of allied naval exercises in the Mediterranean aimed at improving NATO surveillance of Soviet naval activities. These highly successful "Eagle Eye" exercises involved full co-operation from French naval units.

39. Suggestions have been made that an integrated NATO naval force should be established in the Mediterranean to counter the presence of the Soviet fleet.

At first sight this idea, which has been sponsored by Senator Jacob J. Javits of the United States, amongst others, seems an attractive one, particularly when viewed in a purely military context. However, when the complex political situation in the Mediterranean is examined, it becomes clear that a joint NATO naval force, such as the one that now operates in the Atlantic, would be ill-placed, for political reasons, to carry out friendly visits to the Mediterranean ports of non-aligned countries. On the other hand, your Rapporteur feels that individual NATO countries should be urged to derive the maximum political benefit from their navies by carrying out, on a purely national basis, friendly visits to the ports of the Mediterranean countries.

40. Co-operation between the fleets of the NATO countries in the Mediterranean is excellent though the Greek and Turkish fleets need strengthening and, in practice, much the same results that could be obtained from the creation of a joint NATO Mediterranean fleet are already obtained from the holding of regular joint naval exercises under integrated command. The most recent exercise of this kind, "Eden-Apple", combined British, French, Greek, Italian and United States naval units.

41. In conclusion it should be remembered, as your Rapporteur emphasised in December 1967, that even though Soviet naval forces in the Mediterranean have been greatly augmented, they do not compare in quality or fighting power with the United States Sixth Fleet, and are not superior to the Mediterranean naval forces of the European NATO members.

VII. THE BLACK SEA

42. Two United States destroyers, the *Turner* and the *Dyess,* entered the Black Sea through the Turkish Straits on 9th December 1968. These two vessels cruised in the Black Sea for four days before returning through the Turkish Straits into the Mediterranean.

43. The American Government's action in sending these two warships into the Black Sea aroused strong reactions from the Soviet Union which denounced this policy as "provocation". The Soviet Government also claimed that these vessels did not have the right to pass through the Turkish Straits under the terms of the Convention of Montreux of 1936. On 10th December the Bulgarian Government made representations to Turkey about the passage of these vessels through the Bosphorus. The Turkish Government, which in practice is responsible for applying the Montreux Convention, has ruled that no breach of the Convention was involved—the Convention in fact permits any country to send certain types of warships into the Black Sea for a limited period in peace. Your Rapporteur also finds that this action did not contravene the terms of the Convention. The Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr. Caglayangil commented on 9th December: "Turkey interprets the Montreux Convention; what she says goes".

44. It should be emphasized that the visit made by the two American destroyers into the Black Sea was not a new initiative on the part of the American Government. This was the fourth time during the past two years that a pair of American destroyers had passed through the Turkish Straits to visit the Black Sea. These routine visits have been made with the clear political intention of demonstrating that the Black Sea waters, like those of the Mediterranean, are international. The Soviet navy has made it clear that it does not regard the Mediterranean as a "western lake". The American navy, on its side, has a perfect right to demonstrate that the Black Sea is not a "Russian lake". This is a welcome move on the part of the American Government—a sign of the Administration's refusal to display any weakness or hesitancy during the last weeks of President Johnson's Administration.

THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY: HEADS THEY WIN—TAILS WE LOSE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a succinct and provocative paper on the merits of the Nonproliferation Treaty has been prepared by Mr. Z. A. Rust, a foreign diplomat in exile, who writes under a pen name for fear of Communist retaliation.

Mr. Rust's evaluation of our foreign policy has been proven true time and time again.

No one could make so many mistakes unintentionally.

Mr. Rust's paper, "Nonproliferation Treaty and the Presidential Trips" follows:

NONPROLIFERATION TREATY AND THE PRESIDENTIAL TRIPS

(By Z. A. Rust)

There is a certain mystery left unsolved around President Nixon's visits to the Western capitals. This mystery of course is not to be found in the fact, well known by everybody, that this tour was only the prelude to a meeting between the President and the Soviet leaders and that its purpose was to assure the alarmed Western European statesmen that the result of the coming United States-Soviet negotiations will not be exactly another Yalta.

The mystery is that Moscow and Pankow's threats, concerning the reception of President Nixon in Berlin and the election of the West German president in that city did not materialize. Both Mr. Nixon's visit and West Germany's presidential elections went on without any complications. The President's reception was enthusiastic and the more than 1000 electors who made the flight from Bonn to Berlin could climb from their plane already assured that there was no risk in what they were doing.

The mystery clears up somehow, when one learns that Mr. Johnson's "sudden" decision to stop any bombardment of North Vietnam proclaimed in the right psychological electoral moment, was the result of four weeks of secret negotiations, ignored by the United States public, between Mr. Harriman and his staff with the North Vietnam and Vietcong delegations. There is no reason to believe that the methods of the Nixon-Kissinger-Rogers team are much different of those of the Johnson-Rostow-Rusk era: secret negotiations prepared the presidential visit to the Berlin Wall of Lamentations, his vibrant promise to defend West Berlin if ever it was attacked, and the election of the first German social-democrat president since the forgotten times of Mr. Ebert the socialist shoemaker.

In the exchange of secret commitments, which very likely took place with this opportunity between Mr. Anatolie Dobrinin and Mr. Henry Kissinger, the Soviets did not contribute with much: If Berlin is ever attacked by them this will not be in an isolated, hare-brained foray but only as a sectional part of a broad, deliberate and at length prepared military and political operation, in a moment in which the United States for domestic and external reasons, would be still less prepared than in the present circumstances to accept a "confrontation." As for the election of a West German President in Berlin, it was the fourth time that a similar event occurred with no more than academic remonstrances from the Moscow-Pankow side. The question is: what did the United States new Administration offer in exchange?

We know today, thanks to the disclosures of the present Administration that what Mr. Harriman offered to President Johnson in exchange of the promise to let North Vietnam bring as much reinforcement in men and material south of the demilitarized zone as permitted by the total stopping of the roads and pathways bombing, was the shifty promise of some limitation in the number and size of the South Vietnam cities which would be attacked by mortar and artillery fire, and in the size of shells used in these operations, together with a promise not to further escalate military operations in general. The craziness of an arrangement by which the enemy is allowed to kill your soldiers and the civilian population only in certain places, only in certain circumstances and only with shell of a certain bore, was all the more fantastic as this enemy was the North Vietnam, whose perfidy and atrocious behavior with prisoners and civil population exceeded all the sinister experiences of wars with Communist Asiatics.

If, as one has reasons to believe, what the new United States Administration offered

to the Soviet Union in exchange for those "concessions" in the Berlin affair and of some delusive hopes concerning the Vietnam war and the Middle-East, has been the promise to obtain by every means the ratification of the Anti-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) by the United States Senate and the adhesion to it by the Bonn Government, then, to our mind this exchange is in what concerns the interests and the security of the United States, still more senseless and more dangerous on the long range than the foolish arrangement between the Johnson Administration and Ho-Chi-Minh's emissaries.

In its present wording the NPT agreement stipulates that both the United States and Soviet Russia "would not transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons and explosives devices directly or indirectly". With or without this stipulation Soviet Russia has never had the faintest intention to trust the Satellite Governments of the rebellious subjugated countries with such formidable weaponry. So that on her part there is in this stipulation no concession at all. On the United States part, however, the concession is of tremendous importance and of far reaching unpredictable consequences, militarily and politically.

The friendly and reliable European countries to which Washington could have granted the help and the security of a nuclear arsenal form the first line of defense of the United States. To deprive them definitively of the nuclear weapons in front of an adversary which possesses them in abundance, or letting them try to acquire them toilfully by themselves during years of ceaseless menace and uncertainty, could easily bring them, under the pressure of a nuclear blackmail, from a total neutrality to a hostile allegiance. This is all the more possible as the United States refused to back their insistence, concerning the adhesion of the European non-Communist countries to the NPT, by a categoric assurance that they will take upon themselves the nuclear defense of Europe in case of a nuclear or a non-nuclear aggression. Characteristic of this negative attitude is the fact that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations voted on February 24th, by a unanimity of 14 to 0, together with the Treaty of Non-Proliferation, a resolution purported to curb also the proliferation of the United States military commitments.

Special attention should be paid in this matter to the position of West Germany where many personalities and groups of all political shades are slowly reaching the conclusion that a third "tour de valse" with the Soviet Bear is necessary in the history of Germany in order to reach the re-aggregation of what is still available of the former Fatherland. Moscow has hastened to speculate this situation with the note of February 7th, remitted by the Soviet Ambassador to Mr. Willy Brandt, the West German socialist minister of foreign affairs, permitting a sudden and favorable change of climate in Germano-Soviet relations if Bonn consented to sign and ratify the Treaty to Ban the Spread of Nuclear Weapons.

What does the Soviet Union expect from the NPT, for the achievement of which it has fought and fights so desperately? It is preventing definitively the appearance of two new nuclear powers, a united and nuclearly armed Western Europe including Germany, and an Australian-New Zealand nuclear association which would put an end to the present bipolar political and military stalemate that since 20 years has paralyzed everybody except the Soviets. Indeed two new nuclear powers on both flanks of the Communist Empire are likely to be a powerful obstacle or even to put an end to its dreams of global extension.

Would the discussions about Armament Control, obligatorily connected with the NPT, permit the United States to retrieve a part of the prejudices implicit to the ratification of the Treaty of non-proliferation? Hardly so, and this for several reasons.

Under article 6th of the Treaty the United States would be committed to start immediately arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union, dealing not only with offensive weapons but also with a defensive missile system, which the Soviets have already substantially deployed while in the United States no decision has yet been taken concerning the Sentinel project, strongly opposed by powerful liberal circles.

Whatever the nature of the decision taken concerning the limitation of armament—limitation to the present level or proportional reduction—it is the country actually preponderant in conventional and nuclear armament which will be the only beneficiary. Accordingly to realistic estimation this country is presently the Soviet Union. Both solutions will bring us far from the "clear cut military superiority" promised by Mr. Nixon during his electoral campaign and much nearer the concept of "sufficiency" as interpreted by Harvard professors. And in whatever case, even in the hypothetical one of a total reciprocal "disarmament" Soviet Russia has brutally declared in advance that she will never accept any system of inspection on her territory in order to control the honest fulfillment of the agreed stipulations.

If, besides this bizarre situation, we take also into account that the only countries which have ratified the NPT are Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg and Nigeria, and that France, West Germany, Red-China, Israel, Japan, South Africa and India are among the countries which have refused to adhere to it, we have the right to ask the promoters of a prompt ratification by the American Senate: what benefit do they expect of it for their own country, and why this haste to take such a hazardous step?

President Nixon has expressed the intention of linking political issues to the "disarmament" talks. What could be the most important of those issues for both interested parties? From the United States side of course, the Middle East and Vietnam questions. From the Soviets side: the recognition of the Breznief doctrine, which means the recognition for Soviet Russia of the right of protectorate over all Communist countries, and the injection in the Russian economic establishment of a new and powerful dose of American know-how and of American procured facilities, which will permit the Soviets to reinforce their Communist system without abandoning anything of their political and military objectives, all of them directed, in every continent, against the United States influence and security.

Contrarily to the United States, Soviet Russia has in the Middle-East no military commitment and holds in this region the Key to limited hostility or to open war. What benefits could she expect from the end of this situation of permanent tension which has brought her, with the fulfilment of a three hundred years old dream—her Navy roaming freely around in the Mediterranean—the allegiance of 90 million Arabians and an overpowering strategic position on the southern borders of Europe. Any promise that Moscow is likely to give the United States, regarding the Middle-East, would hide no doubt, the possibility of a free interpretation at any critical moment.

By the same token, logic forces us to ask ourselves what interest could the Kremlin have in helping the United States pull out honorably, without further losses, of the Vietnam no-win mess, where they have deeply engaged their manpower, their military, financial and economic potential, their domestic tranquility and their prestige. How can one forget that it is the Kremlin which stands behind Ho-Chi-Minh, who without Moscow's instigation and backing would never have started his attack against Saigon and dared to provoke the United States intervention?

Concerning the Breznief doctrine; does President Nixon—the man who showed so much solicitude for the Hungarian patriots—realize what the recognition of this doctrine would eventually mean for the security of Western Europe and, therefore, for that of the United States? A quotation from the well known speech of General Eisenhower, his patron and protector, before Radio Europe in 1955, could help him perhaps:

"While we maintain our vigilance at home and abroad, we must help intensify the will for freedom behind the Iron Curtain. Those countries are in the Soviet back yard; and only as long as their people are reminded that the outside world has not forgotten them—only that long do they remain as a powerful deterrent to Soviet aggressiveness."

President Eisenhower did not exaggerate. His statement is more valid today than then, now that the Soviets and their nuclear weapons are in Cuba, their divisions at the Bavarian frontiers, their Navy at Mers-el-Kebir, and the Communist commandos' infiltration in the State apparatus, the Universities, the Churches and in important groups of the United States population is so much deeper than at the time when Joe McCarthy was still alive.

No other argument is invoked by the eager advocates of the ratification of the Anti-Proliferation Treaty than that of the "rapprochement", the necessity of winning Soviet Russia on the side of non-Communist thinking, purpose and civilization, to keep on acting upon the deadly day-dream of Roosevelt and Hopkins, for which it is supposed that not enough sacrifices have been made. Another formula has been found to revive the credulity and hollow hopes of the United States public opinion: "No confrontations but negotiations". This slogan comes directly from the mature reflections of a Harvard analyst, who pretends to forget that negotiating with Moscow is all what the Western World has made since Teheran and Yalta, and that any negotiations with such an interlocutor have to be a confrontation if they are not meant to let the adversary get away, once more, with all the loot.

There are only eleven articles in the Pact of Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons; it would be easy, therefore, for the United States Senators to read it attentively and to take their position according to their own conclusions, with the conscience of the enormous responsibility the question of the ratification puts over their shoulders, and without bothering about the mental diarrhea of former Harvard or Yale alumni.

There are two major errors which could be committed in matters of foreign policy: To insist upon the impossible and to sacrifice actual and possible allies in order to win the goodwill of an irreductible enemy.

By ratifying the Anti-Proliferation Treaty the United States has committed them both.

PROBLEMS OF MUNICIPALITIES

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, cities and towns throughout our country face almost insurmountable problems. It is a problem which we here in the 91st Congress must deal with, and soon. Mayor Loren Hickerson, of Iowa City, Iowa, recently dealt with the specific problems faced by Iowa cities and towns. His address shows a good deal of insight into the general problems faced by all municipalities. I commend his remarks to all my colleagues:

THE PROBLEMS BEHIND THE PROBLEMS OF IOWA'S CITIES AND TOWNS

(By Loren Hickerson, Director, Community Relations, the University of Iowa; Mayor of Iowa City)

I'm delighted to be here today—the more delighted because of my high regard for the Waterloo people I work with in matters of mutual concern to our two cities: Mayor Lloyd Turner, George Griebenow, Louis Beecher and others. If, through some hectic years of local government, I've managed to retain a basic optimism about Iowa's ability to solve its modern-day problems, it is because of the talents, the enthusiasm and the dedication to the good of Iowa, reflected by such men as these.

I do suggest, however, that Kiwanis strike a couple of medals—one for the Club itself for listening to five mayors, more or less in a row; and the other for Mayor Turner, for even permitting five mayors to enter the Waterloo city limits for the purpose of making speeches. He has enough troubles without having to listen to the problems of imported mayors, or even to read about them in the *Courier*.

You've heard about the concerned citizen who gets himself involved. You're looking at Exhibit "A." I used to wonder, sometimes in amazement, at some of the processes of city government as I followed them in the mass media. Then I was elected to the city council, and for the past 3¼ years I've watched city government from the other side of that table in the council chamber.

My sense of wonder has been transformed. The remarkable thing about local government in Iowa is not that it is often difficult for people to fathom; it is that somehow it continues to function reasonably well, in spite of the stumbling blocks which have been piled into it and around it through the long history of government in Iowa.

I have seen enough of governmental structures and systems to scare me half to death over the future of society, in Iowa and elsewhere, unless we can move deliberately and consistently to govern our modern society under principles and rules which make sense for today, and which are more easily and quickly adjusted to changing conditions. In expressing this concern, I don't think I'm just whistling "Dixie." If I am whistling, it is because I don't really want to think that's a graveyard up ahead, filled with the tombs of human institutions we have cherished, slowly strangled by our failures to adapt them *in time* to life in the later 20th century.

I don't want to be misunderstood. A great many Iowans share this kind of concern today. They reflected it last fall in approving five amendments to the Iowa constitution. Many of our senators and representatives had reflected it earlier in proposing those same amendments, just as they have reflected it in other kinds of innovative and far-reaching legislation which has come from the General Assembly in recent years. But I'm not sure that the process of renewing state government has become a conscious habit in Iowa, and for the good of the state, I think it must become so. It will require the strong and sustained efforts of citizens throughout the state, electing and supporting legislators of the highest order, to make these successful new ventures in state improvement habit-forming.

There is a lot of discussion these days about the problems of Iowa's cities and towns. The problems are many, and some of them are serious. But my principal concern today is with the problems *behind* the problems—the root causes. Until these are faced squarely, help for cities and towns in Iowa will tend only to shore up some crumbling walls, when the real trouble is in the foundations of our governmental structure. I'll mention two particular problems, as I see them.

The first problem springs from the growing need to define the Iowa public interest not just in old time-worn patterns, but in the light of public needs as they exist today. In fundamental ways, we are paying only lip service to the good of the community of Iowa; and we will continue to do so, so long as we fashion public policy in ways best calculated not to do too much harm to traditional and well-established private interests, nor to the deeply-vested interests of the governmental structure itself. We're still strongly inclined in Iowa to define the public's interests as though the times really hadn't changed much at all.

I cite as an example the celebrated road-use tax formula—a formula which year-in and year-out receives, I swear, a great deal more pointed attention than roads and road-use.

The second problem is to be found in a sprawling jungle of accumulated Iowa law and precedent, which stretches all the way back to the Constitution of 1857. The average city and town council in Iowa doesn't spend as much time as people may think, discussing what they should do about their local problems. Much of that time is spent in asking their attorney what the council's limited alternatives are, in the light of the limitations imposed upon them by state law—including the 30-mill limit on financing their principal departmental services.

The Code of Iowa—the basis for law and order in this state—has been built up, layer upon layer, through 112 years. The body of our law grows rapidly, but it changes only nominally, and painfully. Inconsistency and conflict thus get built into the law itself.

Now some people may see no relationship between this simple fact and our growing concern over the contemporary breakdown of law and order. I think I do see a relationship. Respect for law begins with the reasonableness of law, and with the consistency of law. That is true, whether you are aged fifty or fifteen. To put one's faith in law without a continuing and sensitive reappraisal of the validity of law under changed conditions is to invite wholesale blinking at the law. No orderly society can afford that indefinitely; and we are seeing a lot of it these days.

Before you assume that I sound like a radical reformer, let me assure you that I am speaking to you specifically as a concerned taxpayer. I think both public officials and taxpayers ought to be consistent in their approach to government. I did not become, overnight, an enemy of the people through the simple act of being elected to a city council. From what I have seen of government from the inside, I grow more tired than ever these days of pious declarations about holding taxes down, when private interests from A to Z spend considerable amounts of their time and money lobbying for special "breaks" through this or that gnarled old limb of an incredibly complex tax tree, and when there is so little inclination to build a sensible basis for modern economy into the structure of Iowa government itself. Moreover, I get more than a little concerned about unrealistic or conflicting statutes which tend to thwart the very objectives they are intended to achieve, including the objective of a solid respect for law itself.

It will not surprise you that I can cite an example which combines both these root problems: defining the present-day public interest on the one hand, and implementing it through a dysfunctional tangle of law on the other. The Iowa City urban renewal case is both current and classic.

Urban renewal came into federal and state statutes as a new dimension in the public interest—a modern-day means to encourage and expedite the redevelopment of deteriorating urban areas, both to re-stimulate their economic potential and to forestall the social problems they breed. Both of these are dollars-and-cents objectives to 20th century taxpayers.

I'm sure you are familiar with the remarkable record of the Iowa City project. After 3½ years of planning, plus 1½ years of litigation in the courts, the project now has reached a highly-developed state of non-existence. Meantime, an additional five years of deterioration has occurred in the area considered for renewal in Iowa City. As a by-product, doubts have been cast on the legality of urban renewal programs in many other cities and towns in Iowa, not to mention low-rent housing projects, on which conflict-of-interest statutes are comparable to those involved in urban renewal.

Is all of this a service to the public interest in a changing Iowa?

Three succeeding Iowa City councils have been involved in urban renewal planning since 1964—all of them illegally, it turns out. Two councilmen were replaced by the voters in 1966. The other three councilmen were replaced by the voters in 1968. At no time since the beginning of the Iowa City renewal concept five years ago have a majority of the city council, duly elected by the people they serve, been free of conflict in that program under the Iowa law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

I have no quarrel with realistic conflict-of-interest laws. I have no quarrel with the Court's interpretation of this law as it is written. My quarrel is with the law itself—this or any other law—which defeats its own purpose by blindly tying new conditions to old precedents.

I'm sure the modern public interest assumes that an urban renewal project ought to involve an area in which the need for physical renewal is clear-cut. Iowa City's experience suggests that the primary consideration is not an obvious renewal area, but any area in which there is no possibility of council conflict. And how could you even be sure of that, without somehow controlling who runs for the council every two years, and who gets elected?

It has been suggested that in the light of these protracted difficulties, the council ought to kill the Iowa City project, once and for all. But how do you kill a dead horse? If a resolution were presented to the Council at its next meeting to abandon Iowa City's urban renewal project, a majority of the councilmen couldn't vote on the resolution. Our horse ought to be three or four years old this summer. Now it turns out it wasn't even born.

The future of a project of this kind in Iowa City now hinges on legislative action which would permit a new start—with a new law, or a new plan, or a new council, or a combination of these. But Iowa as a whole is luckier. The court ruling came while the legislature is in session. Assuming early legislative action (which now is in process), all other cities and towns in Iowa will be spared at least a full year of delay and doubt about these programs.

This is hardly a time in history to be wasting years in the advancement of any community in Iowa, large or small. That is why I think it ought to be a prime function of law to facilitate the achievement of new public interests, not to impede them through deference to earlier precedents.

With all that water over the dam, let me get more positive and hopeful.

I think we have it within the range of possibility in Iowa to develop modern-day governmental strengths superior to those in most other states. In fact, Iowa has taken some outstanding steps in recent years, precisely in this direction.

The home rule concept, as approved by the voters of Iowa last November, is the key to that potential superiority. If the concept is fully implemented by the General Assembly, Iowa will achieve a balance between sound state regulation and responsive local authority which could be the envy of the nation, and which would serve as a prototype for realistic state-renewal everywhere.

There are several additional steps which are of vital importance in implementing the concept, both in its letter and in its spirit.

One step is to eliminate from existing Iowa law the thickets of restrictive legislation which have accumulated in the Iowa Code, generation after generation, during the century and more when cities and towns could do nothing without the express permission of the legislature. Home rule cannot become truly meaningful in Iowa until this step is taken. The process can begin soon, hopefully with passage by the present General Assembly of legislation already on file, calling for a thorough review of existing laws throughout the Iowa Code which now limit the authority of city and town officials. The review would lead to specific legislation in the 1970 and later sessions of the legislature, repealing those sections of law which no longer are necessary or desirable under home rule, and amending sections of the law which are desirable, but outdated.

(An important corollary of this step, at the same time, is firm legislative resistance to any inclination to pass new and additional legislation which is contrary to the home rule concept.)

A second important step is to encourage, in broader ways, effective inter-governmental agreements among cities, towns and counties, and to stimulate and facilitate the voluntary merger of local governments to form larger political units. Here, too, Iowa has taken splendid steps in recent years, of which the regional airport bill, already passed by the Senate in this session and now before the House, represents Iowa legislative leadership at its finest—(and a tribute, incidentally, to the all-state leadership of Waterloo.)

Consolidation of local governments, particularly counties, has yet to become a popular goal of state government in Iowa. There are those who actively oppose it, and others who don't think it will ever happen. Not only do I think it will happen, but I think the day is close when the people themselves will demand it; if not because it's better government for the modern day, then because it is coming to represent a tax advantage so clearcut that county consolidation will sell itself.

The interim step to wholesale consolidations of local governmental units by legislative action is too obvious, too logical and too practical to overlook. It is to encourage consolidation from the grass roots upward—a highly consistent extension of the home rule concept.

A third vital step to make home rule successful involves a great deal more than home rule itself. It is the methodical and wholesale revision of traditional taxing patterns and programs in Iowa. The revision would have to combine a maximum of fearlessness with a minimum of doubletalk. Its goal would be the finance of state and local public services in Iowa through tax types and tax systems which fit the economic styles of the times.

In this department, I think the legislature's actions will have to be pretty thorough and pretty ruthless with the good old days. But the blood-letting may become easier than some legislators think. I have a hunch that one of these days Iowans are going to wake up to the realization that property tax relief really is a myth, and always has been, in the absence of a sweeping tax reorganization which includes major increases in non-property taxes. They are going to discover that what the people have been talking about and what their more powerful lobbies have been talking about all these years have not always been the same things. At that point we'll begin to get some real property tax relief.

I'd even venture a fourth step in implementing the home rule concept, although I'm dubious of its success. It is to assume, at least for a period of years, that these goals and objectives of the state of Iowa are more important than politics. At the least, the major political parties ought to vie with one another, not over what is good or what is bad for Iowa in the vital process of moving our governmental patterns toward the 21st century, but over which party can accomplish the greater progress in an all-Iowa program, in consistent and orderly ways, during years when it holds the state's top offices and/or majorities in the General Assembly. When it comes to the organization of government, I think there's too much politics in Iowa politics. Which only shows that I'm not much of a politician.

In their newest book, *The Lessons of History*, the Will Durants put the individual citizen in clear perspective with the society in which he lives. "Our states," wrote the Durants, "being ourselves multiplied, are what we are. They write our nature in bolder type, and do our good and evil on an elephantine scale."

I'd like to wrap all this up with a comment about the young people of Iowa. I'm surrounded by a splendid segment of them at The University of Iowa.

On the campus in Iowa City, as in many high schools and institutions of higher learning in these times, the antics of a few manage all too easily to distort the image of the many. Those many are the source of our pride and our hope as a state.

I am not among those who resist or who resent the idealism reflected by today's younger generation—Iowa's younger generation—or who write off its penchants for high purpose as simply a painful part of growing up in a hard-headed, hard-hearted, practical world. Throughout the state, there are a great many of us, living on the shady side of thirty, who have been trying to modernize many an Iowa institution for a long time. We need help, and today's generation of young Iowans represents potentially the greatest reservoir of hope in the history of the state.

We need these Iowa young people, and we need them here in Iowa. In an ageless pattern, they'll soon be moving into and upward in the worlds of Iowa business, industry, and agriculture, and staffing our professions. They'll be managing the governments of our local communities and seeking seats in the General Assembly. In a very real sense, they are what Iowa is to become.

We need in Iowa a solid partnership with our own youth—its talents, its enthusiasm, its idealism. That is not the least of the reasons for the reform of our governmental institutions, that they may fit the age of tomorrow. Give us that partnership among the Iowa generations, and the incredible age ahead will be richer and more wonderful in Iowa than anywhere else in the world. Give us that partnership and it will be a superlative nature that Iowans will write in bold type, across the generations to come.

IMPORT QUOTAS HELP FEED INFLATION

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, if the administration and Congress yield to pressures to impose quotas on a wide range of imported goods, we will not only roll back the beneficial effects of the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations and invite retaliation in kind from abroad, but also feed inflation through higher prices for the consumer. An excellent article on the harmful effects of import quotas recently appeared in Consumer Reports. I commend this article to my colleagues:

HOW IMPORT QUOTAS RAISE CONSUMER PRICES

President Nixon brought home from Europe last winter some news that may hit consumers squarely in the wallet. The President's news, couched as it was in dry-as-dust references to tariffs, import quotas and other intricacies of international trade, was scarcely meant to arouse public concern; it was, rather, intended to reassure American manufacturers who have been crying for protection against foreign competition. What Mr. Nixon said he had done was to urge European governments, in no uncertain terms, to cut back on the volume of certain goods their industries are selling in this country.

The political pressures that have been building up in recent years in behalf of protectionism could bring seemingly remote matters, such as import quotas and trade balances, close to home in the form of higher prices and fewer choices in a large array of consumer goods. As the President himself pointed out during a televised news conference in March, 93 bills in the last session of the Senate proposed quotas on various goods imported into this country at the rate of $7.7 billion worth a year—more than 40 per cent of America's dutiable imports—and additional goods would have been affected by omnibus quotas schemes. The list of products involved ranges from clothing to typewriters, from glassware to radios, from sewing machines to costume jewelry to meat and dairy products.

The protectionist assault, launched by dozens of industries and supported by dozens of unions and scores of Congressmen, caused Mr. Nixon to point out to foreign leaders "that unless some voluntary restrictions or restraints were worked out . . . the pressure for legislative quotas would be immense." Indeed, not since the eve of the Great Depression has protectionism been so strongly on the offensive as it is today. In 1930, it may be recalled, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Act, raising tariffs to the highest level in the nation's history. Unable to compete any longer in U.S. markets, other nations raised trade barriers of their own. As the worldwide depression deepened from 1930 to 1934, the value of American exports took a 70 per cent drop; world trade fell by two-thirds. Instead of alleviating the economic slump, protectionist policies of the U.S. and other countries only aggravated it.

THE LESSON OF SMOOT-HAWLEY

A hard but valuable lesson was learned, and in 1934 Congress reversed the protectionist trend by passing a reciprocal trade program based on lower tariffs. In the post-World War II years the shortage of consumer goods and the disarray of foreign industry encouraged further tariff lowerings, as did American policies to foster economic recovery in Europe and Asia. While an economic decline in 1957 brought an upsurge of protectionist demands, the Eisenhower Administration did not entirely succumb. It held to the view that the Government could not go on "building competition shelters for every segment of the economy."

The spirit of trade liberalization was forwarded by the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, and reached its culmination at the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations completed in Geneva in 1967. There, 50 nations agreed to cut tariffs an average of 35 per cent in five annual stages on an exceedingly wide range of goods. For the American consumer, the Kennedy Round held out the prospect of significantly lower prices on such imported items as cars, cameras, chocolate, chinaware, bicycles, TV sets and perfumes.

Hardly had the Kennedy-Round rejoicing commenced, however, than it was dam-

pened by a large-scale counterattack. Industrial lobbyists in many of the participating countries swiftly began putting on pressure for nontariff import barriers. "Nature abhors a vacuum and manufacturers abhor free trade," observed an international-trade official. The result has been a crazy quilt of border taxes, "sanitary regulations," quotas and artificial pricing.

ENTER THE QUOTA SYSTEM

In the U.S., for instance, the legislatures of industrial states and municipal governments increasingly have adopted "Buy American" policies under which, at extra cost to the taxpayers, domestic suppliers of equipment and materials get preference over the potentially lower foreign bidders on public works contracts. Then, too, existing quotas limit imports of crude oil, boosting prices on gasoline and home-heating oil.

With tariff protection politically unpalatable and foreign industry bidding keenly for American business, many protectionists are turning to quotas, which set an absolute limit on the amount of a given product that can be shipped to these shores in any given year. As an official of the beleaguered steel industry put it, quotas are the most "effective and prompt" means of limiting imports. Or, as a Washington trade expert put it, "For protectionists there is nothing more delicious than a quota."

The Johnson Administration yielded in some degree to pressures in favor of weakening the Kennedy-Round agreements, and today the protectionists are filled with great expectations. For one thing, they have a powerful argument in the drastic shift of America's foreign-trade balance that has become unhappily apparent during the past two years. This country has long been accustomed to selling more merchandise abroad than it buys, thereby bringing in several billions of dollars annually to help make up for the dollars that keep flowing out in the form of military expenditures, foreign aid, the openhandedness of U.S. tourists and so forth. In 1967 our trade surplus reached $4 billion.

That surplus, however, can no longer be taken for granted; it can come and go, and it appears to be going. Last year it fell to only $726 million, the lowest figure since 1937. Whereas exports rose by about 9 per cent in 1968, imports went up 23 per cent. According to a Federal Reserve Board analysis, "A considerable range of U.S. goods may have become somewhat less competitive since 1965. . . . To some extent this may be a matter of price. . . . But for some products—automobiles, for example—the problem may involve not only prices but also design."

Shoppers with no mind for big numbers can see the evidence of the import boom in their favorite department stores: shoes from Italy, bicycles from Britain, all manner of radios, TV sets, tape recorders and electronic gadgetry from Japan—the list is a long and attractive one. Never have our retail counters showed such tempting variety. But, argue the protectionists, as long as the dollar drain continues, Americans cannot afford to treat themselves to so many foreign-made things.

The protectionists pin their hopes now on the new Republican Administration and the G.O.P.'s strong old-line protectionist elements. One must not make too much of party platforms, but the 1968 Republican platform with its emphasis on "fair trade" rather than "free trade" contained a somewhat ambiguous paragraph that injected new spirit into the old protectionist veins: "Imports should not be permitted to capture excessive portions of the American market but should, through international agreements, be able to participate in the growth of consumption. Should such efforts fail, specific countermeasures will have to be applied. . . ."

TURNING OFF TEXTILES

Philosophically, President Nixon and his new administration have identified themselves as unequivocally favoring unhindered trade relations. For example, the President told one of his first press conferences, "I believe that the interest of the United States and the interest of the whole world will best be served by moving toward freer trade rather than toward protectionism. I take a dim view of this tendency to move toward quotas . . ." Nevertheless, Mr. Nixon in the next breath went to bat for the textile industry. In its behalf, at least, he seems inclined to use the protectionist tendencies in Congress to help persuade textile-exporting countries to negotiate "voluntary" quotas on their shipments to the U.S.

Free-trade advocates were particularly dismayed at the expanded role being given to Commerce Secretary Stans as the chief international trade negotiator in the Nixon Administration. Under the previous two administrations, the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations handled the job and brought to it the single-minded objective of dismantling trade barriers. The Commerce Department, on the other hand, has been traditionally sympathetic to domestic industry in its conflicting pleas for protection from imports and Federal assistance in the promotion of exports.

The President specifically designated Secretary Stans as his trade envoy to discuss import quotas on a trip to Europe in April. Mr. Stans took the occasion to affirm the Administration position. "At heart, we are free traders," he said, and proceeded to the necessity, in his view, of some quotas on imports of synthetic textiles, not only from Europe but also from Japan, Hong Kong, Korea and Taiwan. U.S. textile firms, he said, are faced with an "unbelievable" increase in imports, which could do "great harm" to the industry.

Legislation put forward in 1967 and 1968 would have kept textile imports down to the 1961–1966 level. When Chairman Wilbur Mills kept it bottled up in the House Ways and Means Committee, it was attached as a rider to the Senate bill for an income-tax surcharge and thereby passed overwhelmingly. Mr. Mills finally killed it for that session of Congress in the Senate-House conference on the tax bill.

In view of the fact that textile imports rose an additional 27 per cent in the first nine months of 1968, there is some risk that the last has not been heard of textile-quota legislation. At the least, the nation seems stuck with Mr. Nixon's campaign promise to negotiate textile-quota agreements. If he is successful, he may possibly stave off even more restrictive quotas by act of Congress on a broader assortment of goods. But protectionists aren't so easy to placate. Nor are their arguments entirely foolproof—at least not in the view of persons who refuse to fool themselves about the give and take of international trade. Former Ambassador William M. Roth, who was President Johnson's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations is one such person. He described those who advocate import-quota bills as a means of stopping the outflow of dollars as "dressing up self-service legislation in the gleaming garments of serving the national interest."

CASHMERE AND HAMBURGER

It takes no gift of prophesy to grasp what even "voluntary" restraints by foreign producers could mean for the American consumer. At present, to take a simple example, a man's cashmere sweater made in England costs an American sweater fancier about $25. The retail price of a comparable sweater manufactured in this country is about $35. If the number of cashmere sweaters that the British may send us is limited at a point where the demand for them is not yet satisfied—which, of course, is the very essence of a quota—then some U.S. customers will find themselves with the choice of paying at least $10 more for a sweater or going without. Moreover, the protected American firms would have no incentive to lower their price and, indeed, might be tempted to raise it, since they would no longer have to worry about price competition from overseas. Would du Pont, for example, have reduced the price of its *Corfam* leather substitute by 20 per cent in 1967 if the Japanese had not been marketing a similar product?

Although connoisseur items and gourmet treats are among the most delightful of our imports, the import of a quota would by no means be limited to luxury-priced merchandise. Especially affected would be low-income shoppers who have welcomed bargains from abroad in clothing, sporting equipment, toys, chinaware and other goods. The equivalent of a pair of U.S.-made women's sandals that retails for $14 can be had for $10 from a foreign maker. Since our meat imports consist almost entirely of the lower-priced grades of meat used in hamburger, sausage and frankfurters, import quotas in that area would raise the price of the processed meats that occupy a large place in the menus of families that cannot afford more costly cuts. Hamburger and frankfurters would go up an estimated 2¢ to 3¢ a pound. John McEwen, trade minister of Australia, from where half of our meat imports come, may have had in mind Mr. Nixon's campaign pledge to cattlemen to act against "cheap foreign beef," when he remarked dryly: "It is difficult to understand why the U.S. should be taking steps to curtail imports at a time when domestic meat prices are at or above record levels."

Any trend toward quotas would predictably spur the present inflation, which is a major factor in our balance-of-payments difficulties. Prices are already too high on some U.S.-made goods to interest foreign markets. As *The Wall Street Journal* has pointed out: "In these inflationary times, import competition is among the few factors working toward holding prices down."

It is not conceivable that our customers overseas will sit still while we block the entry of their goods and hurt their industries without reciprocating. The many U.S. businesses and workers in both agriculture and manufacturing whose livelihoods depend on exports would be hurt in retaliation, and the repercussions would be felt throughout the economy. The Department of Labor estimates that every billion dollars of exports supports nearly 100,000 jobs. When the Belgians were annoyed by an increase in the U.S. tariffs on carpets, they cracked down on our exports of plastics, which deprived a U.S. industry of millions of dollars in sales to an expanding market. (The U.S., for its part, has engaged in much the same tactics. When the Common Market countries put up barriers against our chicken exports, American tariffs were raised on German trucks and French cognac.) As Austria has warned, protectionist measures by the United States will "probably provoke similar measures . . . [which] will eventually affect the interest of American exporters to a much greater degree than those of the foreign importers." Ambassador Roth had such dim prospects in mind when he observed that once the game of retaliation and counter-retaliation gets under way, "the effects on our balance of payments would be incalculable."

DISTASTE FOR COMPETITION

No one, not even the most fervent free trader, denies that some Americans will be hurt by increased imports. The Government can hardly overlook the industries, groups of workers and even sections of the country that could be severely injured if they were not protected to some degree from outside competition, and everyone is in favor of granting them assistance. Such assistance was in fact written into the Johnson Administration's Trade Expansion Act of 1968, which did not make its way through Congress. But most of the *efficient* firms in industries calling for protection are not in truth

suffering from anything more painful than a distaste for competition. In the long run, the most economical way to help those truly in need of help is to tailor assistance to specific needs—loans for plant modernization, job retraining and so forth—rather than to slap down across-the-board quotas, which would be a windfall for the prosperous as well as a benefit for the ailing.

The national interest would be far better served by a campaign to get Japan and the European trading countries to relax their nontariff trade restrictions, which are in some cases more severe than American ones. As its quid pro quo, the U.S. might relax its own barriers, such as the American Selling Price system, under which certain imported chemicals are valued for tariff purposes not on the basis of their actual foreign price, but on the higher price of the equivalent domestically produced products. The lamented 1968 Trade Expansion Act would have abolished the American Selling Price system in return for an agreement by other countries to reduce their duties on chemicals even below the Kennedy-Round levels.

President Nixon appears to have abandoned the effort. "I think we have to realize," he said after returning from Europe, "that we cannot anticipate in the near future another big round of reductions of tariff barriers. We're going to do well if we can digest what we have on the plate."

Another focus of ostensible protectionist concern is for the group of industries that have to be subsidized because they would be irreplaceable in case of national emergency. Such industries doubtless exist, but a certain skepticism is in order regarding the discovery by every sort of businessman that he is indispensable to the national security and that patriotism therefore demands that he be coddled. It is on such grounds that the petroleum industry, for example, has convinced the Government to make consumers subsidize it through—among other things—an import quota on crude oil.

Beyond a very few legitimate considerations of national security and individual hardship, the protectionist argument is not powerful. Retailer groups, which in this fight stand with the consumer ("The consumer wants—and we want to give her—the widest selection and the broadest assortment of merchandise at the lowest possible price," says the president of the Hecht Company), point out that far more jobs would be lost and far more industries hurt by raising world trade barriers than by expanding world trade. Good times abroad mean more purchases of U.S. merchandise. The prosperity enjoyed by Europe and Japan in 1964 was reflected in this country in the form of a profitable year for our exporters, and a healthy $6.6 billion export surplus for the country.

The decline in the U.S. export surplus is in significant part attributable to the reluctance of American industry, grown fat and comfortable, to compete with less comfortable and more energetic foreign firms. The outstanding example of this phenomenon is the passengar car. Imported cars have won more than 10 per cent of the U.S. market—one million of them entered the country last year—and their sales are increasing at an embarrassing rate. Volkswagen sells twice as many cars in this country as does American Motors. The implications have not been altogether lost on Detroit; Ford is currently introducing its "smaller-than-compact" *Maverick* in the foreign-dominated $2000 class. Corresponding General Motors and American Motors small cars are due within a year or so.

SOFT AS STEEL

America's formidable steel industry, which for years relied on "administered prices" to keep up its profits, has also been behaving like an aging champion who is reluctant to enter the ring again, and has been asking for quotas to keep down foreign imports. As a writer in *Fortune* summed up that situation last year:

"The steel industry has been a desultory competitor in the international arena. It has until recently been raising prices and has refused to use pricing as a competitive weapon, while foreign steel companies have been cutting export prices—accepting lower profit margins to get added volume. Now U.S. Steel has broken out of the pattern: almost furtively, the company has cut prices sharply on a variety of products to meet foreign quotations. Much of the industry is distressed about this untraditional behavior, but it may be the best thing that's happened in steel for years."

Yet steel interests continue to clamor for protection that will relieve them of the challenge of foreign price competition; in January, in an effort to head off Congressional imposition of quotas on steel imports, the State Department helped negotiate "voluntary" quotas by the major steel producers of Western Europe and Japan—somewhat like an old-fashioned cartel agreement, if you please. (Indeed, the steel agreements were the immediate precedent for Mr. Nixon's present textile negotiations.) Richard S. Thorn, an economics professor at the University of Pittsburgh, commented: "Quota restrictions are simply an unimaginative effort to preserve profit margins in a manner which will take away most of the incentives from the steel industry to deal with the underlying factors which have prevented it from participating fully in the unprecedented growth in the American and world economies."

Where U.S. companies have exerted themselves and tried to compete, the results have sometimes been rewarding for them and of benefit to the consumer. A good example comes from a vice president of General Electric: "In early 1960, General Electric chose to make a determined competitive effort in the six-transistor shirt-pocket radio. At that time, our retail price had been in the general range of $36. We were finding that Japanese-made sets were selling for $19 and we projected their price to drop to about $12 by 1970. Accordingly, we had to aim at the same retail price. This represented a formidable task—a reduction of two-thirds of the cost. We not only made the target, but last year we got our price down to about $7. . . . We are now selling our transistors in Japan.

BETTER SEWING MACHINES

The invigorating effects of competition have been demonstrated in other industries, too. We owe most of the improvements in sewing machines since the war to foreign makers. The domestic watch industry, hard hit by foreign competition, was virtually forced to exploit the pin lever watch and the electric watch, both of which have won a sizable market. Surely, that was a healthier response to competition than the tariff boost on watches put through in 1954 by the Eisenhower Administration on the ground that the watch industry was being injured by foreign competition. (Price of those tariff boosts to the U.S. consumer: $7 per wristwatch.)

Not all industries, to be sure, can hope for such technological breakthroughs; those, such as textiles, where labor constitutes a high proportion of costs, are at a considerable disadvantage in world markets. Still, there is room for greater ingenuity. And for all its moaning, the textile industry is doing nicely, thank you. In many industries, furthermore, profits are more to blame for high prices than wages are. The record indicates that though businessmen continue, on public occasions, to pay homage to Free Enterprise, when things threaten to get uncomfortable they are quick to turn to the Federal Government with demands for controls.

The assault of the protectionist forces goes beyond such homely matters as the prices we must pay for goods and the kinds of goods that are permitted to find their way into our stores. Any movement back to the "beggar-thy-neighbor" philosophy of the early 1930's threatens to slam shut doors which, over long and arduous months, have been opened among nations. The hopes of free and fruitful international commerce, raised high by the tariff cuts agreed on at the Kennedy Round, will suffer a thumping rebuff if the U.S. protectionists have their way.

RULES OF WAR

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, reams have been written about the war in Vietnam. There have been good faith questions raised about the wisdom of our involvement. In addition the Communist influence has undoubtedly been very active in promoting disunity, designed to give aid and comfort to the enemy. Antiwar and peacenik demonstrations, far out of the bounds of normal, sensible dissent, have braced the enemy's infamous designs. There have been many who have very properly questioned the propriety of nonmilitary strategy imposed by political considerations.

Unfortunately, because of these many conflicts of views, a lack of national unity has been indicated—probably far more so than the facts justify. Indeed, had there been solid unity, which is normally the case when a nation's flag and fighting men are committed in armed conflict with a foreign enemy, it is likely that war would have been won long ago.

In fighting a war the sole objective is and should be to achieve victory—prompt victory, with the minimum of losses. In order to accomplish this it is generally agreed that the military should have all necessary flexibility in choosing targets and planning strategy.

In a recent column by Don MacLean some of the mistakes that have been made in the Vietnam fighting were clearly set forth. He lays it on the line in a very understandable manner. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the column in its entirely. It follows:

RULES OF WAR

(By Don MacLean)

WASHINGTON.—If Vietnam has taught us nothing else, it has taught us that never again should we enter into an armed conflict with anyone so long as there are ground rules designed to overcome our admitted superiority in men, weapons and supply.

Anyone is going to hesitate to provoke a giant, but nobody is going to respect one that agrees to fight blindfolded, standing on one leg and with one hand tied behind its back. And that is how the U.S. has been fighting its wars lately and perhaps that's one reason it's having so many of them.

In Vietnam we've failed to blockade the port into which come most of North Vietnam's supplies. We've failed to bomb certain "off-limits" military targets, such as dams and airfields. We even let it be known that we have no intention of invading enemy territory. Now, I ask you, is that any way to fight a war? Even a non-nuclear one?

Gen. William C. Westmoreland's recent

report on the struggle is almost unbelievable. To this day, apparently, he believes that through "attrition" the enemy can be forced to surrender. He has never realized that, thanks to the birthrate in the Orient, and thanks to being able to operate from bomb-free sanctuaries and bomb-free ports, Hanoi can continue sending troops south forever.

In short, the way the war has been fought up to now by the U.S., it can never end with a North Vietnamese capitulation; only with a U.S. one. When we put an army in the field to fight, handicapped with the restrictions we've given this one, it really isn't fair to ask men to serve in that army.

How wild it is for us to toss napalm, bombs and howitzer shells all over the place and, at the same time, worry about world opinion going against us if we simply flooded North Vietnam by knocking out its dams! This is the kind of hesitancy which produced the Bay of Pigs, the Pueblo affair and similar embarrassments.

One can only guess how many lives would have been saved—on both sides—had we won this war in short order. The real tragedy of Vietnam is that we could have, but didn't. Hopefully, we'll never make this mistake again. Otherwise, small, aggressive countries will continue to harass us until the American eagle is picked to death by sparrows.

ROY GIBSON'S TRUE STORY OF ONE DRAFT PROTESTER

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to a Utahan who is helping his community and State by action, not just words. I refer to Roy Gibson, of Salt Lake City. Roy Gibson is president of the Salt Lake Exchange Club, a past president of the Journalism Society, Sigma Delta Chi, a professor of journalism at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, and for the last 10 years, news director of one of the leading television stations in the West, KCPX. In addition, Roy Gibson has the tough job of sitting on the State Selective Service Board.

Recently Mr. Gibson was asked to speak to the student body of Viewmont High School in Murray, Utah. He chose as his subject the selective service board's discussion with a young man we will all recognize—self-centered, confused, disinterested in his obligations as a citizen. I believe my colleagues will find this true story of more than passing interest:

TRUE STORY

(By Roy Gibson)

This is a true story . . .

A young man came into his local draft board in Salt Lake City this week. He said he was a conscientious objector.

He objected to war . . . he objected to military service . . . he objected to his draft board. He objected to its member's questions. He objected when his train of thought and conversation was interrupted.

He objected to communism . . . he objected to democracy . . . he objected to monarchy, totalitarianism, socialism, anarchy . . .

He objected to government. He objected to his nation, his state and his community. He objected to the school he once attended. He objected to his religion. He objected to his parents and his brothers and sisters. He objected to law and the absence of law. He objected to police.

He objected to authority . . .

He objected to riches and he objected to poverty . . . He objected to knowledge and the lack of knowledge . . . He objected to education and the lack of education . . . He objected to the "system." . .

He objected. . . .

And he talked . . . almost continuously . . . for two hours . . . he talked about "people," . . . and "people," he said, "are the center of the universe." Yet he qualified that . . . "People," he said, "must not interfere with my way of life."

And he went on—"I love life. I know what it is to live. I do not want to give up my life. I do not want to jeopardize my life in defense of what someone else believes. The beliefs of people are important. What *I* believe is important. And I believe I must be left alone to live my own life and think my own thoughts. I do not want people telling me how to live, how to worship, how to think, how to talk. I want to make my own decisions. No one has a right to tell me how I must behave."

He was almost angry . . . and he stopped for a moment . . . and his voice dropped, almost to a whisper. . . .

"You see, people are important . . . I am important . . . and what I tell you is important. . . ."

He stopped again, staring at the chairman of the Draft Board. He looked exhausted . . . spent. . . ."

The three men on the Draft Board had been listening patiently . . . and carefully . . . for almost two hours . . . and then one of them asked: "What specific people are important to you?"

"My wife," he said, "and my child."

"Anyone else—your parents?"

"No."

"Your neighbors?"

"No."

"Your employer?"

"No."

"Your bishop? Your minister?"

"I have none."

"Your God?"

"I don't know if there is one."

"But your wife and your daughter?"

"Yes, they are important to me."

"Tell me, the Draft Board member asked, "If your daughter's life was threatened, would you defend her?"

"Yes, of course, I would."

"And your wife?"

"Certainly. Certainly, I would!"

"And if your mother's life was threatened, would you defend her."

"I don't know."

"Your father?"

"No."

"Your neighbor?"

"No. No. Certainly not!"

"But you said people are important. Wouldn't you go out of your way to defend their rights?"

The young man paused for quite a long time, and finally he said, "Not if it meant hurting them or killing them."

"Yet you would not hesitate to hurt—or kill—if someone threatened the life of your wife or daughter?"

"No, I wouldn't hesitate!"

"And what if they threatened you personally . . . threatened your life?"

"I would fight!"

"And what if you lost the fight . . . and lay dying . . . would you ask someone for help?"

"Yes, of course," he said vehemently, "I would *expect* someone to help me!"

"Who?" asked the Draft Board member. "Your neighbor?"

The young man's face was suddenly blank. His eyes seemed empty. His mouth lay open and wordless. He looked as if time had suddenly stopped.

There was a long moment of silence . . . and finally the Draft Board chairman broke the pause. . . .

"What people—other than your wife and daughter—are important to you?"

The young man's eyes looked startled. He shot a glance at the chairman, then dropped his eyes to his hands. His cheeks flushed. His right hand darted up to brush a swatch of hair away from his eyes. His lips tightened, then opened. . . .

"I've thought about that for a long time," he said. "I've driven through the ghettos and seen people in misery, I think they're hungry. I think they need help. I think somebody must do something for these poor people. They're in misery. They're in poverty. They suffer. They have no friends. They have no place to go, nothing to look forward to. I've thought about them for almost two years now, and I can see that welfare doesn't help. The war on poverty doesn't help. The rich people don't help. Nobody helps them. These colored people have been shoved into the ghetto and they can't get out. The Negroes have no one who will help them. . . ."

He stopped abruptly. And for the first time, he looked to the right side of the table where the Negro member of the Draft Board had sat silently listening for two hours.

A puzzled expression creased the young man's forehead. He stopped talking again and looked back down at his hands.

The Negro Draft Board member finally spoke. Quietly, he asked, "What have you done—done yourself—to help these people?

The expression on the young man's face turned to petulance: "I've thought about it a lot," he said. "I've thought about it for two years."

"What have you done?" the Negro asked again.

There was anger in the young man's voice this time: "I don't know what you *want*," he insisted.

"Have you asked?" said the Negro.

"I've *thought* about it a lot," the young man said.

"Have you asked?" the Negro asked again.

"No, I haven't asked, the young man shouted. "You'll have to *tell* me what you want!"

And, again, his voice stopped. His voice fell silent. His face became impassive. His eyes went back to his hands and his feet shuffled impatiently over the carpet.

"Will you *listen* if I tell you what I want?" the Negro asked.

The young man's head snapped upward—"It all depends on *what* you want," he said through his teeth.

And then, everything was quiet again. The young man squirmed in his chair. He rubbed the palms of his hands on his trouser legs. He looked deliberately at the chairman of the Draft Board, and then at the white man on the left side of the table. No one spoke.

Finally, the young man broke the silence—"I thought you wanted to question me about my conscientious objection," he said.

"We have," the chairman said.

"Is there anything else you want to know?"

"No," said the chairman, "nothing."

"Well, what's your decision?"

"We'll let you know," the chairman said.

"I'll be back, if you don't give me my deferment."

"We know," answered the chairman.

The Draft Board members had seen this young man before. The first time, he asked for a student deferment. It was denied, because his grades were not passing grades. The second time, he asked for a hardship deferment, because he had a wife and child to support. It was denied, because his military allotment checks would have supported them better than his salary. This time he had asked for deferment for conscientious objection, because he was opposed to war and thought

people should be placed before governments. It was denied, because conscientious objection requires a *religious* belief which is opposed to war and he had no obvious religious belief.

The Draft Board chairman changed the subject—"You know it's Washington's Birthday this week," he said.

No one answered.

"Now, *there* was a man who believed in miracles," he went on. "And he knew that a miracle is no more than a man's wishes fulfilled."

The other Draft Board members looked at him.

And the chairman went on—"Old George thought people were important, too. *He* was important. His *family* was important. His *neighbors* were important. His *people*—his *country*—were important. And George spent one long, lousy, sweaty summer in Independence Hall in Philadelphia in 1787 with three dozen other men hammering out a constitution which became the foundation of law in this country."

"You know," the chairman went on, "George Washington didn't say much during the Constitutional Convention, but I remember one thing he said—it was in a letter he wrote to Lafayette, I think—it went something like this:

"Democratical states must always *feel* before they can see; . . . it is that makes their governments slow, but the *people* will be right at last."

The chairman paused to let that sink in . . . and then he repeated the last part: "But the *people* will be right at last."

"You see," he said, "George Washington did *think* a lot of his people. And he suffered a lot during that summer in Philadelphia. He listened to North fight with South, East fight with West, planters debate merchants, state's rightists argue with nationalists. And he listened. And he watched as all these diverse factions gave a little here, gained a little there, and pounded his gavel for order when things got too noisy. . . ."

By this time, the chairman seemed to be talking to himself. His eyes were thoughtful. His chin was resting on his hands. His eyes seemed to see the convention hall and all the delegates. And finally, he spoke again:

"You know, nobody really got sore and walked out of that convention. They all stayed there and talked and listened . . ." The chairman's head raised out of his hands . . . "And do you know how they finally hammered out the final draft of the constitution? They compromised. Everybody gave a little and everybody lost a little. And when it was over, nobody was really satisfied with what he had . . . but, you know, almost everyone of them thought it would work."

And then the chairman dropped his hand to the table with a bang . . . "And I think it has."

By now, the chairman was wound up in his trend of thought.

"Old George was a dissenter . . . you know that, don't you?"

He didn't expect anyone to answer.

"He was. He was a dissenter. He disagreed with the colonial government of the British . . . and he didn't like war, either . . . or killing, or violence.

"But there a difference between Washington's kind of dissent and the dissent I see nowadays. Washington didn't just sit back and complain. He got up on his two feet and went into action . . . and he knew that if you don't like one rule of law you have to set up another rule of law to replace it."

By now, the chairman was loaded with philosophy.

"The law is the rule, and out of rules come order, and out of order—the antithesis of chaos—peace and tranquility."

The chairman stared at the door the young man had slammed.

"Somehow, we've got to persuade people to listen to Washington's kind of logic, too."

It was quiet in the board room for a long time after that. The group of men sat motionless.

And finally, the chairman broke the trance.

"Well, I've done all the talking. Anybody else got anything to say."

No one did.

The chairman shuffled the pile of papers in front of him.

"What's the next case?" he asked.

* * * * *

The story I've told you was true. I know it was, because I watched it happen.

MONROE COUNTY, N.Y., HONORS LATE PRESIDENT BY DEDICATING "DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER" LILAC AT WHITE HOUSE CEREMONY

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in each of our districts we have things in which we can express great pride. It has been my particular pleasure today to share with each of my colleagues in the House of Representatives a memento from my 36th congressional district—a small sampling of the beautiful lilac fragrance which has made Rochester, N.Y., famous the world over.

The Monroe County's Highland Park in Rochester has developed one of the finest collection of lilacs in the world. These lilacs—which will be blooming in the very near future—present a beautiful rainbow spectrum when in full bloom. The scent is as delicate as the breeze.

Springtime and lilac time are synonymous in Monroe County. The gentle slopes of scenic Highland Park, planted with more than 1,600 lilac bushes of 552 varieties, are ablaze with color ranging from white and the most delicate shades of lilac to the deepest purple.

Mr. Speaker, well over a half a million persons from virtually every State in the Nation and many sections of Canada visit the "Lilac Capital of the World" each spring to enjoy the park's multicolored vistas.

Lilac Sunday, the day blooms are at their height, is the highlight of the week when an afternoon-long program of music and entertainment is featured. Evenings during the week-long festival the colorful beauty can be enjoyed to music under brilliant illumination.

The lilac has been cherished by every generation of Americans. In Mount Vernon, both the Custis and the George Washington families were among its fanciers; Thomas Jefferson recorded the planting of lilacs in his personal garden.

Many of our poets and writers have had a fondness for the fragrant native of the Balkan mountains. Thoreau noted its traditional popularity in New England, where the lovely blooms have beautified homesites ever since Governor Wentworth planted our country's first bushes on his colonial estate at Portsmouth, N.H.:

Still grows the vivacious lilac a generation after the door and lintel and sill are gone.

Fortunately, lilac varieties have not been lost to us over the generations, as have so many varieties of roses, peonies, and other plants of colonial times.

The world-famous collection which today covers 22 acres of Highland Park includes many of the varieties dating back to colonial origins. Although the Rochester collection was not started until the 1890's the pioneer varieties provide a striking contrast to some of the most recent introductions.

Among the most interesting of the historical varieties in Highland Park's display is the Azurea Plena, the first double-flowering form known, originated in 1843. Most of the modern double-flowering varieties are descendants of Azurea Plena, having resulted from the breeding experiments of the Lemoines, of Nancy, France after 1876. The double lilacs developed by the Lemoine nursery were the sensation of expositions all over Europe in the late 19th century, and their importation by fanciers in the United States began at the turn of the century.

Lilacs have never required promotion by an organized group of fanciers. The tradition of their popularity has grown spontaneously and is demonstrated vividly each year at lilac time in Rochester, when thousands of visitors from all sections of the United States and Canada come to view the 552 varieties—from pure white to deep purple—in the world's largest display of more than 1,600 shrubs.

These lilacs have won many awards but I sincerely feel their greatest honor took place today when a new lilac—the "Dwight David Eisenhower"—was presented to Mrs. Richard Nixon and to Ambassador John Eisenhower for planting in the White House gardens.

I was privileged to take part in this presentation along with Mrs. Horton, and two representatives of Monroe County, Kermit Hill, assistant county manager, and Alvan R. Grant, parks director.

It was Mr. Grant who had suggested the tribute to the late Dwight David Eisenhower. The new lilac—a unique blue with individual florets with four, five, or up to 17 petals on each cluster—was developed, under his direction, by Richard A. Fenicchia, superintendent of horticulture at the parks department. It was Mr. Grant who remembered the fondness for lilacs expressed by Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower a dozen or so years ago when she lived at the White House.

Because as a child she loved a lilac bush in the backyard of her Denver home, Mrs. Eisenhower wished she had some on the White House lawns, especially white ones.

To make that wish come true representatives of the park system arranged to transplant seven varieties at the White House and three varieties at the Eisenhower farm in Gettysburg. These plants were arranged so Mrs. Eisenhower could see them from her bedroom window at the White House and the farm.

The President's lady said:

I have a special feeling in my heart for them when they bloom, it is to me the beginning of spring.

I was very pleased when Mrs. Nixon agreed to accept the gift from the people of my district who over the years have held deep affection and admiration

for General Eisenhower. The presentation ceremony was a double pleasure in that the late President's son was able to break into an extremely tight schedule of briefings for his new assignment as Ambassador to Belgium in order to participate.

This presentation is the second honor in a week for the Monroe County Parks Department. Just a week ago they provided plants, on special request, to the National Arboretum here in Washington, D.C.

The famous "Rochester Lilac"—a pure white flower—was added to the National Arboretum collection.

Mr. Speaker, the "Dwight David Eisenhower" lilac is the result of many years work. It is a cross between the white "Rochester" lilac and the blue "Madame Charles Souchet."

The deep feeling behind the decision to name the newest lilac in memory of our late President demonstrates the love and affection held for him not only by the people of my district but by people across the world. I am sure all of my colleagues join with me in commending Mr. Grant and his staff for their dedication today of the "Dwight David Eisenhower" lilac.

OPPOSITION MOUNTS TO ABM

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, some observers thought that the Nixon administration would gain by bringing the ABM system before the country which would gradually—if not begrudgingly—learn to accept the proposal. But, ever since March 14 when the President unveiled his Safeguard, the trend of opinion seems to be going the other way: most people do not have a real idea of what ABM actually is, but when they find out its many implications, they rapidly swing over to oppose the system.

Recently, two large and important organizations came out with strong criticisms of the ABM system. One of the groups is the Federation of American Scientists, a nationwide organization of approximately 2,500 scientists and engineers concerned with impact of science on national and international affairs. The other group is the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union which adopted a resolution at its 18th biennial convention held last month in Los Angeles asking for a halt in the ABM deployment.

I insert the statements of these two groups in the RECORD at this point:

F.A.S. CALLS FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS FREEZE AND DEFERRAL OF U.S. ABM AND MIRV TESTING

The Federation of American Scientists calls upon the administration to put mutual halt on the deployment of offensive and defensive strategic weapons first on the agenda of the forthcoming U.S.-Soviet missile talks. The administration should, through its own actions, give the talks a chance to succeed. The deployment of ABM by this country should be deferred while these talks get underway. Flight testing and deployment of U.S. multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles MIRV should be halted and agreement sought on a bilateral moratorium on MIRV testing. If MIRV were to be completed, it would be most difficult to design an agreement prohibiting the installation of MIRV on each side's missile force. And if the installation of MIRV were to be completed another spiral in weapons deployment would become inevitable.

At this time both we and the Soviet Union have acknowledged "sufficiency" in nuclear-armed missiles and each is confident of its own strength, only a few times in the past have there been even remotely comparable possibilities for a strategic weapons freeze. As former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford has warned, agreement may be made much more difficult in just six or twelve months by technical developments, the fears raised by the administration of future Soviet SS-9 with MIRV and of future Soviet ABM can best be handled by negotiating bilateral prohibitions on both of these weapons systems, with the missile talks imminent this country should not move ahead with the very two weapons systems we want to prohibit.

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION, RESOLUTION 10–A: STOPPING THE ABM

ILWU opposes any deployment—whether thick or thin—of anti-ballistic missiles. The ABM plan is a fraud. It claims to be a defense, but actually it will only create new dangers for the families it pretends to defend.

It will make its area a target for enemy nuclear missiles, and the experts say some are bound to get through. It only takes one to destroy a city.

There is also the danger that fall-out from the so-called defensive missiles themselves would poison our air and water.

Every ABM is an atom bomb attached to a missile. Exploding atom bombs in our skies in the hope of destroying other atomic bombs makes about as much sense as running into a gas chamber to get away from a fire.

PATH TO DESTRUCTION

The third danger is that to begin installing these fraudulent defenses means we are continuing to walk down a path which ends in nuclear war. Our nation and our families will be in growing peril until we get off that path, and this can only be done when we face up to the fact in this nuclear age we cannot find safety in building weapons. We can only find it in building peace, and we'd better start concentrating on that before it's too late.

President Johnson proposed a so-called "thin" ABM system with a $6 billion price tag.

President Nixon proposes a modified thin system costing $7 to $10 billion.

We believe a "thin" system is really only the thin edge of a wedge, and that once started we'll be in a new arms race which will cost 10 times or even 50 times that amount.

Since World War II this country has been wasting its money and best energies in an arms race. The average worker gives up 30% of his income for direct and indirect taxes, about two-thirds of which are spent on things related to war. The trouble we are having now in our cities and our schools is largely the result of 20 years of government neglect of the real needs of our people for a healthier, more satisfying and human environment; these things have been neglected because our energies have been drained off in the Cold War.

After all this sacrifice for so-called defense, instead of being safer than we were in 1946, we are in a thousand times greater danger, and so are the Russians, because for the first time in history we each have the power to wipe out the human race, and neither of us has the power to stop it if some person in a key position on the other side makes a foolish move.

ABM won't change this; it will only make it harder to talk sense to each other because it will have us racing again for positions of advantage. We believe that we as unionists have a responsibility to our families and to our country to do whatever we can to stop this madness.

We urge President Nixon and our Congressmen to stop the ABM development.

We urge the Mayors of our cities and the members of our State Legislatures and our City Councils to add their voices to the protest against any ABM deployment—(The Hawaii State Legislature and the Honolulu City Council have both taken such action.)

Stopping the ABM can be a first stop on the only path that leads to safety for our loved ones—world peace and disarament.

UNO CONDONES SEGREGATION IN INDIA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the latest report from New Delhi, India, reveals that hereditary segregation continues; their society being separated into caste and noncaste.

According to the Indian report, one-sixth of India's population, an estimated 75 million, remain in the lowest class or noncaste called "untouchables." Under Hindu law, custom, and tradition the "untouchables" are employed only at "dirty" jobs, are denied use of village wells, may not eat in public restaurants or walk the same streets with the caste, are refused shaves by barbers, denied laundry services, and denied attendance at village governing councils.

In one province, "untouchables" are forbidden to turn up their moustaches and any noncaste teachers are boycotted.

A report to Parliament calling for civil rights—equal employment law for "untouchables"—to permit guaranteed government jobs, encouraging intercaste marriages, and a welfare program was tabled by the governing body.

Segregation and apartheid are found the world over in varying degrees and styles. And the Jagadguru Shankaracharya, one of the holiest men of India, the great and learned teacher of Puri in East India, believes "People are born unequal."

At the UNO India has voted consistently to condemn segregation in the United States of America and apartheid in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese provinces, while the United Nations Organization continues to condone discrimination fixed by birth in India.

I include a report from India as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 5, 1969]

UNTOUCHABLES IN INDIA ARE OUTCASTS STILL

(By David Van Praagh)

NEW DELHI.—Untouchability is still "virulent" all over India, a parliamentary com-

mittee has found after a four-year nationwide inquiry.

"Whatever effort has been made during the last 20 years of independence has not ended the Harijans' suffering," the committee said in a 1,000-page report on untouchability.

Harijans or children of God was Mohandas K. Gandhi's name for the untouchables or non-caste Hindus of India now numbering more than 75 million, one-sixth of the population. They traditionally are placed outside the four major Hindu castes because of their usually inherited occupations, including "dirty" jobs that other Indians will not do.

While the practice of untouchability was legally banned in 1955, one of the committee's findings is that police and even higher officials are unaware of the law.

REPORT TABLED

The committee, headed by an untouchable member of Parliament, L. Elayaparumal, tabled its report after an uproar in the lower house earlier this month over a defense of untouchability by one of the holiest men of India, the Jagadguru Shankaracharya or great and learned teacher of Puri in East India.

The Shankaracharya, expressing the orthodox Hindu view of untouchability, criticized the legal ban on it and declared that people are born unequal, justifying the caste system and placing some outside it.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said in an obvious reference to the Shankaracharya that a strong movement should be launched against those who preach casteism and do not understand Hinduism.

But the parliamentary committee charged the government's social welfare department with hindering its work. It accused state governments of not bothering to implement the ban on untouchability.

BIAS IS CITED

The report gave numerous instances of discrimination against Harijans. It told of refusal by caste Hindus to let them use village wells or eat in the same places or even walk on the same street; refusal by barbers to shave untouchables and by laundrymen to wash their clothes, and refusal by panchayats or village governing councils to let them attend meetings.

In one area of Madhya Pradesh, untouchables are not allowed to turn up their moustaches. In Bikaner in Rajasthan, students successfully boycotted their new Harijan teacher. Last year in Andhra Pradesh, several untouchables were burned to death.

Ironically, the committee found that Gujarat is among three states where the practice of untouchability is most widespread. India is celebrating this year the centennial of Mahatma Gandhi's birth in Gujarat. Vinoba Bhave, the foremost disciple of Gandhi, was quoted by the committee as saying: "We have not done much for the untouchables."

The committee calls for increasing the number of reserved government jobs for untouchables, ending the hereditary Hindu priesthood, encouraging intercaste marriages and providing a jail sentence for violation of the ban on untouchability. Financial and educational benefits also are urged.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Wednesday, May 7, 1969*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.—I Corinthians 16:13.

All praise, honor and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, for Thy loving kindness and Thy tender mercies which have been ours all the days of our lives. Protect us in our freedom and preserve us in our faith by Thy spirit of truth made known to us as we pray.

Cleanse the strivings of our hearts and clear our minds of stress and strain that inner peace may be ours and enduring peace may come to our world.

In this dark day may we as a nation not curse the darkness but keep the candles of faith and hope and love alight that all may see the way to life with liberty and justice and peace for all.

"Dear Lord and Father of mankind,
Forgive our foolish ways;
Reclothe us in our rightful minds,
In purer lives Thy service find,
In deeper reverence, praise."

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

CHAIRMAN PATMAN TO DISCLOSE SECRETARY KENNEDY'S FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of the House know, Secretary of the Treasury David Kennedy has repeatedly refused to testify before the Banking and Currency Committee about his financial ties with the Continental-Illinois National Bank of Chicago.

The only comment has been in the form of a misleading news release issued by the general counsel of the Treasury Department, Mr. Paul W. Eggers. Mr. Eggers refused an invitation to appear before the Banking and Currency Committee last Saturday morning to explain his release and to give the committee additional information concerning his knowledge of the Secretary's financial arrangements with the bank.

Mr. Speaker, I have tried since the time of Mr. Kennedy's confirmation to get these facts and to determine fully the extent of the conflict of interest that existed. All of these attempts to obtain this information on a voluntary basis have been answered in a highly arrogant fashion by the Treasury Department.

There comes a time, Mr. Speaker, when any further delay in the resolution of such vital public issues is not in the public interest. I feel that Secretary Kennedy has had sufficient warning and ample opportunity to place the facts and conclusions, as he saw them, on the record.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I have obtained a special order for the purpose of making a 1-hour speech tomorrow afternoon—Thursday—on the subject of Secretary Kennedy's financial arrangements with the Continental-Illinois National Bank. The integrity of the Federal Government is at stake and this issue must be resolved quickly and firmly and openly.

THE SOVIET ABM SYSTEM

(Mr. YATES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, last night it was my pleasure to see the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD), on television as he discussed among other things the Safeguard ABM. I would recommend to my friend, Mr. FORD, that he obtain a different expert to brief him for it was obvious that he is still as misinformed as he was the last time he took to the airwaves to discuss the ABM.

He said, and I wrote his words down as he said them:

The Soviet ABM system today has provided an effective defense against missiles for Moscow itself.

If Mr. FORD's statement is true, then the statement of the Department of Defense's expert is false, for in the Department of Defense appropriations hearings for 1969 on page 454 of part 2, the following appears:

Mr. MAHON. What kind of attrition could the Soviet ABM system, which is based on the so-called Galosh missile and is deployed around Moscow, place on our ICBM's? Could we, for the most part, negate this system today without neglecting other important targets?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, to answer the latter part of the question, we can negate the Moscow system without neglecting important targets. The U.S. inventory, both current and planned for the future, is adequate to insure penetration of the Moscow area defense system by sheer exhaustion of the defenses.

Second, in his posture statement for fiscal year 1970, former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford stated in reference to the Soviet ABM that causes such trepidation for the minority leader:

Their Galosh ABM system resembles in certain important respects the NIKE-Zeus system which we abandoned years ago because of its limited effectiveness.

Third, my good friend, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD), forgets what President Nixon himself has stated, the defense of a major city against missile attack is simply not possible at the present state of the art. That is why the President said that he was abandoning the Sentinel system of the Johnson administration which allegedly was designed to protect our Nation's major cities.

Mr. Speaker, if the Soviet Union wants to squander its rubles on defensive ABM systems that do not increase its security, then let the Soviet Union do it. But we are certainly under no obligation to match those mistakes or to match the money it spends for that purpose.

Mr. Speaker, we still have a chance to avoid making such a mistake. I have been informed that the decision by the