

SENATE

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1963

A. James D. Mann, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. National Association of Motor Bus Owners, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Morison, Murphy, Clapp & Abrams, the Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
 B. William S. Beinecke, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Raymond Nathan, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Associated Fur Manufacturers, 101 West 30th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Raymond Nathan, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Glen Alden Corp., 1740 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. National Club Association, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National FHA Apartment Owners Association.

A. National Football League Players Association, 19th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. William R. Noble, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. National Farm & Power Equipment Dealers Association, Material Handling Equipment Distributors Association, and National Retail Hardware Association.

A. A. W. Perdue & Son, Inc., Salisbury, Md.

A. Franklin P. Perdue, Salisbury, Md.
 B. A. W. Perdue & Son, Inc., Salisbury, Md.

A. Peter T. Posmantur, 485 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
 B. National Football League Players Association, 19th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Ramsay D. Potts, Jr., 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Graydon R. Powers, Jr., 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Association of Maximum Service Telecasters, Inc.

A. Robert E. Redding, 1710 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Committee for Time Uniformity, 1710 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. James W. Riddell, 731 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
 B. Entertainment Law Committee, 731 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Walter W. Roberts, 1608 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Partido Estadista Republicano, San Juan, P.R.

A. Royall, Koegel & Rogers, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, Inc., 154 Nassau Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Dwight H. Scott, 425 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
 B. National Biscuit Co., 425 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Salvage & Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
 B. The Bourbon Institute, 711 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Sessions & Caminita, 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Floyd A. Segel, 215 West Oregon Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

A. Clifford Setter, 55 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y.
 B. United States Plywood Corp.

A. Laurence P. Sherfy, 1102 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
 B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Gerald H. Sherman, 1000 Bender Building, Washington, D.C.
 B. Association for Advanced Life Underwriting, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Shipley, Akerman & Pickett, 1366 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
 B. National FHA Apartment Owners Association.

A. Mrs. Cornelia Shuford, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Ladies Auxiliary to Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

A. Leonard L. Silverstein, 1000 Bender Building, Washington, D.C.
 B. Association for Advanced Life Underwriting, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. James E. Smith, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. The American Bankers Association, 12 East 36th Street, New York, N.Y., and 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Milan D. Smith, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wayne J. Smith, 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.
 B. Legislative Council for Photogrammetry, 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.

A. S. L. Sommer & Associates, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, 99 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
 B. American Claims in Cuba Committee.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
 B. Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, 99 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. David Teetor, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. National Aviation Trades Association, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Mrs. Phillip Thorson, 7001 MacArthur Boulevard, Washington, D.C.
 B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Gladys Uhl.
 B. Citizens for State 51.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
 B. Frank B. Rowlett, 143 Chatham Road, Ellicott City, Md.

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

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, bowing at this wayside shrine where spirit with spirit may meet, we thank Thee for the ministry of prayer through whose mystic doors we may escape from the prosaic humdrum of "day-by-day-ness" and, lifted to a wider perspective, return illumined and empowered.

As today in the setting of his southern home in the State which gave him to the Nation all that is mortal of an honored Member of this body who fell at his post is laid to rest, and as towering figures thus disappear from our sight and side, we pray that from the cloud of witnesses which surround us the mantle of those who refused to barter their convictions for any price that could be offered may fall upon the shoulders of all in the Nation's councils who are striving in the most difficult and dangerous days the Republic has known to make our free land as great in virtue and truth as she is mighty in power.

For Thine is the power and the kingdom, for whose coming we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, August 12, 1963, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—
APPROVAL OF BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on August 8, 1963, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 1122) relating to the exchange of certain lands between the town of Powell, Wyo., and the Presbyterian Retirement Facilities Corp.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Maj. Gen. Robert Hackett, U.S. Army, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President, in the grade of lieutenant general, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted

as a tribute to the memory of Hon. Estes Kefauver, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee.

The message announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5555) to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services, and for other purposes; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina, Mr. PHILBIN, Mr. HÉBERT, Mr. WINSTEAD, Mr. NORBLAD, Mr. BATES, and Mr. BRAY were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 7525) relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 874. An act to authorize the construction and equipping of buildings required in connection with the operations of the Bureau of the Mint;

S. 1032. An act to exclude cargo which is lumber from certain tariff filing requirements under the Shipping Act, as amended;

S. 1388. An act to add certain lands to the Cache National Forest, Utah; and

H.R. 2192. An act authorizing the readmittance of Walter Sowa, Jr., to the U.S. Naval Academy.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 7525) relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

LIMITATION OF STATEMENTS DURING MORNING HOUR

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

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Relations be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. KUCHEL. I have no objection.

Has the same permission been granted for a meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee this afternoon, too?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; that was done yesterday.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I have no objection.

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

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT ON AGREEMENTS UNDER TITLE I OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1954

A letter from the Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on agreements concluded during July 1963, under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

REPORT ON PERSONAL PROPERTY RECEIVED BY STATE SURPLUS PROPERTY AGENCIES AND REAL PROPERTY DISPOSED OF TO PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on personal property received by State surplus property agencies and real property disposed of to public health and educational institutions, for the quarterly period ended June 30, 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIES IN CERTAIN AVIATION FACILITIES, U.S. COAST GUARD

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on opportunities for economies in aviation facility requirements and aircraft utilization, U.S. Coast Guard, Treasury Department, dated August 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON CONCURRENT PAYMENTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND RETIRED PAY TO RETIRED MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on concurrent payments of unemployment benefits and retired pay to retired members of the Armed Forces, Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor, dated August 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

CONSOLIDATION OF LAWS RELATING TO EASEMENTS AND PERMITS UPON CERTAIN FEDERALLY OWNED LANDS

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to consolidate and simplify laws relating to easements and permits upon certain federally owned lands under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"Whereas under the Constitution of the United States presidential and vice-presidential electors in the several States are now elected on a statewide basis, each State being entitled to as many electors as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress; and

"Whereas the presidential and vice-presidential electors who receive the plurality of the popular vote in a particular State become

entitled to cast the total number of electoral votes allocated to that State irrespective of how many votes may have been cast for other elector candidates; and

"Whereas this method of electing the President and Vice President is unfair and unjust in that it does not reflect the minority votes cast; and

"Whereas the need for a change has been recognized by Members of Congress on numerous occasions through the introduction of various proposals for amending the Constitution: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That application is hereby made to Congress under article V of the Constitution of the United States for the calling of a convention to propose an article of amendment to the Constitution providing for a fair and just division of the electoral votes within the States in the election of the President and Vice President; and be it further

"Resolved, That if and when Congress shall have proposed such an article of amendment this application for a convention shall be deemed withdrawn and shall be no longer of any force and effect; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of state be and he hereby is directed to transmit copies of this application to the General Services Administration, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to the several members of said bodies representing this State therein.

"ROBERT HAASE,

"Speaker of the Assembly.

"KENNETH E. PRIEBE,

"Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

"JACK B. OLSON,

"President of the Senate.

"LAWRENCE R. LARSEN,

"Chief Clerk of the Senate."

A resolution adopted by the United Steelworkers of America, Local 5554, of Houston, Tex., favoring the enactment of civil rights legislation as proposed by the President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A radiogram in the nature of a petition from the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, Paris, France, signed by Crathorne, president, expressing sorrow at the death of the late Senator Estes Kefauver; ordered to lie on the table.

By Mr. SALTONSTALL (for himself and Mr. KENNEDY):

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Commerce:

"Whereas the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington has rendered a decision rejecting the application of Northeast Airlines for a permanent certificate to run commercial flights between Boston and Florida; and

"Whereas during the past 6 years Northeast Airlines has operated under a temporary certificate to make this run and has established a successful operational effort. It now carries 60 percent of all Boston to Miami passengers, more than 60 percent of all Boston to Washington passengers, and almost 60 percent of all Boston to Philadelphia passengers; and

"Whereas Northeast Airlines is a definite asset to the economy of all New England, providing 1,600 skilled jobs, an annual New England payroll of \$13 million and \$2,750,000 in annual expenditures for supplies in New England; and

"Whereas because of the fact that Northeast Airlines has been operating under a temporary certificate, it has been impossible for the company to obtain long-term financing thus adding a drain on its resources; and

"Whereas the granting of this permanent certificate is essential if Northeast Airlines is to continue to operate: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives hereby requests the Civil

Aeronautics Board in Washington to reconsider its decision and grant to Northeast Airlines the permanent certificate to make the Boston to Florida run; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the Chairman and every member of the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington, and to the Members of Congress representing the New England States.

"House of representatives, adopted July 31, 1963.

"WILLIAM C. MATERS,
"Clerk.

"Attest:
"KEVIN H. WHITE,
"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). In behalf of the Vice President, the Chair appoints the following Members of the Senate to the Interparliamentary Union meeting to be held at Belgrade, Yugoslavia, September 12 through September 20, 1963:

The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONROE].

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF].

The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON].

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY].

The Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER].

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL].

The Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL].

The Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING].

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON].

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER].

BILLS INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. BARTLETT:

S. 2038. A bill to establish in the legislative branch of the Government a Congressional Office of Science and Technology to advise and assist Members and committees of the Congress on matters relating to science and technology; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

By Mr. CASE:

S. 2039. A bill for the relief of the State of Illinois and of the State of New Jersey, the organizers and owners of the First, Second, and Third National Steamship Cos., the depositors of the money herein concerned; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLELLAN (by request):

S. 2040. A bill to amend title 35 of the United States Code to permit a written declaration to be accepted in lieu of an oath, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

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

By Mr. GOLDWATER:

S. 2041. A bill to provide annuities payable from the civil service retirement and dis-

ability fund in additional cases for certain widows and widowers by eliminating the required period of marriage; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

RESOLUTION

INCREASED LENDING AUTHORITY OF EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF WASHINGTON—INSTRUCTION TO CONFEREES

Mr. ROBERTSON submitted a resolution (S. Res. 181) instructing conferees on the part of the Senate on H.R. 3872, the so-called Export-Import Bank Act, which was ordered to lie on the table.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. ROBERTSON, which appears under a separate heading.)

CONGRESS NEEDS HELP ON SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to establish in the legislative branch of the Government a Congressional Office of Science and Technology.

This proposal, completely nonpartisan in nature, should be of interest to every Senator and will have, I hope, the support of most. I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be allowed to lie on the table for 10 days so that Senators who wish may join as cosponsors. I also ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the bill will remain at the desk as requested by the Senator from Alaska, and will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2038) to establish in the legislative branch of the Government a Congressional Office of Science and Technology to advise and assist Members and committees of the Congress on matters relating to science and technology, introduced by Mr. BARTLETT, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. BARTLETT. The scientific revolution proceeds faster and faster. Fifteen years ago the Congress appropriated \$900 million for research and development; 10 years ago \$3.4 billion; last year \$14.5 billion. The years ahead will see much greater increases. In 1960-61 fully two-thirds of all research and development activities across the Nation were financed by Federal funds. This year Federal participation will be substantially greater.

The President in requesting authority for these vast scientific programs undertaken by the Government and in formulating a consistent Federal policy on science has available to him the full advice and counsel of the scientific community. This is marshaled for him by his scientific advisers: the Office of Science and Technology and the President's Science Advisory Committee. In an orderly and rational manner the

President is enabled to keep a comprehending eye on scientific and technological developments, in and out of Government, in and out of the United States.

The Congress has no such help.

The Congress has no source of independent scientific wisdom and advice. Far too often congressional committees for expert advice rely upon the testimony of the very scientists who have conceived the program, the very scientists who will spend the money if the program is authorized and appropriated for. Too often scientific advice is obtained on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

The Congress is uneasy about its role in this growth of federally financed research. The Congress must appropriate the money. The Congress must determine whether requested research projects are indeed necessary; which projects shall have priority at the public purse; and see that research funds are expended in an efficient and effective manner. Voices have been heard recently questioning whether the Congress is doing these things well. Certain it is that these things cannot be done well unless the Congress has access to independent scientific advice.

I have used as a model the legislative counsel of the Congress which has served both this and the other body so well. The legislative counsel of the Senate serves only the Senate. The legislative counsel of the House serves only the House. Legislative counsel provides a completely nonpartisan professional source of expert legal knowledge.

The Congressional Office of Science and Technology—COST—will provide a similar nonpartisan professional service. An Office of Science and Technology of the Senate will serve this body; an Office of Science and Technology of the House of Representatives will serve the other body. There will be a director of each office, men of eminent qualification chosen either by the Speaker or the President pro tempore. There will be sufficient assistant directors for the performance of the tasks of the office. It is contemplated that the permanent COST staff will not exceed three or four professional members in either House. These men will be scientific generalists, generalists who know who and where the specialists are.

The staff shall advise and assist, upon request, committees on questions of science and technology; make such studies as requested by a committee or House; maintain a register of specialists with talent and wisdom, knowledgeable over the full spectrum of science, available for consultation and advice; and prepare upon its own initiative such reports on events in the scientific field which it feels should be brought to the attention of the several committees. The committees would not of course be obligated in any way to utilize the facilities of COST.

COST will act as a clearinghouse; it will help congressional committees and Members find the men with the experience they need. If the committee or Member wishes to employ the services of the expert, compensation will be paid by the Member or committee, not by COST.

It is my intention that COST should be a tool of the Congress. It should in no way reduce the authority of any committee or of either House. COST will operate in a purely advisory capacity to be used or not used as each Member and each committee shall determine.

This is a modest proposal. As science appropriation requests go, its needs will be minute. And yet it could render substantial assistance to the Congress.

It is my hope that each Senator will give careful thought to the challenge which science presents representative democracy. The Congress as a body must equip itself to legislate on technological matters with coherence and comprehension. It is the constitutional responsibility of the Congress to do so. It cannot do less.

The proposal which I introduce today is designed to provide, within the full existing structure of our bicameral legislature and its committee system, a method of obtaining scientific advice.

EXHIBIT 1

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

SECTION 1. There is established in the legislative branch of the Government the Congressional Office of Science and Technology, which shall include an Office of Science and Technology of the Senate and an Office of Science and Technology of the House of Representatives, each of which shall be supervised by a Director.

SEC. 2. (a) The Director of the Office of Science and Technology of the Senate shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, and the Director of the Office of Science and Technology of the House of Representatives shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Each Director shall be appointed without regard to political affiliation and solely on the ground of fitness to perform the duties of the office. No person while serving as Director may engage in any other business, vocation, or employment.

(b) The gross annual compensation of each Director shall be \$_____.

SEC. 3. (a) Subject to the approval of the officer by whom he was appointed, each Director shall employ and fix the compensation of assistant directors and employees, and shall purchase furniture, equipment, books, stationery and other supplies, as may be required by his office for the performance of its duties.

(b) No person may be appointed to or serve in any position in either office until the person has been determined to be qualified to have access to any information classified in the interest of national security as matter which may not be publicly disclosed. Upon written request made by the President pro tempore of the Senate or the Speaker of the House of Representatives, as the case may be, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall (1) cause to be conducted an investigation as the Director deems required to determine whether any person considered for service in, or serving in, the Office of Science and Technology of the Senate or of the House of Representatives is qualified to have access to such information, and (2) transmit to the requesting congressional officer a full and complete report of the investigation.

SEC. 4. (a) It is the duty of the Office of Science and Technology of each House of the Congress—

(1) upon request, to advise and assist any Member or committee of that House with respect to matters relating to science and technology;

(2) to make studies concerning matters relating to science and technology as may be directed by that House or any committee thereof;

(3) to maintain a register of scientific and technological consultants who have indicated a willingness to advise and assist committees and Members of that House; and

(4) to transmit to committees of that House reports concerning significant scientific or technological developments which pertain to matters subject to the jurisdiction of such committees.

(b) The Office of Science and Technology of each House to the greatest practicable extent shall furnish to any joint committee of the Congress upon its request information and assistance as the joint committee may require with respect to matters relating to science and technology.

(c) The Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate and the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives shall determine the priority to be given by the Office of Science and Technology of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, respectively, to directions and requests authorized by this section.

SEC. 5. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act. One half of all appropriations of the Congressional Office of Science and Technology shall be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and one half by the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

WRITTEN DECLARATION IN LIEU OF OATH

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, by request, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill to amend title 35 of the United States Code to permit a written declaration to be accepted in lieu of an oath, and for other purposes.

I introduce this proposed legislation at the request of the Department of Commerce. A similar bill was approved by the Senate on October 2, 1962 but no action was taken in the other body.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Under Secretary of Commerce requesting the proposed legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2040) to amend title 35 of the United States Code to permit a written declaration to be accepted in lieu of an oath, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. McCLELLAN, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The letter presented by Mr. McCLELLAN is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., February 12, 1963.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: There are enclosed four copies of draft legislation and a section-by-section analysis of a bill to provide for the acceptance of a written declaration in lieu of the oath in connection with various disclosures that are submitted to the Patent Office. A duplicate of this draft legislation was transmitted to the 87th Congress on July 24, 1962. The Senate Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights held hearings on the bill on September 4, 1962, and the full Committee on the Judiciary approved the bill on September

ber 27, 1962, and it was passed by the Senate on October 2, 1962 (S. 2639 as amended). The House did not consider the Senate bill.

The principal purpose of this legislation is to avoid forcing those who do business with the Patent Office to subscribe to documents on oath or affirmation before a party authorized to administer oaths when existing laws provide comparable penalties for making false statements to Government agencies. The proposed legislation also provides that declarants must be warned of the criminal consequences of false statements and the like.

The Internal Revenue Code of 1939, as amended (26 U.S.C. 3809, which was superseded by 26 U.S.C. 6065, 7206), dispensed with the requirement of an oath in certain revenue matters. More recently, the Customs Simplification Act of 1953 (19 U.S.C. 1486) lodged discretion, similar to that proposed herein for the Commissioner of Patents, in the Secretary of the Treasury as to any law administered by the customs service. Also, quite recently, the Communications Act of 1934 was amended, Public Law No. 87-444, 87th Congress, 2d session (April 27, 1962), to permit a written declaration to be used in lieu of an oath on certain forms required to be filed with the Federal Communications Commission.

The present draft bill, however, provides a statutory safeguard that these other declaration-in-lieu-of-oath laws do not. It requires that any document subscribed to by a written declaration point out the serious consequences which attach under 18 U.S.C. 1001 when spurious representations are made before Government agencies. Just as the formality of the oath was designed, initially, to warn a person of the solemn consequences of his acts, the warning this bill requires will emphasize that representations to any agency of the Government are not to be made lightly.

The Department of Justice was consulted in choosing the language of the present draft bill. We agreed with the views of that Department that a declarant should be warned of the consequences of false statements in documents submitted to the Patent Office. Inasmuch as the Patent Office does not furnish approved forms in blank it seemed wisest to require by statute that the warning be displayed on any document subscribed to on a written declaration.

The Department of Commerce urges early congressional action so that the simplified procedure permitted by the proposed draft bill may be instituted to effect economies for applicants and in the operation of the Patent Office.

The Bureau of the Budget advised there would be no objection to the submission of this draft legislation from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD GUDEMAN,
Under Secretary of Commerce.

EXTENSION OF LIFE OF EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF WASHINGTON—INSTRUCTIONS TO CONFEREES

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 minutes in addition to the morning hour limitation.

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

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, the issue of the extension of the life of the Export-Import Bank of Washington is becoming critical. The Bank's charter expired on June 30; more than a month has passed and the conferees of the House and Senate are unable to agree

on a means of financing the Bank, and so have not issued a conference report.

Since June 30, the Bank has been in a technical state of liquidation, unable to make new loans or grant new credit guarantees. Because of the deplorable inaction of the Congress, as a result it is estimated that we are losing potential exports at the rate of \$100 million monthly. Furthermore, this figure may well rise in the near future to nearly \$150 million monthly, equal to an annual rate of \$1.8 billion.

There is no question about the success of the Export-Import Bank. It has now concluded more than 29 years of successful operation. Its operations have been profitable, a remarkable record considering the narrow range of risk which the Bank is authorized to cover. It has piled up an extra reserve of \$825 million from its own earnings, and this year the Bank declared, in addition, a \$50 million dividend, which goes to the Treasury as an unexpected bonus. The operations of the Bank foster U.S. export sales, stimulate U.S. employment in export and related industries, and help solve the U.S. balance-of-payments problem. Since the loans and credits of the Bank are tied to dollar purchases, the dollars paid out or guaranteed by the Bank never leave the country. As one of the most solidly established and respected lending organizations of the U.S. Government, the Bank has a reputation for conservative financial management and financial success throughout the business and banking community of the country.

There is no disagreement among the conferees about the success and importance of the Export-Import Bank. The President of the United States, in his special message on the balance of payments, transmitted to the Congress on July 18, called attention to the importance of the Export-Import Bank as one of the leading instruments of the Government in dealing with the critical balance-of-payments problem.

In view of the acknowledged success of the Bank for more than a quarter of a century, and in view of the critical importance of maintaining U.S. exports in the face of our balance-of-payments problem, what can be the issue that separates the conferees of the Senate and the House and has now continued to separate them for more than a month beyond the expiration of the Bank's charter? It is the issue of back-door financing versus direct appropriations by the Congress.

Mr. President, it would appear that those who are determined to perpetuate the unsound system of back-door financing would rather kill the Export-Import Bank than yield to the reasonable position of those on both sides of the House and Senate who, like myself, deeply oppose a financing method which allows a growing number of Federal agencies to bypass the accepted appropriations procedures of the Congress.

Back-door financing is a loose financial practice which diffuses the financial control of Congress over authorized programs. Such loose financial practice does not make commonsense. The ex-

ecutive branch utilizes the Bureau of the Budget as its focal point for drawing together and adjusting the expenditure proposals of the various departments and agencies. Likewise, it is sound and reasonable for the Congress to draw together all its authorizations through one focal point; namely, the Appropriations Committees of the two Houses.

The bill before the conferees would extend the life of the Bank for 5 years, would increase the Treasury borrowing authority of the Bank from \$6 billion to \$8 billion, would increase the limitation on the amount of loans, guarantees, and insurance outstanding at any one time from \$7 billion to \$9 billion, would increase from \$1 billion to \$2 billion the face value of insurance policies which the Bank may write, and would substitute annual for semiannual reporting by the Bank. Because of the Bank's successful operations and because the Congress has extended its charter for consecutive 5-year terms since its inception in 1934, the Bank now has an estimated \$1.5 billion of unobligated borrowing authority. The fact is that the Bank can operate for 1 year, or maybe even 2 years, without additional funds. In any event, using a sound method of financing, the Congress could make a direct appropriation of \$100 million to the Bank for fiscal year 1964, and that would be more than ample when added to the Bank's \$1.5 billion of unobligated borrowing authority.

The issue of back-door financing is far broader than merely the operations of the Export-Import Bank. The growth of this loose financial practice threatens sound congressional control of Federal agency spending. The total of unused authorizations to expend from debt receipts had reached more than \$27.5 billion by May 31 of this year.

The list of agencies which are authorized to use the back door of the Treasury have included the following:

- Reconstruction Finance Corporation.
- Federal Home Loan Banks.
- Home Owners' Loan Corporation.
- Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.
- Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation.
- Federal National Mortgage Association.
- Export-Import Bank.
- Rural Electrification Administration.
- Public Housing Administration.
- Commodity Credit Corporation.
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- International Monetary Fund.
- Secretary of the Treasury—British loan.

- Farmers Home Administration: Farm tenant mortgage insurance fund, and farm housing loans.

- Economic Cooperation Administration: General foreign aid loans, loan to Spain, and loan to India.

- Urban Renewal Administration.
- Veterans' Administration—direct housing loans.

- Housing and Home Finance Agency—college housing loans.

- Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

- Agencies administering expansion programs under Defense Production Act.

- Federal Civil Defense Administration.
- St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.

- Community Facilities Administration—public facilities.

- International Finance Corporation.

- U.S. Information Agency.

- Federal Flood Insurance Corporation.

Now, as time goes on, we find new programs proposed such as urban renewal, mass transportation, and area redevelopment, which contain authority to get back-door funds from the Treasury, not only for loans but also for outright grants—which never return to the Federal Government. Thus, we see the ominous growth of a practice of bypassing the Appropriations Committees of the Congress for new spending schemes by Federal agencies which need not even report to the Appropriations Committees what they have done with their funds, and thus leave the Congress with no opportunity to pass on the efficiency of their operations.

The practice of back-door financing should be stopped. Its proponents are using the very success of the Export-Import Bank to justify extending the back-door financing practice far beyond the intent of moderates on both sides of the Congress who have in the past approved back-door financing for the Bank. Its proponents are using the success of the Bank to justify programs of outright Federal grants that begin small, and later balloon into billions of dollars. Under those programs, Federal bureaucrats then use the back door of the Treasury to distribute taxpayers' funds in selected cities and States, without care or concern for the original intent of the Congress or the continuous canons of efficient Federal operations. Soon constituents across the Nation are asking for their share of such funds.

The practice of back-door financing should indeed be stopped, but positive steps should be taken—and soon—to continue the vital operations of the Export-Import Bank. The mounting pressure to expand back-door financing to unsound loan and grant programs has led me to oppose this dangerous method of financing, even for the Export-Import Bank. And I am not alone in this view; many of my colleagues in the Senate who have previously tolerated back-door financing for the Bank are beginning to have second thoughts. And they are beginning to recognize the tortuous reasoning of those who use the success of a conservative institution as support for new and unsound spending schemes.

Moreover, the Export-Import Bank conferees have now had more than a month to test the will of the House concerning back-door financing. Indeed, in truth they have had even longer. On May 1, 1963, the bill, H.R. 3872, to increase the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank, to extend the period within which the Bank may exercise its functions, and for other purposes, passed the House of Representatives. On June 5, the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency held its executive session and voted to report the House bill, as amended, to the Senate floor. Now it is mid-August, and the Export-Import Bank Charter has not yet been renewed.

Mr. President, we cannot sit idly by and permit the destruction of one of the Government's most respected and most successful financial institutions. Neither can we afford to ignore the serious threat to our diminishing gold supply by an adverse balance of payments made measurably worse through our needless failure to continue the operations of the Export-Import Bank.

In order to test the sentiment of the Senate on this vital issue, I have prepared, and now send to the desk, for appropriate action, a Senate resolution to instruct the Senate conferees to yield to the House on the back-door financing issue. That resolution reads as follows:

Resolved, That the conferees on the part of the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment (in the nature of a substitute) of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3872) to increase the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank of Washington, to extend the period within which the Export-Import Bank of Washington may exercise its functions, and for other purposes, are instructed to recede forthwith from their insistence upon subsection (b) of section 1 of the Senate amendment and concur in subsection (b) of section 1 of the House bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator desire immediate consideration?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I do not. Under the rules of the Senate, if any Senator objected, consideration of the resolution would have to go over for a day. I did not have sufficient time to notify the interested parties, and especially the chief conferees on the part of the Senate, of my move. So I merely make that statement. I send the resolution to the desk, and at an appropriate time, which will probably be some time next week, I shall ask that it be laid before the Senate. In the meantime I wish every Senator to have adequate notice. I do not wish to take advantage of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Would it be the desire of the Senator from Virginia to have the measure lie on the table?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I ask that my motion, which under some circumstances would be a privileged motion, lie on the table and be subject to being called up. I shall ask the leadership to give adequate notice before it is called up.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 181) was ordered to lie on the table.

NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS ACT—AMENDMENTS

Mr. THURMOND submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 1321) to provide for a National Service Corps to strengthen community service programs in the United States, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. PROXMIER submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate bill 1321, *supra*, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1665) to require that all State or local programs supported with Federal funds shall be administered and executed without regard to the race or color of the participants and beneficiaries, which I introduced on June 4, 1963.

I also ask unanimous consent to have the name of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] added as a cosponsor of the bills (S. 1801) to effectuate the provisions of the sixth amendment of the U.S. Constitution requiring that defendants in criminal cases be given the right to a speedy trial, and (S. 1802) to protect the integrity of the court and jury functions in criminal cases, both of which I introduced on June 26, 1963. Although all of these bills have been printed, the names of these additional cosponsors will be included at their next printing.

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

INCORPORATION OF CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], I ask unanimous consent that the name of the able Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1914) to incorporate the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, at its next printing.

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

INCORPORATION OF JEWISH WAR VETERANS—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, at its next printing, I ask unanimous consent that my name be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1942) to incorporate the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.

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

NOTICE OF HEARING ON S. 1562, TO IMPROVE THE FINANCING OF THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, as chairman of the Retirement Subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I wish to announce that hearings on S. 1562 have been scheduled to begin at 10 a.m., Wednesday, August 14, 1963, in room 6202 of the New Senate Office Building. S. 1562 is a bill to improve the financing of the civil service retirement system.

Representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and the Civil Service Commis-

sion will be the first to testify. Others wishing to be heard may call Capitol 4-3121, extension 5451.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS—USE OF PESTICIDES

Mr. RIBICOFF subsequently said: Mr. President, I wish to announce that hearings before the Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations on the interagency coordination aspects of the use of pesticides will resume on August 20-21 at 10 a.m. in Room 235, Old Senate Office Building.

To date the subcommittee has heard testimony from various experts in Government, industry, medicine and science on the problems of pesticide use and regulation. Different points of view on complex problems have been aired. The adequacy of existing law and regulation has been examined. The problems of interagency and intergovernmental coordination and cooperation have been discussed. I am pleased to note, Mr. President, that as a result of our inquiry, additional progress is being made.

The Department of Agriculture has established an outside group of experts to review existing pesticide labeling and registration procedures and requirements. At the subcommittee's suggestion, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Interior met and reached agreement on the question of protecting fish and wildlife under the provisions of Federal law. The Department of Agriculture has reported favorably on legislation to outlaw protest registrations of unsafe or ineffective pesticides and next week hearings on this bill begin in the other body. We are confident of continued progress.

Mr. President, the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], and all the members of the subcommittee have been extremely helpful and cooperative to me in the conduct of our inquiry. The junior Senator from Kansas personally arranged for the appearance of the five witnesses for next week, all of whom are recognized experts in this field. They include:

Dr. George C. Decker, head, section of economic entomology, Illinois Natural History Survey, Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, Ill.

Dr. Clifford C. Roan, professor of entomology, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans.

Dr. Emil Mrak, chancellor, Davis campus, University of California, Davis, Calif.

Mr. L. T. Webster, supervisor, department of natural resources, State of Washington, Olympia, Wash.

Dr. Edward H. Smith, professor of entomology, Geneva Agricultural Extension Station, Cornell University, Geneva, N.Y.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, August 13, 1963, he pre-

sented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 874. An act to authorize the construction and equipping of buildings required in connection with the operation of the Bureau of the Mint;

S. 1032. An act to exclude cargo which is lumber from certain tariff filing requirements under the Shipping Act, 1916, as amended; and

S. 1388. An act to add certain lands to the Cache National Forest, Utah.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT BEFORE RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, delegates to the 75th Anniversary Convention of the Retail Clerks International Association, in Chicago, were privileged to be addressed by the President of the United States.

Because throughout the period of that convention the President was in Europe, reinforcing the bastions of our democracy, his remarks were conveyed on film to the delegates.

Mr. President, each of us should give worthy consideration to President Kennedy's remarks to the fastest growing labor union in America, now the sixth largest union affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Record.

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

Thank you very much. I appreciate the remarks of your president, Jim Suffridge, with whom I've worked for many years.

It is a great pleasure for me to have a chance to address this convention again. On many occasions during the 14 years that I was a Member of the House and the Senate and on the Labor Committees of the Congress I had a chance either in person or by this means to speak to the members of the Retail Clerks Union.

I know this union. I know the contribution it has made to the welfare of its members. I know the fight it has made for legislation improving the hours and the working conditions of its members and all those who labor, and I know that it has always interpreted generously its responsibilities as a leading organization responsible not only to the laboring people of this country, but also to all of our citizens.

Seventy-five years is a long time. This union has come from membership of a few men and women to one of the most important labor organizations in the country, with over 400,000 members. I congratulate you.

I hope you will recognize, as all of us must, the great challenges which still lie before us. There is a good deal of unfinished business in this country.

We have sent a number of proposals to the Hill which I think can improve steadily the economy of this country, cut unemployment, increase opportunity for all—a chance for all to develop their talents.

I hope that all of us will recognize that we must labor for the same causes in our own lives. I commend this union for the fact that it's been open to all people, regardless of race, creed, or color. This has been a fundamental belief of this union from its earliest days.

I urge the members of this union to work in their communities for the same principles of opportunity for all, for a fair chance for all, regardless of the circumstances of their birth.

This is a great country of ours, and it's become great because of the work of dedicated citizens. You have been among them. I congratulate you.

I wish you 75 years more of active service and I can assure you that those of us who are here in Washington will continue to work, and strive, and share, the same goals as the Retail Clerks.

Good luck to you all.

MONTANA GIRL NAMED MISS INDIAN AMERICA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Montana again has the great pleasure of having one of its talented young ladies selected as Miss Indian America. She is Willamette Belle Youpee, of Poplar, Mont., a resident of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation.

Miss Youpee, whose Indian name translated is "mean but kind woman," is a student at Montana State College, in Bozeman, Mont. Willamette Youpee was selected for this honor from among 24 of the most talented and personable Indian girls, and she is very conversant with the affairs of her own Indian people. The Miss Indian America ceremony was the highlight of the annual All American Indian Days, which this year was held in Sheridan, Wyo.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks a news story which appeared in the August 6, 1963, issue of the Great Falls Tribune, of Great Falls, Mont.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Great Falls Tribune, Aug. 6, 1963]

MSC STUDENT FROM POPLAR NAMED MISS INDIAN AMERICA IN SHERIDAN

SHERIDAN, WYO.—Willamette Belle Youpee, 24, Poplar, Mont., a student at Montana State College, was chosen Sunday as Miss Indian America. Her Indian name translated is "mean but kind woman."

Her selection climaxed the 10th annual All American Indian Days, a colorful celebration here by most of the Nation's tribes.

Miss Youpee is a full-blooded member of the Sisseton-Yankton Sioux. She will graduate this December from Montana State where she was one of the organizers of the Council of American Indian Students in 1961. Her father is chairman of the Fort Peck, Mont. Assiniboin Sioux Tribal Council.

She was a member of the Montana State delegation to the first National Indian Youth Conference at Brigham Young University at Provo, Utah, in 1962.

She was chosen winner from 24 entries on the basis of talent, intellectual capacity, general character and knowledge of her tribe. All entrants must be at least 50 percent Indian.

Selected first alternate was Norma Jean Bearskin, 19, Chicago, who is three-quarters Winnebago and one-quarter Sioux. She has been active in the youth club of the American Indian Center in Chicago, where thousands of her race reside. She has held the titles of Miss Indian Chicago and Miss U.S.A. of the Chicago International Trade Fair.

Second alternate is Octa Lucy Mitchell, 21, full-blooded Omaha Indian from Macy, Nebr., who is taking nurse's training at Independence, Mo. The third alternate is Nancy Marie Eschlef, 19, Fort Hall, Idaho, a Pima Indian who is studying anthropology at University of Idaho.

REMOVAL OF PERCENTAGE LIMITATIONS ON RETIREMENT OF ENLISTED MEN OF THE COAST GUARD

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1194) to remove the percentage limitations on retirement of enlisted men of the Coast Guard, and for other purposes, which was, on page 2, strike out lines 5 and 6, inclusive, and insert "in service on the effective date of this act."

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House to the Senate bill and ask for a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. HART, and Mr. PROUTY conferees on the part of the Senate.

MANIPULATION OF THE GRAIN MARKETS

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, today I call attention to another situation wherein the grain markets of this country have either intentionally or unintentionally been manipulated by the Department of Agriculture, with the result that the speculators and grain dealers who were lucky enough to have large inventories of feed grains in their elevators are reaping tremendous profits during the months of July and August. The irony of this situation is that while the speculators have been reaping these large profits those farmers in America who are buying these feed grains to feed their livestock—dairy, poultry, and feeder cattle—are being penalized with an abnormal increase in the price of feeds.

The July and August rise in the price of corn and certain other feed grains results directly from the Commodity Credit Corporation's having practically withdrawn as a seller in the market during these months. These are the months when the farmers who feed their livestock are almost 100 percent corn buyers; farmers who raise corn to sell would have all disposed of their inventories in the prior months. In the late spring and during the summer it is normal for the grain dealers and the Government to hold the inventories. Therefore, during this period when the Government suddenly withdraws from the market as a seller the dealers can establish their own prices.

I shall now outline how the Government by suddenly withdrawing from the market created this vacuum of offerings during this 2-month period and thereby

set the stage for abnormal advances in corn and other feed grains.

Corn: The Government's sale of corn in the domestic market for the first 6 months of 1963 averaged over 85 million bushels per month. This was sold at prices ranging from \$1.01 to \$1.10.

The Government's sale of corn in the month of June was approximately 67 million bushels at \$1.03 per bushel. In July it practically withdrew from the market as a corn seller with sales of only 532,000 bushels. This represents a 99 percent reduction in Government sales of corn for July as compared with sales in June. This resulted in an artificial shortage, and, based on the Government's own report, the corn market in July jumped 17 cents per bushel with prices still rising.

Barley: The domestic sales of barley by the Government during the month of June totaled 808,000 bushels at 69 cents per bushel. In the month of July, however, the Government reduced its sales of barley to 81,000 bushels. This represented a 90 percent reduction in Government sales, with the result that the market price for barley jumped from 69 cents in June to 96 cents in July.

Unquestionably, these price rises resulted from the Government's manipulation of the supply of corn and barley.

Grain sorghums: The Government's sales of grain sorghums during the first

6 months of 1963 were at an average rate of 19.3 million bushels per month. In June its sales of grain sorghums exceeded 30 million bushels at \$1.02 per bushel, whereas in July the sales were reduced by 80 percent to 5,630,000. While it is true that the market price of grain sorghums did not advance to the extent of other feed grains, nevertheless this curtailment of Government offerings of grain sorghums contributed toward the increased price of other feed grains.

Oats: In June 1963 the Government sold 615,000 bushels of oats at 49 cents per bushel. In July the Government reduced its sale of oats from 615,000 to 20,000 bushels. This was a reduction of over 96 percent. In the face of the Government's almost complete withdrawal of its offerings from the oat market, prices advanced from 49 cents per bushel in June to 70 cents in July.

At this point I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD a chart showing a breakdown of the Government's sales of corn, barley, grain sorghums, and oats during each of the first 7 months of this year along with the average market price received by the Government for each commodity.

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

Secretary Freeman as the man of the year. Certainly some recognition should be made by the grain speculators of his numerous contributions to their exceedingly profitable operations.

I strongly recommend that the Secretary of Agriculture stop trying to regulate the law of supply and demand and in the future do his selling of feed grains in the domestic market during the months of shortage rather than during the months of harvest.

Not only would such procedure help the American farmers, but it would also save the taxpayers millions in the cost of the agriculture program.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I am glad to yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I compliment the Senator from Delaware for bringing into broad daylight one of the grievous mistakes—although I notice the Senator did not call it a mistake—of the Department of Agriculture, which has been very costly to both farmers and consumers of feed grains in this country. I only wish that the officials of the Department would profit by such mistakes and not continue to make them. We have seen the loss of our cotton export market, which has gone down more than half because of a mistake.

We have seen the dairy situation become demoralized, at least, because of another mistake. Now we see that the increased cost of producing milk, meat, and poultry is chargeable to another mistake of the Department.

I think the Senator from Delaware has performed a real service, and that the Department officials ought to wake up and come to the realization that they first are to serve the producers and consumers of this country, rather than the speculators.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I appreciate the comment made by the Senator from Vermont. I think it would be well for the Department of Agriculture to profit by its mistakes. Unquestionably, their withdrawal from the markets during the summer months, when the farmers are not corn sellers but are corn buyers, cannot be justified when we take into consideration that the same Department of Agriculture, during the months of October, November, and December of last year—and those are months when the farmer is harvesting corn—was selling 42 million, 33 million, and 37 million bushels, respectively, in those months.

In other words, during the months when the farmer was harvesting corn and trying to sell it on the market, the Government was selling 75 times as much corn as they sold during July and August when the farmers were buyers.

Decisions of the Department of Agriculture, intentionally or unintentionally,

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

Domestic sales of feed grains, by month, from January through July 1963

Month	Corn		Barley		Grain sorghums		Oats	
	Sales	Average proceeds received per bushel	Sales	Average proceeds received per bushel	Sales	Average proceeds received per bushel	Sales	Average proceeds received per bushel
	Thousand bushels		Thousand bushels		Thousand bushels		Thousand bushels	
January	54,178	\$1.08	20	\$1.10	33,200	\$0.98	51	\$0.80
February	84,843	1.10	66	.86	23,012	1.02	51	.67
March	145,977	1.10	113	.76	6,656	1.04	249	.45
April	90,201	1.08	60	.73	9,005	1.03	142	.47
May	74,481	1.01	136	.71	13,511	1.01	116	.54
June	66,956	1.03	808	.69	30,903	1.02	615	.49
July	532	1.20	81	.96	5,630	1.00	20	.70

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. There can be no doubt but that this arbitrary decision of the U.S. Government practically to withdraw from the domestic market during July and August as a seller of feed grains has been directly responsible for the spectacular rise in the cash price of these commodities.

This decision of the U.S. Government to create deliberately an artificial vacuum in the supply of feed grains during this 2-month period set the stage for spectacular profits for the grain dealers and speculators. The Government has given the storage operators a golden opportunity to dispose of their inventories of grains at substantially increased prices.

At the same time the American dairy, poultry, and livestock farmers, who during the summer months are buying these feed grains, have paid a terrific penalty in higher feed prices.

This attempt by the Department of Agriculture to manipulate the law of supply and demand has cost the dairy,

poultry, and livestock farmers millions in increased feed prices while at the same time it has allowed the grain speculators to unload their inventories at tremendous profits. Mixed feed prices for poultry and dairy are today about \$5 per ton higher as a result of this manipulation.

This is not the first time that the grain speculators have been rewarded by unsound and arbitrary decisions of the Agriculture Department.

When we consider how the Department of Agriculture's decisions are allowing the grain speculators to reap millions, while at the same time the poultry and dairy farmers are being penalized with higher feed prices, we could very appropriately paraphrase that great English statesman and say that never has there been a Secretary of Agriculture who has done so much for so few at the expense of so many.

And unless this uneconomic policy is reversed, I suggest that at the next annual convention of the grain dealers and storage operators they should nominate

have been made to the benefit of the speculators and storage operators, rather than to the benefit of the American farmers. It is time the Secretary of Agriculture stopped taking the taxpayers' money and trying to manipulate the grain markets in such a manner. Definitely such a policy is not advantageous to the American farmer. Unless he does stop, as I said before, I suggest that the storage operators and speculators should nominate him as the "Man of the Year" since he has contributed so much to their profitable operations.

PASSING OF THE SMALL TOWN FROM THE AMERICAN SCENE

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, Mr. Fred W. Brinkerhoff, publisher and editor of the Pittsburg Sun, Pittsburg, Kans., is among our senior and most respected newspapermen in Kansas.

Mr. Brinkerhoff spoke at the homecoming fair at Richland, Kans., on July 27, 1963, with an eloquence and an understanding born out of his years of experience, and his intimate knowledge and study of the forces which have given vitality to America. Mr. Brinkerhoff laments the passing from the American scene of the small town as an institution which has promoted much that is good in our way of life. He acknowledges the reasons for urbanization and the growth of our large cities. He speaks of the contribution of these centers to our society but properly, I think, notes that those who live and work in large urban centers are often restricted in the variety of their associations. Such restrictions, he notes, do not prevail in the smaller communities and this, Mr. Brinkerhoff says, limits the expansion of individual thought and understanding.

This is an interesting analysis. I commend Mr. Brinkerhoff's statement to my colleagues' study. I ask unanimous consent that the speech I referred to be made a part of the RECORD.

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

FROM SPEECH AT HOMECOMING FAIR AT RICHLAND, KANS., JULY 27, 1963, BY F. W. BRINKERHOFF

Three years ago these words were spoken here as the conclusion of a smalltown soliloquy:

"I am the American small town—the final freehold of American liberties, and the sleepless guardian of America's unrivaled and surpassingly precious way of life."

It was Rolla A. Clymer expressing in eloquent words for the speechless towns their emotions and their pride in the human virtues of wholesome living, tranquil relations, unselfish friendships, and loyalty to God and country. To all of which I ask the privilege of adding my sincere attestation.

The fantastic enlargement of American population centers and the deterioration and even disappearance of American small towns are the prime facets of a tragic transition. The change may not be the paramount menace to the perpetuation of the American way of life but certainly it is a major threat. In this day of innumerable dangers which beset the Nation this is something everywhere noted and to an increasing extent is a cause of national regret. The concentration of population has resulted from economic developments out of which have come material

benefits. But along with these advances have appeared losses through social and political changes. They have affected principles that have been the base of the high standard of living the American people have enjoyed. In most of the physical phases the standard has been maintained or perhaps improved. If fine food and modernistic houses are the measurement of the standard of living, then it can be argued there has been no depreciation. But there are other things to be considered in determining the living standard. These include social activities, civic responsibilities, and a dozen other items having to do with the daily lives of the family, all involving human relations. Herein are the changes which affect the welfare of the country. Environment and association always influence the attitude of men and women on the most momentous issues they face.

While persons a man meets in his daily occupation or business have a vital influence on him, regardless of vitality of conviction, for reasons that are perfectly obvious, those who work in large centers are restricted as to variety of associations. This is fatal to expansion of thought and inevitably the tendency is for them to become narrow and prejudiced. They believe themselves highly sophisticated when, in fact, they have become ignorant not because they choose to do so but because of the conditions in which they live. Out of all this comes a lowering of interest in matters determining the national character. Regardless of economic status, whether a man has a prosperous business connection or a precarious one, whether he has a lucrative job or a mediocre one, the demands upon him are such as to deny him the opportunity for adequate contemplation. They destroy his inclination to be properly advised on his responsibilities as a citizen. These are not academic conclusions. They are practical observations on conditions discernible to anyone who gives them even the most casual study.

The great need of those imprisoned in the population concentrations is not the fresh air of small town living but the fresh thinking that goes along with the fresh air.

What is a small town? There is no hard-and-fast rule by which we can define a small town. It may be merely a village without benefit of incorporation. It may be a county seat of a few hundred or maybe a few thousand. Or it may be a larger community which has retained the character of its earlier years with its main street turned into a business section. Let us just say that a small town is one where there are few permanent strangers, where folks meet in church and at lodge sessions, where funerals are largely attended, where character is more important to a banker than collateral and where merchants spend little time reading credit ratings.

Here in Kansas most of our centers of whatever ranking fall in the group just described. Even our beloved State Capital long ago was described, largely because of the friendly attitude of the people there, as an "overgrown country town." That was a tribute to Topeka. It remains a tribute today in spite of Topeka's expansion. Our State's capital benefits from the infiltration of the 160 outsiders who come to town as legislators every year for a period and from the constant flow of outlander Kansans to Topeka on business with the State's agencies. These visitors have done much to keep the town in touch with rural Kansas and this has had an effect on its character.

Out through the State the courthouse squares of most of our 105 county seats are the civic and social centers where the town people and the rural people of the areas around have long been accustomed to talking things over. Other towns of almost every county, many of which once had ambitions to become county seats, have parks and auditoriums where community relations are maintained. In practically every village

there are evidences of a civic spirit revealing itself in one thing and another created for the pleasure of the villagers and their guests. Everywhere a sojourner will find school buildings and churches, lighted streets, and waterworks. There will be sewer systems and surfaced streets. There will be splendid stores serving all the needs of the community. There will be beautiful homes, old and new. There will be ragged sections, a few, but there will be no slum sections crowded with disreputable appearing habitations. There will be spacious grassy yards. Likely there will be a public library.

These will be among the physical advantages of residents. Other assets are found in the kinds of people who inhabit these towns. There is something about life in a small town that affects the character of the residents. They develop a kind of sociability among themselves for which there is no substitute in the development of good human relations.

Every resident in a small town has a wide circle of acquaintances. It would not be accurate to say that everyone has a wide circle of friends. Human frailties, human error, and human meanness are not missing in these small towns. Human nature is the same everywhere, and constant. But we are talking about the average person, not the unusual. We can only assess the quality of a small town's population by assaying the average citizen.

Far be it from my intention to maintain the small town is sinless, that every smalltowner obeys the laws of God and man, that morality rules supreme in the hearts of all, that there are no thieves and that no resident would take advantage of a fellow citizen in a business deal. But there are no crime syndicates in the small towns. Hoodlums find no welcome and smart crooks cannot buy protection. There is solid respect for the law and its authority, an attitude that is as natural as the rising of the sun. Patriotism is considered not as an emotion, commendable and conventional, but as an inescapable duty.

Nor can we indict the millions upon millions in the large centers for lack of respect for authority, for pampering the lawless or for active indifference to patriotism. The fact is the great concentrations of humanity are almost entirely beyond the control of good citizens of high ideals and sound moral principles. These Americans are powerless in the unwieldy situations which are perfect for the operations of organizations based on combinations of crime and politics.

By no stretch of imagination can vast concentrations of population be described as "freeholds of American liberties." Nor can they ever be. They are the results of an economy that has changed, spurred by science and invention. They have transferred power to dominate from those capable of thinking, those who adhered to American ideals of living and with true love of country, to those whose motives have no relationship to the American way of life. The ponderous transfer of power continues on its way.

And this is why I call this tragic transition a major menace to our America.

God bless America.

Long live the Richlands.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE REPORT ON STAFFING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DESERVES WIDE SUPPORT AND SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, one of the healthiest aspects of current controversies about the United Nations is the constructive manner in which various groups and committees are studying the

world body's performance—and making sound proposals for improvement. More and more people have come to recognize that while the U.N. is a vital means for building world peace, it can and must be improved.

With determination, skill and realistic thoroughness many organizations have probed into the workings of the United Nations. The American Association for the United Nations and other public spirited bodies have helped create the climate in which the reports of such groups can gain wide attention and acceptance.

Perhaps the most important committee now studying the United Nations and its work is the State Department Advisory Committee on International Organizations. This distinguished group of experts, under the able chairmanship of Sol M. Linowitz, was named by the State Department last year to ferret out ways and means of improving American participation in various international bodies.

In its first report, issued in April 1963, the committee strongly recommended various reforms in the recruitment and placement of American personnel in the U.N. and other world organizations. Among its 15 recommendations were a number of hardheaded and effective ideas which could do much to insure that qualified Americans play their part in the work of various international organizations.

The suggestions of the advisory committee deserve wide support and I hope they will be speedily implemented in the State Department and throughout our Government.

I am firmly convinced that the placing of more well-trained Americans in international organizations will result in long-range gains for the people of the world. If better qualified personnel run these organizations, they will be greatly strengthened—and their ability to play a prominent role in spurring world progress and security will be greatly increased.

The fine committee which prepared this report—and which will be issuing others in the months ahead—is to be commended for its constructive and realistic approach to these problems. I am hopeful that a more positive, better coordinated system of staffing international organizations will result—and that the people of the world and the cause of world peace will be the winners in the long run.

In order that the report of the advisory committee can receive the wide readership to which it is entitled, I ask unanimous consent that the introduction and major recommendations be printed at this point in the Record. I direct particular attention to the membership of the group, which is a strong guarantee of the authenticity and significance of its recommendations.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATE DEPARTMENT ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The United States during fiscal year 1962 contributed over \$300 million to the United

Nations and other international organizations and programs.

In July 1962, the Department of State and the Bureau of the Budget authorized a major review of the administration of U.S. financial, personnel, and other relationships to the United Nations and other international organizations. Provision was made for a staff to carry on studies under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs. Provision was also made for the appointment by the State Department of an Advisory Committee of independent citizens to make available their advice and recommendations with reference to various phases of the relationships with international organizations.

This first report of the Advisory Committee deals with the problem of equipping the country to propose the best qualified Americans for those international organization positions in which U.S. citizens can make a significant contribution.

Members of the Advisory Committee are—Sol M. Linowitz, Chairman; chairman of the board, Xerox Corp., Rochester, N.Y. Partner—Harris, Beach, Wilcox, Dale, and Linowitz.

Harding F. Bancroft, vice president and secretary, the New York Times, New York City; formerly General Counsel of the International Labor Organization.

Karney A. Brasfield, partner, Touche, Ross, Bailey & Smart, Washington, D.C.; formerly member of the President's Committee on the Foreign Aid Program, 1961.

Andrew W. Cordier, dean, School of International Affairs, Columbia University, New York City; formerly Executive Assistant to the Secretary General of the United Nations, and Under Secretary in charge of U.N. General Assembly Affairs.

Lawrence S. Finkelstein, vice president, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York City.

Ernest A. Gross, partner—Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt, and Mosle, New York City; former Ambassador, Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations and Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council.

Arthur Larson, director, World Rule of Law Center, Duke University, Durham, N.C.; formerly Director, U.S. Information Agency.

Joseph Pois, professor of public administration, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.; formerly Director of Finance, State of Illinois.

Marshall D. Shulman, professor of international politics, Fletch School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Mass.; formerly Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

Francis O. Wilcox, dean, the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C.; formerly Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

Participants from Federal agencies: 1 John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission.

Robert Amory, Jr., Chief, International Division, Bureau of the Budget.

Servicing as staff to the Committee has been a special study group directed by Glenn B. McClelland of the Agency for International Development. Winthrop M. Southworth, Jr., Department of State, and Norman R. Miller, Civil Service Commission have been particularly concerned with this report on Staffing International Organizations. Richard S. Wheeler, Department of State, assisted in the production of the report.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The United States has an obligation under the U.N. Charter to seek to maintain,

1 Government participants have not been asked to assume responsibility for Committee reports.

and where possible, to improve the quality of personnel and of personnel administration in the international agencies.

2. The President should announce a positive policy of assisting international organizations to recruit competent Americans as they may be needed, utilizing to the fullest the resources of all Government departments and of appropriate private organizations.

3. It is recommended that a position of Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs be set up with the function of developing and directing the execution of a single U.S. recruiting policy. The incumbent would serve as a central information and record point, would evaluate the effectiveness of U.S. recruiting efforts and would coordinate the efforts of U.S. missions. Actual recruitment would be decentralized to U.S. Government agencies which are counterparts of the U.N. agencies. Where counterpart agencies do not exist, responsibility for recruitment would rest with an international recruiting service in the State Department. A coordinating mechanism for international recruitment should be developed to facilitate access to the total personnel operations of the Government, and, particularly in the case of certain special abilities required in technical assistance assignments, full cooperation of business and industry should be encouraged.

4. To serve total U.S. purposes, arrangements should be made to facilitate the cooperative use by the Agency for International Development (AID) and the Department of State of the AID recruiting and placement mechanisms for bilateral aid and the counterpart U.S. Government mechanisms for multilateral aid. There should be a definite U.S. policy that service in either multilateral or bilateral aid organizations is a part of the career ladder for personnel of Government agencies.

5. The United States should support a proposed U.N. study of emoluments for personnel serving in multilateral and bilateral assistance programs in order to establish comparability of information for employment purposes. In addition, the United States should support a coordinated policy for emoluments for all international agency personnel.

6. Government agencies and private industry should be encouraged to release employees for fixed term international organization service in connection with career development programs.

7. The obtaining of adequate vacancy information should be incorporated in the reporting instructions for U.S. missions to international organizations.

8. A current inventory of U.S. personnel serving in international organizations should be maintained by the Department of State.

9. Attention should be paid to the recruitment of junior officers to the extent that career opportunities for them in international service are known to exist.

10. It is recommended that an amendment to Public Law 85-795 be sought to permit: (a) secondment of Foreign Service officers to international organizations when appropriate; and (b) the extension to 5 years of the period during which a Federal employee may serve an international organization while retaining the rights and privileges of Federal service.

11. The United States should adopt an appropriate program of orientation for U.S. personnel selected for service in international organizations.

12. It is desirable and proper that U.S. missions overseas and in New York accord increased recognition to American nationals who are serving in international organizations.

13. There is need for all U.S. agencies concerned with the activities of international organizations to contribute to the identification of posts which as a matter of priority

must be filled with persons of great professional competence.

14. The Department of State should revise the instructions to missions to international organizations to include an assignment of responsibility in the area of staffing and personnel administration, and to provide that the responsibility be placed with a single top level officer.

15. Appropriate efforts should be made from time to time to inform the American public of the importance the U.S. Government attaches to service in international organizations.

STEBEN SOCIETY AWARDS

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I am very proud of the 72 students in our New York State schools who have recently won the Steuben Awards for outstanding work in the study of the German language. Two hundred Steuben Awards were presented this year by the councils and units of the Steuben Society of America to recognize students of exceptional quality in this field and "to encourage others to pursue the study of this language." The study of foreign languages is very important in this day and age when the world is growing increasingly smaller. The United States is no longer a far distant shore in relation to Europe and the rest of the world. Jets have made Europe a close neighbor. For this reason it is necessary for our young people to know how to communicate in languages other than their own.

Increased contact with Europe politically, socially, and culturally demands a reciprocal interest and respect for one another's heritage of which language is an integral part. The study of language not only broadens one's horizons educationally, establishes firmer relations, but opens up new worlds in the field of literature.

The distinguished Steuben Society must be commended for the fine work done in encouraging the study and interest in the German language and heritage. These New York award winners deserve much praise not only for their fine display of scholarship but also for their potential contribution to better cultural understanding in the world of tomorrow as a result of their proficiency in German language today. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a list of these New York winners of the Steuben Awards from New York State entered into the RECORD following my remarks.

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

NEW YORK STEUBEN AWARD WINNERS IN GERMAN LANGUAGE

Cadet Galen H. Yanighara at West Point.
Camille A. Vahle at Wagner College.
John Bretschneider at Queens College.
Richard S. Greenwood of Fordham College.
Linda G. Ringle at Bayside High School.
Hannelora Nick at Grover Cleveland High, Queens.
Thomas Winter, Flushing High School, Queens.
Rhoda Emily Lange, William Cullen Bryant, Queens.
Hedy Fischer, Jamaica High, Queens.
Eugene Morozoff, Van Buren High, Queens.
Florence Machold, Richmond Hill High, Queens.
Linda Ulrich, John Adams High, Queens.
Anthony Maneri, Andrew Jackson High, Queens.

Lipwing Chu, Northport High.
Donald Bentley, Lindenhurst High.
George Starkschall, Sachem High.
Winnfried Carr, Northport High.
George Krouse, Sachem High.
Robert Reymers, Huntington High, Suffolk.
George Spanos, Walt Whitman High, Suffolk.
Joseph Gann, Harborfields High, Suffolk.
George Hoschel, Harborfields High, Suffolk.
Annaliese Kaiser, Half Hollow Hills High, Suffolk.
Carolyn Kolb, Irondequoit High, Rochester.
Eugene Alexander, Irondequoit High, Rochester.
Jonathan Stewart, Irondequoit High, Rochester.
Erna Bauer, Benjamin Franklin High, Rochester.
Harvey Edwards, Monroe High, Rochester.
Richard Frye, East High, Rochester.
Thomas Butler, East Ridge High, Rochester.
Richard Cable, Greece Olympia High, Rochester.
Paul Weiner, Pennfield Senior High, Rochester.
JoAnn Kistler, Pittsford High, Rochester.
Timothy A. Clar, Aquinas Institute, Rochester.
Ronald Viavattene McQuaid, Jesuit High, Rochester.
John Kohmesher, Nazareth Academy, Rochester.
Barbara Freeman, Our Lady of Mercy High, Rochester.
Carol Daddaglio, St. Agnes High, Rochester.
Robert Schaefer, Sayville High, Long Island.
Patricia Harris, Patchogue High, Long Island.
Warren Hite, West Hampton High, Long Island.
Kathryn Robert, Center Moriches High, Long Island.
Joel Kovariak, H. Frank Carey High, Nassau County.
Ronald Gruhn, H. Frank Carey High, Nassau County.
Christa Ullricht, MacArthur High, Nassau County.
Bruce Jacobson, MacArthur High, Nassau County.
Joan Finkenstadt, Hempstead High, Nassau County.
Edward Ueberall, Hempstead High, Nassau County.
Astrid Merget, West Hempstead High, Nassau County.
Joyce Friedrich, West Hempstead High, Nassau County.
Susan Reichgott, Sewanhaka High, Nassau County.
Lorraine Horn, Sewanhaka High, Nassau County.
John Fagan, Erasmus Hall High, Brooklyn.
William H. Osborne, Peekskill Military Academy, Yorktown.
Larry Morell, Lakeland High School, Yorktown.
Michael Natelson, White Plains High, White Plains.
Frederick Orthlieb, Stepinac High School, White Plains.
Lee Hecht, Valley Stream Memorial High, Valley Stream.
Clement Ward, Valley Stream South High, Valley Stream.
Naola Gersten, Valley Stream Central, Valley Stream.
Jeffrey Schneider, Valley Stream Central, Valley Stream.
Lois M. Leewe, Fort Hamilton High, Brooklyn.
William E. Porter, Coxsackie-Athens Central High, Coxsackie.
Joyce C. Bindl, Coxsackie-Athens Central High, Coxsackie.
Barbara Ann Wend, Gorton High, Yonkers.
Diane R. Azin, Roosevelt High, Yonkers.
Helen Altomare, Lincoln High School, Yonkers.

Judy Ellen Schavrien, Yonkers High, Yonkers.
Lynn Laitman, New Rochelle High, New Rochelle.
Mary Kimura, New Rochelle High, New Rochelle.
Ira Schildkraut, A. B. Davis, Mount Vernon.
Denise Bodie, Edison High, Mount Vernon.

NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CONFERENCE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on April 25 and 26 the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference took place in Washington, D.C., and was addressed by a number of distinguished Cabinet officials, as well as by a Member of Congress.

The students adopted a set of resolutions on Federal aid to education. It so happens that some of the resolutions differ from my own point of view, while others are in line with my own point of view. I think that when students show the initiative to meet and to express themselves, as these students have, and are recognized by important public officials, then what they have resolved should at least be noted as a matter of public interest, whether we agree with individual parts of it or not. I ask unanimous consent that the resolutions may be printed in the RECORD, so that they may be generally known.

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

RESOLUTION ON FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

We, the delegates to the National Student Federal Aid to Education Conference, assembled in the Nation's Capital on the 26th day of April 1963, adopt the following resolution on Federal aid to education representing a cross section of national student opinion on this vital issue:

I. PURPOSE

Recognizing the traditions and rights of State-sponsored and controlled education and the great efforts made by many States to improve their educational systems, we feel that some States are financially unable to support adequate programs without Federal aid. Consequently, we recognize the need for the participation of the Federal Government in a supplementary manner to the established State expenditures in certain specific areas of education in the United States. We feel Federal aid must not be used to reduce either State or local efforts. It should be a welcome addition to a State's program.

We propose the following policies in which we feel Federal expansion will not interfere with the traditional rights and responsibilities of the State and locally sponsored educational system.

II. EQUALITY OF EDUCATION

Federal aid to education should benefit all Americans regardless of race, creed, religion, or national origin. Therefore, we support the inclusion of an antidiscrimination clause to provide Federal funds only to school districts, colleges, and universities which have taken positive steps toward desegregation and/or uphold a nondiscriminatory policy with regard to race, religion, creed, or national origin. Furthermore we urge the Federal Government to see that all Federal aid to education is administered in a manner consistent with and leading to the realization of this principle.

We feel that Federal funds should be distributed on the basis of need and not because of political considerations.

III. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

Because a significant number of students are deprived of higher education for lack of sufficient means to finance their education, we support title I of the proposed National Education Act of 1963 with the following provisions: (1) An increase in the National Defense Education Act loan ceiling for individual undergraduates from \$1,000 to \$1,500 per year and a cumulative ceiling of \$6,000 in a 4-year period; (2) an extension of National Defense Education Act loan forgiveness to include Peace Corps volunteers; (3) an endorsement of the Student Loan Insurance Act-National Defense Education Act as a corollary to student loans but not as a substitute for them; (4) the addition of a national scholarship program administered through the States of a total of 200,000 4-year scholarships at a maximum per year of \$1,000 to be distributed on the basis of need and ability; (5) an extension of the GI education benefits to post-Korean veterans; and (6) the Federal minimum wage standard to apply to student work covered in the proposed National Education Improvement Act of 1963.

IV. HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES

The present rate of increase in the school population is placing, and will continue to place, a great strain on existing school facilities. Institutions of higher learning are unable to draw sufficient financial aid from their present resources and may not be able to obtain the necessary matching funds to qualify for sufficient Federal assistance.

Therefore this conference believes that title III, parts A and B, of the National Education Improvement Act of 1963 (expansion and improvement of higher education; higher education facilities, public community college academic facilities) represent only a beginning in this field, that there is a definite need for more funds, and that these funds should be available as grants rather than loans.

V. TECHNICAL EDUCATION, LIBRARIES, GRADUATE TRAINING, AND LANGUAGES

We recognize that the proposals outlined in title II, sections C-F of the National Education Improvement Act of 1963 (expansion and improvement of higher education: college level technical education, college and university libraries, graduate schools, modern foreign language training and research) deal in a positive way with important problems facing this Nation. We feel that these proposals represent only a first approach to these problems and much larger expenditures will be necessary in the future. We support the President's proposal as a first minimal effort.

VI. QUALITY OF EDUCATION

The bettering of educational facilities and the increase of educational opportunities is a prerequisite to improving educational quality in America.

We urge (1) the passage of legislation to broaden the scope of the Cooperative Research Act and (2) that the National Defense Education Act teacher training institutes be expanded to meet the rising need of student-age population.

VII. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

We endorse the provisions of title IV of the proposed National Education Improvement Act of 1963 (strengthening elementary and secondary education) which will aid in improving facilities for instruction in the areas of science, languages, and mathematics because of the value of these subjects as areas for scholarships. We note, however, that these subject areas seem to receive special emphasis because of their relationship to national defense rather than as a part of a general attempt to improve school curriculums. While recognizing the problems of national security confronting the

Nation we think that the primary function of aid to education should be improvement of general educational quality.

VIII. GUIDANCE, COUNSELING, AND TESTING

A great need currently exists in American education for increased and improved programs in the areas of guidance, counseling, and testing. Such programs will assist in alleviating the current severe unemployment problem and will help to remedy the extant lack of personnel trained for the suited occupations of the nuclear age. Many local areas of this country do not have the financial resources available to support such programs.

We urge the passage of part C, title IV, of the National Education Improvement Act of 1963 (strengthening elementary and secondary education: guidance, counseling, and testing).

IX. STATES' ECONOMIC NEEDS

We approve the program specified in title IV, part A, of the National Education Improvement Act of 1963, providing aid to public elementary and secondary schools, and endorse the principle of this section, which calls for relating the amount of aid to the State's economic need. However, we feel the provisions of the States' relations with the U.S. Office of Education are not sufficiently clear on the issue of Federal control. We urge that the language of this section make explicit the criteria which the Federal Government will use in deciding whether or not to approve a State's request for aid.

X. VOCATIONAL AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

In the past the funds appropriated for vocational education have been distributed among the various vocational areas by a set ratio. This present formula for distribution was established when agriculture was still a significant source of employment. Today the economic situation has changed, while the formula has not.

In spite of the obvious dominance of manufacture and service, only 5 percent of public high schools offer distributive education courses, and less than 10 percent have trade and industrial courses. At the same time nearly one-half offer home economics and agricultural courses.

The laudable aspect of title V, part A, of the National Education Improvement Act of 1963 (vocational and special education: vocational education) lies in its endeavor to replace this rigid allocation of funds. This will give the States more latitude in vocational training to meet the increasing demands for trained manpower.

Although the proposed increase in Federal support is 50 percent higher than last year, it will not solve the problems faced by vocational education in this country. We believe there must be increased Federal support in this area to increase the quality of existing programs to extend this training to schools and areas where it is not now offered.

There is a present need for education of approximately 6 million handicapped children. These children need services which are not now available in most all of our schools. Part B (education of handicapped children) provides an initial 3-year program to train teachers to support research and demonstration projection in this area.

The \$15 million authorized for fiscal year 1964 can be considered only an initial effort. There must be a considerable increase to insure that children with special problems will receive a quality education.

Twenty-two million Americans over 25 years of age today have less than an eighth grade education. With the advancing complexity of our society, an eighth grade education cannot be considered adequate for a significant role in the community and the economy.

XI. CONTINUING EDUCATION

Title VI of the National Education Improvement Act of 1963 (expansion of con-

tinuing education) would establish an initial 3-year appropriation for local adult basis education projects. Research is aimed at determining which methods would best raise the educational level of these functional illiterates. After the methods are identified there will be a strong need for significant Federal support for comprehensive educational programs, and we recommend additional legislation that will provide and insure such support.

In conclusion, we reiterate our position of support in principle of the proposed National Education Improvement Act of 1963 and urge its adoption in this session of Congress.

PATRICK C. CLARY,
Conference Cochairman.
TIM RYLES,
Conference Cochairman.
JOSEPH FALLON,
Presiding Officer.
ERIN M. CLARY,
Secretary.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR KUCHEL BEFORE RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the distinguished deputy minority leader of this great deliberative body recently had the honor of addressing the 24th Quadrennial Convention of the Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO, in Chicago.

The senior Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] spoke of some of the great issues facing this Congress and our Nation. The distinguished Senator's remarks deserve consideration by every Member of the Senate. I, therefore, Mr. President, ask unanimous consent that the Senator's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE THOMAS H. KUCHEL, U.S. SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA

Senator KUCHEL. Mr. Suffridge, ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to be invited on this occasion, to speak at this diamond jubilee celebration; doubly so, to be introduced by an illustrious, dedicated, and distinguished American, a statesman in the field of labor, and my fellow Californian, your international president, James Suffridge. [Applause.]

I am honored, too, to come as a Member of the U.S. Senate. It was 11 years ago that one of the greatest human beings of this country, and indeed of this globe, then the Governor of California, gave me his faith. I am proud to be a Member of the Senate, first, because the now great Chief Justice of this country, Earl Warren placed me there [applause]; and, secondly, because the people of my State have permitted me to continue to serve them, or at any rate to attempt to serve them.

Together, your forward-looking union and the American people have traveled a fairly steady road of human progress, equality of opportunity, and economic achievement. No longer are Americans—most of them, anyway—asked to live on less than a living wage. No longer are most Americans asked to work under substandard conditions. This great economic emancipation, this change in the direction toward a better America, has come about because men and women of good will in both political parties, in labor, and in management, on the farms and in the cities, have, with heart and purpose, resolved to achieve this progress.

One of the strengths of the people of the United States, all 180 million of them, I

think, springs from their heterogeneous character. This country is different from any other nation on the face of the globe. The bloodstreams of every claim and every national state are represented among the people of the United States, black and white, Christian and Jew, rich and poor.

I remember paying my silent tribute as a citizen in the city of Los Angeles, a couple of years ago, when graveside ceremonies were held for an American patriot who wore with pride the American Congressional Medal of Honor and was buried by priests of his church, Buddhists.

That is one reason, I think, why we can look forward happily and hopefully to a chance ultimately to practice what we preach—equal treatment under law.

I must say that some of us in the Congress have a little trouble from time to time. Not the least of my own troubles comes from my unpronounceable name. My late grandfather was an immigrant from across the seas, but who came here like many of you, or your forebears did, to become Americans. And San Francisco, Calif., was the birthplace of my late, beloved father, whose memory his family cherishes across a gathering chasm of years. And he and his children share the same aspirations of those who came before us.

And I must tell you in connection with my name, one of the difficulties I encountered last year in my campaign.

With my wife, I was traveling along Highway 99 and we came one afternoon to a small town which my fellow citizens from California called Chowchilla. We had a station wagon with a young fellow driving it. Painted on both sides was, "Elect U.S. Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL."

I told the young fellow, "Stop at the beginning of the next block and I will call on some people," and that he could pick me up several blocks on and we would go on to the next town.

In the second block was a hardware store and I went in and held out my hand, "I am U.S. Senator KUCHEL, and I am running for reelection. I wanted to have the pleasure of meeting you."

He said, "Senator, this is a great day for Chowchilla. We have two Senators here. I just saw Senator 'Kuchels' (Cookeles) car going down the street." [Laughter.]

Your great president, Jim Sufbridge and your active ballot club under the leadership of its able director, Chuck Lipson, deserve much credit for practicing in their daily activities on your behalf in Washington the finest aspects of the Samuel Gompers philosophy. They have dealt with facts, remembering that when we legislate we must do so with the warmth of humanity and not merely by the coldness of the statistic. They have realized that your union has a responsibility, not alone to those in the American working force who are organized, but also to those—a much larger number—who are unorganized and who often are badly in need of a spokesman, and beyond that a responsibility to the entire Nation and to the best interests of our country.

I must say, I particularly enjoy working with your national leadership, because they adhere, and I want and hope as an American that they continue to adhere, to that sound Gompers dictum, that you should reward your friends and punish your enemies. [Applause.] That is pretty good American doctrine in dealing with any matter. They make their decisions based on the actions of the particular public servant rather than on mere partisan affiliation. No political party owns you. No political party ought to own labor in America. None ever will, nor should, for you have friends in both of America's great political parties, as you should have.

And as a member of the Republican Party which has produced great, courageous, forward-looking American statesmen, I am gratified to be numbered by your member-

ship as a friend. [Applause.] And I might say as a Republican who, within the last year, completed a reelection campaign that was very rugged in California, I am doubly grateful for those in this room, and those aligned with them from my State, who perused my record and did not find it entirely unacceptable.

I am grateful, also, for your own enlightened support of a legislative program which will help all Americans; hospitalization insurance, under social security for all those over 65 is but one such example. [Applause.]

You have recognized that when progress has been made in America, it is because men of good will in both political parties have banded together to make that progress. This has frequently been against selfish interests who themselves know no party bounds. This has frequently been against those who promise one thing in a party platform on which they appeal to all Americans, and then practice another thing in semisecret behind the closed doors of the committees and cloak-rooms of the Congress.

Just one example comes to mind. A few years ago we had a piece of legislation in which every man and woman in this room was interested; legislation having to do with extended unemployment compensation benefits, when our country faced a critical period of burgeoning unemployment. Into the Senate of the United States came a Senator, not of my party, who offered an amendment to stultify and to emasculate it. He was defeated by two votes. I am glad that the men on my side of the aisle, as always, banded together with the men on the other side of the aisle in the Senate to pass legislation in the interests of the unemployed American.

An enlightened citizenry can bring performance into conformity with promise. In enlightening your fellow workers, the neighbors who live next door to you, and your friends in the PTA, the church, or your social organization, you and your active ballot club have a citizens' responsibility and a great opportunity, as well. I, for one, believe very deeply that a party platform must not merely be a vehicle to run on, but and more important, it must be a statement of program and principles to act on.

Thus, when in this city of Chicago, almost 3 years ago, the Republican Party unanimously pledged itself to work for "upward revision in amount, and extended coverage of the minimum wage to several million more workers, I took that to include, not exclude, those whose livelihood is earned by working in retail stores in America. That is the basis on which I voted when the Senate considered and finally successfully passed the minimum wage legislation of 1961.

To me, it is unconscionable that in our Nation, where we have the economic bastion of the free world, some men and women should work for less than \$50 a week. Yet there were some in the Congress of the United States, in both political parties who believed they ought to continue, at least so far as minimum wage is concerned.

Similarly, when my party resolves that "industrial harmony * * * can best be achieved in a climate of free collective bargaining," and that "Republican policy firmly supports the right of employers and unions to enter freely into agreements providing for the union shop" and then pledge itself to make "recommendations for improvements which experience shows are needed" to make the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act "more effective or remove any inequities," I want you to know I believe that the first change in our Nation's labor policy should be a determination to have one labor policy, not two in America.

A few years ago, I was, I think, the first public servant in California to denounce the so-called right-to-work laws, then being considered for initiative action on our California ballot. [Applause.] I find it not only incomprehensible, but also completely inex-

cusable to declare by Federal law on the one hand that you may have a union shop in a plant if a majority of your employees so vote and then, on the other hand, to add a not so parenthetical footnote that you may not have a union shop unless your State permits it. How unbelievable this would be if we applied this Calhoun theory of State negation of Federal policy to the field of civil rights. We ought to be, and we must be, either all in the American Nation, certainly not all out of it; nor should we be half in and half out, depending on local whim and local prejudice. This, in justice, must be remedied.

And I pledge to you that when the first bill germane to labor-management relations is reported to the floor of the U.S. Senate, there are some of us, Democrats and Republicans, determined to offer an amendment to repeal section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act, misnamed, the right-to-work section. And then, my fellow Americans, we will see which members of both political parties want to stand up and be counted on this issue of simple justice and elementary consistency. [Prolonged applause.]

Your colleagues in the building and construction trades are discriminated against, not only with reference to section 14-B, but, in addition, with reference to their capacity to picket a construction site when one of the subcontractors is nonunion. For almost a decade, such action has been held to be a secondary boycott. Yet a picket line can be placed around an industrial plant where one of the departments is nonunion and this is held not to be a secondary boycott. In my judgment, this is grossly unfair. It was unfair, too, in the opinion of former President Eisenhower.

As long ago as 1954 he recommended that the law be changed so that such peaceful picketing at a construction site will be under precisely the same rules as picketing at an industrial complex.

The last Republican administration repeatedly recommended this reasonable change in the law. Five Democratic Congresses have occurred since that original recommendation, yet no action has been successful in remedying this inequity.

In 1959, with the then Senator from Massachusetts—the present President of the United States—I headed a bipartisan coalition which sought to effect such a change. This year, once again, I have coauthored the necessary legislation with Senator HUMPHREY, my counterpart in the Senate as the assistant majority leader.

I know that the day will come when these problems, those in which your union has a vital interest and those in which your companion members in the labor movement have a vital interest, will eventually be resolved. But that day will come much sooner if you take upon yourself the responsibility to educate your fellow Americans and your elected representatives in both parties to your problems.

And, believe me, we do need an enlightened constituency which understands your problems and the problems of the businessman, whether he be big or little, and of the farmer. Each day, across my desk comes a certain amount of mail—some spewing hate and venom on the former or present President, on their California Republican Senator, or on the State Department, or on the Arms Control Agency or, not infrequently, on all of us together.

I have often said that these deluded people who demand we withdraw from the United Nations, abolish the income tax, and remove American forces from our overseas bases, and from NATO, are doing so much of Khrushchev's work that he should pay their pocket expenses and perhaps a little bonus to boot.

Mr. Khrushchev and the Communists should also pay the expenses of those who prepare that certain amount of frantic mail which spews forth its hate against labor

unions and which demands that Congress, among other things, apply the antitrust laws to labor organizations. I wonder if these poor people realize that if we were to do that, we would treat labor as a commodity. The only treatise I know where labor is treated as a commodity is in Karl Marx's "Communist Manifesto"—strange bedfellows indeed.

Those who hate the cause of American labor have been successful, to a limited extent, not because they deal with the uneducated—for the correct, though often irrational, English and embossed stationery reveals frequently an above average level of formal education—but because they deal with the uninformed. They reason from extremes and yet I do not hear them calling for a closing of all the banks because one bank president is found to be an embezzler. Since sometimes a bad apple is found in the labor movement—as bad apples are sure to be uncovered in any section of our economy; some would even say there are one or two in Congress—this small handful of unthinking and unreasoning people wants to cripple all collective bargaining organizations. By spending time with your neighbor and by active participation in the affairs of your community you can make a real contribution to the future of our Republic by demonstrating, through deed and word, the value your union brings to improving the quality of American life.

I like to remind my fellow Republicans who believe as I do, that a basic reason for the success of our country rests on a broadly based division of power within our society; that the trade union movement in our land makes an outstanding contribution to this success and to the promotion of individual freedom and to the equality of opportunity.

You are examples of representative government and democracy in practice. In effect, you have the opportunity to make a contribution to fulfilling the need for individual participation which was made by the New England town meetings of two centuries ago.

Let us remember that where dictatorship has eventually triumphed in the 20th century, it has been not only necessary to destroy the free press as in the Soviet Union under Stalin, in Italy under Mussolini, in Germany under Hitler, and in Communist Cuba under Castro, but also it has been equally necessary to destroy the free trade union movement.

I believe that one of the most notable improvements in America's foreign relations in the postwar period has been the export of American trade union talent and ideas to emerging nations abroad. The active participation of your union, and your president, in the international trade union movement is an act which can be lauded by all who seek to improve international understanding.

Our country faces difficult and challenging days at home and across the seas. We must continue, in the foreseeable future, to aid in bringing the sinews of military and economic defense for those who seek to keep their independence and self-determination in the face of the danger of Communist imperialism. We must continue to seek an improved world trade which will fully utilize the capacity of our industry, its creative management and skilled labor, and of our farms. And most important, we must provide the leadership in expanding the ideas of freedom and equality and a spirit of humanity without which all our other efforts will prove fruitless.

If we are to be successful in accomplishing these international goals for the United States, we must put our own house in order at home. Two great national and very human problems confront our people in this difficult decade. Their equitable resolution will require the best that is in each of us. It needs not only determined effort by the President and by Congress but by you and

your fellow citizens in each State and community throughout the land.

These two great domestic problems are the need for adequate employment so that no American who desires to work shall be denied employment, and the need for equality of opportunity so that no American shall be discriminated against because of his caste or creed. You and your colleagues in the Retail Clerks are to be commended for never having condoned discrimination in your local unions. That must become the national pattern, as it certainly shall.

To provide the necessary jobs will require an unleashing of American industry from the unreasonable and irrational tax shackles which now bind it down. New investment in a modernized plant and equipment needs to be encouraged, not discouraged. New sources of investment—the young married couple, the housewife, the worker with a few extra dollars each week in savings—must be developed and their capital attracted to American industry.

Recently a young corporation president who had almost singlehandedly developed a sportswear factory in a small community in my State called at my office. He is a progressive man, with a deep sense of responsibility to his community. Through hard work, he has made several hundred jobs available where few existed before. But he has a dilemma. He can maintain his present level of employment, make a reasonable profit, and all will be well, for the foreseeable future. Or, he can exercise his ingenuity, almost double his plant capacity to meet the high demand for his popular product, and, in the process, double the employment opportunities available in his community. But he asks himself: "Should I take the risk?" Under present tax laws, he has little to gain and everything to lose. We discussed his dilemma, and the similar quandary in which other forward looking and enterprising businessmen find themselves. He said: "Senator, what is needed is a job-creating tax credit."

Briefly, those who expand their businesses to provide additional employment opportunities for people (as opposed to machines) would be encouraged in boldly going forward by appropriate changes in Federal tax laws. The result would not be a loss in revenue for the Federal Government, since more people would be working and, thus, more people would be paying taxes. It is an intriguing idea—an idea which I commend to this administration and to your membership.

Needed jobs will be created only when an environment and economic climate are provided in which capital can be invested to expand America's plant capacity and when the men responsible for American industry are encouraged, not discouraged, by our tax laws to make the needed decisions to employ more people. In working for this goal which will improve opportunities for all our people, labor has an equal stake with management.

Both management and labor have an equal responsibility, as do all of us who want to continue to call ourselves Americans, in working as best we can for an equality of opportunity and a better opportunity for all our people. Our Nation and our Government were established to give expression to a deep spiritual belief that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. It is sad to note that 187 years after our country's independence, some of our fellow Americans are not able to participate fully in our way of life solely because the guarantees of our American charter are dishonored and shunted aside.

My party, the Republican Party, was established to secure individual freedom and to provide, through law, an equal chance, before the law, for every citizen. The people of the United States, when they

adopted the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution expressed their will on this fundamental proposition. The Supreme Court of the United States, almost a decade ago, applied that rule to the education of our youth. The Court has spoken repeatedly with regard to other public facilities.

In 1960, here in Chicago, the Republican Party stated that: "Equality under law promises more than the equal right to vote and transcends mere relief from discrimination by government. It becomes a reality only when all persons have equal opportunity, without distinction of race, religion, color or national origin, to acquire the essentials of life—housing, education, and employment."

In carrying out this pledge, a group of us in my party of the Senate introduced in the last Congress and early in this one the most comprehensive civil rights program now before the Senate. We sought to carry out the findings and recommendations of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights dealing with voting, education, jobs, housing, public accommodations, and the administration of justice. We deeply believe that the Attorney General of the United States must have the legal tools at his disposal to seek resolution of racial conflicts in the courts rather than in the dark alleys and in streets. We believe that these questions must be faced and resolved because it is constitutionally right and because it is morally right. We shall support the President of the United States in his attempt to make legislative progress in this difficult area. We urge him to give vigorous leadership to this American cause. Almost 1 week ago today members of both parties in the Senate joined together in co-authoring the civil rights legislation submitted by the President of the United States and promised, generally, in the platforms of the Democrats and the Republicans.

However, if Congress and our Nation are to be successful in accomplishing what is right and what is long overdue in this area, we will need your active support. The question of human and civil rights is not merely one of law. It is a question of morality and of conscience. To build a better America in which all our people can actively participate will require great exertions by each of us. This effort cannot take place in Washington alone. It must take place in every community. It must take place in the South and, equally important, in the East, North, and West as well. The times require not bullheadedness or softheadedness—the times require levelheadedness and good will.

President Suffridge, and ladies and gentlemen, we are born into an intriguing era to live out our lifespan. Great forces are on the move in the world today. We, most of us, will see humankind reach out to touch the moon and the stars and all the while an evil form of slavery, Communist imperialism, continues to be dedicated to the engulfing and to the destroying of man's freedom.

It is something of a paradox that in adversity friends close ranks but after becoming inured to danger, people are inclined to separate and go their own separate ways.

One of the great living works by a living person, in my judgment is the "History of World War II," by Winston Churchill. The last volume is entitled "Triumph and Tragedy," and he describes the theme of that volume in a rather moving sentence. Let me see if I can state it for you: "How the great democracies of the world finally triumphed and emerged victorious and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life."

There are forces in this country of ours who would divide us and instill hate and enmity among us. Our task is to proceed, with God's good grace, to exert our own labors with vision and courage so that the

American people may walk forward together hand in hand, free from bias or hate, and continue discharging their high responsibilities of leading this whole globe forward into a time where every man and every woman and every child may live his life out in peace. [Applause.]

FOREIGN AID AND THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, one thing, the press reports I think should be called very sharply to the attention of the Senate, since the Foreign Relations Committee is now considering the foreign aid authorization bill. I refer to the rather belligerent expression by President Nasser to the troops returning from the Yemen with respect to the continued posture of Egypt, of complete hostility to Israel. In Monday's newspapers it was reported that the Egyptian President warned his soldiers to prepare for war against Israel. And in Yemen, the air force of the United Arab Republic, serviced and maintained by Soviet Russian technicians, has been raining gas bombs on defenseless Yemeni villages in support of the United Arab Republic's army of 28,000 men in that country.

Mr. President, this has two connotations: First, it demonstrates that when we fail to hold the line rather sharply on interference by Egypt in pursuance of its policy of Arab hegemony under President Nasser in the Middle East, we reap this kind of result. In short, it is widely felt that Egypt's interference with troops in the Yemen was completely unwarranted; that Egypt has failed to withdraw from the Yemen, even under her agreement made with the United States for the removal of her troops under United Nations auspices. It is felt that our assistance only feeds the fire of intransigence and status of war in the Middle East—

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

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 2 additional minutes.

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

Mr. JAVITS. And, of course, the bellicose statements of President Nasser aggravate this situation.

Let us remember, too, that the air force of the United Arab Republic was maintained by technicians from the Soviet Union, and that there is bombardment of defenseless villages on the Yemen-Saudi Arabian border in support of Egypt's army in the Yemen, totaling 28,000 men.

Secondly, this expression of complete hostility against Israel bears out what I and others have testified to before the Foreign Relations Committee. We have emphasized the absolute necessity for safeguards to prevent the misuse of our economic assistance by such countries as the United Arab Republic which devote their resources to preparations for war and which, by hostile, aggressive actions, threaten the peace and security not only of their neighbors, but of the whole world, and divert the resources of their own country for the purpose of armament preparation along these lines.

I believe it is clear that, when we take up the foreign aid bill, we must consider some restraint on the conduct which I have just described. I hope very much, pursuant to the testimony and submission of proposals and amendments—those which are completely restrictive and those which simply express the sense of the Congress on the subject—the Foreign Relations Committee will include adequate provisions to indicate the attitude and views of Congress on this misuse of our foreign aid program.

I hope very much that it will not be necessary to deal with the situation by amendment on the floor, but if it is, so be it—it must be done. There is no one more devoted to foreign aid than I, and there is no one more devoted to the effort to reform the Arab world, rehabilitate it, and bring it to a modern state of prosperity. But I cannot sit idly by when that aid is distorted and abused for the purpose of adding to the fire of the war danger in the world in the manner in which Egypt has used these resources up to now. I deeply feel we must support this effort in the foreign aid bill, and that is why I trust that the Foreign Relations Committee will give the subject its urgent attention.

It is increasingly clear with every day's events as reported from the Middle East that we are not making any progress with the United Arab Republic toward the objectives of the massive aid program we are conducting in Egypt. Instead of freedom and peace through economic development and political stability, we are confronted by the destruction of private enterprise, by virulent threats and aggressive actions which create fear and disrupt stability, and by an arms race which effectively cancels out the salutary effects of U.S. economic assistance.

The situation calls for a sharp change in our policy toward the United Arab Republic along the lines of the amendment I introduced to the Foreign Assistance Act which will bar our aid to any nation that in effect uses it to endanger world peace. The United Arab Republic's current actions demonstrate that it is pursuing policies which are in direct contravention to the objectives of our foreign aid program. Our assistance is making it possible for these aggressive and disruptive policies to be put into effect, and I believe we can no longer allow ourselves to be in that position. I deeply believe that we must condition our aid to the United Arab Republic on a cessation of present hostilities and the arms race.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD with my remarks the reports in the New York Times of August 12 and 13 concerning the United Arab Republic.

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

NASSER CHARGES ISRAEL IS THREAT

(By Jay Walz)

ALEXANDRIA, UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, August 11.—President Gamal Abdel Nasser greeted troops returning from Yemen today as a fighting force ready and able "to defend Arab nationalist principles."

The United Arab Republic's President said there could be no disarmament in the Middle

East until the rights of the "Palestine people" had been restored in Israel. The armed forces must stand as a "national shield" against Israel, he declared.

"We must prepare ourselves to face Israel and the imperialists," President Nasser said, "so long as the situation in Israel exists, any call for disarmament in the Middle East would be a bluff."

"The entire Arab nation thanks you for what you have done," the United Arab Republic President told the veterans.

SIGNED TEST BAN TREATY

"We work for peace and we have signed the treaty to ban nuclear tests," he declared, "but we cannot reduce our army as long as we are threatened by Israeli attack. The Arab peoples feel safer because of you."

Two transports, carrying 3,000 soldiers and officers, were escorted into Alexandria's new marine terminal by naval units and the harbor's commercial and fishing craft, all with whistles open.

The returning troops were not the first contingent to come back from Yemen, but they were the first to be received at Alexandria and authorities took every measure to make it a noisy welcome.

In his 45-minute address, President Nasser made only oblique references to the military and civil situation in Yemen. He congratulated the troops on "bringing triumph to the revolution in Yemen" but did not disclose plans for withdrawing the armed forces still there.

United Arab Republic forces numbering up to 28,000 men have been in Yemen for most of the last year, supporting the revolutionary Government of Abdullah al-Salal. The United Nations is now trying to disengage the United Arab Republic on one side and Saudi Arabia on the other. The Saudi Arabians have been supplying arms and ammunition to tribesmen fighting to restore Imam Mohamad al-Badr to his throne.

Last Wednesday Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, deputy commander of Cairo's armed forces, reported, "Military operations in Yemen are over."

President Nasser said several times that his forces had fought in Yemen for all Arabs.

"Our responsibility was to the entire Arab world, not just to the artificial borders of one country," he declared. "Our forces were created to defend the whole Arab world. When we cheer for Arab unity, we mean what we say. You have offered your blood and your lives to back up our slogans. Ours is a free nationalist army that wants to liberate Arabs."

President Nasser rejected any suggestion that Egypt might join the Baath Party leaders, who now control Syria and Iraq, in Arab unity.

"We wanted unity with the Syrian and Iraqi people," he said, "not with the Baath Party, which rules through blood and fascism."

CAIRO ORDER NATIONALIZES 240 MORE INDUSTRIES

(By Jay Walz)

CAIRO, August 12.—The process of socializing the United Arab Republic went a step further today with the nationalization of a wide range of light industry and related enterprises.

Informed sources said a new wave of Socialist laws was in the offing. These would establish new limits on individual incomes and company profits. They would also increase taxes and place new restrictions on activity in certain fields of private enterprise.

At least 500 companies and businesses were said to be affected by the new nationalization orders. Dr. Aziz Sidky, Minister of Industry, listed 240 industries that were being taken over.

These included rubber products manufacturers, tanners, textile and flour mills, makers of paints, food processors, including dairies, soft-drink makers and candy manufacturers. Both domestic and foreign companies were on the list.

Service businesses affected included most enterprises engaged in domestic transport, such as trucking companies and Nile River bargelines. These are largely small companies that had escaped the sweeping nationalization orders of 2 years ago.

Government sources said the new measures were in accordance with President Gamel Abdel Nasser's National Charter, promulgated in May 1962. The charter provides that the "tools of production" shall be controlled by the people.

Former private owners of businesses receive long-term Government bonds for their stock holdings.

THREE CATEGORIES SEIZED

CAIRO, August 12.—Companies subject to today's nationalization order were listed in three categories: those partly nationalized and partly privately owned, companies under sequestration, and private companies. All now will be fully nationalized.

Owners of shares will be paid the nominal value by the Central Bank—up to 1,000 pounds (\$2,240) in cash, the balance in 15-year bonds.

PROGRAM BEGUN IN 1961

President Nasser inaugurated in 1961 a program of socialism under which most remaining private property and industry was commandeered. Estates of more than 100 acres were sequestered. As of May 1962, 82 percent of business and industry had been nationalized. The Government owned outright all utilities, railways, maritime, bus and air lines, banks and insurance companies.

One effect of this was to stimulate the emigration of foreigners and non-Arab minority groups of city dwellers—Greeks, Italians, and Jews.

Under the new laws, it was forbidden to earn more than \$11,500 a year or to accumulate large stockholdings.

The program of Arab socialism has been described as ruthlessly cutting down the rich and risking all on winning political support from the great masses of the poor.

The application of such laws is not always immediately clear. On June 15, a law nationalizing the pharmaceutical industry was promulgated. A spokesman for the Government said it did not apply to foreign companies engaged in joint manufacture with the Egyptian General Organizations for Pharmaceuticals and Drugs. One of these joint ventures is Pfizer Egypt, 60 percent owned by Charles Pfizer & Co., of New York.

LOW INSURANCE RATES FOR KANSAS NONSMOKERS

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the tobacco industry remains, for public relations purposes at least, skeptical of the evidence relating smoking to disease.

On the other hand, the insurance industry, which is hardly noted for setting rates on the basis of insufficient evidence, has apparently concluded that smoking creates a very clear and present danger to its policyholders.

Yesterday's Wall Street Journal reports that the State of Kansas has approved a nonsmokers' policy issued by Great American Reserve Insurance Co. Under its terms the nonsmoker's beneficiary may get as high as a 20-percent bonus. Perhaps this will encourage Kansas ladies to seek nonsmoking husbands.

The Journal points out that Great American is the first substantial insurer to favor the nonsmoker. I am sure that others will follow.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Wall Street Journal of August 8, 1963, be printed in the RECORD.

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

LIFE INSURER OFFERS KANSAS NONSMOKERS LOWER RATE

Beginning Monday, Kansas residents who don't smoke will have a chance to buy life insurance at cheaper rates than those offered the general public.

The State has approved a nonsmokers' policy brought out by Great American Reserve Insurance Co., a moderate-sized Dallas insurer. The policy offers to pay a nonsmoker's beneficiary 20-percent extra if the policyholder dies in the first 3 years; thereafter the extra amount will be based on actual mortality rates, which the company expects to be lower for nonsmokers than for the general population.

Travis T. Wallace, chairman of Great American Reserve, also is chairman of the executive committee of the American Cancer Society. He says Great American Reserve plans to offer its new policy in other States.

Until now only two small insurers, Executive Life Insurance Co., Beverly Hills, Calif., and Fortune National Life Insurance Co., Madison, Wis., have offered lower rates to nonsmokers.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUMPHREY BEFORE RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, recently my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] addressed the 75th anniversary convention of the Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO.

Senator HUMPHREY's remarks to the delegates attending that convention were of such consequence that they are worthy of thoughtful consideration by the Members of the Congress.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the remarks of the distinguished majority whip be printed in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

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

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY, SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, President Suffridge. I am very pleased to be with my friends from Minnesota, from your respective locals. I want to pay tribute in particular to local 1116 in Duluth, local 2 in St. Paul, and of course, there are others. There is the Minneapolis local. But we have got a lot of organizing work to do up in Minnesota yet and particularly do I want to salute Jerry Richgels and Elmer Foster and Ray Allen, and Eugene Johnson and Elwood Haynes.

Let me just pay my respect here to my colleagues who are present today. There are more Members of Congress here than I have seen for some time. [Laughter and applause.]

I know that you have heard a stirring message from one of the truly great men of the Government of the United States and of this country, and one whose friendship I have been privileged to share and to have as a gift for those many years. And I can think of no man that more honorably and faithfully and

courageously represents the ideals of democracy and the commitments to freedom than the senior Senator from the State of Illinois, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS.

And then just to make sure that you were in the Promised Land and that nothing could go wrong, and that you would have all the blessings and benefits of now and eternity, you were able to bring to this platform one of our new Senators, but not new in the service of his country, and not new in the service of the Congress, the great Senator from the 50th State in our Union, Senator DANNY INOUE. DANNY, I heard you did a great job. [Applause.]

I want to say that I am not sure I like DANNY too well. He is too young and too good looking. But I guess I ought to overcome those narrowminded shortcomings.

Then I heard too, that your Congressman here from the city of Chicago in the great State of Illinois, a gentleman I have been associated with on other platforms and one that has done very well for his constituency and his district and his country, ROMAN PUCINSKI, has also been with us and I want to salute him. [Applause.] ROMAN, that touch of gray there gives you a statesman-like look.

It is grand to be with you. I mentioned all these gentlemen because some of you may be asking right now, "What did you come for, HUMPHREY?"

Well, the real truth is that I just got invited. Chuck Lipsen said, "Take your choice. What would you like to do—a film that will run 30 seconds or a speech that will run 30 minutes?" And I didn't hesitate a minute. I took the speech. [Applause.]

But I want to disavow any intentions, any political ambitions other than the fact that I am here. Somebody said to me, "What are you coming down here for? Do you think it is going to do you any good?"

And I said, well, it reminded me of that story about the fellow that entered his mule in the Kentucky Derby. Some fellow came up to him and said, "Good brief, don't you know that at the Kentucky Derby they have the finest horses in the world, the finest bred, the top runners? Why that mule of yours hasn't got a chance. For goodness sake, what are you entering that mule for?" The fellow said, "I will tell you. I know he doesn't have much of a chance, but I thought the association would do him some good." [Laughter and applause.]

Now I just thought the association with the retail clerks would do me some good. So I thought I would come down here and be with you. [Applause.] And I want to pay my respects right now to one of the truly great men, one of the outstanding leaders, one of the most gifted leaders of the American labor movement, and I am sure you know that I refer to none other than the president of this great international union, Jim Suffridge. [Applause.]

He is a great man. Jim, we have worked with you through the years; it has always been a joy, and you have been a great help to every one of us who walks in what we think is the liberal tradition, in the path of progressive government. I want to express now my personal thanks and appreciation to the president and officers of this great international, one of the largest and indeed, one of the finest and greatest of all in the labor movement. I want to thank you and express my appreciation for the program that you espouse, for the stand that you take on the great issues of our times, for your basic decency and your sense of fairplay and your dedication to democratic principles in the labor movement of the United States. We are deeply indebted to you. Thank you very much, Jim. [Applause.]

Now, I just took off my watch. It doesn't mean a thing. It was just hurting my wrist. Somebody asked me one time, "Why do you do it?" I said, "Well, it does two things; it sort of terrifies the audience and it reassures

me, and both of those on some occasions are helpful."

I want to talk to you just a little while about matters which I am sure everybody discussed in a much more intelligent and forcible manner than I can, but repetition is a part of the process of education. These great conventions are not only for the purpose of bringing together the leaders of unions and locals for the purpose of discussing union business, but the fact that you have invited to this platform men of public life indicates to me that you are full citizens in every sense of the word; that you are interested in your country, you are interested in the world of which we are a part and the world that requires our leadership, at least our friendly cooperation and assistance. And I would like to talk to you, not about your union business, because you know more about that than I will ever know, but I would like to talk to you about our business as citizens and as Americans and as people who have a great responsibility today in a very difficult period of human history.

Everybody in Washington is well aware of what we call deficits. The columnists write of deficits. They speak of budget deficits. They speak of the problems of financing our Government and of the possibilities of inflation. The word "deficit" has a very definite meaning to most Americans. It generally relates to a deficit in cash or in income, and in the instance of Government, it relates to a deficit in the Federal Treasury or a budgetary deficit.

I am not here to say that a matter of this nature is of no concern, even though I must say that for a growing nation and for a nation that faces the problem of expansion and employment such as we do, a deficit is not something to be unexpected. Indeed, it is something that we may well face for several years to come.

But I want to talk to you about deficits that we ought to be thinking about even more seriously or at least as seriously as we do the fiscal deficit. I would like to speak about the deficits in education; the deficits that relate to our elderly and their needs; the deficits that relate to our youth; and the deficits that exist in our employment; and the deficits that exist in the fulfillment of the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation. These are the real deficits. [Applause.]

Until the people of the United States understand that these deficits must be overcome, then we will never have this Nation on the high road to prosperity and progress that it so richly deserves and which it must have to maintain world leadership.

Let me first speak to you of the deficit of education. Two out of every three people who are unemployed today, two out of every three who are on the unemployment rolls today, are people that have less than a high school education.

Now, don't misunderstand me. I don't say that it requires a college or even a high school education for a person to succeed. But, on the average, if you take the big picture, and if you remove from that picture just those who are so talented and gifted by God Almighty with innate talent, then I think it is fair to say that in the period ahead, in the decade ahead, education is as essential to job opportunity, to holding a job, to progressing and growing on that job, as the breath of life itself. Two out of every three people today without work are people who have less than a high school education. And of those with a college education, the percentage is so insignificant that it is hardly measurable.

I don't say that if you have a college education you necessarily are a better man. I simply say that your opportunities for your children—now, I am speaking about our children, my three sons, my daughter, your sons and your daughters—I am simply saying if they are going to do well in the generations ahead and the decades ahead, we

must see to it that they have a better education. It is just that plain and simple.

There is no ignoring it. And I say to you that the American educational structure today, despite tremendous efforts that have been made at local levels of government and by individuals and by corporations and by private gifts and by churches, despite all those efforts, my fellow Americans, our educational structure is in deficit. It falters.

There are too few teachers, too few good teachers; too few facilities; too few schools; and a tremendous population moving into the university and college area, the likes of which we have never known. As of this day, the 24th day of June, there are 1 million more 16-year-olds in the United States than ever before. The war babies are now of age. Next year there will be 1,400,000 more 16-year-olds than there were this year.

What are you going to do about them? They want to go to school. They are in high schools and the schools are already bursting at the seams and they want to go to the junior college, community college, regular colleges and the universities, and we haven't prepared for it and you know it. Now, population growth is here and it is going to be here in the foreseeable future and we had better start making up our mind that we have to do something about seeing to it that the youth of this land is given an opportunity for the best that modern education can provide.

Let me then offer this suggestion—there is something wrong with our educational structure when you have hundreds of thousands of school dropouts every year. And I think union people ought to be asking the educators of America, what is wrong with education when young people find that it doesn't satisfy their needs? And there are thousands and thousands of school dropouts and a million of them today unemployed.

And listen, here is a fact that will sting you.

Of all the young people in America today between the ages of 16 and 20, 18 percent are without work. And you wonder why they get in trouble? This is tailor-made for trouble.

They can't work in their daddy's drugstore because he doesn't own it any more. They can't work in their daddy's grocery store because daddy doesn't own the grocery store. He works for Safeway or A. & P. They don't work in their father's blacksmith shop—who wants a blacksmith? They don't work in their father's filling station or garage because many of those are not privately owned any more.

This is a different country. I can't remake it, but I know what it is. Most young people don't have a chance for work experience any more and they are going to have to get some of this in school, technical schools, vocational schools, and they are going to have to get some of it on the job. We had better take a look at our whole educational structure, because something is wrong with it or it wouldn't be in the trouble it is in today. And then we had better back it up with the resources it needs.

Let me give you another figure that would be of some interest. We have race problems in the country and, in this connection, we know that 38 percent of all the Negroes in the country between the ages of 16 and 20 are unemployed and, therefore, I am sure that you can see why some of these boys and girls get into trouble. They are bubbling over with vitality and they have to express it in some way. Therefore, what are we going to do about that?

Also, what are we going to do about the updating of our education, about recognizing this tremendous flow of new people coming into the school system. This also ties in with the other deficit of unemployment.

You know, in the greatest nation in the world we spend most of our time in figuring out how not to do things. We pay farmers

not to produce; we try to find out ways we do not have to produce in our factories at a time when the whole world is crying out for goods and services.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is not only economically wrong, but morally wrong. I say that a nation lives in sin that cannot find the genius and the knowhow and intelligence to utilize the gift that we have, of technology and science, the true opportunities that we have for good, instead of spinning our wheels and finding out how to slow up what we have created. That is wrong and I submit that more important than getting on the moon is trying to find out how we can move goods and services to mankind to meet the needs of a crying humanity before that humanity destroys itself in anguish and in pain and hunger. [Applause.]

Between now and 1970 some 27 million jobs are going to be affected by automation and here is what this means: That you are going to have to find out how to provide 300,000 jobs every month between now and the foreseeable future. It is just that simple. [Laughter.]

However, I want to make it clear that we are going to have to build three new General Motors complexes every month between now and 1980 or we are going to be saddled with unemployment. This is the simple fact and, of course, you cannot stop automation any more than you can stop the tides and apparently you are not going to stop the population.

Therefore, people are here. America is a big country, with a lot of room and it seems to me that we ought to be trying to figure out what we are going to do with our people and with our resources.

However, let me again drive this home—that between now and 1965 you are going to have 5 million more young people between the ages of 16 and 20. What are you going to do with them? And between now and 1970, you are going to have to figure out how to provide 300,000 new jobs every month. And, of course, how are we going to do it?

Of course, a shorter workweek is a possibility, but further, it requires investment, it requires expansion of trade, it requires a whole new idea of economics. It requires the rebuilding of many areas of this country, the expansion of systems of transportation.

People, of course, say, "How can we afford it?" Well, I don't know, but I know that we cannot afford to not afford it. Let me give you the alternatives because I don't think that people ought to be given easy choices. Everyone who asks me, "How can we afford it?" well, I would in turn ask them: "How can you afford not to?" I ask them to think that out and then, when they have the answer to that, then I, in turn, will come back and indicate to them how I think we can afford to do these things.

Of course, if this means that we have to revise our tax laws then, of course, I am for revising them. I say to you that we have to do some real fresh thinking in this country or we are going to find ourselves pinned to the wall by our genius of technology and science.

There is still another deficit. I mentioned the elderly. Why in the name of common sense can't the richest country on the face of the earth provide a decent life and a decent means of livelihood for the senior citizens of this country? There are many of you in this audience that have traveled the Scandinavian countries. Countries like Sweden, Norway, and Denmark can see to it that their elderly people are well housed, that they have medical and health care, and that they have opportunity for creative service and some opportunities for creative work. If this can be done by these little countries with all the problems that they have, then why cannot America do it?

I think that America, if it is willing to put its values right, can do it, but as long as we

pretend that these problems can be shoved aside, just as we are pretending that you can shove the problems of youth aside, then somehow we are never going to get at it.

Let me warn you, modern medicine has made it so that people are going to live longer; they are going to live to an older age and, therefore, you are going to have to do something about seeing to it that they will not merely survive but that they will live—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—not life merely as an existence—not survival for who desires to merely survive. That is hardly a worldly concept for a human being—but life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to which this country is dedicated.

However, in spite of this, we still mess and stumble around with our problems such as medicare. There isn't a person in his right mind who doesn't know that people who reach the age of 60 or 65 have a higher rate of illness with a longer duration in the hospital. Most of all, many of them have a lower earning power and some find their earning power directly cut off entirely.

Now, if some people are opposed to social security hospitalization and nursing-home care because they feel that it is not good, then what is the alternative? I ask them to give me a program that will suffice as one which will meet these needs of the elderly. After all, these people are with us now and they are entitled to the best that modern medicine and hospitalization can provide. Further, they are entitled to decent apartments and homes in which to live. You know that America can afford it and that we should do something about it. [Applause.]

Let me add that any government that is worthy of the trust of the people of this country will see to it that these things are done. I know of only one way to keep America out of the hands of the destructive radicals, and out of the hands of the extremists. That is for people of good faith, good sense, and good intentions to do the right thing. Somebody once said that evil triumphs when good men fail to act. That has been the trouble all along—we wait too long—we wait until the crisis is upon us and then it costs much more than it would have, had we planned a little bit.

Many of us know that you cannot operate this country; that you cannot operate this union; that you cannot operate any business without long-range planning. Therefore, we must look down the road and ask ourselves what we are going to do for our young people who are coming to us in ever-increasing numbers; what are we going to do about our educational systems which seem to be faltering? What are we going to do about our elderly whom we are blessing with long life but with very little living? Then let me ask you, what are we going to do about our unemployed? We know that unemployment is the most deadly cost that any government can have. The cost of unemployment, if it were calculated in lost income; if it were calculated in lost purchasing power; if it were calculated in lost manufacturing and lost business, plus the relief costs, would be fantastic.

Every taxpayer and every community pays through the nose and, worse than that, the individual is insulted by being told that he is not needed. Don't tell me that if countries such as France, Germany, and others can provide full employment—nations that were battered to their knees less than 20 years ago—America, with her great industrial complex and the most fantastic and efficient agricultural economy that the world has ever known, cannot provide an opportunity for any individual or person who really wants a job to have it.

Of course, that may mean retraining and, in many instances, just training so that these people can work. We have many men and women today coming up here from other areas of our Nation, from the agricultural

and rural economy where they were never taught anything; people who are coming to our great cities, looking for employment. Many of them are Negroes, our friends, and are people of the Negro ethnic group. What do they have when they come here? They come here with nothing but injustice heaped upon them. They come from areas that provide separate but equal schools, neither school systems being up to standard and all too often, if you please, many of them with no education at all.

I submit that the first duty of this Government is to see to it that those who have been denied the opportunity of an education, be first given the opportunity of catching up and catching up in a hurry and, of course, they can do it if this Government will cooperate, and that also means that you are going to have to cooperate.

Let me then conclude with regard to the final deficit, the worst deficit of all. One hundred years ago this last January Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery. It was a promise to a whole group of people in this country that never again would they be second-class citizens; never again would there be two kinds of people, but there would only be one. This Government has one citizenship for all. That is, you are a citizen of the United States of America and that, of course, is what our Constitution states—that is what the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments promise. Therefore, how in the name of conscience and humanity and human decency did we tolerate 100 years of naked prejudice and discrimination? For a century we have had a group that we call white citizens and another group that we call colored citizens, and in various areas of America we have pinned on the backs of those who could essentially least afford to stand the burden the terrible injustice and inequality of second-class citizenship.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is all over. I think that 1963 will go down in the annals of history just as 1863 did. The proclamation that was a promise will now be fulfilled. The question is not whether it will be fulfilled, because it will. The question is one of "when," and I am sure that it will be fulfilled this year. The only issue is how the Congress, the legislators, and the city councils and other officials will live up to their responsibilities under their oath of office and under the Constitution in order to see to it that at least equal rights privileges and immunities are given to every citizen in this land regardless of race, color or creed. Further, if the Congress fails, then we will invite disaster; we will invite violence; we will be asking for trouble.

Now, the President of the United States has presented to the Congress a minimum civil rights program—not a radical one—not an extreme program—but a minimal program. Some of us on this platform have worked toward this for years and I say to you in all humility, and yet in pride, that I sat in on the conferences for weeks to develop the program. I now ask your help—ask that you see to it that the Congress of the United States passes every single proposal that has been presented to it by the President of the United States. [Applause.]

Surely this union, above all others, can do it because this union has never known prejudice. You have not indulged yourselves in segregation or discrimination; you have lived by the principles of the democratic faith. You can lead because you have proven yourselves. We are going to need the help of the labor movement because all the labor movement of this country is not cleansed of this issue. We cannot tolerate in the ranks of organized labor those who say they believe in the working people, those who say that they believe in those who toil and yet discriminate. We cannot tolerate any form of discrimination or segregation or in-

tolerance and you know it and, therefore, I call upon this union to lead the fight in the AFL-CIO to abolish discrimination.

Sure this may upset old patterns, but this is a time for upsetting patterns. It is already too late. Further, I call upon you in your churches, in your clubs and in your communities to stand up and be leaders—to speak out against the ugly fact of discrimination; to speak out against it every time you have a chance, because then you will be working for your union and your country.

It is not good enough, my friends, just to go along and tolerate this because you want to be a good fellow. The gap in citizenship in this country needs to be closed. Your Government is spending millions of dollars to close the missile gap and you voted for it; your Government is going to spend \$35 billion more to close the space gap because we are in a world struggle with the Communists. What are you going to do about closing the citizenship gap? When are you going to see to it that every citizen, regardless of his race or faith, whatever his national origin, has full citizenship? May I suggest that each of the 50 States in the Union could do well to emulate the wonderful example of the State of Hawaii, which has learned how to live with first-class citizenship. [Applause.]

You have been a very gracious, considerate and kind audience. I have come to you to speak about what I believe are the real deficits—the deficits that affect our people—their education, their health, their jobs, their welfare and, above all, their dignity.

We have no right to deny another man that which God alone has given him—his self, his dignity, his own being, his own soul and those who discriminate and practice segregation or prejudice do not only do wrong to a man and human being, but I personally believe that they likewise do wrong to the Infinite power itself.

I believe that the time has now come (as I said 15 years ago) for the American people to walk out of the shadows of States rights and to walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights and I ask this great international to lead the parade; to carry the standards of humanity and of human dignity, and to carry those standards high.

Thank you very much. [Rising applause.]

ASSISTANCE GRANT BY MINNESOTA MINING & MANUFACTURING CO. TO EDUCATION PROGRAM

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. today announced its intention of giving \$1.5 million worth of visual communications equipment to schools across the Nation.

The company proposes to provide each of 500 schools with \$3,000 worth of teaching aids, the schools to be selected on the basis of written proposals detailing plans for the use of the equipment. All schools, both public and private, on all levels will be eligible for the grants, with selection to be made by a committee of leading educators and publishers. Announcement of the awards will be made in December.

Mr. President, I believe that the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. has set a fine example of social awareness and civic responsibility in making these grants, and it is my hope that other manufacturers, corporations, and foundations will follow the example of Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. in contributing their particular products

and special competence to the advancement of education and other desirable social goals.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Mr. Bert Cross, president of the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., be printed in the body of the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY BERT S. CROSS, PRESIDENT, THE MINNESOTA MINING & MANUFACTURING CO., AT ANNOUNCEMENT OF ASSISTANCE GRANT TO EDUCATION PROGRAM, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 13, 1963

The last decade has seen a swift and dramatic change of our environment.

Events have whirled about us at a dizzying pace, forcing us to rise to new situations, to accept new challenges hardly imaginable at the end of World War II.

The technological revolution has brought with it a great realization that in order to meet the demands of a fast-changing environment, it would be necessary to take a hard look at our schools. It became apparent that the schools of America had to assume the responsibility of turning out more and better trained students than ever before—students who would not only be our scientists and technicians but students who would provide this country with able and dedicated political, spiritual, cultural, and business leaders in an increasingly complex society.

It has become customary to credit the launching of the first Russian spunk with the awakening of Americans to the technological challenge of the future. The Soviet satellite did indeed raise a cry of alarm from all parts of the country for a reevaluation of our educational system.

Fortunately for America, the need for change had been recognized and acted upon by leaders within the educational movement long before it became a matter of public concern. As a result, educators, taking advantage of aroused public interest in education created by spunk, have given the national mentality a new and clear idea of what is needed in modernizing our teaching methods—not just in the physical sciences, but in all areas of learning.

While we must continually match and exceed the performance of the Communist world in scientific pursuits, as a means of defending our freedom, we must not forget that the very spirit of our freedom is contained in our religious and cultural traditions. And for that reason, we cannot permit our educational system to emphasize either area to the detriment of the other.

Today there is a general awareness that education in the United States is facing a double challenge—burgeoning school enrollment and the need to absorb knowledge discovered as recently as yesterday. As was recently stated: "The gap from idea to practice is shrinking fast."—Miss Terry Ferrer, education editor, New York Herald Tribune.

The challenge of educating record numbers of students in the complex facts of a swiftly changing environment places a heavy responsibility upon the teachers of America.

It is the teachers who must assimilate the latest knowledge in their fields and pass it on in a stimulating fashion to their students. Textbooks once regarded as basic are quickly made obsolete. Facts that were once committed to rote must be reevaluated in terms of modern findings.

Teachers can no longer lean on the comfortable facts of rules of yesterday. Rather they must condition their students in the thinking of today which will lead to breakthroughs of tomorrow.

It is the teachers who must organize and communicate their knowledge to the students. And they must do it in a manner

that will stimulate the interest, indeed fire the imaginations of our young people.

Much has been written and said about teaching machines in recent years—much of it creating the impression that machines will one day make teachers obsolete. It is my feeling that we should apply all that modern technology can devise to aid in the teaching situation. But I feel strongly that the best teaching machine ever invented is a good teacher.

In our free society, where the supremacy of the individual is paramount, we cannot overlook the importance of the individual in our attempts to mechanize our teaching system. Indeed, the health of our society depends upon the ability of the individual to explore freely whatever paths of knowledge and accomplishments to which his mind will lead him. The teacher must encourage him in that quest. It is this freedom of inquiry that sets our education system and the society it reflects apart from the dogma of the Communist system. America needs a perpetual wellspring of capable, inquiring, well-educated young people to keep our free enterprise system as the dynamic central force of our society in the years to come.

If you'll permit me to use an example that is familiar to me—as the operating head of a growing company that today employs more than 34,000 people, I am dependent upon the teachers of America to turn out the kind of students we will need to propel our company into the future.

As a company that is investing over \$33 million in research this year, we at 3M have a personal, vital interest in the development of young people who—well trained in the latest scientific methods, will make their contributions to the development of new and better products. As a company that must produce and sell these products, we look to our schools and to our teachers to send us students who can solve complex production problems and develop creative marketing programs.

As businessmen we are also vitally concerned about the cost of education. In our home State of Minnesota, for example, 53.7 percent of all local and State taxes collected go toward education.

As Minnesota's largest corporation our share of that tax bill is substantial, therefore, we have ample reason for wanting to get the most value for the money spent.

As citizens, we have a further concern since Minnesota's personal income tax, the third highest in the Nation for the average wage earner, is directed entirely toward the cost of educating our youngsters.

I am sure that the costs of education in your communities are just as high, perhaps even higher.

It is apparent, then, that we all have a great stake in our educational system.

For these reasons, and because we feel that private industry must assume an ever-increasing responsibility in assisting our educators, we are establishing the program we are announcing here today.

We are calling it the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. assistance grant to education program. Its purpose is to encourage the creative use of effective teaching tools in the schools.

The grant program will establish 500 teaching laboratories in schools from coast to coast. These schools will become model installations for the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. visual communications system.

Principals from every primary, secondary school and college in the country will be invited to make application for one of the grants. The winners will be distributed geographically so that every State will have model laboratories.

In order for each of these schools to truly become a laboratory—a showcase for other schools to emulate—they cannot be restricted to Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.

equipment. For that reason we hope that other manufacturers and foundations concerned with education will contribute their equipment and support to these selected schools.

Such a program will, we think, accelerate the acceptance of new methods for teaching—methods which must become commonplace in our schools of tomorrow if they are to meet the dual challenge I spoke of earlier. That is, they will be able to transmit the most up-to-date knowledge to an increasingly large number of students.

Tomorrow's schools will be a far cry from the schools you and I knew. They must be to keep pace with a fast changing society to reduce the timelag between the discovery of knowledge and its inclusion in the curriculum of the school.

And we at Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. hope that our grant program will further the process along by helping our teachers to discover new ways to meet the challenge that has been thrust upon them.

GIRLS' NATION REPRESENTATIVES FROM ARKANSAS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, the State of Arkansas was very ably represented at the Girls' Nation which met in Washington recently by two outstanding young ladies: Miss Carolyn Yeldell of Hot Springs, and Miss Polly Rennick of Brinkley. Miss Yeldell was further honored by the girls attending the conclave by being named as their minority leader, giving her a major role in guiding the group through its week's activities.

As you know, the Girls' Nation brings to Washington each year two fine young women from each State and gives them invaluable experience in formulating their own legislative policy and in the principles of good citizenship. I would like to congratulate these young ladies from Arkansas, both for the qualities of leadership which they have exhibited and for their interest in the program.

A COLLEGE WITHOUT FRESHMEN OR SOPHOMORES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Dr. Arthur A. Hitchcock, executive director of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, has kindly brought to my attention an article which appeared in the May 1963 issue of the Junior College Journal entitled "A College Without Freshmen or Sophomores," by Adelaide R. Snyder.

The article tells of the program being carried on at the Florida Atlantic University under the leadership of President Kenneth R. Williams. In reviewing the article I noted particularly Dr. Williams' comments as quoted by the author with respect to the average student. The paragraph reads:

This does not mean that only the exceptional above-average student will be selected for Florida Atlantic University. Dr. Williams feels that many so-called average students have simply not been challenged, and his goal is "to make learning so exciting and so creative that young men and women will rise above their previous standards. We cannot afford to waste any of the brainpower of our young people if we are to win the struggle now going on in the world for the minds of men. Florida Atlantic University will work to create a climate in which each

young man and women will find his best avenue of achievement."

I heartily echo the sentiments of Kenneth R. Williams as I have frequently indicated in our hearings on the President's comprehensive education bill. I feel that many Senators might find the article of interest and, therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

A COLLEGE WITHOUT FRESHMEN OR SOPHOMORES—FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY BUILDS ON THE JUNIOR COLLEGE MOVEMENT
(By Adelaide R. Snyder)

Florida Atlantic University, currently in its planning and construction stages in Boca Raton, Fla., will be the first institution of higher learning in the Nation to forgo its own freshman and sophomore years, thus acknowledging the major role of junior colleges in the education of the Nation's youth.

Newest in the Florida system of State universities, Florida Atlantic University will offer only the junior and senior years of the undergraduate program and graduate studies in selected areas. It will draw the bulk of its students from Florida's outstanding system of 29 public junior colleges which already bring the first 2 years of college within commuting distance of over 60 percent of the State's high school graduates. Florida Atlantic is located on the populous lower east coast of Florida and is, itself, within an hour and a half drive from five junior colleges, including those of Miami, Palm Beach, and Fort Lauderdale.

The need for another State university to serve the southeast coast was confirmed by a 1956 statewide study. A planning commission laid down the guidelines within which the new university would be developed.

In accepting the post of president in July 1962, Dr. Kenneth R. Williams also accepted a clear mandate to develop a unique institution, unlike any other in the Nation. Florida Atlantic University is scheduled to open on the trimester system in the fall of 1964 with a student body of 2,000 and a faculty of 165. Faith in this new concept of higher education, an upper-division senior university, was confirmed by recent action of the board of control (governing body of the Florida university system) which recommended that another university be projected at Pensacola, Fla., for opening in 1965 and that it, too, be an upper-division institution.

A close working relationship is being developed with the junior colleges to assure that their programs and the Florida Atlantic University courses will dovetail and make for a smooth transition for students. Task forces are coordinating curriculum planning in all subject areas, and joint committees will soon be established in the fields of guidance and counseling also.

The same cooperation is being developed with private junior colleges. Marymount, a 2-year liberal arts college for women, conducted by the Congregation of the Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary, will open in the fall of 1963 at Boca Raton. Already Dr. Williams and Mother de la Croix, head of Marymount, have pledged mutual cooperation. Facilities of Florida Atlantic University are available to Marymount, and on its part, the junior college has promised to welcome Florida Atlantic University students who need additional preparatory work on the freshman and sophomore level.

A second major departure from tradition will be Florida Atlantic University's emphasis of directed individual study through the use of modern technology. Heart of the campus will be the learning resources cen-

ter, the automated library, and the educational television studios. Through automation, more information will be available to students at a faster pace than is possible under conventional library methods. In addition, video and audio tapes, programed instructions, recordings, and other aids to learning will be available to students both for class use and for individual study.

"We anticipate a mature student body who come to us because they want to learn," Dr. Williams points out. "With 2 years of college successfully completed, most of the students will have their educational goals well-established. We intend to provide them with rich learning resources and to encourage them to move ahead at as rapid a rate as they are able. We are creating a center for learning rather than a facility for teaching, and we want each of our graduates to achieve depth in his area of specialization and breadth in his awareness that all of knowledge is interdependent."

This does not mean that only the exceptional above-average student will be selected for Florida Atlantic University. Dr. Williams feels that many so-called average students have simply not been challenged, and his goal is "to make learning so exciting and so creative that young men and women will rise above their previous standards. We cannot afford to waste any of the brainpower of our young people if we are to win the struggle now going on in the world for the minds of men. Florida Atlantic University will work to create a climate in which each young man and woman will find his best avenue of achievement."

The academic program at Florida Atlantic University will center around the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences and mathematics. Deans of these areas will supervise both the upper-division undergraduate program and graduate studies as they develop in each area. Institutes in teacher education, in business, and in engineering are planned.

Students preparing for teaching careers will earn the bachelor of arts or of science degrees with majors in their teaching field and will take professional courses in the institute. This follows the basic philosophy of the university which emphasizes the need for excellence in subject areas and acknowledges that today's elementary and secondary teacher must be able to lead pupils down much broader paths than ever before in order to prepare them adequately.

With learning thus emphasized and given the glamour treatment at Florida Atlantic University, athletics will be correspondingly deemphasized. There will be no intercollegiate competition in team sports such as football, but there will be strong programs in swimming, tennis, bowling, golf, and other recreational sports with a strong carryover for adult life. Extracurricular activities will center around academic areas and cultural programs.

The scheduling of classes and of facilities of the learning resources center will be designed to interest commuting students in remaining on campus for a full day's program. The campus is designed to accommodate a 20 percent resident population with 80 percent of the students driving in from a five-county area. There will be student study offices available to the commuters to give them a place of their own.

Currently under construction on the 1,200-acre campus, just 2 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, are five buildings totaling \$5.3 million. Scheduled for construction during the 1963-65 biennium are additional facilities at a projected cost of \$10 million.

Enrollment will double in 1965 with 4,000 students and a faculty of almost 400. By 1970, Florida Atlantic University will reach a student body of 10,000 and a faculty of 600. Total facilities could eventually house 25,000 students.

As the 2-year community college continues to gain in stature and to broaden its role in the total educational complex, the developments taking place at Florida Atlantic University may well establish the pattern for the next major trend in higher education—the 2-year upper-division university and graduate school.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I commend Miss Snyder and Dr. Williams upon this exposition of the Florida Atlantic University program. I also wish to thank publicly Dr. Hitchcock for having brought it to my attention.

EDITORIAL PROPAGANDA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, there was published in the Oregon Labor Press July 5, 1963, an interesting editorial which concerns itself with disclosures by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations about the abuse of rights and privileges of a free press. The editorial is entitled "Dirty Linen," and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the RECORD.

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

DIRTY LINEN

Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings last month disclosed how certain news wire services have abused the rights and privileges of a free press and of how Madison Avenue image merchants fed large doses of a foreign dictator's propaganda to unsuspecting American newspaper readers.

Purpose of the hearings was to determine how much paid-for foreign propaganda appears in the American press without the public knowing its origin.

The hearings revealed that the old International News Service (INS), a Hearst organization, had a special service department for nonnewspaper clients through which it received \$6,000 from the former Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic for turning out a series of articles on Communist and anti-Communist activity in Latin America. The material was distributed to the newspaper clients of INS as "news." The object was the gilding of Trujillo's public image as a staunch anti-Communist, a factor that was supposed to obviate the fact that he was a scoundrel.

Also exposed by the Senate committee were the machinations of Trujillo's press agents in getting an editorial praising him published in hundreds of U.S. newspapers. It described his regime as "a bulwark against communism, widely cited as one of the cleanest, healthiest, and happiest countries on the globe."

The editorial was written by a public relations firm that received half a million dollars annually in fees from the Dominican Republic Government. By paying only a \$175 fee, the Trujillo imagemakers were able to have the piece distributed to a nationwide mailing list of newspapers by one of the firms that supplies "canned" editorials free to editors. These "snow job" operations are financed by fees from clients whose viewpoint and self-interest are promoted in the editorials.

While paying lip service to the qualities of individuality and independent thinking, many editors use canned editorials because it relieves them from the weary chore of thinking, or from having to hire an editorial writer. Presumably these editors are sophisticated enough to know that anything they get free is propaganda paid for by the editorial service's clients, but they use the material anyhow. And the reader thinks the "snow job" editorial is the original product of the local editor's thinking.

(Organized labor is a favorite target of the business-financed propaganda factories. One, E. Hofer & Sons, is located in Portland, from which it blankets the Nation's press with a weekly envelope full of editorials. The company is bankrolled by various reactionary-thinking businesses.)

Another phase of the Senate committee hearing dealt with United Press International (UPI), the product of the 1958 merger of United Press and INS. UPI also has a special service department that assigns the news agency's reporters to gather material for public relations firms, business firms, and other nonnewspaper clients. UPI denied flatly that any of the material compiled at the request of nonnewspaper clients is distributed as news on its wires. But this denial doesn't deodorize the practice.

Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, chairman of the committee, sharply questioned the blurring of the lines between legitimate news gathering and editorial writing and the gimmicks that have been developed to slip special interest propaganda into American newspapers without the readers being aware of what is going on.

Press Associates, Inc., a news service for labor newspapers, said Senator FULBRIGHT's comments constituted a severe indictment of American newspapers that are willing to turn their columns over to the unidentified and raw propaganda of private agencies.

Even Editor & Publisher, the trade magazine of the newspaper industry, voiced concern over the damage the public relations-sponsored practices have dealt to freedom of information. The trade magazine commented: "You can't blame a Government official now if he refuses to talk unless he's given some guarantee he's passing information to a legitimate newsmen and not to an intermediary for a foreign dictator's press agent."

Almost as disheartening as the disclosures themselves has been the lack of publicity given by the press to the sins of its own industry. Newspapers never hesitate to point a finger at the malfeasances of others—and seem to have an affinity for putting union officials' woes on page 1—but apparently they prefer to bury their own dirty linen deep in the hamper of unpublished news.

ADDRESS BY THE LATE SENATOR KEFAUVER BEFORE RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, at the recent 24th quadrennial convention of the Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO, in Chicago, my good friend and late colleague, the able senior Senator from Tennessee, Mr. Kefauver, presented some illuminating and startling facts which merit the attention of us all.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator Kefauver's address be printed in the RECORD at the close of my remarks. It is a fitting reminder of the statesmanship of this great Senator who has been called from us.

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

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE ESTES KEFAUVER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

Senator KEFAUVER. President Jim Suffridge and distinguished officers and delegates to this excellent convention of the Retail Clerks International Association, I want you to know that I was highly honored to be asked to be with you again. This is my third

occasion. The last time, as Jim said, was in 1955 in New York.

I notice by some of the speeches I have been reading that Jim Suffridge is being claimed by some other States. I saw where Senator KUCHEL was out here speaking and he said he was especially glad to be here because Jim is from California.

But Jim is one of the finest citizens we have ever produced from the Volunteer State of Tennessee, and we are proud of him, as you are.

I heard that Joe DeSilva tried to top Senator KUCHEL by also claiming Jim as a Californian. Well, Joe is always bright and imaginative and doing things in a way to credit what Tennessee does and he is my old and good friend.

I have been reading the program that you have had at this very wonderful convention. I see where you have had almost every Member of the U.S. Senate, or at least some of the very best ones. I guess your convention is the reason we haven't been able to get a quorum in the Senate for some 10 days. [Laughter and applause.]

And I am happy to be here with my good Illinois congressional friend, KENNETH GRAY. I didn't get here in time to hear his speech. In case you didn't know it, he is not only a good Congressman and a fine speaker, but he is the best magician we have in the Congress and one of the best in the country. The fact is that I am sort of an amateur magician myself. I can make a rope disappear. And KEN and I sometimes put on performances together. Maybe you will give us the chance to perform the next time you invite us.

I think it is wonderful that you are celebrating your diamond jubilee convention. Seventy-five years is a long time in this age. Seventy-five years ago there were more horses than horseless carriages. For one who can remember that far back, like my good friend Jim Suffridge, it is difficult to imagine that in the lifetime of younger folks such as Chuck Lipson and myself that daily trips to the moon may become commonplace.

Almost everywhere you look there is a remarkable change. Take this very union, for example. When Jim Suffridge took over as president in 1944, it was relatively small. I just want to say parenthetically that this is a fine example for people to follow in connection with the U.S. Senate. I just hope the fine delegation here from Tennessee and all the retail clerks who have been so very wonderful to me in my campaigns will remember I want to be in the Senate as long as Jim has been president of the Retail Clerks International.

Today yours is the sixth largest affiliate of the AFL-CIO and the largest organization in the world exclusively for retail employees. I saw where the Ford Foundation says that you will soon become the first or second largest union in the AFL-CIO, and I expect they are right. This not only speaks eloquently for the fine organizing work of your leadership and the attraction that your high standards and your goals have for those in retailing. It also speaks well of the fine organization that you have.

There never has been any rumor of any dishonesty or any shortcuts among the members of this organization. Jim Suffridge has given you excellent leadership, as have your other officers.

I have observed that in your local organizations you have excellent leadership, not only teaching your people to be good members, but to do a good job in salesmanship, be good citizens in the community, and take part in political activities, whatever their convictions may be. In that regard I want to say that Chuck Lipson has done a very good job in helping direct this part of your activity.

I think it is typical of your great organization that you have the James A. Suffridge

scholarship fund to inspire young people to get an education. This, I want to say, is unionism at its best.

So your progress is due in large part to the fine leadership and to the membership that you have. I want to say that your progress is also an important sign of the vast changes that have taken place in the last few years and that are continuing to take place in our economy and indeed in the entire frame of our lives.

As Margaret Mead has so wisely observed, "The most vivid truth of our age is that no one will live all his life in the world into which he was born, and no one will die in the world in which he worked in his maturity."

In the American society of 75 years ago, when this organization was founded, farming was the primary way of life. Many families represented largely self-sufficient economic units; they grew their own food and made their own clothes. What little they bought, they most likely got from a general store with a limited stock a day's buggy ride away.

Today our way of life is primarily urban. Only about 11 percent of our people now live on farms, and that proportion is less than half what it was in the 1930's. But whether we live in the city or on the farm, however, we now buy virtually all of the necessities and social amenities of life in the marketplace.

And what of the dimensions and nature of that marketplace? The general store, if it exists at all, is a curiosity of the past. Its place has been taken by a vast assortment of retail outlets—supermarkets, discount houses, huge drugstores that sell everything from aspirin to automobile tires.

No longer is the marketplace bounded by the limits of a city, a State, a nation, or even a hemisphere. As many of you know, today's shopper can walk into almost any store and comparison shop not just among two or more American-made products in the same line but also among many competing products made in the Far East or Europe or, in some cases, Latin America.

The impact of these changes is being felt everywhere. But in many areas it is not being dealt with as it should be. I know that all of you are familiar with the Federal-State local program of vocational education in our public schools, particularly that part having to do with the distributive trades. A Presidential panel which studied this program recently reported that we are far behind in training and retraining our people adequately for our changing world of work.

In one study of more than 3,700 high schools, only 5 percent offered distributive education courses. Another study revealed that out of every 200 persons employed in wholesale and retail trade, only 1 had received any formal training in that field. I would recommend that some of you get to the members of the schoolboards in your communities. Moreover, federally assisted programs of distributive education are still limited to those in which students receive a part of their instruction in an actual job; no preemployment programs are aided by Federal funds. I think that they should be. I think that we are missing a bit if we do not tailor these programs to fit the need as well as the opportunities for trained people in retailing.

The demand for such people is expanding. And, as the Presidential panel points out, graduates of these programs are less likely to be unemployed; they do in fact work in the occupations for which they prepare; and the training they receive increases their subsequent earnings.

I know that you, your locals, and your national organization will do a great deal to try to teach and to show the members of your organization to be good salesmen; how to be fair to the customer; how to know the

commodities you are selling so you can explain them; but I do think that educational programs in the distributive field would also be of great value.

From the other side of the counter, the consumer's side, there is also a need for action at the Federal Government level. Businessmen have their Department of Commerce; workers have their Department of Labor; and farmers, though their number is dwindling, still have their Department of Agriculture.

Yet, nowhere in the Federal Government is there any official, independent voice for the consumer—and that term applies to just about everybody these days.

When the Interstate Commerce Commission makes a decision on railroad rates, or the Federal Power Commission on gas rates, or the Federal Trade Commission on an unfair trade practice, or the Federal Communications Commission on telephone rates, all of us as consumers have a direct stake. However, the trouble is that these agencies do not speak for the main consumer. The trouble is that these agencies have gotten to be referees between big contesting corporations without very much regard to what effect it is going to have on the consumer.

I am sponsoring a bill, along with 27 other Senators, to establish a consumer council. The idea would be that consideration would be given at the top level of Government to the points of view of the consumer. The viewpoint will be given before the regulatory agencies, before the committees of Congress and even in the courts. What effect action by these groups will have on the consumer will be presented. Here a record would be built that actually would help the consumer. It would be intended that this be a clearing-house for consumer activities throughout the Nation.

There are other bills intended to help the consumer and the public which I think ought to be passed and some of which I know have been described here. I am sure that the great Senator from Illinois, PAUL DOUGLAS, told you about the truth-in-lending bill.

Somebody selling on credit or on interest should be willing to let you know how much interest they are really charging. I know it is not a very difficult matter to know.

A lot of people buy things by paying exorbitant rates of interest and may not even know that they are doing so. This is just a matter of being fair and open and honest with the customer. These days, if you are like I am, most everything of any importance you purchase is on the installment plan, where we pay interest.

Another bill of great importance is the truth-in-packaging bill, which is largely sponsored by Senator HARR, of Michigan.

Unfortunately the supermarkets of today do not have enough people in them to explain to the housewife the selections she has in corn flakes or in the various other commodities on the shelf. The container is largely the salesman in many of these supermarkets, and yet we find the number of ounces a bottle contains is written in such fine print that nobody can see it. We find, in connection with cereals and insecticides and many other things, that about half the package contains air.

One manufacturer, for instance, will make a large package and have it two-thirds filled and the rest will be empty. Then another, in order to keep pace and not be taken advantage of, will sometimes have to do the same thing.

We have a "5 cents off" but it doesn't say what it is off of.

We have a big gallon and yet I believe that every gallon is just about the same.

We have 3½ ounces for 69 cents and 5.2 ounces for 97 cents. You would have to have an IBM machine to figure out which one you were receiving the better buy on.

I think the package ought to contain information which will enable the customer to sensibly decide what she wants to get and where she is getting the best purchase. This is all the truth-in-packaging bill provides.

I am happy to say this measure has been favorably reported on by our Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. I would urge you to give it your favorable consideration.

In discussing the many changes that have taken place in our way of life over the years one cannot overlook the fact that we are living longer and, of course, in relation to this, we can consider many things: better food, better medical care, better housing, better and safer drugs.

As you know, because many of you helped to get it through, the last Congress enacted a very important piece of drug legislation that has become known as the Kefauver drug law. This law does many things that ought to result in better, safer, and more effective drugs.

It imposes strict rules on factory inspections and manufacturing quality. It requires new drugs to be effective as well as safe. It gives the Food and Drug Administration greater latitude in considering new drug applications. It requires that the information which drug manufacturers put out to physicians about drugs be more honest about their harmful side effects, as well as their helpful properties.

Our committee received more complaints about the unreasonableness of prescription price than anything else. Drugs that would cost 50 cents for a person who would have to take several a day, maybe for arthritis, would be less to other individuals.

We found that by whatever test you made, whether by cost of production, whether by comparison with what drugs sell for in other countries or by the way that the Government and the States purchase them, there wasn't any reason whatsoever for any of these drugs being as high priced as they were. I am sorry to say that while some of them have come down many of them still are high priced and unreasonable.

Anyway, we did enact a drug law that has some very good features in it. For instance, whereas medicine given to animals is required to be effective, medicines prescribed for individuals might not contain anything effective or worthwhile at all. For example, if it were pure and would not kill you, such as a glass of water with a little coloring in it, it could be sold as medicine.

We found that factories were not being inspected and that some manufacturers would not allow them to be inspected. We also found that there were a lot of bathtub operations and so now all manufacturers have to register before they go into business.

We found also that many of the companies were not correctly stating what a drug would do and that in many cases the side effects might result in cataracts or even in death under some circumstances. Of course, in many cases, some of the additives contained therein were not stated in the advertisements pertaining to the various drugs. Well, this has now been corrected.

We also require that the generic name be in type half as large as the trade name and that, of course, is very important relative to the purchasing of drugs. Do you know that you can get your doctor to prescribe some drugs by generic name, such as Prednisone, which is for arthritis. That is the generic name. The cost to you will be about 2 cents a tablet. However, the very same material, when purchased by its trade name from one of the larger companies, would cost you 20 or 28 cents per tablet.

Some of you who have high blood pressure purchase Isuprene, which is the generic name of the drug. You can get a thousand tablets for \$1.50. However, the very same material purchased at the same place by the trade

name would cost you about \$39.50 per thousand.

We are making great strides in many places and getting people, States, and hospitals to buy by generic name. However, some drugs are patented. In that case, whether the generic or trade name is used, the price is just the same. For example, it costs about 1 cent to make antibiotic tablets according to Pfizer. This product is sold to the drugstore for about 27 cents. However, you pay 50 cents for the same tablet. Incidentally, they are selling the same thing, even though made here, in some foreign countries for very much less.

I am in favor of people having protection in connection with patents; by the same token, I think the health and the welfare of our people ought to have some consideration.

I have introduced a bill concerning the markup. If markup is more than 500 percent—five times the cost of production plus allocation for research, plus overhead, plus everything else—and they continue to insist on selling it for more than 5 times the cost, then the bill provides for cross-licensing so that other manufacturers can compete upon paying an 8-percent royalty.

The United States, Panama, and Brazil are the only free nations in the world where there is not some way of getting drugs to people that need them, where the price is unreasonable, or where they are not being properly distributed.

Now then, before closing, I want to touch on two matters that I know are of interest to you.

There has been an effort for quite a long time to put the labor people and organizations under the antitrust laws. It sounds simple, easy, and extremely reasonable to say that we will just put the unions under the antitrust laws and there are some bills before the Judiciary Committee for the purpose. I don't think that the public generally recognizes what that would mean.

The antitrust laws were not made to apply to a man's labor. A man's labor, his activity and work, is not a commodity in commerce. That has always been the history and the attitude that we have taken.

Furthermore, if you simply applied the antitrust laws to labor, that would mean two people could not get together in a concert of action for the purpose of trying to get better working conditions or better wages. I don't want any part of that insofar as I am concerned. The labor movement is not going to be destroyed by placing it under the Sherman or Clayton antitrust laws. [Applause.]

I also noted there is a great deal of interest in the so-called right-to-work laws that too many of our States have. For my part, I voted against the Taft-Hartley Act. [Applause.] I voted to strike out the provision that would allow States to have right-to-work laws. [Applause.] There is still a lot of interest in that in the Congress of the United States.

Now, this matter of right to work may sound pretty good. Of course, everyone likes to have a right to work, but this is really just another effort to make it very difficult for you to organize, to suppress labor organizations, to have different rules applicable in different States even though they might be the same manufacturing plants and to allow some to get a free ride even though they contribute nothing in the way of organization and anything in the way of dues. If I were a member of a State legislature, I would certainly vote against a right-to-work law in that State. [Applause.]

I think the Congress could do more or better work if we had better information and if we had better people and teamwork between the legislative and executive branches. I would like to tell you about another effort that some of us are interested in and that

is that at the present time we all serve on two committees in the Senate. I cannot even keep up with what is going on in these two committees let alone know about Foreign Relations, Commerce, and the many other committees.

Therefore, we need to have some way so that the Members of Congress can have an opportunity of hearing from the Cabinet members face to face every so often about their problems—asking them questions, getting reports from them—so that we can have better communication. This would be good for the Congress, it would be good for the Cabinet members, and it also would be good for the country because we all need to know more about decisions that are being made—the problems of government and the work of the Congress and the executive branch of the Government.

Sometimes bad legislation slips by and becomes law because Senators and Representatives are not as well informed as they ought to be. I doubt that the communications satellite giveaway bill would have gotten through last summer if the heads of the various agencies concerned had been invited on to the Senate floor to answer questions.

I would like to say that we have a great country; we have made the most remarkable educational and economic growth and development of any people in the world. A large part of that has been due to the free labor union movement, where you have worked for progressive programs, where you have taken an interest in politics and in the affairs of your communities. I congratulate your members and the members of your locals upon the fact that in every town I visit I always find some members of the retail clerks taking part in those efforts for the good of government and for the programs for your people.

This country of ours is blessed with the finest institutions in the world, a democratic government, a prosperous labor movement, and a free enterprise society that has given us things to make our work easier and our free time more pleasant.

However, you know as well as I that the best institutions stay in step with the times. A minimum wage of 75 cents an hour may have been adequate one, two or three decades ago, but everyone agrees this would be far from adequate today and so it is with the other institutions of our society.

The course that I have always tried to follow, and I think that your fine organization follows under your president and your other officers, is the one which reflects the past and tries to carry the good things of the past forward into the present, but it is also the course that recognizes that there is no returning to that which is gone. The problems of the sixties are different from those of the thirties or forties. They require new solutions, new ingenuity, new boldness, new imagination.

In this 75th anniversary year of the Retail Clerks International Association you can look back with genuine pride upon a past of great accomplishment for the benefit of your growing membership and of society generally. At the same time, I am sure that you and your leaders are looking forward to the challenges of the future, setting new goals, planning new achievements.

I congratulate you for what has gone before and extend best wishes for what lies ahead. May your next 75 years be even more successful than the last and I wish you the very best of luck.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS ACT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair

lay before the Senate the unfinished business, S. 1321.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 1321) to provide for a National Service Corps to strengthen community service programs in the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

BUDGET UNDERSTATES SPENDING BY \$10 BILLION COMPARED TO 10 YEARS AGO

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on Monday, July 29, I gave a speech on the floor of the Senate dealing with possible changes that might be made in the Federal budget. The purpose of these changes is to make the budget a more meaningful and useful document for Members of Congress and for the public generally.

In the course of my earlier speech, I referred to a report which was to be issued shortly by the Statistics Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, of the Joint Economic Committee. That report has now been issued unanimously by the subcommittee, and I believe it is the best single statement that has ever been published on the general need for changes in the budget document. To my knowledge, this is the first time, at least in many years, that a congressional committee or subcommittee has examined the Federal budget in terms of its nature and format. I strongly urge all of my colleagues to look at this report and to assess the recommendations that are made within it.

In my speech on the 29th, I discussed the first major recommendation contained within the report; namely, that the budget be presented along program lines as well as by individual agencies. As I indicated, the advantages of such a presentation are that comparisons could be made about the costs and relative benefits being obtained by different programs aimed at the same objective, such as in education, in research, and so on.

I pointed out at that time that no one in the Congress or the executive branch—not the President of the United States, not the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee—no one can tell the Congress or the American people how much is spent on foreign aid, and that no one can tell us how much is spent on education, because foreign aid programs and education programs are scattered throughout the budget and appear in no one place. It is virtually impossible to assemble them, because there has been no system for doing so.

The second major recommendation in the report is that the scope of the budget be broadened to encompass all of the financial activities in which the Government engages. It will perhaps come as a surprise to many in this Chamber that the budget at the present time is not comprehensive in scope. Yet many types of activities in which the Government engages are now either excluded

entirely from the budget document or included only in a partial and superficial way.

Not only is the Federal budget incomplete, but the types of items that are included change over the years. The result of these changes has generally been to reduce the levels of expenditures and receipts shown in the budget.

The fact is that spending programs as now shown in the budget are some \$10 billion less than they would be if the budget were as inclusive as 10 years ago.

That is, if we used a comparable basis for fiscal 1964, if the 1964 budget were on the same basis, we would have to increase the spending totals by at least \$10 billion, and the amount of Federal spending would be that much more.

This is because of such changes as showing tax receipts net after refunds, the handling of the gas tax and the highway trust fund, and reduction of Defense spending by showing a net figure after the selloff of surplus items.

The result: It is virtually impossible to make meaningful comparisons of budget totals from year to year.

BUDGET BUREAU IMPROVEMENTS

Before commenting, however, on this lack of inclusiveness of the present budget, I think some compliments should be extended to the present Bureau of the Budget. A number of changes have been made in the budget in recent years that have substantially improved the inclusiveness of coverage of the document. First, there has been a shift in emphasis in this year's budget from the classic administrative budget totals to the so-called cash budget. The effect of this change has been to include in the budget totals details of the operations of most of the trust funds, but not all, including the social security operations, highway trust funds, and a number of others.

Another change made by this administration has been the elaboration of a number of special analyses at the back of the budget document. These special analyses include information on public enterprises, on foreign currency, on investment capital outlays, on Federal credit programs, on activities in public works, and on research and development programs. The information in these special analyses includes not only elaboration on some material to be found in the body of the budget, but also a considerable amount of additional material that is extremely informative for anyone interested in the general activities of the Government.

NEED FOR CONSTANT COMPREHENSIVE BUDGET

Both the Congress and the American people should have full and accurate facts on the spending of tax dollars.

To provide this, what is in and out of the budget should remain constant over time so that year-to-year comparisons can be made as to how Government expenditures and receipts are changing.

The only solution to this problem is to have complete comprehensiveness within the budget. Only completeness cannot be changed from year to year.

The failure of the spending by many Government agencies to be included in the budget is made even more serious because in many cases they do not even

report expenditures to the Government's disciplinary fiscal arm: the Bureau of the Budget.

Also, it is now impossible to tell from the budget what actions the administration has taken within its own large discretion for fiscal policy purposes.

For example, early in 1961 when the Kennedy administration came into office, a number of administrative actions were taken by the President to stimulate the economy from the depths of the existing recession. It is virtually impossible in subsequent budgets to determine either the nature of these actions or their dollar significance.

The administration can exercise control in a number of ways, such as the rate of spending by agencies and the rate at which contracts are let. Advance information on the estimated use of these controls would obviously be significant in assessing the fiscal impact of Government.

Mr. President, many of the experts who appeared before the subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, pointed out that it is extremely difficult with the present budget documents, to obtain any kind of information on Government spending and taxing which is necessary in order to have a useful and accurate prediction of how the economy is to operate. The Government of the United States is an extremely important factor in our economy. It is vital for economists to know how the Government regulates its spending. If the budget could reveal what plans the Government may have to speed up or slow down its spending or to speed up or slow down contract letting, it would be very helpful in planning more efficient Government action.

As I pointed out, the Kennedy administration did exactly this in 1961. It speeded up spending in order to get us out of the recession. However, no estimates were made at the time as to how much the speedup in the spending would involve. The result was that economists and others were not able to use the information for business planning, and the economy was not able to move ahead with the kind of intelligence furnished by the Federal Government, which better organization of the budget would permit.

LOAN AND GUARANTEE PROGRAMS INADEQUATE IN BUDGET

Another area in which additional information could be provided in the budget concerns loan and guarantee programs. Despite the fact that all these programs have been created through legislation and that most of the lending agencies are instrumentalities of the Congress responsible to it, surprisingly little information is available on many of their activities.

The following agencies enjoy this immunized, free-of-scrutiny status: the Exchange Stabilization Fund, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Federal intermediate credit banks, banks for cooperatives, the Federal land banks, the Federal home loan banks, and the Federal Reserve banks.

Mr. President, it should be realized that the budget is not the comprehensive document which many Americans who use the budget constantly assume it is. There is no question that the size of the budget is used regularly by editorial writers, political leaders, and others in pointing to increases in Government spending. However, the budget does not disclose this information. Not only does the budget not disclose the necessary information, but in making comparisons over a period of years it is absolutely inaccurate. That is why the budget should be revised to include all spending by the Government, on a constant basis year after year, so that proper comparisons can be made.

Many other loan and loan guarantee programs are to be found in a halfway house. They are shown in the budget but only by a limited portion of their total operation. Data on loan guarantees of the Export-Import Bank and the secondary market operations of the Federal National Mortgage Association, for example, are seriously inadequate.

The basic problem is that these operations are largely self-financing and the need for additional funds from the Congress is relatively slight. Thus, these agencies are included in the budget only on a partial basis even though they exercise a substantial monetary influence on the economy. A number of us in the Senate and in the House have criticized the Federal Reserve System on its monetary policies. Yet, how many of us have detailed information on the monetary policies of the FHA, or FNMA—the Federal National Mortgage Administration? How many can say what the interest rates and maturities are on loans provided by the Export-Import Bank? In many cases these agencies provide loans that could not be made through private financial institutions. In many other cases, the terms of the loans are subsidized. Yet, we have virtually no measures by which to judge the nature of these subsidies.

Any measure by which to gage, judge, and evaluate the monetary impact is important when such huge Government funds are involved.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISE OPERATIONS CONCEALED IN BUDGET

There is one more type of Government operation that should be incorporated in the budget in greater detail. This third type of operation is the so-called public enterprise. The essence of these public enterprises is that while they do not make loans, they are engaged in providing services for which prices are charged. Information should be in the budget on pricing practices, on cost levels, and on the forms of products or services being produced. Yet, I doubt whether anyone in the Senate could obtain this sort of information from the budget for the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Post Office Department, or the Public Housing Administration, much less for the many smaller public enterprises such as the Inland Waterways Corporation, the Panama Canal Company, the Alaska Railroad, the Virgin Islands Corporation, or the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. I do not question the ap-

propriateness of the Government being in these businesses. I question rather the inadequacy of Government knowledge about Government business.

This is the type of information that seems to me should be available to a Member of Congress in order that he can do his job most effectively. There is an even more fundamental principle at stake. Information on these operations of the Government should be available in a form such that individual citizens can also learn about the activities of their Government and judge the merits of these activities. Such knowledge seems to me essential for the effective operation of a government in a democracy.

The unanimous report by the Statistics Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, which was compiled by the staff of the Joint Economic Committee, particularly by its very gifted fiscal economist, Dr. Roy E. Moor, is so useful that I have sent copies of it to all members of the Appropriations Committee, and I have asked them to give it their attention. Some members of the Appropriations Committee have already written to me that they are impressed by the report, and that they intend to study it. Some of them indicated that they believe favorable action might well be taken on some of the recommendations made by the subcommittee.

We have also sent a copy of the report to the Bureau of the Budget. The staff of the Joint Economic Committee has been in close touch with members of the staff of the Bureau of the Budget, and has asked them to put some of these recommendations into effect. I report that the Bureau of the Budget has been very encouraging in indicating that it will give these recommendations serious consideration. There is an excellent possibility that the Budget Bureau may, as they often have in the past, act to accept the committee's recommendations.

I hope that Members of Congress will give this subject their attention. It is important that there be as accurate and complete a basis as possible for evaluating governmental spending. It is obvious that we do not now have such a system in the present budget not only in terms of economic policy and fiscal and monetary policies, but also in plain terms of the efficient operation of our Federal Government.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS ACT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1321) to provide for a National Service Corps to strengthen community service programs in the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the National Service Corps bill will be a direct and practical way of molding the humanitarian concern of this Nation into an effective weapon against the hardship, the misery, and the poverty which still blight the lives of too many of our fellow countrymen. This country has never accepted the dictum of Hobbes that the life of man is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short," and I hope it never will. Our concern for the well-being of all our citizens and our determination not to rest until the last trace of poverty and misery is driven from our land may be an idealistic goal, but not a sentimental one. The dedicated volunteer corpsmen who will go out across the country, bringing their skills, their knowledge, and, most of all, their good will, will be "seedsman" of hope and inspiration, not only to those they are helping, but also to others who will be encouraged to devote their time to volunteer work.

The National Service Corps would supply trained, highly motivated volunteers to help local communities to strengthen existing public-service programs or to aid in the establishment of new ones. Beginning with 150 to 300 volunteers, the number of corpsmen would increase in the first year to about 1,000. In 3 years, 5,000 corpsmen, the maximum number permitted by the bill, would be at work throughout the country. The Corps will work with migratory workers, the mentally ill and retarded, with American Indians, with school dropouts, and with the elderly and the disabled.

The National Service Corps is intended to be one among many tools in the fight against hardship and poverty. Obviously, 5,000 men and women cannot solve all the age-old problems of human suffering. But I know that the dedicated energies of these volunteers will inspire others to join in the many volunteer efforts already in progress. They will work with the forgotten and overlooked human beings who make up the world of the invisible poor. In doing so, they will make the Nation aware of the problems which still crush so many of us, and what can be done to help.

One important aim of the National Service Corps will be to encourage and to stimulate local solutions to local problems. The eloquent testimony of the State and city officials, and of representatives of private agencies clearly shows that they will welcome the additional strength the Service Corps will bring to their own efforts. The support the National Service Corps program has received from such groups as the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National Association of Social Workers, and the National Social Welfare Assembly among others is eloquent proof that men and women in day-to-day contact with the problems which the corps will tackle, see it as a valuable aid to their work.

It is the widespread enthusiasm for this program among people in local government and in the field of social welfare which has convinced me that the Service Corps will be a practical and successful program. For it is the leadership and

initiative of the men and women in the local communities which will make the Corps work. It is they who will design the projects and administer the day-to-day tasks of the corpsmen. The bill expressly provides that:

Projects under this act shall be undertaken only upon local invitation and in cooperation with interested governmental and nongovernmental agencies.

The sponsoring agency must first submit a detailed plan, indicating how and where corpsmen will be used, who will supervise the project and what contribution the local community can make to the project. The Director of the Corps can approve or reject a project, but he cannot on his own motion place corpsmen anywhere he wants to.

To further insure that Service Corps projects will not duplicate or be in conflict with existing State government programs, the bill requires that—

The President shall request the Governor of each State in which one or more requests for corpsmen have been initiated to consult with the Corps and the groups or agencies making such requests, and submit recommendations to the President concerning each request. Before undertaking a project, the President shall assure himself that any recommendations received from such Governor have been given appropriate consideration and that such project will not displace regular workers or duplicate or replace an existing service in the same locality.

The Service Corps will be a means whereby the local community can draw on the knowledge and skills of the entire Nation. But the program is designed so that these trained volunteers will work with a community, in a program developed by the community itself. A great deal of careful study has gone into this program. More than 50 ideas for projects were submitted to the President's Study Group on a National Service Corps by various State and local, public and private organizations throughout the Nation. Twelve of these suggested projects are outlined in detail in the hearing record. A glance at these projects will show the very practical work that corpsmen would be doing. On an Indian reservation, they could act as instructors for self-help housing programs, run nursery schools and clinics; in a hospital for the mentally retarded they would help regular personnel as teachers aids and recreational aids; working with migrants, they would give basic education to adults and vocational guidance to the youngsters.

It is important to remember that these projects are not the brain children of a bureaucratic planner. They were worked out by men and women of wide experience who know the help that trained volunteers can be to them in tackling the problems of a community.

Mr. President, there are many Americans, young and old, who are anxious and able to help our less fortunate citizens. The Corps will draw not only upon enthusiasm of our young people, but upon the wisdom and experience of retired persons. There are a vast number of people both young and old ready to help if given a way.

Obviously, 5,000 men and women cannot solve all the age-old problems of human suffering. But their example will have an effect far beyond their number. If every corpsman inspires 10 others to work in their own hometowns, or to join the helping professions, the cost of this program will have repaid itself 10 times over.

I know that the dedicated work of the Service Corps volunteers will show that our material success has not blinded us to the sufferings of others. This program will be a true expression of the ideals which have made this Nation great.

The proposed legislation has been considered as carefully as any measure with which I have been associated. I am sure that Senators are familiar with its genesis and the steps that have been taken in developing the program to the point where it is now under general debate in the Senate. In first addressing himself to this noble project, the President called upon members of his Cabinet to develop policy for it. The Cabinet members so selected chose from their departments persons of great talent to undertake the staff work that is necessary to insure that the noble idea would not be emotionalized, but would become hard, tough, and practical in its development. That study group, while small in number, was uniquely dedicated to this cause. Once created, the study group has developed ideas which were embodied in the legislation that came to the Senate. The measure was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and assigned to the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor for further legislative action.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I am a cosponsor of this particular measure. I believe it represents an effort to translate the idealism which has been so prominent in the Peace Corps and which has worked so well abroad to the domestic service of the United States. I am satisfied, too, that the scheme which is proposed to the Congress parallels, as far as is practical, the successful pattern evolved in respect of the Peace Corps, which I believe is one of the more successful initiatives of the United States in the employment, in its foreign aid and foreign development efforts, of the idealism, skill, and interest of young Americans. There is an ample number of projects which can profit greatly from the dedication which the National Service Corps will inspire.

I feel, too, that it will be a very important channel through which volunteer services of young and old alike may go into areas—many of which have been described—of want, need, illness, and underprivilege, which are enclaves of backwardness in terms of economic advance, such as the areas of migratory farm workers. There the volunteers can be of great benefit.

I am very much for the bill. I am a cosponsor, as I said.

I have only two reservations, Mr. President.

I think perhaps, if we needed a description of what is being done, the words "practical idealism" would describe it. I hope very much that the practical idealism which is represented in the National Service Corps will not be marred by asking the dedicated people who will be involved to serve in establishments or institutions which follow a practice of racial segregation.

This is something about which I expressed my deep concern in the committee. It is something which is the subject of an amendment I have had printed, which is on the desk.

I realize that the argument can be made that those who are afflicted should receive help, and that this should be the case even if they are afflicted in a segregated institution. But I think the temper of the times is such that we are engaged in a struggle in which there must be some casualties, and those who are the subjects of segregation are the readiest to accept the "casualty" of being unable to obtain the ministrations of the National Service Corps when there is a pattern of racial segregation.

I hope very much that some way may be found of working out what it seems to me would be so opposite to the patriotic dedication which is represented by the Corps.

The other subject to which I hope my colleagues in the Senate will give a little thought is the possibility that we are dealing domestically—not abroad, as we did with the Peace Corps—with an analogy to the National Guard and the ROTC. We could allow States to undertake some of the responsibility for training corpsmen and using them within the respective States. I have prepared an amendment upon that score.

I hope to hear the discussion in respect to the bill, to determine whether there is a sufficient amount of interest in the Senate, since the amendment was turned down in the committee, to justify my offering the amendment. I think the plan is a very sound one, to allow States to participate in the process of selection and training, and to allow them to retain the trainees within the States, at the same time maintaining the cachet of this elite corp, the National Service Corps, exactly as we do with respect to National Guard officers and men as they relate to the military forces of the Nation.

The advantage would be that we would stimulate a great increase in the number of people who could be trained, the speed of their training, and the speed of their utilization, and we could invoke State as well as national pride in respect to the trainees.

So, with those two reservations, Mr. President, which I have described—which are not, in my opinion, reservations in any way to change the quality and character of the plan—having proved the validity of the idea in terms of inspiration to youth and in terms of its usefulness to those it serves through the Peace Corps, I believe we have arrived at the point where the National Service Corps is the next logical step in terms of undertaking to give our youth

an opportunity to show their dedication and their idealism.

I am grateful to my colleague for yielding. I am confident that by the time the vote occurs on the bill we shall have completely closed ranks in full support of it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I am grateful, indeed, for those comments by the senior Senator from New York. I am grateful also for his strong support of the proposed legislation, his sponsorship of it, and the contributions he made in the committee deliberations.

As the Senator knows, after the bill was drafted 24 Members of the Senate joined in cosponsorship of the proposed legislation.

The subcommittee which received the bill held 9 days of hearings. The record is most complete. Not only did the subcommittee hold formal hearings in the Capitol, but also members of the subcommittee, together with members of a committee from the House of Representatives, went on a field trip, to see for themselves how the program could be useful in certain areas. I am sure that Members of Congress who went on the trip will never forget the experiences we had at Osawatomie State Mental Hospital in the State of Kansas and how, beyond question, it was proved to us that even one volunteer can have a dramatically helpful effect on numerous mentally ill people.

I personally had reservations concerning the application of this program on Indian reservations. But on the same trip we went into the largest Sioux Indian Reservation, and there we learned again how even a few "seedmen" volunteers can, with their good will, inspiration, and enthusiasm, perform practical measures to help in the almost unbelievable poverty, in all departments, on Indian reservations.

Our committee, which has dealt with migratory labor problems, has seen over the years how a few volunteers in migratory labor camps can do so much to bring a bit of needed education to the youngsters—and perhaps even to the adults. They can provide nursery day care for the very young, and assist in state health and sanitation projects also.

I hope all Senators will have an opportunity to look over the hearing record and note the unanimity of views across the country of people with knowledge in the field of social problems. More than 50 organizations have enthusiastically endorsed the bill. They are all listed in the hearings record and on pages 12 to 14 of the committee report. It is significant that those who are most knowledgeable in social work have been most articulate and strong in their endorsement.

Among the groups, church people are prominent. They are hopeful that the legislation will be passed, and that we shall be able to spark, through volunteers, an even greater community response to severe human needs and problems.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PROXMIER in the chair). Does the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am happy to yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I join the Senator in the sentiments he has expressed. If the bill is enacted into law, I hope the President, in considering the appointment of a Director for the National Service Corps, will keep in mind the very excellent example of completely nonpartisan leadership—as high minded as that of those who serve—which has been so heavily responsible, in my opinion, for the success of the Peace Corps.

I thank my colleague.

CIVIL RIGHTS—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] may be added as a cosponsor of S. 1665, to require that all State or local programs supported with Federal funds shall be administered and executed without regard to the race or color of the participants and beneficiaries, which I introduced on June 4.

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

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] may be added as a cosponsor of S. 1801, to effectuate the provisions of the sixth amendment of the U.S. Constitution requiring that defendants in criminal cases be given the right to a speedy trial; and S. 1802, to protect the integrity of the court and jury functions in criminal cases, which I introduced on June 26.

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

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, although all these bills have been printed, the names of the additional cosponsors will be included at the next printing.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator from Oregon has joined me in his bill to prevent Federal funds from being utilized for State programs which are segregated. I would like to say a word on the subject, because it is becoming quite a raging issue. I have joined the Senator from Oregon on his bill, just as I joined my colleague [Mr. KEATING] on his amendment to the omnibus civil rights bill along these lines, because I feel very deeply that the only hope for civil rights legislation is in bipartisanship; and I want to do everything I humanly can to demonstrate by act and deed my deep feeling on that score.

Neither side alone has the votes to pass civil rights legislation. In my opinion, it is a fact that, in every way open to us, we shall need to keep this bipartisan coalition together so that we may ultimately get somewhere.

I hope very much—and I know how the Senator from Oregon feels about this, but I am putting it in words—that all Members on both sides of the aisle will keep very clearly in mind that this is a burning issue on the domestic scene—as burning an issue as is nuclear testing on the international scene. The only way we are going to get anywhere is by keeping the goal very clear. Call it nonpartisan or bipartisan, the fact is that neither side alone has the votes, and we must be together on the issue.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield to me a moment?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. In connection with what the Senator from New York has said, it is an honor to be associated with him in his advocacy of civil rights legislation. I know of no peer of the Senator from New York in the civil rights legislation field. But I would have my colleagues take note of the fact that what my bill seeks to accomplish is to prevent the Federal Government from violating the law. If one of us were to ask a Senator to join him in an illegal act, the Senator who was asked would look askance and be horror stricken. But Members of this body, every time they vote for Federal funds for projects involving segregation, in my opinion, are guilty of perpetrating an illegal act, for 9 years ago the Supreme Court declared segregation to be unconstitutional, and therefore illegal. Yet we sit here in the Senate, on bill after bill, and vote millions of dollars of Federal taxpayers to continue an illegality. It is about time that we put Members of the Senate on the spot, and the senior Senator from Oregon intends to do it. He intends to go from coast to coast to call the roll of Members of the Senate who continue to vote to expend illegally Federal taxpayers' money and who continue an unconstitutional act on the part of the Congress.

Members will not be asked to vote on this issue program by program, but on the whole broad issue of funds going into segregated programs and activities.

This issue is becoming one on which we can no longer do any dillydallying. The issue is whether or not the Congress will keep faith with its right hand when its Members take the oath in this body to uphold the law. We cannot justify the appropriation of moneys for the continuation of Federal projects in which there is segregation. Let the people speak in respect to the rollcall that will be made in the Morse bill and similar proposals that seek to bring to an end the illegality that now exists in this country and that has characterized the treatment of civil rights in Federal programs.

As the Senator from New York has heard me say before, the time has come for the white people of America to deliver the Constitution of the United States to the colored people of America; and I do not intend any longer to sit here and permit politicians to get by with what they have been getting by for years in the Senate and covering it with the alibi, when they get back home, "It is the best we could do."

I will tell Senators what the best we can do is. It is to act in accordance with the law; and the Supreme Court has made perfectly clear that segregation is unconstitutional. I intend to do what I can to take that record across this Republic in the months ahead, before the election of 1964. I do not care whether a Senator is a Republican or a Democrat—he ought to be beaten for reelection in 1964—others will be up for reelection in 1966 and others in 1968—if he does not uphold the law as laid down by the Supreme Court.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I have done precisely that, as recently as last Wednesday in connection with the Labor-HEW appropriations bill. The reason I made the comment about bipartisanship is that I had the feeling that Members of Congress, when they vote, have an idea that party loyalty requires them to stand by the administration—it might have happened just as well on our side of the aisle if our party were in the majority—and that they have to stand by and vote to table this kind of amendment.

I think the Senator from Oregon has, with his eloquence and warmth, highlighted what I have tried to do, but which I am delighted to join him in highlighting—the fact that, of all the things done in the racial field, with all the fuel added to the fire, this is the worst. It is inconceivable for anyone to understand how, in this day and age, we can justify expending the Federal Treasury's money in aid of State segregated programs. It is inconceivable. I pay honor to Senators on the majority side of the aisle who, notwithstanding the party line on this question and the feeling of the administration representatives, voted as they did. I do not criticize the others, but I feel keenly that our only way to win in this field is by a bipartisan effort.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. RIBICOFF. It is very interesting to me to listen to the comments of the Senators from New York and Oregon. I have been giving considerable attention to the very problem they have touched on. I have drawn from my own experience as former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to come up with a proposal that I think has not yet been suggested either by the administration or by any other Senator. I am ready to talk upon my proposal. I believe the two distinguished Senators may find what I have to say interesting.

The Senator from New York will recall that last week I voted with him on his proposal. So the two distinguished Senators may be interested in a different point of view. I shall be happy to have their comments as I develop it.

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

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I am about to leave in order to cross-examine Secretary of Defense McNamara, but I assure the Senator from Connecticut I will read tomorrow's RECORD with great care and I un-

doubtedly will be talking about the Senator's speech some time tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Has the Senator from New Jersey yielded the floor?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

AMENDMENT TO TITLE VI OF PROPOSED CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, one of the most important provisions of the President's civil rights bill is now beginning to receive the attention it deserves. This is title VI, the provision aimed at ending discriminations in all programs supported in whole or in part by Federal funds. It is an important provision, and I believe it can and should be significantly improved so as to make it a genuinely effective means of ending many instances of racial discrimination.

As one who had the responsibility of administering scores of these programs, I had a chance to look firsthand at the problems confronting the administrator who wants to end discriminations in the programs under his jurisdiction. As I testified before Congress while I served as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, it is essential that Congress pass the necessary legislation to enable Federal administrators to deal with these matters effectively.

Section 601 of the proposed bill seeks to make sure that whoever receives a financial benefit from the Federal Government will not impose racial discriminations. This is a laudable objective. Certainly public benefits, made possible by the taxes of every citizen, should be available to all citizens without regard to race, creed, or color. This is a matter of simple justice. It is very likely also a requirement of the fifth amendment.

The scope of the provision is broad. It is designed to make sure that there is no discrimination when Federal funds are used to build hospitals, to assist land-grant colleges, to support research, to retrain the unemployed, to finance expansion of small businesses and to accomplish a great variety of other tasks.

To reach these worthwhile objectives, section 601 gives Federal administrators one new power to end discriminations in federally financed programs. This is the power to cut off funds. It is important to make this power explicit. There are many federally financed programs where the statutory guidelines are so precise that the administrator must pay out funds even though discriminations will occur. For example, the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act and Morrill Land-Grant College Act both specify that funds shall be used for separate but equal facilities. Despite the constitutional invalidity of these provisions, it is not likely that the administrator of these programs has the authority to disregard the plain words of the statutes.

As Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, I faced this problem many

times. Where I felt I had authority to act, I declined to make funds available unless provision was made for nondiscrimination. This occurred in the summer institute program of the National Defense Education Act and the provisions of the impacted area program providing funds for the education of children living on military bases. But I was without authority to depart from the clear statutory commands of the Hill-Burton Act or the Morrill Act.

Section 601 will correct this situation and make sure that no Federal administrator will be required to extend financial assistance that will promote discrimination.

Last week Senator KEATING and other Senators proposed an amendment to title 6 that would make the power to cut off funds mandatory instead of discretionary. Their amendment also provides judicial review of any fund cutoff, and this is certainly proper.

I agree that the administrator of each program should be required to act to end discriminations, but I do not believe his power should be limited to the single remedy of cutting off funds.

The power to cut off funds, even if made mandatory, will not necessarily end discriminations. In some instances, a recipient will doubtless prefer to end discriminations rather than lose Federal financial support. But if the discriminations continue, the only remedy provided by section 601 is withholding of funds. This will not end the discrimination.

I, therefore, suggest that section 601 be amended to make it at once more effective and more humane. I propose that every Federal administrator be given, in addition to the power to withhold financial assistance, the power to provide for an enforceable requirement that there will be no discrimination by the recipient. This would be provided by rule, regulation, contract, or other enforceable requirement.

My amendment provides a remedy that does not merely encourage desegregation by threat of cutting off funds, it adds the means of assuring an end to discrimination by permitting a lawsuit to make sure that the requirement not to discriminate is complied with. The Government could bring suit based on the requirement not to discriminate, and if the facts support the allegations of discrimination, secure a court order ending discrimination.

Cutting off funds may be necessary, and every administrator of a Federal program should have this power and should be required to use it if there is no other way to end discriminations. But it would be foolish to give an administrator only the power to cut off funds and then require him to use that power in all cases—even those where it will not end the discriminations.

Cutting off Federal funds from a school that insists on staying segregated does not bring about the admission of Negro students; it simply makes less money available to educate the white students.

If a school that receives Federal funds keeps out Negro children, I think it is better to get the Negro children ad-

mitted than to cut off funds and impair the education of the white children.

If we give the administrator the added power of providing for an enforceable requirement not to discriminate, then we enable him to act effectively to reach the results we want—an end to discriminations.

With this added power, an administrator who found discrimination in a federally financed program would act as follows:

First. If cutting off funds was the best way of dealing with the situation, he would have the power to do so.

Second. If cutting off funds would not end the discriminations or if it would be unfair to others who benefit from Federal funds, the administrator would bring a lawsuit to require that the discriminations be ended.

Third. The administrator would be required to act one way or the other—either cut off funds or sue to end discriminations. He would not have a choice between action or no action, but he would have a choice between action that might be ineffective or harmful and action that would accomplish results.

The value of the type of lawsuit authorized by my amendment has recently been demonstrated by an action brought in the Federal district court for the Eastern District of Virginia, United States against School Board of Prince Georges County. The case concerned those provisions of the impacted area program that provide for the education of children living off military bases. As Secretary of HEW I was advised that I lacked authority to withhold funds in the event that schools educating these children were segregated. I, therefore, urged the Department of Justice to bring a lawsuit to require desegregation. The Virginia case was that kind of lawsuit. It was based on the assurance required by statute of every recipient of federally impacted area funds that the school will be available to federally connected children on the same basis as State law requires it to serve local children. In Virginia there is a pupil placement law that excludes race as a criterion of assignment. The Federal Government sued to enforce the assurance required by Federal law and secured a court order that the federally connected children would have to be admitted pursuant to State law—that is, without regard to race.

My amendment contemplates a similar type of requirement binding upon every recipient of a Federal benefit. The assurance would explicitly forbid discrimination and like the provisions of Public Law 815 would be enforceable by a civil action brought by the Attorney General.

The advantage of this added provision is especially clear in the situation where the Federal funds are used solely for construction of a building. Whatever value may lie in the power to withhold funds granted annually for maintaining a federally aided program, this power is of no use whatever after funds have been granted to build a school or a hospital. Unless the administrator of such a program has the power to bring suit to enforce a requirement not to discriminate, he is powerless. Section 601 in its pres-

ent form has absolutely no effect on that situation.

A further advantage of my amendment is that the administrator's action to end discrimination can be much more selective if he is not limited to the power to cut off funds. Under section 601, the administrator might well have to exercise his power to withhold with respect to a State's entire program. This might occur when Federal funds are given to a State which in turn uses them in various local projects. If there was discrimination in one project, section 601 might give the Federal administrator no choice but to cut off all funds to that State, injuring many people being aided on a nondiscriminatory basis in other parts of that State. Under my amendment, the administrator could proceed by lawsuit against the one situation where there was discrimination, leaving the rest of the program in that State unimpaired.

Finally, this amendment improves title 6 even in cases where funds will be withheld. In some instances the recipient will decline to accept financial assistance with a nondiscrimination requirement. When that occurs, the funds will not be given. But the responsibility will be squarely fixed upon the person who insists on continuing to discriminate, rather than upon the Federal administrator. The shoe may pinch, but it will be on the appropriate foot.

In sum, I want to see this provision made more effective and more fair. An antidiscrimination provision should not be a club to punish people. It should be an effective means of bringing about the desired result of ending discrimination. Section 601 does part of the job by authorizing withholding of funds. It will do the job more effectively and fairly if it also includes the power to provide for an enforceable requirement of nondiscrimination.

Mr. President, I submit an amendment to S. 1731, the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963, and ask unanimous consent that the text of the amendment be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection the amendment will be received, printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred.

The amendment was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

On page 35, after line 14, insert the following:

"Sec. 602. In furnishing any financial assistance, described in section 601, the administrator of the program or activity shall provide by rule, regulation, contract, or other enforceable requirement that individuals participating in or benefiting from the program or activity shall not be discriminated against on the ground of race, color, religion or national origin or denied participation or benefits therein on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. Such rule, regulation, contract, or other enforceable requirement shall be a condition of receiving the financial assistance and shall be an obligation upon the recipient enforceable in a civil action brought for or in the name of the United States.

"Sec. 603. If the nondiscrimination requirement provided in section 602 is violated the administrator of such program or activity shall act in one of the following ways:

"(a) Withhold all further financial assistance from the recipient until such requirement is complied with, or

"(b) Request the Attorney General of the United States to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action to secure compliance with such requirement."

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I have listened attentively to the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, who speaks from a wealth of experience in this field gained in his capacity as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. I commend the Senator for his remarks and the amendment he has submitted.

Like the Senator from Connecticut, I have felt that the present title VI of the Civil Rights Act, relating to the cutting off of funds, is entirely inadequate.

Under the terms of the present language of the bill, the President would be authorized in his discretion to continue to provide Federal assistance to programs or activities even though they are carried out in a discriminatory manner. As I understand the amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut, it would prohibit such Federal payments to any State which insisted upon maintaining segregated practices in the program involved, but would allow suits to be brought to compel compliance with a policy of nondiscrimination.

While the language of the amendment is somewhat different, it really seeks to accomplish the same basic objective as an amendment which I submitted last week with the cosponsorship of a number of other Senators and which is still lying at the desk. This objective, simply stated, is to terminate the condition under which the Federal Government acts as a silent partner to segregation and to establish as a uniform principle a requirement of nondiscrimination under all Federal grant-in-aid programs.

In my judgment, it is illegal and immoral for Federal tax funds collected from the pockets and pay envelopes of all our citizens without regard to race to be used to subsidize programs which do discriminate on racial grounds. This practice must be terminated, but the best procedure for securing compliance with the constitutional requirement of nondiscrimination remains to be determined.

What all of us seek to accomplish is, of course, the administration of these important programs on a nondiscriminatory basis, as I believe is required by the Constitution. We do not want to punish any State, locality, or citizen, and there is nothing vindictive in any sense about these proposals. As I said at the time I submitted my amendment, any hardship which would accompany a policy of nondiscrimination would "result not from any insistence upon compliance with constitutional commands but only if State officials refuse to conform their practices to a standard which is morally and legally required."

My own hope is that no State would be so callous as to deny its schoolchildren, for example, the benefit of the Federal school-lunch program rather than to administer such a program on

a basis that deals fairly with all children attending the State's schools.

I also emphasized in my statement at the time I submitted my amendment that the determination of whether a State is acting in a lawful manner "will be determined on a program-by-program and area-by-area basis." Thus, there would be no withholding of all funds under all grant-in-aid programs for a particular State because that State discriminated in its administration of the apprentice training program or in its use of urban renewal funds, to mention specific examples. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Connecticut also would provide for action on a case-by-case basis.

The Attorney General, with commendable candor, said in a recent hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary that he had under consideration the presentation of an amendment to title VI. It may well be that the Attorney General will decide that an amendment combining the best features of the two amendments now pending to title VI would offer the best possibility for improving this title. I believe that such a combined amendment is feasible and will certainly undertake to work out a new amendment along such lines with the Senator from Connecticut.

I close as I began, by commending the Senator from Connecticut for submitting the amendment as a helpful step in the discussion of this serious problem. I am sure that the cause of civil rights will benefit from the action taken today.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the distinguished Senator from New York. It is my feeling that the Senator from New York will continue to play a major role in perfecting a civil rights program. I read with the greatest interest the amendment which the Senator submitted last week. I agree with him that the position taken by the Attorney General on title VI is defective and will not completely do the job.

In trying to formulate a program, I have drawn from my own experience as an administrator who had to wrestle with this problem on a day-to-day basis.

In the final analysis, the entire burden cannot be placed upon the shoulders of the executive branch alone; Congress has a basic role to play. The Administrator who handles the program, when the statutory language specifically states how the money shall be disbursed, must disburse the funds if there is a clear order from Congress. As I have pointed out, under both the Hill-Burton Act and the Morrill Act, in which Congress specifically provides for separate but equal facilities, the Administrator has no alternative. However, there are many instances in which Congress has not made a clear directive. Under those circumstances, I believe the Administrator has discretion to include nondiscrimination among the criteria under which he will administer the funds.

What I believe is needed is a mandatory provision, not quite like the one suggested by the Senator from New York, but one which would take into account alternative ways in which an adminis-

trator could act. One of the basic defects in the administrations' proposal as to title VI is that it could itself be discriminatory and could itself punish many areas which do not discriminate.

Let us consider, for example, State X, where there are a number of communities, in some of which a federally aided program is segregated and in some of which the program is desegregated. Under the administration's proposal, the administrator might have to cut off funds from the entire State.

This would certainly be unfair, because if there are a number of communities in a given State which have desegregated schools or desegregated hospitals, by no means should the funds for those facilities be cut off; we should be doing everything we possibly can to encourage other communities to do the same. Therefore, the meat-ax approach by the administration would not accomplish its objective of forcing desegregation but might possibly harm the community that seeks to desegregate.

What we seek to accomplish is to provide the administrator with alternatives, and, by spelling out what he may do, to seek the ultimate objective of not punishing people—not punishing the white, not punishing the Negro—but to do everything we can to be constructive.

During the entire debate on civil rights, in all its phases, one of the greatest responsibilities on the shoulders of all of us is to be constructive. The civil rights problem is filled with emotion. It is a problem filled with politics. It is a problem in which there is not enough clear thought. I believe there is a burden upon every Senator and every Member of the House of Representatives to make certain that he considers this problem carefully and thoughtfully. If there is one thing of which I am certain, it is that many problems face us in the entire civil rights issue, and they go far beyond the way in which we may vote on the bills which are before Congress today.

I agree with the comments of the Senator from New York. I am hopeful that in the days ahead, during the hearings on this proposal, he will study my amendment as well as his own amendment, and question the Attorney General and other members of the executive branch, to see how they look at it and how they view the various alternatives. I submit the amendment I have suggested today, not merely on the basis of my reading, but I have used my own background and my own experience in this field to seek an effective remedy for the problems of segregation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. This discussion of title VI of the general civil rights bill, by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, is very useful. I should like to point out that this discussion developed during debate on the National Service Corps, which projects a program by means of which we seek to reach into the areas of greatest human poverty and suffering—the areas of mental health, school dropouts, migratory

labor camps, Indian reservations, and city slums, and similar areas.

So I believe it most appropriate to have the RECORD reflect, first, that in the selection and training of volunteers under this program, we have the clearest expression from the Attorney General that the President's Executive Order 10925, dealing with discrimination in employment is applicable to corpsmen. Hence, there will be no discrimination in the selection or the training of volunteers in the National Service Corps. So if anyone has felt the need for the inclusion of a provision prohibiting this sort of discrimination, it certainly would be redundant and unnecessary here, because we have the unequivocal assurance of the Attorney General.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I believe that this bill, under the charge of the distinguished Senator from New Jersey—the National Service Corps bill—is a very important part of the entire civil rights program. While not labeled civil rights legislation, it aims at more opportunity; it aims at remedying the conditions of extreme poverty of people, not only Negroes, but whites as well. It is a very important bill which can do much good. It certainly has my support, and I wish to commend the distinguished Senator for his long, arduous, and hard work in this field. I hope that within the next day or so the Senate will overwhelmingly pass this measure, because I think it has a very important bearing upon opportunities for remedying many of the conditions which concern the people of this Nation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I appreciate the support the Senator from Connecticut has continually given this proposed legislation. In connection with the general question of the application of Federal funds in areas in which discrimination exists, we are fully aware of the immorality of that—and illegality.

I would say the National Service Corps program is truly a people-to-people program—one in which volunteers with skills and with hearts will reach out to help the poor people in this country.

As a matter of fact, we know that some of the poverty exists in institutions, both private and public, where—for economic or other reasons—there may be people of only one nationality or perhaps of only one color. Certainly we know the economic fact that in many of our migratory labor camps only Negroes are resident.

I feel that the immorality which is associated with the use of Federal funds to build an airport with segregated facilities is clear.

The question prohibiting corpsmen from assisting the disadvantaged here is entirely different. We are reaching out, not to help governments as such, but to help people who are undergoing hardship. We do not withhold milk from schools, even though they are part of the Government, because a youngster happens to be attending a school in which all his classmates are colored. Similarly in this program we are striving to aid people, such as migratory workers, who have the disadvantage of earning low incomes.

Even if it happens that through no fault of their own they are segregated, these people should be helped by the National Service Corps. To withhold help from those in need would contradict the aims of the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield briefly?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield the floor.

NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS ACT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1321) to provide for a National Service Corps to strengthen community service programs in the United States.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator in charge of the bill, whether the Domestic Peace Corps, as it is popularly known, is supposed to deal with persistent pockets of poverty and maladjustment in the midst of our general prosperity. Is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Precisely.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is it true that the cost of the program for the first year will be approximately \$5 million?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. That is correct. The best realistic estimates indicate that with the number of volunteers who could be recruited and trained the first year, the cost would be a modest \$5 million.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And the number of personnel anticipated as a result of expenditure of the \$5 million is approximately 1,000 volunteers?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Yes; by the end of the first year, close to 1,000 volunteers will have been trained and be on the job.

Mr. MANSFIELD. They will receive subsistence pay only.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. They will receive subsistence pay, and a modest stipend of \$75 a month for what, in general terms, will be a separation allowance.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And they will work primarily in economically depressed areas, in city and in rural slums, in institutions—particularly those for the mentally ill and the mentally retarded, in programs giving assistance to the elderly people of our country, in programs helping dependent children, and in programs on Indian reservations?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Yes. These are the areas of hardship and poverty; these are the areas to which the bill is addressed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is it true that if this bill is passed and is enacted into law, these volunteers will not—I repeat, they will not—be forced upon a community?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Absolutely not. In several ways in this bill, we have insured that the volunteers will go only to local projects that have been requested by the local area. Local initiative will bear the burden of the requests. Then the Director will clear the projects through the Governor of the State; then the corpsmen go into the areas which have asked to have them.

Mr. MANSFIELD. In other words, if they go into a community or an area, they will do so on the basis of an invitation?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Absolutely so—on the basis of a request and an invitation.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is it not true that in the United States there are approximately 8,500,000 persons who have less than 5 years of schooling and that approximately one-third of the children entering the ninth grade become drop-outs?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. That is my understanding.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is it not also true that there are approximately 350,000 children who are members of migrant farm families, and that more than half are behind in their schooling from 1 to 4 years?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. That is correct. As a matter of fact, the members of the subcommittee which handled this bill (S. 1321) have seen examples of that in many States of the country. The Senator from Montana is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And are there not in the Nation areas such as the Appalachian region, and the permanent pockets of poverty in places such as Detroit, Chicago, and elsewhere, which are in need of this volunteer help?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. That certainly is correct. Perhaps much of this poverty is invisible to many of us who live in relative prosperity. Nevertheless, the poverty exists there, and we know it. We know it as a matter of statistics, and more and more we are beginning to know it in human terms, and in terms of the hardship it causes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. This organization sometimes is referred to as the domestic counterpart of the so-called Peace Corps. I think the Peace Corps has done a magnificent job, all things considered. But would not the distinguished Senator from New Jersey, who is in charge of the bill, say it is about time we began to look after our own—to take care of our own children who are in need of help, and to take care of the mentally ill and the mentally retarded who occupy so much of the capacity of our State institutions, and so many of whom are not even able to get into a State institution? And does not the Senator from New Jersey think something should be done about the abject poverty and the lack of opportunity which exist on the Indian reservations?

These are things which could be done for the benefit of the people of the United States. The proposed \$5 million program—the 1,000-personnel program—is a good step in the right direction to take care of people who are in need, people who are our fellow citizens, and people whom we forget all too easily.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. The purpose of the program could not be more eloquently expressed than the majority leader has just expressed it.

WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE ON BAYARD RUSTIN, LEADER OF MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to call the attention of my colleagues

to the presence of one article in the Washington Post on Sunday, August 11, 1963, by Susanna McBee which attempts to whitewash the deplorable and disturbing record of the man tabbed as "Mr. March-on-Washington himself" and also to the absence of any report whatever in today's issue of the Washington Post on the appearance of Dr. Edward Teller, the noted physicist and father of the hydrogen bomb, who testified yesterday against the President's Moscow test ban treaty before the Senate Armed Services Committee's Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee.

I bring this to the attention of my colleagues in an effort to further demonstrate the bias of a newspaper which arrogates unto itself the moral task of lecturing others on the subject of so-called bias, as the Washington Post views that term. I think it is particularly appropriate that the bias of this newspaper be discussed on the Senate floor today in view of the charge which was made by a number of my Southern colleagues in the House last week that their 2-hour discussion, in biting terms, of Defense Secretary McNamara's directive authorizing communities to be placed off limits to armed services personnel was not reported in the Washington Post, although it made big headlines across the country in hundreds of other newspapers. I have read the Washington Post response to this criticism and its only defense is that an article was carried in its first edition. I understand that the first edition is the one which is placed on the streets the night before publication the following morning and does not in any way represent much of the Washington Post's overall circulation in the District and the surrounding metropolitan area.

As to the point about Dr. Teller's testimony before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee on yesterday, I have talked with others who expressed shock that the Washington Post did not, at least in the edition carried to my home, carry a single word on Dr. Teller's opposition to the test ban treaty, even though the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] held a news conference on Dr. Teller's appearance following the subcommittee meeting and I might add that this conference was reported widely on radio and television. The Washington Post did, however, print three articles, in the edition which was delivered to my home, about Secretary of State Dean Rusk's plea, before the joint meeting of the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, that the President's Moscow test ban treaty be ratified.

Now, Mr. President, to get back to the story about the article in Sunday's Washington Post on the subject of Bayard Rustin, I want to take a little time today to recite to the Senate and place in the RECORD other articles and materials which show what a whitewash job the Post attempted in favor of Mr. Rustin and what I consider to be his ludicrous record. The article is entitled "Organizer of District of Columbia

March Is Devoted to Nonviolence: Friendliness, Not a Gun, Is the Proper Weapon, Veteran of Past Protests Here Believes: Bayard Rustin, a Longtime Pacifist, Says Negroes Must Be Willing To Suffer To Win Rights." This article is a classic example of news reporting because the reporter took a series of ludicrous facts and directed them so that they literally came out smelling like a rose and looking like a gilded lily.

Mr. Rustin's criminal record serves as a good beginning point in demonstrating the distorted and slanted reporting of the Washington Post. Mr. Rustin is reported in the Washington Post article as having served 28 months during World War II as a conscientious objector. The true facts are that he was sentenced for failure to abide by the selective service law. He failed to report for work of national importance and also for physical examination.

The article states that he was convicted in 1953 in Pasadena, Calif., of a morals charge after being arrested with two other men. The words "morals charge" are true. But this again is a clearcut case of toning down the charge. The conviction was sex perversion and a subsequent arrest of vagrancy and lewdness. Mr. Rustin pleaded guilty to the sex perversion charge.

To prove my explanation, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Rustin's police record be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks together with two newspaper clippings from the Los Angeles Times dated January 22, 1953, and January 23, 1953.

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

JUNE 2, 1959.

Reference: Current criminal check requested.
Subject: Rustin, Bayard, aka-Rustin, Baynard.

SUBJECT MATTER

As per request of above mentioned reference, a criminal check was made. The Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department revealed the following:

The Los Angeles Police Department shows no record and no wants.

The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department revealed that Bayard Rustin, 217 Mott Street, New York, in State and county 1 week, born West Chester, Pa., 177 lbs., 6 feet 1 inch, male, Negro, 40 in 1953, occupation, lecturer, black hair, brown eyes, was arrested on January 22, 1953, by Pasadena Police Department on charge of 647.3 PCC. Subject was sentenced to 60 days.

The following is a résumé of subject's arrest record with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington:

January 12, 1944: Bayard Rustin, No. 41488, PD, New York, N.Y., charge: SS—failed to report for work of national importance, bail paid January 13, 1944; February 17, 1944, sent to place designated by Attorney General of the United States for 3 years.

January 12, 1944: Bayard Rustin, No. C-37-447, USM, New York, N.Y., charge: Selective Service.

February 28, 1944: Bayard Rustin, No. 42069, FDH, New York, N.Y., charge: SS—Physical examination for CPA camp, sentenced 3 years; March 7, 1944, released to Federal Corrections Institute, Ashland, Ky.

March 9, 1944: Bayard Rustin, No. 2905-AX, Federal Correctional Institution, Ashland, Ky., charge: selective service, 3 years.

August 3, 1945: Bayard Rustin, No. 15050, USP, Lewisburg, Pa., charge: SSA—fail to report for physical examination, 3 years 6-11-46 disch. cond. rel. with Camp CT.

September 15, 1948: Bayard Rustin, No. 318576, WH, Rikers Island, New York, N.Y., charge: DC, 15 days.

March 22, 1949: Bayard Rustin, Camp No. 508, Roxboro, N.C., B. of I., Pr. Div., Raleigh, N.C., No. 234130, charge: viol. bus SS, 30 days, 4-13-49 exp.

October 4, 1949: Bayard Rustin, No. 118388, PD, Washington, D.C., charge: picketing embassy, no disposition.

January 21, 1953: Bayard Rustin, No. 33914, PD, Pasadena, Calif., charge: inv. PC 288A, sex perversion, no disposition given.

January 22, 1953: Bayard Rustin, No. B-254754, SO Los Angeles, Calif., charge: vag. lewd, no disposition given.

February, 1943, religious objector to war; 3 years southern district, New York; information received Bureau of Motor Vehicles, New York, N.Y.

Undersigned was unable to find any arrest record subsequent to January 1953 through local police agencies.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Jan. 22, 1953]

LECTURER JAILED ON MORALS CHARGE

Bayard Rustin, 40-year-old nationally known Negro lecturer, was jailed on a morals charge in Pasadena early yesterday a few hours after he had spoken on the subject of world peace before the American Association of University Women at the Pasadena Athletic Club.

Rustin, who was registered at the Green Hotel is scheduled to address the Pasadena chapter of the American Friends Society on world conditions this evening at the Pasadena First Methodist Church.

He was released on \$500 bail pending a plea at 2 p.m. today before Municipal Judge Burton Noble in Pasadena.

When arrested by Pasadena police, Rustin had \$427 in cash on his person—which he said included the proceeds from his previous night's speech. He was taken into custody when officers spotted him parked in his automobile at Raymond Avenue at Green Street, Pasadena, in company with Marvin W. Long, 23, of Monterey Park, and Louie Buono, 23, of Rosemead.

All three men were booked on suspicion of lewd vagrancy.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Jan. 23, 1953]

LECTURER SENTENCED TO JAIL ON MORALS CHARGE

Pasadena Municipal Judge Burton Noble yesterday sentenced Bayard Rustin, 40-year-old Negro lecturer, to 60 days in the county jail on a morals charge.

Rustin's attorney, Charles Hollister, failed in an appeal to free his client on the promise that he would leave this State and return to his home in New York.

Rustin pleaded guilty to the charge. He had been arrested by Pasadena police early Thursday in company with two men in an automobile parked near the Green Hotel.

The other men, Marvin W. Long, 23, of Monterey Park and Louie Buono, 23, of Rosemead, were given similar sentences.

A delegation of three members of the American Friends Society appeared in court, but did not testify in Rustin's behalf.

Rustin had been scheduled to address the latter group at the Pasadena First Methodist Church yesterday. Shortly before his arrest, Rustin spoke on world peace before the American Society of University Women at the Pasadena Athletic Club.

Mr. THURMOND. I also request unanimous consent that a copy of the booking slip of the Los Angeles County Jail be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

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

Booking slip—Los Angeles County jail

Date Jan. 22, 1953	Time 2:30 p.m.	Name RUSTIN, Bayard	No. 254754	
True name				
ALL FOUR LINES BELOW MUST BE FILLED IN COMPLETE IN PRESENCE OF CUSTODY OFFICER				
Charge (state nature of charge) 647.5 POC		Arrested at Pasadena PD	Crime committed at LA Co.	
Date of hearing Sent	Time	Court and city	Bail	
Department or station making arrest Sheriff—MO Trans		Address		
Signature Robert H. Oroen		Title D. S.		
Birthplace City, West Chester State: Penn	Race ABN	Age 40	Weight 177	Height 6-1
		Male X	Female	Single X
Marks, scars, etc. None		Color of hair Black	Color of eyes Brn	
Address (No. and street) 217 Mott		City N.Y.	State N.Y.	Occupation Lecturer
Time lived in city 1 wk County 1 wk State 1 wk U.S. Life		U.S. citizen Yes	Remarks Claims no recent illness or injury	
In case of illness notify Glenn Smiley		Relationship Friend	Address 830 S. St. Andrews	Phone P1 DU 36801
Memo.	Warrant No.	Commitment No. M-19376	Court Pasadena Mun	Sentence 60 days
			Tank 12F2	
Name RUSTIN, Bayard			No. 254754	Tank No. B F2

PROPERTY SLIP

Date 1-22-53	Charge 647.5 POC	Claims no recent illness or injury.	
Cash 53 cents to inmate			
Property 1 pen	RELEASE DATA		
		Date March 13, 1953 (8).	
		Signature BAYARD RUSTIN	
Booked by S. R. AURTY	Searched by Boron	Now released	EXPIRATION
I hereby authorize the sheriff or jailer to receive and open all my mail while I am confined to the Los Angeles County jail.		Released to (officer sign here)	
Signature (not an acknowledgment suit) BAYARD RUSTIN		Released by Grover	Jail Clerk.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Washington Post article continues with statements that Mr. Rustin was a member of the Young Communist League and attended the Communist Party convention in 1956 in New York as an observer. It gives a fuzzy explanation that he quit the Young Communist League because he was nonviolent and because the league accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia. There is no mention, however, of

his denouncement of Communist ideological dogma.

In 1958, he saw fit to travel to the Soviet Union and meet with the butchers of the Hungarian freedom fighters to participate in Communist propaganda show called "Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons." Upon his return Rustin organized Martin Luther King's 1958 "march in Washington," which the Worker called a Communist project.

Mr. Rustin was secretary to Dr. Martin Luther King from 1955 to 1960. Mr. President, I have previously placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 2 and 7 articles which show that Dr. King has had another secretary who goes by the names of Jack H. O'Dell and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, an admitted Communist. These articles show that Dr. King supposedly fired Mr. O'Dell at one time, but these articles report further that as of last month Mr. O'Dell was still reported

by Dr. King's New York office as being an employee of Dr. King.

Mr. President, these articles can be found in the RECORD of August 2, 1963, beginning on page 13968 and additional articles on the subject of Communist connections in these demonstrations can also be found in the August 7 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD beginning on page 14455.

Mr. President, I give particular attention today to Mr. Rustin's record, not only to point up the whitewash job which was attempted by the Washington Post, but also because of the position of prominence which Mr. Rustin commands in the Negro march on Washington, D.C., on August 28. He is listed as vice chairman of the committee which is planning the march. In fact, the leader of the march, Mr. A. Phillip Randolph has stated in an article which I will place in the RECORD that "Mr. Rustin is Mr. March-On-Washington himself." This point was in effect brought out in the Washington Post article of Sunday. In fact, this is why the whitewash job was attempted, putting the Washington Post in the position of condoning Mr. Rustin's ludicrous record.

I wonder if even Mr. Randolph could really condone the past activities of Mr. Rustin. Perhaps he can, in view of the fact that Mr. Randolph's name appears on the letterhead of the Highlander Center in Knoxville, Tenn., as a sponsor of the Highlander Center. His name appears there with that of Dr. Martin Luther King and the founder of the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., Mr. Myles Horton. Members of this body will recall, Mr. President, that the school at Monteagle was closed by the State of Tennessee on grounds of immorality and this was upheld by the courts. I request unanimous consent, Mr. President, that at this point in my remarks that a letter from Mr. Myles Horton on Highlander Center stationery be printed in the RECORD, together with an article from the Brooklyn Tablet of August 1, 1963. The article is entitled "Protest Versus Indecency or Riot of Racists?"

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). Is there objection to the request by the Senator from South Carolina?

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

HIGHLANDER CENTER,

Knoxville, Tenn., May 15, 1963.

DEAR FRIEND: You will be interested in our new programs. In the words of board of directors chairman, Dr. B. R. Brazeal, "The Highlander idea, like a Phoenix rising from the ashes, has truly been born again in the Highlander Center."

The summer program includes a south-wide voter education internship program designed to broaden and deepen the new Negro voter's concept of his rights and responsibilities. Need for this program became clear as we developed the citizenship schools now being spread throughout the South by Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and student civil rights organizations. Other Highlander activities to be carried on in Mississippi, the South Carolina Sea Islands, and the Knoxville area are listed in the enclosed schedule.

We are glad to inform you that the Internal Revenue Service has declared con-

tributions deductible for income tax purposes in a ruling retroactive to the date of incorporation. The Highlander Center is now a recognized educational institution with Government approval.

Thanks to the loyalty of our contributors and sponsors, Highlander is preparing for a challenging future. We have also made new friends. A university professor writes: "The entire community has benefited from your work and let us add our names to those Knoxvillians who are happy to have you with us."

We hope to hear that you would like to enroll in a workshop, or to make a contribution to help a brave Mississippi Delta leader participate.

Cordially,

MYLES HORTON.

[From the Tablet, Aug. 1, 1963]

THAT NORTH CAROLINA INCIDENT: PROTEST VERSUS INDECENCY OR RIOT OF RACISTS?

A citizens' protest against indecency was twisted in news stories to make it appear as an action of racists, according to the editor of a national anti-Communist biweekly published in Staten Island.

Frank A. Capell, editor of the Herald of Freedom and Metropolitan Review and former chief of the Subversive Activities Control Board of Westchester County, reported on the results of a special edition of his publication dealing with Summerlane School and Camp of Manhattan and Rosman, N.C.

NO CENSORSHIP

The special July 3 issue reproduced promotional literature for the camp, widely advertised as integrated, stating that there is no censorship of any kind and no regulation of private behavior of the teenage campers, and that teachers and counselors are not expected to hide their weaknesses from the children.

The issue also contained information on George von Hilsheimer, camp director, whom it described as a former minister who admittedly has engaged in acts of sexual degeneracy, who is a radical and a nihilist. A brochure was quoted saying many of Summerlane's teachers had worked in the Highlander Folk School, cited as a Communist enterprise by the State of Georgia.

Copies of this issue were supplied to the Rosman Chamber of Commerce for distribution to State legislators, judges, prosecuting officers, and civic groups. This was done, Mr. Capell said, to provide documentation on which to base a demand for action by the proper authorities.

Mr. Capell reported that protests were made to the camp operators after complaints of gross immorality at the camp in the form of nude mixed bathing (to which a local Baptist minister was reportedly an eyewitness) and a camp newspaper containing a sexual promiscuity theme (not fit for gentlemen to read, according to the local sheriff).

"The conduct at the camp so incensed the local citizens," Mr. Capell continued, "that residents of the camp were warned not to come into town and to stay in the camp to avoid trouble. The campers disregarded the warning and after several incidents the local citizenry took matters into their own hands. Several hundred people marched on the camp, destroyed the main building and told the campers to get out."

Then, Mr. Capell said, came the newspaper stories which distorted the protest into a mob action prompted by racism.

MOVE TO RED PICNIC SPOT

A check of the local records, Mr. Capell stated, reveals that reports of injuries were grossly exaggerated in news stories. A stabbing turned out to have been the taking of a knife away from one of the camp counsel-

ors who was then relieved of the seat of his trousers with it, with no personal injury.

He said the campers have found refuge in a New Jersey camp "well known for the number of Communist activities which have taken place there. Camp Midvale is located at Ringwood, N.J., and has long been a favorite vacation and picnic resort of Communist and Communist-front groups. The Communist paper the Worker holds its annual picnics there."

The article concerning Summerlane in the Herald of Freedom recommended action by the proper authorities and bringing such activities to an end by lawful methods. Mr. Capell pointed out, "However," he concluded, "the invaders of the South goad the normally peaceful and religious people into acts of violence by refusing to obey the law and to cooperate with local authorities for their own protection. Their agitation creates violence."

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the record of the Commerce Committee hearings on S. 1732 contains a tremendous amount of evidence that there is Communist influence in some of the organizations which are directing the Negro demonstrations. In addition, Mr. President, I have placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of August 2 and 7 and again today more evidence to this effect. In order to provide even more information, I now ask for inclusion in the RECORD at this point in my remarks the following articles:

The Washington Post article of August 11, 1963, on Bayard Rustin.

Four articles by Mr. Frank van der Linden.

An Associated Press article in the Nashville Banner dated July 8, 1963.

Two articles from the Evening Star of July 6, 1963, and August 4, 1963.

An advance article from National Review dated August 20, 1963.

An article by Ray Cromley in the Birmingham Post-Herald of August 8, 1963.

A column by Holmes Alexander as published in the Columbia Record of August 9, 1963.

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

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 11, 1963]

ORGANIZER OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MARCH IS DEVOTED TO NONVIOLENCE—FRIENDLINESS, NOT A GUN, IS THE PROPER WEAPON, VETERAN OF PAST PROTESTS HERE BELIEVES; BAYARD RUSTIN, A LONGTIME PACIFIST, SAYS NEGROES MUST BE WILLING TO SUFFER TO WIN RIGHTS

(By Susanna McBee)

NEW YORK, August 10.—The man who is organizing what may be the largest civil rights demonstration in the Nation's history is a crusader who passionately believes society can solve its problems only through non-violence.

He is 53-year-old Bayard Rustin, the tall, graying deputy director of the committee planning the August 28 march in Washington for jobs and freedom, which is expected to attract more than 100,000 demonstrators.

The committee's director, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has given Rustin his absolute confidence in the day-to-day planning of the mass assembly.

ORGANIZED PILGRIMAGE

One of the committee members, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., called Rustin, "a brilliant, efficient and dedicated organizer and one of the best and most persuasive interpreters of nonviolence."

Rustin organized the 1957 prayer pilgrimage and the 1958 and 1959 youth marches in Washington for integrated schools. He said in an interview today that the essence of nonviolence is willingness to suffer in order to "dominate the forces destructive to the oneness of man."

"Because of this oneness of man, the problems of one group—the Negroes—are the problems of all people," Rustin said.

"White people have a vested interest in seeing that the Negro wins full equality. No white man will have complete freedom until the Negro has his. For example, when all southern Negroes have the right to vote, they will help out the legislators who deny social welfare programs not only to them but to whites also."

Rustin said Negroes would make a mistake to be concerned only with Negro rights, because "this type of selfishness is incompatible with the philosophy of nonviolence."

MARCH IS FOR ALL

"That's why this August 28 march is more than a march for Negroes," he said. "It's a march for all society. In the area of employment, if there are not more jobs, Negroes and whites will soon be fighting over the few jobs left by automation. That's why our demonstration will support measures for full employment and for an expanding economy."

In practical terms, Rustin said, Negroes must accomplish their goals through nonviolence because "we are a minority trying to integrate with a majority and we can't use guns; the only weapon we can use is friendliness."

He runs the march headquarters from the shabby, four-story community center of Harlem's Friendship Baptist Church not far from busy Seventh Avenue, where each night various black nationalist groups preach race hatred.

Rustin's career reflects his energetic pursuit of ideas and causes connected with peace and social reform.

BEGAN IN HIGH SCHOOL

He began his long protest against racial discrimination when as a high school football player in his home town of West Chester, Pa., he was refused service with his teammates in a restaurant. He continued to sit there for several hours until he was thrown out.

Rustin has no college degree but spent 7 years studying at Wilberforce (Ohio) and Cheyney (Pa.) Colleges, the College of the City of New York, and the London School of Economics.

While at CCNY, in 1936, he joined the Young Communist League because "it was the only campus organization that had anything to say about the race issue." But his Quaker nonviolence "kept banging into their views," he said, and he soon dropped out of the league.

CRITICIZED PARTY

He says he "broke completely" when the league accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia. In 1956, the Communist Party, which he never joined, invited him and such other non-Communist social critics as Norman Thomas and Dorothy Day to attend its convention in New York as observers.

Rustin and several others filed a report criticizing the party for what he called its "dishonest and undemocratic handling of the Hungary question."

In the early 1940's Rustin was CORE's field secretary and was race relations director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group.

He has been arrested more than 20 times for his civil rights activities. During World War II he served 28 months for being a conscientious objector. Several of his arrests were for making speeches advocating resistance to war and for antidiscrimination

activities in New York. He also was convicted in 1953 in Pasadena, Calif., on a morals charge after being arrested with two other men.

In 1947 he helped organize a type of freedom ride to test compliance with the 1946 Supreme Court ban on segregation in interstate travel. Rustin was arrested 18 times on the journey through the South for breaking segregation laws, and he served on a North Carolina chain gang.

SUPPORTS PACIFISM

In 1952 he became executive secretary of the War Resisters' League, for which he has worked ever since. He traveled through India in 1947 studying the Gandhi independence movement, and also took part in several nationalist movements in Africa.

From 1955 to 1960 he was a part-time aid to Dr. King and helped in the Negro boycott which ended Jim Crow practices on Montgomery, Ala., buses.

His political philosophy defies labeling. Basically, it conceives of a society so organized that "there would be no misery of any kind."

His idealism and organizing experience led Randolph to appoint him deputy director of the August 28 march. Asked once whether he wanted Rustin to resign, Randolph said, "Why, heavens, no. He's Mr. March himself."

[From the Nashville Banner, July 26, 1963]
DESPITE KENNEDY CLAIM THURMOND CITES
LEFTIST TIES AMONG MARCH GROUP

(By Frank van der Linden)

WASHINGTON.—Although the Kennedy brothers claim there is "no evidence" of Communist interest in the Negro equality campaign, Senator STROM THURMOND has files that show definite leftwing links among some leaders of the planned August 28 march on Washington.

The New York Times said Thursday that Bayard Rustin is deputy director of the committee planning the Capital march by 100,000 or more Negroes to press for passage of President Kennedy's civil rights bills.

The Daily Worker said a man named "Bayard Rustin" attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., according to the files of the South Carolina Senator, the Daily Worker identified Rustin as secretary to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a prime mover of the August 28 march and racial demonstrations generally.

Rustin was one of eight "impartial observers" at the Communist Party's 16th national convention, according to THURMOND, and a member of the "American Forum for Socialist Education," cited by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee December 19, 1957, as a Communist front.

THE 1958 MARCH

Rustin helped Dr. King's 1958 march on Washington, which the Worker called a Communist project. Now Rustin turns up again in New York City as deputy director of the committee making detailed preparations for the mass march on Washington.

The coordinating committee consists of: Dr. King; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Pullman Sleeping Car Porters and only Negro vice president of the AFL-CIO; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League; and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The Times quoted Dr. King as saying the committee would request a meeting with Kennedy when the marchers converge on the White House, and would ask the President to create a "Federal civil rights police force."

HUAC RECORD

The House Un-American Activities Committee also has a large file on Randolph, showing he has worked closely with various leftwing groups for many years. He has called for a radical labor movement to promote "inter-racial brotherhood and the cause of the American working class and world peace."

An investigating committee of the Texas House of Representatives in 1961 said that Farmer, the CORE director, and Dr. King, are members of the national board of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, which advocates that the United States stop all nuclear testing, and "which has many Communist fronters among its guiding personnel."

The Texas legislative report incorporated into the Senate Judiciary Committee's official hearing record on the confirmation of the NAACP lawyer, Thurgood Marshall as a Federal circuit judge last year also said this about Farmer:

"He served as field secretary for the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) visiting many college campuses. The SLID publication Revolt, says 'The League for Industrial Democracy is a militant educational movement which challenges those who would think and act for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.' That is a revolutionary slogan. It means that members think and work for the elimination of capitalism and the substitution of a new order."

KENNEDY AIDS WORKING WITH LEADERS OF
MARCH—HOPE TO AVOID VIOLENCE SEEN IN
TALKS WITH CHIEF OF POLICE

(By Frank van der Linden)

WASHINGTON.—Top aides to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy are working closely with Negro leaders of the projected civil rights march on Washington August 28 in hopes of preventing violence.

Assistant Attorney General John Douglas, who conferred Friday with the march leaders and Metropolitan Police Chief Robert Murray, said: "We are concerned that everybody realize this is quite an undertaking, and make it as orderly as possible."

Douglas, son of Illinois' liberal Democratic Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, heads the Justice Department's civil division.

Chief Murray said the conferees discussed "minute details" for moving the estimated 100,000 marchers through the Capital City. He has notified all Metropolitan policemen to be on hand for duty that day, and has canceled all leaves. The Third Infantry at Fort Myer, Va., has a battle group of soldiers standing by for emergency calls, if necessary.

A special office will be set up at Washington headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to register the marchers in advance. The co-operating Negro, labor, and church groups hope by this means to know the identity of the marchers and to screen out any considered undesirable.

The civil rights groups and the Kennedy administration are supersensitive to charges that some integration leaders have links with leftwing or Communist front outfits.

Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the organizing committee for the march, and Cleveland Robinson, chairman of the policy committee, said in New York that they would meet the Attorney General here Friday. Kennedy's office said they would see Douglas, but not Kennedy himself.

"Fellowship," the official publication of the "Fellowship of Reconciliation," printed a profile of Rustin in its January 1963 issue, calling him "executive secretary of the War Resisters League and race relations secretary, F.O.R., 1943-53."

"Milestones in Bayard's later life include his 5-year association with Martin Luther

King, Jr., as secretary, adviser, and organizer; his coordination of two youth marches for integrated schools in Washington, D.C., and a year earlier, a prayer pilgrimage to the same place that drew 40,000; work to establish a center for nonviolence at Dar Es Salaam, Tanganyika, for the World Peace Brigade, the magazine said.

"To this we might add his participation with Michael Scott and others in a protest team to attempt to stop the French H-bomb tests and * * * opening of a New York office for the Student Nonviolence Coordination Committee."

"Fellowship" calls Rustin a "friend" of Ghana's Communist President Nkrumah.

THURMOND SHOCKED BY PRISON RECORD OF MARCH DIRECTOR

(By Frank van der Linden)

WASHINGTON.—Senator STROM THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, said today he was shocked at the revelation that the deputy director of the massive civil rights march on Washington August 28 admits having a prison record.

The Banner revealed Friday, in a dispatch from the Associated Press in New York, that Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the march, said he served a term on a morals charge in Pasadena, Calif., beginning in January 1953.

Besides his 60-day sentence in the sex case, Rustin also served 28 months in Federal prison on a charge of draft evasion in World War II, according to records of the FBI.

TO KEEP POST

Although Rustin had expressed fear that his record might cost him his job, he apparently will remain in his high place in front ranks of the marchers August 28.

A. Philip Randolph, national chairman of the march and president of the Negro American Labor Council, was asked in New York Saturday about rumors Rustin would resign. Randolph was quoted as saying, "No, Rustin is Mr. March-on-Washington himself."

Senator THURMOND commented today, "If Rustin is 'Mr. March-on-Washington himself' they ought to call off the whole thing."

The South Carolina Senator added, "It is terrible for a man with such a record to be conducting the demonstration and in such close cooperation with officials of the Kennedy administration."

Rustin has told reporters that he is working with high officials of the Justice Department and the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington in preparation for the march by at least 100,000 persons and possibly as many as 150,000.

Rustin was quoted by the New York Times Sunday as saying he expected no violence from the marchers themselves but he said, "I already know that the Fascists have called for 10,000 people to come to Washington."

Rustin had said last week that he would tell the march leaders Saturday about his criminal record and "let the civil rights leaders decide if this part of my background will affect the cause."

WENT TO RUSSIA

Apparently Randolph's remark calling Rustin "Mr. March-on-Washington himself" means that Rustin is being retained as deputy director, despite his record.

The Associated Press quoted Rustin as saying he was one of five Americans who went to Russia in 1958 under sponsorship of a pacifist group known as the Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons.

Rustin told the Associated Press he had been arrested 22 times in as many States in civil rights fights. He was a conscientious objector in World War II which led to his prison term. He said he was transferred from the Federal prison at Lewisburg, Pa., after organizing a protest demonstration against

racial discrimination inside the correctional institution at Ashland, Ky.

The FBI records show that Rustin was assigned to the Ashland prison on March 7, 1944, and transferred to Lewisburg August 3, 1945. He was finally discharged June 11, 1946.

The charge was that he violated the civil service law by failing to report for "work of national importance," to which conscientious objectors were assigned when deferred from the draft.

The Los Angeles Times of January 23, 1963, said Rustin, identified then as a "40-year-old Negro lecturer," was sentenced to 60 days in jail when he pleaded guilty to a morals charge. The Times said he was arrested with two other men in a car parked near the Green Hotel in Pasadena.

Rustin told Associated Press he was secretary to Dr. Martin Luther King from 1955 to 1960 and helped form the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Senator THURMOND has records showing Rustin attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party.

[From the Shreveport Journal, Aug. 8, 1963] NEGRO, ADMITTING RECORD, WON'T QUIT CIVIL RIGHTS JOB

(By Frank van der Linden)

WASHINGTON.—Bayard Rustin, Negro deputy director of the August 28 civil rights march on Washington, said Wednesday he won't quit that job although FBI records show he has served prison terms on a morals charge and for violating the draft law.

FBI records state that Rustin served 28 months in Federal prisons in World War II when he was a conscientious objector but failed to report for work required by the draft law.

Also, the Los Angeles, Calif., police records show that Rustin pleaded guilty to a sex charge there January 22, 1953, and drew a 60-day jail sentence. The Los Angeles Times said he was arrested by Pasadena police with two men in a parked car. The other two men drew similar sentences.

The Associated Press quoted Rustin, in a New York interview last Friday, as admitting his record and saying he would let the civil rights leaders decide whether it should cost him his job. The next day, the march chairman, A. Philip Randolph, said Rustin would stay on because "Rustin is Mr. March-on-Washington himself." (The Nashville Banner requested the AP interview.)

Randolph, Rustin, and Cleveland Robinson, chairman of the administrative committee, briefed Members of Congress Wednesday on plans for the demonstration by more than 100,000 marchers. Randolph said he had great confidence in Rustin and Robinson.

When a reporter asked Rustin if he would resign, Rustin replied, "No. I don't know where that story came from."

Senator STROM THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, said he was "shocked that a man with Rustin's record would be directing the march and making plans for it along with Kennedy administration officials."

THURMOND said his own files show that Rustin attended a 1957 national convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; had led a 1958 march on Washington which the Communist newspaper, the Worker, claimed to be a Communist project; and had served for several years as secretary to Dr. Martin Luther King.

The AP quoted Rustin as saying he was one of five Americans who went to Russia in 1958 under the sponsorship of a pacifist group, the Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons.

This year he opened a New York office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, one of the "big six" Negro groups sponsoring the August 28 march on the Capital.

Rustin speaks in a high voice with an apparent British accent. FBI records indicate

he is not British but was born in West Chester, Pa., about 50 years ago.

Robinson, a native Jamaican who is secretary-treasurer of a store clerks union in New York, told reporters here Wednesday: "Rustin is the deputy director of the march. On his shoulders rest all the physical responsibility for it."

Rustin said he and Robinson met with an assistant to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and with Washington police officials to plan ways of averting violence during the march. Rustin said 2,000 marshals are being trained in Washington, New York, Hartford, and Philadelphia, to monitor the paraders. Army and National Guard units in this area may be called in case of trouble.

[From the Nashville Banner, Aug. 3, 1963] MARCH LEADER WON'T QUIT

NEW YORK.—An estimated 250,000 persons are expected to join the march on Washington August 28, it was reported today at a meeting of the "big six" civil rights organizations.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, and president of the Negro American Labor Council, told reporters after the meeting that rumors that the march's deputy director, Bayard Rustin, was resigning were untrue.

"No, Mr. Rustin is Mr. March-on-Washington himself," Randolph said.

Three members of the march committee from Washington disclosed that the proposed march of 100,000 persons could be increased to an estimated 250,000 converging on a special assembly area.

Present plans call for persons from all parts of the Nation to converge on the Washington Memorial and the ellipse area near 17th Street and march to the Lincoln Memorial.

The Reverend Walter Fauntroy, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that Army logistics personnel said the Washington Memorial area could hold 250,000 persons, allowing 4 square feet per person.

The civil rights leaders fear that if individual delegations try marching to special assembly points there could be an outbreak of violence or other disturbances in the Capital.

Randolph said the Communists could not possibly infiltrate the march.

"We have taken all precautions to prohibit all lunatic fringes from infiltrating our ranks and causing any unrest or possible violence," he said.

"This will be an orderly and effective, nonviolent protest."

[From the Washington Evening Star, Aug. 6, 1963] BRIEFING SET IN CAPITOL ON AUGUST 28 MARCH—75 LAWMAKERS EXPECTED TO HEAR REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS TURNOUT

Seventy-five Congressmen have accepted invitations to meet tomorrow in the Capitol with leaders of the planned August 28 civil rights demonstration, a demonstration leader has announced.

A. Philip Randolph, demonstration director, said in New York that the purpose of the meeting is "to keep Congress fully informed as to the purposes and objectives of the march as well as to answer questions and receive suggestions."

Mr. Randolph, according to the Associated Press, said the meeting was called by Senators DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois; JAVITS, Republican, of New York; and HART, Democrat, of Michigan; and by Representatives CELLER, Democrat, of New York; LINDSAY, Republican, of New York; and ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California.

RAIN OR SHINE

Sy Posner, director of information for the civil rights march, said in New York that the march "will be held, rain or shine, whether Congress is in session or not."

There had been some signs that Congress might be in recess, but latest indications are that it will be here August 28.

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, chairman of the Washington coordinating committee for the march, said in a radio interview yesterday that "I have every confidence that we will not have trouble in Washington."

But in Los Angeles, Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins, a civil rights leader, voiced fears of "wildcat demonstrators."

Mr. Dawkins said: "We are concerned about these wildcat demonstrators, and we wish to eliminate any possibility of violence by those who are not controlled by responsible leaders."

As an added safeguard, Mr. Dawkins said, the marchers will be screened.

EXPECT CHURCH BACKING

At least 100,000 persons from member churches of the National Council of Churches will participate, according to Dr. Anna Hedgerman, coordinator for special events for the council's commission on religion and race.

"We are asking all local and State councils of churches across the Nation to mobilize their own resources and cooperate with Catholic and Jewish groups and civil rights leaders," Dr. Hedgerman said in New York, according to the Associated Press.

In his radio interview, Mr. Fauntroy explained the three requirements for what he regards as successful demonstrations: peaceful demonstrators, effective police, and responsible government officials to hear grievances.

"Where any one of the three ingredients is absent, you're liable to have trouble," Mr. Fauntroy said. He noted that this was what had happened in some Southern States, but he said he did not expect any trouble in Washington because all three elements for "successful demonstrations" are present here.

Mr. Fauntroy announced also that some of the District's Roman Catholic institutions, such as Georgetown University, and some parochial schools are offering their facilities for housing demonstrators who might arrive early and remain in the city overnight.

CIVIL GROUPS SUPPORT MOVE

Endorsement of the march came last night from the Federation of Civic Associations which voted "full support for a peaceful and orderly demonstration."

The Baptist Ministers Conference of the District and vicinity also has endorsed the march. Mr. Fauntroy said the Washington Hebrew Congregation, too, has given its endorsement.

Maj. Gen. W. H. Abendroth, commanding general of the District National Guard, said he had agreed to assist the Metropolitan Police Department with men from the Army and Air Guard units for traffic and crowd control.

[From the Washington Sunday Star, Aug. 4, 1963]

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND NOW EXPECTED IN RIGHTS MARCH HERE

(By Clarence Hunter)

NEW YORK, August 3.—Leaders of the August 28 march on Washington for jobs and freedom announced today that "an assemblage larger than we had anticipated" has forced several major changes in the conduct of the demonstration.

March on Washington officials indicated that they are expecting 150,000 whites and Negroes to participate in the demonstration. Previously they had announced that at least 100,000 persons would visit Washington for the 1-day march.

The major change announced by A. Philip Randolph, national chairman of the march, is that the demonstrators will assemble at the Washington Monument Grounds when they arrive in the District. The overflow will spill into the Ellipse.

Originally, the demonstrators had been scheduled to report to 51 staging areas throughout the city such as churches and other large buildings. Each State delegation was to have been assigned a special assembly point where the demonstrators would be visited by their respective Senators and Representatives.

RESERVED SEATS FOR CONGRESS

Another major change is that all Members of the Congress—Senators and Representatives—will be invited to witness the "jobs and civil rights" program at the Lincoln Memorial. Some 500 seats will be reserved for them. Members of Congress will not be asked to speak.

"We have reinterpreted our concept of lobbying," said Mr. Randolph as he explained that the 10 leaders of the march will request a conference with President Kennedy earlier that morning. They also will meet with congressional leaders before the mass assembly so that they can present the marchers' aims to the President and legislative officials.

Mr. Randolph said the "mere presence of 100,000 or more people in the District of Columbia to urge passage of civil rights legislation" is an effective lobbying action.

"The moral significance of the march—of whites and blacks * * * church members and labor groups marching together—will be to stress the great struggle for human dignity," Mr. Randolph said.

He added that he is "immensely satisfied" with national response to the march. He said "the Communists will not infiltrate" the demonstration.

"No lunatic fringe will be involved in this march," Mr. Randolph assured reporters. "We have no fear of anybody infiltrating this march. We have complete control. We know where our people are coming from. This will be an effective and positive effort."

Julius Hobson, chairman of Washington CORE, who is training 500 of the 2,000 marshals who will maintain order among the demonstrators, said it required 95 minutes for 50 of his men to walk the original route of the march yesterday. This trial run apparently was one reason for changing the route.

The route of the march has been changed also.

The demonstrators will proceed from the Washington Monument Grounds to the Lincoln Memorial in two thrusts. One line will walk west along Constitution Avenue to Henry Bacon Drive and to the Memorial. At the same time another column will move west along Reflecting Pool Drive to the Memorial.

The demonstrators then will mass in front of the Lincoln Memorial, east along the Reflecting Pool to the Monument Grounds if necessary. Details of the Lincoln Memorial program are yet to be decided.

There will be no individual delegations of demonstrators visiting Capitol Hill. There will be no demonstrations at the White House, Mr. Randolph reported.

Demonstrators are expected to begin arriving in the District early on August 28 and "as late as 1 p.m. and 2 p.m.," Mr. Randolph said. The movement from the Washington Monument to Lincoln Memorial will begin in the early afternoon, he added.

PROGRAM AT MEMORIAL BRIEF

"The program at the Lincoln Memorial will be brief so the people can leave about 5 p.m.," he said.

Negro leaders planning the demonstration met for 3 hours in their headquarters discussing details of the march.

The national budget for the march is \$75,000, including \$15,000 to bring the poor and jobless, especially from the South, to Washington for the march, said Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the march.

Staff personnel reported that the march buttons retailing for a minimum of 25 cents each are "selling well." The organization ordered 50,000 buttons initially and more than 42,000 have been sold. Another 80,000 have been ordered.

Among those attending yesterday's meeting were: the Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy, chairman of the Washington coordinating committee for the march; the Reverend Edward Hailes, cochairman of the Washington committee, and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

[From the National Review Bulletin]

ON THE LEFT

The Birmingham News reports that Jack H. O'Dell, a "concealed member of the national committee of the Communist Party," was back in the employ of Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference for several months after he had been kicked out for leftwing activities. King had told reporters earlier that O'Dell had "resigned" when his Communist affiliations were brought to light, and that he had not been reinstated. According to the News, after his supposed resignation O'Dell had represented himself occasionally as an official of the SCLC; had worked on SCLC mailings and fund appeals (this column mentioned a while ago that some SCLC mailings utilized the Communist-lining National Guardian's mailing list and addressing plates); had traveled under SCLC auspices, once with King and other officers; and in at least one instance had been paid by the SCLC. Following these disclosures, O'Dell got the boot from the SCLC for the second time. Jack O'Dell sometimes calls himself Hunter Pitts O'Dell, invoked the fifth amendment in 1956 when asked by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee whether he functioned as a southern district organizer for the Communist Party. Subcommittee Counsel Robert Morris later said that he had excellent information that O'Dell fulfilled this assignment, primarily in New Orleans, under his own name and the aliases John Vesey and Ben Jones. O'Dell also took the fifth on questions about communism before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Another storm blew up over King when two southern Governors charged that he had Communist associations, citing his attendance at a Labor Day gathering at Highlander Folk School in Tennessee in company with several known Communists and radicals. The controversy died down when Robert Kennedy said the FBI had no information to confirm that King was "Communist or Communist-controlled," which did not quite answer the question. At the time of the gathering, King's secretary—or "secretary, organizer and adviser" in one account—was Bayard Rustin, who, to put it mildly, was and is notable for the amount of energy he has had for leftwing causes. Rustin worked closely, often as an officeholder, with: The War Resisters League, the World Peace Brigade, Liberation magazine, the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, the second General Strike for Peace, the Monroe (N.C.) Defense Committee, the Committee for Nonviolent Action, the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr., the Greenwich Village Peace Center, and any number of other groups, ad hoc committees, petitions, etc., few of which are arrestingly wholesome. He has founded a Center for Nonviolence in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, posed with Nkrumah, protested French atomic development, apologized to the Japanese for U.S. atomic testing, coordinated two youth marches and a prayer pilgrimage to Washington, D.C., attended a Communist Party convention (1957), and even had time for a sex violation in California, all in the last 10 years or so.

Nonviolence is not the way, Mrs. Anne Braden told a mass meeting of Negroes a few

weeks ago in racially troubled Danville, Va. Her message to the group, in effect was: "Stay out of the courts and in the streets." Mrs. Braden is the wife of Carl Braden, identified before HUAC as a southern district organizer for the Communist Party; she is herself the editor of Southern Patriot, which has been cited several times as a Communist front and is, in turn, the offshoot of another cited front, the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Her husband is field secretary of the latter group.

[From the Birmingham Post-Herald, Aug. 8, 1963]

REDS TRYING TO INFILTRATE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE

(By Ray Cromley)

WASHINGTON.—Secretary Gus Hall and the American Communist Party are making a determined attempt to infiltrate the civil rights struggle.

On July 11, the Communist Party U.S.A. issued secret orders to its members to get in on the August 28 Negro March on Washington. In other communications, Hall and the other party bosses have instructed Communists, white and Negro, to join in Negro demonstrations in their communities.

The information in this dispatch comes from authoritative sources.

The Reds are meeting with resistance. The Daily Worker of July 7 complained in this regard that, "It is also a fact to be reckoned with, that some of the most respected and dedicated of the Negro people's leaders, who are themselves often the target of slanderous Red-smears, continue to indulge in the McCarthyite-age fashion of genuflecting before the sacred symbol of anticommunism."

Some of the major Negro organizations have already taken steps to warn their people of the new Communist approach. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has research men who study the Daily Worker and the National Guardian in order to keep abreast of the twists and turns of Communist action.

Just recently, Dr. John Morsell, assistant to NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, passed around a memorandum to key personnel outlining the latest Communist approach and writing below it, "For your information—what they are up to now."

Because of this resistance among the national Negro leadership, the Communist Party U.S.A. is now sending specialized Communists to attempt infiltration into the local branches of the Negro civil rights organizations. It is attempting to get its people in on local demonstrations. It is putting a major emphasis on new groups led by young and inexperienced leaders.

These Communists are "sleepers." They have been instructed to keep their party membership and Communist sympathies secret from the public and from the Negroes they are volunteering to work with. These infiltrators have been instructed not to take overly prominent roles in civil rights demonstrations, nor to openly push for violence, for fear they'll be investigated and their Communist identity become known.

This grassroots attempt to infiltrate the civil rights movement is currently, at least, one of the major activities of the Communist Party U.S.A. It is part of a longstanding Communist aim of winning over Negroes. In the past the party has been singularly unsuccessful with the southern Negro. Reports by the Justice Department have consistently shown membership in the South to be slight.

It is too early to tell how successful the Communists will be in their current drive. Reports indicate that so far the number of these secret Communists who have participated in most southern demonstrations have been quite small; usually, it's reported only

a handful. Their appearance has been spotty. There were some Communists seen at Cambridge, Md., but not among the leadership. None are known to have been at Danville, Va.

So far, it is also understood that Communist infiltration in local branches of Negro civil rights organizations has not been significant. It has been reported that the Reds are not known, as of now, to have secured important national posts in any of the major Negro civil rights organizations.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy has said that, based on all available information from the FBI and other sources, "We have no evidence that any of the top leaders of the major civil rights groups are Communists or Communist controlled."

Since the Communist infiltrators are sleepers, it is not certain whether they may have, unknown to the Negro civil rights, crept into lesser roles.

The Communist technique is to bide time, build up contacts, friendships, and associations for the future. Though the orders are that communism isn't to be mentioned at this time, the infiltrators do have these instructions:

"To patiently and persistently point out that anti-Negro racism is the ideology of the ruling class. This is the primary task."

"To combat ideologically reformist tendencies, to limit the movement to merely court action, or other tendencies which resist mass actions."

The Communist infiltrators have been instructed to ignore what the Communist Party leadership calls Red baiting by the Negro leaders.

[From the Columbia Record, Aug. 9, 1963]
CUBA IS BASE FOR COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NEGROES' REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Holmes Alexander)

It's pretty hard for Attorney General Kennedy to go on pretending that there is no Red tinge in the Negro revolution when Fidel Castro talks as he did as late as last July 26.

"And here we send another message of solidarity and fraternity to the U.S. Negro population which has our sympathy," said Castro, adding, "Let the U.S. Negroes come here * * * to see a population without discrimination."

A SPOKESMAN FOR VIOLENCE

Castro made an overt Communist bid for Negro popularity a few years ago when he visited the United Nations. That was the time he ostentatiously left a downtown Manhattan hotel and moved to one in Harlem.

Today one of his regular broadcasters to the United States is the American Negro, Robert Williams, a fugitive from justice, a spokesman for putting more violence into the Negro revolution. The Williams voice of communism via Havana urges "solidarity" a favorite term in all Red propaganda between black America and Red Cuba.

Then there are the two California attorneys, Rose Rosenberg and Jean Kidwell Pestana. Both were fingered as Communist Party members by FBI undercover agents back in 1952. Last summer Mesdames Rosenberg and Pestana defied the passport restrictions and paid a month-long visit to Cuba. This summer they have been taking part in west coast racial demonstrations.

REFERRED TO ROBERT KENNEDY

Chairman WILLIS of the House Un-American Activities Committee has referred their cases to Robert Kennedy's Justice Department for prosecution. Such action by Justice, of course, would link Soviet Cuba even closer to the Negro revolution. It would take the starch of credibility out of the testimony given by Secretary Rusk to the Commerce Committee and Bob Kennedy. Rusk has belittled any international conspiracy to stir up and subvert our Negro citizenry.

Kennedy on the day of the Castro speech wrote Senator MONRONEY of the committee that Communist efforts to crash integrationist groups had proved "remarkably unsuccessful."

MORE LIGHT IS NEEDED

Well, successful or otherwise, this Communist drive to infiltrate the American race movement is something we need to hear more about.

The administration has played it down, much as the presence of Russian men and arms in Cuba was once played down. All of the information thus far about Reds in the race rebellion has come from reporters who have dug, as I have, into material that is public property, or from opponents of the civil rights package who would be against it if there were no Communist connection whatever.

THE PRESIDENT SHOULD SPEAK

These, I say—reporters and opponents—should not do all the work of relating the civil rights cause and the Communist menace.

I would think that the President himself should be warning the Negroes to beware of treacherous leaders who mean them and this country every ill.

I would think that the Attorney General, who certainly knows how often FBI Director Hoover has connected communism and Negro disturbances, should tell Congress when and how these unsuccessful Communist attempts were made to crash the integrationist groups.

I can't imagine why proponents of civil rights—such men as MONRONEY, Democrat, and SCOTT, Republican—would leave all the Red-baiting to the other side.

If it's true, as seems evident, that the Communists are trying to exploit the civil rights issue, the best way to spoil their game is to expose them.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am not satisfied and many people across this country are not satisfied with the Attorney General's efforts to whitewash the question of Communist influence or involvement in these Negro demonstrations which have been turning into race riots in various cities in this country. The evidence I have presented here today and on August 2 and August 7, and the evidence which has been presented in the Commerce Committee hearings on S. 1732—which I expect to be printed within the next week or two—have come from public sources and certainly demonstrate the need for a searching and thorough investigation of this entire question by the Congress, before any action is taken on the civil rights legislation which was sent to Capitol Hill as a direct result of these demonstrations.

Mr. President, a more objective newspaper in Washington, D.C., which certainly cannot be considered a racist newspaper, the Evening Star, has editorially raised the point of having a determination made on the question I have posed here today because—to quote the Evening Star editorial of August 5, 1963:

All concerned—both white and colored—have a right to know just who is working for the Kremlin in this matter.

Mr. President, since preparing this speech, my attention has been called to an excerpt from a hearing by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on February 25 and 26, 1957. This hearing, entitled "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United

States," contains some very interesting testimony by Mr. Frank S. Meyer of Woodstock, N.Y., former member of the Communist Party, on the question of Communist interest in exploiting and taking over Negro organizations and demonstrations in this country. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that Mr. Meyer's testimony beginning on page 3608 of this hearing and ending at the top of page 3609 be printed at the conclusion of these remarks.

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

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Generally speaking, to summarize the answer to your question, I feel, from the evidence of the material and the resolutions passed, that all basic questions that were argued rather vigorously in the party during the months beforehand were solved before the Congress opened.

The convention did three things. It made a show of unity, as the Daily Worker and all the last speakers said. Foster did not win, Gates did not win, Dennis did not win. The party won.

The first thing it did was that.

Secondly, it developed a working agreement between the factions by essentially splitting all committees that were so far elected just about equally between them, with the center on top.

Thirdly, it made a record for the courts, or attempted to make a record for the courts, in terms of verbiage but not of fundamentals on its relationship to the American free constitutional process.

And fourthly, on all important questions of program, with one or two exceptions, it passed on to the new national committee the task of making a program, only one or two questions on which I think this convention took concrete action in terms of its immediate program, in looking at it. Most were passed over to the national committee.

There was a point on the agenda, party program, which was totally passed over.

But on one question the stand of the convention is extremely clear in all its resolutions, and that is the main campaign of the Communist Party at this point must be, to use their verbiage, the extension of democratization in the South. That is to say, the main point made by the convention in terms of an immediate program fits in very well with an old line of Communist attitude toward constitutional processes in America.

It goes back, to my knowledge, 15 years or so when I was rather deeply involved in some theoretical work in connection with the so-called Negro question, and it is this: To the Communist Party efforts to utilize mass democratic mob criterion approaches rather than constitutional ones, to attempt to turn elections into plebiscites, and the main obstacle in the structure, the constitutional checks-and-balances structure.

And they have recognized for 15 years, and clearly now recognize, that that point in the country at which this structure of checks and balances has its greatest support is in the Senate of the United States, and specifically in the States rights structure of the Southern States, which bring it about that the Democratic Party cannot be looked at by them as a totally people's party in their terms, totally a laborish kind of party, but split it up.

Hence, the major drive in the sense of putting themselves at the head, or attempting to put themselves at the head, to penetrate the movement of the Negro people in the various forms it has been taking in recent years and previously, has nothing whatever to do with any interest in the aims and

desires of the Negro people, but is a realization by the Communist Party that that movement can be used as the most important and strongest cutting edge against the constitutional structure of the United States, by trying to develop a removal of division of power guarantees in the South, and, secondarily, by the fact that they believe, as it is clear from the resolution, that at this time in a prosperous country this is the only place in which serious trouble can possibly be stirred up, in which there are serious possibilities of developing what they call mass struggles, of building up extra-constitutional and extra-legal actions, and so on.

I do want to emphasize, however, that this is not in any sense a humanitarian position. It has nothing whatever to do with any sympathy for the needs of the Negro peoples themselves. But it has to do with a feeling on their part that this is the point of breakthrough in the country at this time.

NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS ACT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1321) to provide for a National Service Corps to strengthen community service programs in the United States.

ALASKA NATIVES ENDORSE NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, today I speak in behalf of S. 1321, a bill to establish a National Service Corps. I am a cosponsor of this bill. I have supported this proposal from its inception.

We are a wealthy nation, the wealthiest in all history. We have used this wealth with unparalleled generosity to rebuild Europe and to assist the developing peoples across the world. We have used it to stamp out malaria, pellagra, and yaws in cooperation with the World Health Organization. We have used it to save many millions of people from starvation through our food-for-peace program. Our Peace Corps is bringing encouragement, hope, and friendship to the illiterate and poor across the world. We are a generous nation. It is time this generosity was harnessed for the benefit of our own unfortunate.

It is a paradox that within our own borders, in the midst of plenty, there should be American citizens as poor, as hungry, as unfortunate as any on earth. Prosperity has passed these people by. It is true they have not been forgotten entirely. The social worker, the teacher, the clergy, the many selfless dedicated people who devote their lives to the care and help of the disadvantaged—these people have remembered. For too long, however, we Americans have let these dedicated people serve as our conscience. They have borne the burden which rightly belongs to each and every one of us.

The proposal which the Senate is now considering, provides a means by which Americans may assist their less fortunate neighbors and, in so doing, respond in a real sense to the responsibilities of their citizenship. S. 1321 envisions a modest program. It will not solve the problems of the illiterate, the uneducated, or the unemployed. It will, however, show the way to communities and organizations anxious to do something about these problems in their own towns.

It will, as it were, provide an example and an encouragement to local programs for local assistance. It will be a start.

The National Service Corps, although recruited on a national basis, will work closely with State and local government. The Service Corps will come into the community only if it is requested to do so, only if there is clearly work to be done, and only if the community intends to carry on the work on a permanent basis once it is begun.

This proposal, Mr. President, has drawn an immediate response from the less fortunate people of my State.

I have received letters from the leaders of many native villages of Alaska. Senators will remember that I brought several of these letters to the attention of the Senate on the 16th of July. Since that date I have received additional letters, and ask unanimous consent that they be made a part of the RECORD at this time.

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

GALENA, ALASKA,
July 16, 1963.

Mr. WILLIAM ANDERSON,
President's Study Group,
National Study Group,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ANDERSON: We received a letter from Mr. BOB BARTLETT to see if we, the village of Galena, could use aid from the Peace Corps if one was formed.

We here are very much in favor for Congress to pass bill S. 1321.

We could use aid here, also, if the bill is passed, on processing fish, lumber, and produce.

We remain,

Truly yours,

EDGAR "PATTY" NOLLNER, Jr.,
President, Galena City Councilmen.

KOTZEBUE, July 22, 1963.

Mr. WILLIAM ANDERSON,
President's Study Group,
National Service Program,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ANDERSON: Reference is made to a letter received from Senator BARTLETT in regard to a bill before Congress for a Domestic Peace Corps for Alaska.

This was brought up before the council at a regular council meeting held the 5th of July, at which time a motion was made and passed unanimously that a request be made for a Peace Corps worker for Kotzebue.

This was brought about by the fact that we are a fourth-class city, with very limited powers and finances. The council has been trying for quite some time to obtain either a youth counselor or recreational director for our community.

At the present we have approximately 380 students attending elementary school, 250 preschool children, and 135 high school children with an anticipated 200 to 250 high school children when the high school is built within the next 2 years.

The city has purchased recreational and playground equipment, but have been unable to make this readily available to the children due to the lack of finances for a recreational director.

The youths at the present have no recreational facilities available, so consequently are at loose ends, which tends to increase our juvenile problems in the community.

Several members of the community have volunteered their services to supervise some of the recreational activities; however, this has not been satisfactory, as their time is

limited, and without a full-time director a good portion of the children are excluded.

We sincerely hope that this bill is passed and that the request we are making is seriously considered, as our growing juvenile problems have been of quite concern to the council and the community.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK B. STEIN,
Mayor.

SHAGELUK, ALASKA,
July 11, 1963.

MR. WILLIAM ANDERSON,
President's Study Group,
National Service Program,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ANDERSON: I am writing to you at the suggestion of Senator E. L. BARTLETT, of Alaska, to tell you of the ways that a Domestic Peace Corps could help us in our village.

Shageluk is a small village located on the Innoko River about 320 miles northwest of Anchorage. There are 67 adults and 100 children living here and we are all Athapaskan Indians. We all live in log houses made of spruce logs with lumber floors and roofs. Most of the houses are small and have only one floor. Our families are usually large so there are quite a few living in each house varying from 14 in the largest to 2 or 3 in some. There are spruce trees available to build new houses and to make lumber, if we had a sawmill. The village does not have electricity, although there is electricity at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Grade School and two families have small light plants of their own. We have a very poor water supply and depend on rainwater for drinking water in the summer and use ice in the winter. We have no fresh water supply; the river and lake water here are not safe to drink. We have many small gardens in the village which produce fairly well. There are very few ways for the men in the village to earn an adequate living. All the men trap in the fall and winter, but that is not enough. There are a few jobs at the school from time to time, but most of the men have to go to Anchorage to find summer work or to the Bering Sea or Bristol Bay fish canneries. There is no real economy in the village itself. The nearest hospital is in Bethel which is about 150 air miles from the village. There are no motor vehicles of any type in the village and we are isolated from all major road and communication systems. We receive mail three times a week by plane and get two freight boats a year. We all hunt and fish to feed our families.

There are several ways in which a Domestic Peace Corps could help us. We have decided to move our village for a number of reasons: we have no fresh water, we have been flooded with from 2 to 3 feet of water for 2 years in a row and are in danger of flooding every spring when the ice goes out, the village is overpopulated and there is no more room and the present site cannot support all our people, sanitation conditions are very bad because of the crowding—the village is on a narrow strip of land bounded on one side by the river and the other by a large lake—we have to go too far for wood since the supply in the immediate area is gone, and the riverbank is wearing away. The Corps could help us to plan our new village, our new houses, teach us sanitation procedures, and could also help us with our gardens and with some adult education, not only in reading and writing, but also vocational training. We have decided to move whether or not we get help from outside the village, but we will welcome advice and help. We plan to move in 1965, preparing the ground and cutting lumber in 1964. The Corps could help us. I hope this information will help help you.

Sincerely yours,

HAMILTON E. HAMILTON,
Chief.

POINT LAY, ALASKA,
July 9, 1963.

MR. WILLIAM ANDERSON,
President's Study Group,
National Service Program,
Washington, D.C.

This is to answer the outlined questions sent by Senator E. L. BARTLETT concerning the Domestic Peace Corps.

(1) There are 16 adults and 11 children here.

(2) All houses are made of store-bought lumber and plyboards with insulation and roofing paper. Each house have one to six persons living in each. There are no material near the village to built houses with. All material has to be ordered from the lower States by boat.

(3) Only electricity are by privately owned small generators.

(4) We have our water from a pond 1½ miles from the village. It is hauled by boat in the summer and by dogteam in the winter.

(5) We are not able to grow any vegetable in the village.

(6) Two men are working at the DEW line, one man is a storekeeper, and other men are living by hunting and trapping.

(7) The nearest hospital is at Barrow, Alaska.

(8) This village is too small to make any future plans.

Sincerely yours,

PATRICK TUKROOK,
President, Village Council.

MR. BARTLETT. It is clear, Mr. President, that the Eskimos, the Aleuts, and the Indians of Alaska strongly desire the assistance of Service Corps men. There is no doubt that the corpsmen would find much of value to do in the North. And, lastly, there is no doubt whatever that the lessons taught by the corpsmen would be well learned by the Alaska natives.

As a representative of Alaska, I have seen these people make the transformation from a simple, marginal existence to the complex civilization of today. They have the capacity and the strong desire to become full, participating citizens of the 20th century. They will make good use of the lessons taught them by the Service Corps.

The proposed Corps has drawn an immediate response not only from Alaska but also from many groups across the country. I am told that already, many applications have been made for Service Corps projects. Recently I had occasion to point out to William Anderson, consultant to the President on a national service program, the extreme importance of insuring that the Service Corps give ear to the appeals of the truly needy and not just to the slick applications of the better organized, worldly, and Washington-wise groups. Proposals of a highly professional nature have been made, proposals very much more sophisticated than anything the Arctic villages, the Appalachian communities, or the Harlem slums could possibly provide. And, yet, it is the people from these areas who need the help.

I am pleased that my view on this is shared by the Attorney General, by Mr. Anderson, and by the President's study group. I am confident that when this proposal becomes law, and the program becomes action, that the truly needy will receive the priority which they require, which they have been led to expect.

I stand ready to help in every way I can.

MR. President, I should like, with his permission, to ask the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], a question or two.

Did I correctly understand the Senator to inform the majority leader a few minutes ago that the first year's program contemplates an expenditure of \$5 million?

MR. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. The Senator is correct.

MR. BARTLETT. And there would be under the program 1,000 volunteers in the first year?

MR. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. The goal for the first year is 1,000 volunteers. If the response is in any degree like the response achieved by the Peace Corps abroad, I am sure there will be ample applications for the selection of 1,000 highly qualified persons.

MR. BARTLETT. Does the Senator believe the 1,000 volunteers—no matter how dedicated they may be, and no matter how efficient they may be—will be sufficient in number to achieve the objective which is sought?

MR. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Quite obviously not. It is hoped that in 5 years the program will have 5,000 volunteers. Even that number of volunteers serving in the various areas of hardship would not accomplish all that we hope to accomplish, in terms of helping people in need. They will be, as the President and others have described them, the catalyst to start programs or to expand programs and which will increase the number of community volunteers, for local service.

MR. BARTLETT. When I testified on this bill before the Senator from New Jersey and the other members of the subcommittee on May 29, I expressed some apprehension about the fact that over the length and breadth of the land there would be only 1,000 workers in the National Service Corps. On reflection, however, I feel that it would be far better to start with a small program. After the Corps has gained some experience we can consider enlarging it.

I believe that if this program becomes effective, and if the bill in the terms now before us is passed, many communities throughout the land will not be able to have any volunteers. There will not be enough volunteers to go around, as the Senator from New Jersey has already said. Even so, I think it is better to start in this way. I am confident that the Senator from New Jersey agrees with me, or he would not have brought the bill to the floor in its present form.

MR. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I agree with the Senator from Alaska that the program should start modestly and carefully, because much harm could be done by misplaced good will. The selection of personnel must be a very careful process.

As other Senators have said already, if this program approaches in its development the care and skill that was applied to the Peace Corps abroad, a conservative start will have proven to be worth while here, as it was in the case of the Peace Corps.

Mr. BARTLETT. I referred a while ago to native communities in Alaska. By the term "native" I mean Indian, Eskimo, Aleut villages. I use the term "native" to apply to any or all of those.

Earlier in the year, after this proposal came to Congress, I wrote to many of the leaders of those villages. I was amazed at the response, the interest taken, and the recitals in the letters as to what needed to be done. They indicated a willingness to cooperate locally.

Time after time people in remote villages wrote in and said, "These are the things that we need to have done. These are the things that ought to be done. We do not have in all cases the equipment required or the technical skills. We need leadership. We need guidance."

This is precisely, in my opinion, what the National Service Corps will be able to furnish.

In Alaska alone we could easily use 1,000 National Service Corps men. I am sure that requests will come in from the native villages for at least that many. But if we can obtain one volunteer in each village, and establish pilot programs to demonstrate what can be achieved, we will have done very well. We will have pointed the way to further progress.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Senator from New Jersey for his leadership in this endeavor. It has a real importance in every State of this Union. This legislation is moving along hopefully toward success. The progress this bill has made is largely due to what he has done and what he is doing for it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am not worthy of the generosity of the Senator's comments, but I cannot help but appreciate them. It has been a pleasure over the months to discuss this program with the Senator from Alaska, and to hear from him the responses from the people of his State who are in need. They respond favorably to this program.

The same is true on the Indian reservations. We visited a reservation at Pine Ridge, S. Dak. There, the president of the tribal council, Chief Whirlwind Horse, spent the full afternoon and the early evening with us. It was clear that he had considerable hope for his people under this program. We saw the beginning of the program in a private way in Pine Ridge. A woman from the State of New Jersey, highly motivated, went to the most impoverished place I have been to in my life, a part of this Indian reservation where the houses were hovels and the economic opportunity severely limited. There she set up a nursery for the sickest youngsters in the community. But now living in an atmosphere of cleanliness and kindness, they were some of the happiest little ones I have ever seen. This is what one volunteer is doing for this community on the Indian reservation. Even though the numbers are limited, where there is human suffering even one individual can mean much to many.

While we were at Osawatimie State Hospital, we saw one of the finest demonstration of humanity I have ever seen being enacted there by a very modest man named Fred S. McCarthy. We immediately relaxed with him, and he in-

sisted on being called "Mac." So I will just call him Mac. Mac that day had reached the age of 74 years. We saw him in this setting: An immaculately beautiful room within a mental hospital. Very rarely does one find any beauty, physical or otherwise, in a mental institution, but we did in this one. In this room sat Mac with some youngsters. They called him "grandpa."

He is a volunteer. He comes from town to this hospital two or three times a day and chats with a group of mentally sick teenagers. The results are remarkable.

We need more "Mac's" across our land. This program is one of the ways by which we hope to stimulate more people to service. After the programs are started in various communities many part-time volunteers will be coming in to help.

We saw the other side, the tragic side, of the mental hospitals, where there are no volunteer programs. The door is opened, patients are herded into the room, the door is closed, and they literally rot away in their awful condition of mental disease and mental distress. So a few volunteers can go a long way when it comes to helping others in need.

Mr. BARTLETT. What the Senator has said is most revealing. It demonstrates to me the willingness of Americans to give of themselves for the sake of others. I am sure there are many "Mac's" in this country who would be willing to give their services voluntarily, but who now do not quite know how to go about it. They do not know to whom their offer should be made. They do not know how to go about it. The National Service Corps would provide a rallying point.

I join the Senator from New Jersey in predicting that the number of dedicated Americans who want to help in this manner will far exceed the 1,000 provided for in the bill. It is impossible to calculate how many will apply, in one form or another, during the first year's operations.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I agree with my friend from Alaska. The situation will develop. It is interesting to note the personal reaction of the volunteers after they have devoted themselves to this kind of service. For example, our friend, Mac, at Osawatimie State Hospital, told us, in reply to a question, about his reason for his work. He said, "The biggest thing in my life is to have friends. Now I have many of them."

We hope that he has a long life, because those youngsters certainly know they have a friend in Mac.

There was also a widow at the hospital who drove out two or three times a week a distance of 20 or 25 miles. She has youngsters of her own at home. However, she came to this hospital to teach dramatics, among other things. We saw one of the productions of the youngsters whom she was helping in this way. We asked her how she felt about the work she was doing, and she said, "Maybe I am selfish, but I think I am getting more out of this than the youngsters I am working with. I feel I have something

to take home to my family when I leave them."

We know that this has been the spirit of our country. The Senator is absolutely correct. Those who have this spirit of service should have a program to turn to.

Mr. BARTLETT. The country is vast. These people do not know where to get the information they need. I appreciate the feelings of the woman to whom the Senator alluded. I am sure that she is a very unselfish person.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I know she is. Unfortunately, I have forgotten her name. We will find it, and we will put her name in the Record. She was an inspiration to us.

Mr. BARTLETT. I believe her name should be in the Record, together with the name of the Senator's constituent from New Jersey who is out in South Dakota.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. She is going to be quite famous. Her name is in the Record at another point.

At this same hospital there was another thing of beauty. We walked across the grounds, and went into a ward where we saw some desperately ill elderly people. They were sitting there. Their illness was obvious. There were about 80 or 90 of them there. They sat in a well-appointed room, clean and beautiful. They were sitting in relative peace in their great illness, and they were being entertained by three delightful teenage girls playing the piano and singing. This is another aspect. Here were three teenage girls, 14 or 15 years of age. It shows the opportunities for persons of every age to express their human interest.

Mr. BARTLETT. When the world was younger and I was younger along with it, the Indians and Eskimos along the mighty Yukon and Kuskokwin Rivers were relatively prosperous, as compared with today. Fur prices were high. They cut wood for the river steamers. They caught salmon for the mail teams. Mail in those days was carried by dogs. They cut wood for the roadhouses. They provided salmon for the roadhouses.

The advent of the airplane changed all that. The river steamers are gone. The roadhouses have disappeared. The villages still remain. Thousands of those people up and down the rivers have no industry now. They have no opportunity for employment. To an extent which distresses them they subsist on Government relief of one kind or another. From the testimony which has come to me, I do not believe that they want to do this. They would prefer to work. They are like people everywhere else who want to make their way in the world. They do not want to live off others. However, there is no alternative. Some of the villagers close to the Arctic Circle are living in communities in which they and their ancestors have lived for generations.

Now they are leaving. They are leaving to go to the larger communities in the hope of finding employment; in some cases the condition of the terrain is forcing them to move their villages.

In such an instance, volunteers from the National Service Corps could be of immeasurable assistance as those people go to build new homes. They will need the guidance that I referred to previously, and they will need help and instruction. This would be a fine setting for the National Service Corps.

I want the Senator to know that when the roll is called on the bill, I will be standing by him and with him and voting on his side.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. There is no one in legislative ranks whom I would rather have on my side than the Senator from Alaska. What he has said today demonstrates his humanity. We all know of his forceful advocacy, and what his support means. I have seen the sort of thing he has described. People are living in abject poverty and in desperation in slums. This is true not only in cities, but also on the farms. I am speaking especially of Indian reservations. Then a transformation comes. The man and his wife and family obtain a little economic base. He gets a job. Out in Pine Ridge recently a fishhook factory was brought to the area which employs about 250 or 300 of the residents. Suddenly they have a little money. Good housing has come in. All of it has transformed their lives. As one little girl said with great pride, "How do you like my dress? My father works at the fishhook factory." She was a human being, with new pride and dignity.

Mr. BARTLETT. The Senator tells a moving story. The conditions which the Senator has described and to which I have referred can be found in various parts of the country. As has been said, it is well and good to do what we need to do, and we ought to do abroad; but we also have obligations at home. The bill will enable us, at least in a small measure, to make a start toward meeting our obligations.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am deeply grateful to my friend from Alaska.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the colloquy between the Senator from Alaska and the Senator from New Jersey emphasizes the human appeal of this subject, which is the driving force behind it, and which is responsible for the great enthusiasm it has inspired.

I should like to ask the Senator from New Jersey some questions relating to objections which I believe can be anticipated tomorrow. One objection I have heard from Senators off the floor and in the cloakrooms is that eventually the program will cost a great deal of money. It will be an expensive project. It will cost \$5 million to begin with, but the possibilities of its expansion are almost unlimited.

Is it not true that the Peace Corps has been, among many other things, a very economical program abroad; that it has cost something like \$9,000 to maintain a Peace Corps volunteer abroad, com-

pared with \$60,000 to maintain an American Army private, and, of course, a great deal more to maintain a fully paid technician? Could the same economy advantage of the Peace Corps be applied to the Domestic Peace Corps, as it is called, or National Service Corps?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Absolutely. This is a service program. The Senator from Wisconsin knows that the volunteers would be given a modest subsistence and, in addition, a \$75 monthly stipend. With a ceiling of 5,000 persons in the program, I do not believe we will begin a program of massive spending. Even at maximum operation after 3 years, the whole program would not cost as much as 1 mile of interstate highway built in an urban area, to use another yardstick. No one is thinking in terms greater than \$20 million, after the program has reached its peak strength of volunteer personnel.

Mr. PROXMIRE. What about subsistence? Senators have told me that in their view \$75 a month could amount to a fairly good wage. Seventy-five dollars is a modest sum; but if a volunteer's room and board are taken care of, and other necessities, as well, such as clothing, \$75 of "velvet" is better than most workers in America now enjoy, despite our high standard of living.

Would the program be operated in such a way that perhaps most of the corpsmen would be operating in their home areas? Considering the serious problems which exist in all large cities, especially the problems of juvenile delinquency and of the aged, would it be possible, in cities like New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Los Angeles, for the corpsmen to be trained within their particular communities, so that the room and board factor could be minimized?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Returning to the first observation about the possibility that volunteers would live in some kind of luxury because room and board were paid for: I remember, as a child on the farm, the hired man working for room and board and \$1 a day. We have come a long way from that for everyone who works.

The work in this program is what people are willing to do—in other words, they give up an opportunity for a true living wage to work at a subsistence level. As to administration of the program we are assured that the Director of the Corps will save money wherever possible.

One of the great expenses of the Peace Corps is the long distance traveled between the United States and the missions abroad. The great expense of traveling could be reduced if, after training, the volunteers served close to home and, in some areas, lived at home.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I shall come back to that point in a moment. Has there been any experience with similar programs? Did the hearings bring out any previous experience with this kind of program, which involves serious responsibilities and has great potentialities, which is planned to begin at a very modest level? I am wondering if there has been any experience in this area which might be used as a guide.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Our national history is full of examples of

what volunteers can do in areas of poverty. So far as a national program of service of this kind is concerned, I do not know of any similar experience except, perhaps, that after the war our GI's in Italy, Greece, and other places rendered truly remarkable service as volunteers in helping youngsters. Their work is still discussed in Europe. Some of the youngsters who were helped have come to this country, and we have all read of their experiences.

The work in Kansas is probably an example of what a governmental program of recruiting volunteers can accomplish. That is the work I have described at Osawatomie State Hospital.

We have seen mental hospitals close to Washington where such activities have not been conducted, and the results are tragic. So we know what a volunteer can do if he is the right kind of volunteer.

Mr. PROXMIRE. This is a national governmental program. It has its elements of volunteerism and sacrifice; but it is a national program. It is not a State program, as in Kansas; it is not a volunteer program of the kind conducted by the GI's abroad, to which the Senator from New Jersey appropriately referred.

The reason why I am asking this question is that while I commend the Senator for starting the program on a modest level, it seems to me it would be wise to have a limited authorization. As the Senator knows, I intend to offer an amendment to provide for a 2-year program and a dollar limitation. I believe there should be a second look at the program about a year from now, with a view to more closely defining it as a result of the experience gained, however brief the experience may be, the idea being to provide useful and effective guidelines. It is perfectly obvious that the Committee on Appropriations cannot provide that kind of regulation. All that committee can do is to provide money. The authorizing legislation must be recommended by an authorizing committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. The Senator says "all" the Committee on Appropriations can do.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I know it is very important.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. "All" that that committee can do includes the killing of programs.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I appreciate that. It seems to me that during the first 2 years of the program—in fiscal 1964 and fiscal 1965—a \$5 million and a \$10 million limitation, which is all that is contemplated in the next 2 years, would permit Congress to consider the proposal, which is an excellent one for humanity, but extraordinarily vague, and on the basis of the experience of 2 years provide for a sharper guide; otherwise, I fear we could easily develop a program which would run away from itself.

At the bottom of page 1 of the report, we find the statement:

Beginning with a small number of volunteers the Corps will work with the health and education needs of migratory farm families, Indians living on and off reservations, and rural and urban slums and depressed areas; the training and education of youth, particularly of school dropouts; and the care

and rehabilitation of the elderly, the disabled, the mentally ill, and the mentally retarded.

On page 4, we find examples of the types of people who might work in the program, as follows:

Among men and women aged 60 and over who will soon retire, there are 126,000 schoolteachers, 36,000 lawyers, 3,000 dietitians, and nutritionists, 18,000 college faculty members, 12,000 social, welfare, and recreation workers, 11,000 librarians, 32,000 physicians, and 43,000 professional nurses.

I know that some people might bluntly ask: "So what?" Some might like to see a \$1 billion or \$5 billion program; and perhaps such a program might be developed. But it seems to me that Congress should decide whether it wants to do that, and not leave the decision to an administrator, or leave it wide open. It is provided in the bill on page 23, lines 14 to 18:

(d) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1963, not to exceed \$5,000,000 and for each succeeding fiscal year such amounts as the Congress may determine to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

It is true that the most the Administrator could spend would be the amount the Congress appropriated. But the Committee on Appropriations would have no guideline except the basic law on which we are acting today and tomorrow.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. When the Senator from Wisconsin votes for the bill as it is, without amendment, the Senator will be voting for the bill as it reads on page 23, beginning on line 23:

The number of corpsmen enrolled under this Act shall not exceed one thousand at any time during the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1963—

That means the Senator from Wisconsin will have voted to limit the number of corpsmen to 1,000 through June 30, 1964—

and shall not exceed five thousand at any time thereafter.

That is what the Senator will be voting for when he votes for the bill. He does not have to amend the bill to change the number of corpsmen. The Senator's limitation is in the bill now.

To limit the duration of the program to 2 years, as the Senator from Wisconsin proposes, would be false economy. I am sure that those who will volunteer for the work will do so in the spirit that they are contributing to something of importance. If Congress approves a program to be tried for only 2 years, the motives of the volunteers will not be understood.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I like the idea of this program. But I see no reason why, for a program this new and this untried, we should try to do something which we seldom do for any other program. We do not do it for the space agency; our authorization for it limits the amount which it can spend in 1 year. We do not do it for the Peace Corps, the SBA, the Youth Corps, foreign aid, most of the programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; we provide limited authorizations for all these agen-

cies. There are some exceptions—but not many. They are, by and large, only in connection with programs with which we have had vast experience.

It seems to me that in this case we should limit the authorization to the needs in the next year or two.

So it seems especially important that we reconsider the unlimited aspects of this proposal after listening to the criticisms by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] which are set forth in the committee report, and by some of our esteemed friends on the Republican side which I think have some merit. Certainly a 2-year limitation for a new program is no hardship. It does not mean that we are opposed to the program; it merely means that at that time we wish to study it and apply to it the benefits of the experience of 2 years.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am indeed happy that the Senator from Wisconsin and I stand on the same side of the aisle, and I would be even happier if we could arrange to stand together on this limitation, if indeed one is needed. I believe we shall have an opportunity this evening to consider this matter further, and perhaps we can discuss it informally, inasmuch as I know we shall not take final action on the bill today, because many Senators are away.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Is it not true that one of the great advantages of this program, from its economic aspect, is that it is not viewed as a permanent program in any area? In other words, the Governor of a State would request the Corps to move in; and then the Corps would begin to work on a particular problem in a mental institution, or on an Indian reservation, or in a big city slum area, and it would stay there for a brief period or a limited period. Then, after a few months, or a year or so, the Corps would move out; would it?

Meanwhile, the corpsmen from outside would be replaced by local volunteers who would take over, presumably on a State program basis, a city basis, a voluntary basis, or by means of the program of a religious organization or a charitable institution. In other words, this program would serve as a catalyst. It would serve to inspire, on a practical basis, a far greater amount of charitable work and constructive contributions by many Americans, but not in terms of building in every city or in every State a bureaucracy that would grow and grow. Is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. That is correct. The volunteers would be asked to move into a particular area, and to work in a particular program. After their work in a community was completed the corpsmen would go to work in another area.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Has the Senator had any indication from the Governors as to whether they would use this program? It would seem to me that there would be a great tendency on the part of some groups in many States to ask the Governors not to do it—as a matter of pride. In a certain State, some might say, "After all, we have the necessary people, we have the necessary funds; why cannot we solve our own problems,

instead of turning to the Federal Government?" These volunteers will be paid a relatively modest amount. Why cannot we do this work ourselves, instead of looking to Washington?"

What is the answer to that?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. The answer is that in many areas they have not done it. They need a little help to get things started. There are many private areas which just do not have the money.

As an illustration, more than 100 young men of Princeton University have created a program of going into the poorer areas, such as those in the city of Trenton, and finding youngsters in school who are retarded in one subject or in a group of subjects; and, as volunteers, they go to Trenton and help these children catch up. Some noble work is achieved. They testified before the subcommittee that university students could be far more effective if they had just one person who would give the work continuity. One person who could give his full time to organizing it, to finding the youngsters, to finding the areas, and who then would organize it on a schedule, could make a great deal of difference.

The Governors—in a direct response to the feeling of community people who want this program—and the Senator has read the hearings, and knows that more than 50 organizations are supporting it, people in government, from mayors to Governors—they have endorsed this program.

At the recent Governors' conference, the committee having jurisdiction over such legislation, reported favorably on the National Service Corps.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield again to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. METCALF in the chair). Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator from New Jersey has referred to extremely important testimony. It is a very important fact that in the conference the Governors indicated that they need the program and want it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Yes. Specifically, Governor Brown, of California, and Governor Rosellini, of Washington, gave us ideas in regards to the two programs which have been incorporated in the bill.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Does the Senator from New Jersey contemplate that in cities such as New York, Chicago, or Cleveland, the Corps would send people to do some of this work? It is very difficult for me to understand how a vast city, with very great resources—including its universities, its church organizations, its charitable organizations of various kinds, the city machinery, and so forth—would turn to the Federal Government and would say to it, "We need help for our mental institutions"—or for a youth program or for something of the sort. Does the Senator from New Jersey contemplate, for example, that to New

York City the Corps would send volunteers from Wisconsin, Ohio, California, or Connecticut, to do this work?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. In my opinion, in areas where great skill is required—areas where there is need for persons with considerable training, particularly in youth work, and perhaps in hospitals—it would develop that the right volunteer could contribute a great deal. For example, it might develop that in a slum area in New York City, a person from Wisconsin who had the necessary talent could have a real impact.

A member of the Cabinet testified—and I am sure his testimony is to be found in the committee's hearing record—about an area in a major city which is called "Bloody Corner." It was given that name because in that part of the slum area of that great city a group of delinquents, or of young men who soon would have become delinquents, was then to be found. He said that to that gang of young people, who had been the cause of the application of the name "Bloody Corner" to that part of the city, came a woman; I believe she was a schoolteacher. She spent a great deal of time with the boys; she gave them attention and guidance. He said that one woman had so great an effect upon that group of young men that her influence was responsible for changing the entire pattern of their lives—with the result that today those men—who then were youngsters—hold most responsible positions; and he enumerated the positions. Among them are doctors, lawyers, and businessmen; and he said:

And one of them now sits before you as a member of the President's Cabinet.

So in that part of a great city, 1 person truly directed the great destinies of a group of approximately 25 young men.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Then the Senator from New Jersey contemplates that by means of this proposed legislation, enrolled volunteers, to be paid \$75 a month—they will be people very unusually, or in some cases uniquely, skilled in this work—will provide the assistance which is needed in mental institutions, in Indian reservations, or in slum areas; and it is the opinion of the Senator from New Jersey, is it, that in that connection their skills will be so unique that it would be sensible to send them to—for example from California to cities such as New York or Chicago?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. That might well be the situation. While perhaps not expressly germane, I hasten to add the observation that a highly placed citizen of our country, in the early stages of the Peace Corps, described that program as a juvenile experiment. I am sure that person came to regret his phrase, because the Peace Corps has been no juvenile experiment. We fully expect retired people to come into the National Service Corps with their talents and with their desire to be active. Experience with the Peace Corps has shown that some who have retired have found themselves suddenly inactive, and it is fully anticipated that there will be many qualified people in that category who would assist in the Corps.

Mr. PROXMIRE. At the same time, I understand that one of the reasons why the proposed legislation provides for pay of \$75, room and board, is so that people can be drawn into the program from all ranks, and an elite group would not be selected. The program would not engage only those who are able to afford it—people whose incomes are sufficient so that they could contribute their time without any great sacrifice. I anticipate that people would be drawn from all classes and backgrounds. People without any great inheritance would be brought into it. Very often, particularly in recent years, those who have done good work of the kind proposed, while wonderful people, are necessarily limited economically to a small class, because only they can afford the sacrifice. Other people must work in order to live. They must earn enough to eat, to pay the rent, and so forth. By permitting the payment of the modest amount of \$75, room and board, men and women could be drawn into the program from all 180 million Americans. Millions would have a reason or excuse to volunteer. You would not have to be a person whose situation, as a result of fortunate economic circumstances, would permit you to donate your time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. The Senator is correct. If we did not provide for the modest amount of \$75 a month, a great many people, who would otherwise be qualified, would not be able to participate in the Corps. We wanted to fix the amount at the point at which we could get volunteers who have no other income and yet not have the amount fixed at a level at which the volunteer aspect would be lost. We desired to preserve the voluntary aspect of the program. The only way in which it can be done is by bare subsistence. That we have done.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I congratulate the Senator from New Jersey. Between now and tomorrow I hope we can get together on an amendment which would provide the kind of limitation which is traditional in congressional legislation, and particularly wise in a brandnew program covering a new area in which we have had no experience.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin for his significant contribution to the debate. He has a habit of contributing to debate and sharpening the issues. We appreciate his contribution on the present bill. As a starting point for our discussion we might consider the bill S. 1, which would establish a Youth Conservation Corps, which bill was passed by the Senate. That was a new program which contained a 5-year authorization. That bill might be used as a basis for discussion.

Mr. PROXMIRE. As I recall, there was a limitation of 5 years and a limited amount contained in that bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. As contrasted to the bill now before the Senate, which contains no time limitation and no amount limitation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I thank the Senator again.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call may be dispensed with.

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

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that additional staff members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare may be granted the privilege of the floor during the debate on S. 1321, the National Service Corps bill.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am happy to yield.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Does the Senator include in the request members of the minority staff, also?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Yes; if the Senator desires them included.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Yes. It has been the practice, but under the language of the request, a question might be raised.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the unanimous-consent request is granted.

NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, one of the areas of gravest concern to us, as we consider the proposed limited nuclear test ban treaty, is that of the so-called next steps that will be taken on the basis of the treaty. I hope to discuss some of the diplomatic next steps on future days and I know that many of my colleagues will join in the debate of them. But today I would like to mention a step which already we may have taken, a step of profoundly serious consequence, and one which I fear may have been taken without any adequate examination by this body or by the American people.

I refer to the President of the United States and his recent public statements regarding a defense against ballistic missiles. The President indicated that we neither can nor should build anti-ICBM's. He has, in a few sentences, seemingly sentenced to death a vital portion of the defense of this Nation. The President, whose most important job is to preserve and protect the United States of America, has said, in effect, that he is convinced we cannot protect this Nation against attack by ICBM's. He has turned this into a reason for supporting the proposed partial nuclear test ban. The suggestion is made that because the development of an anti-ICBM is difficult it is therefore impractical and we do not need to test in the atmosphere and thus can approve this treaty in safety.

In short, he has said that he has already taken one of the next steps some of us fear might be taken under such a

treaty—abandonment of defense projects which offer real, not paper, protection to the people of the United States.

In a way, this single matter overshadows even the treaty itself. I ask that the Senate and the American people examine this matter fully on its own merits as well as being part of the overall packaging for this treaty. For if this treaty really means that we must abandon efforts to defend ourselves against attack by ICBM, then I would say that we have a clear challenge to the security of this Nation—a challenge that flatly refutes the President's claim that no segment of our national security will be sacrificed should we approve this treaty.

Further, if to impress this treaty upon the people of the United States, the President has taken on his own any steps to deny the United States the protection of missile defenses, then I suggest that we have taken such a fearful step that we must halt immediately before every defense is dropped and every hope of security imperiled. No treaty could close such a gap in our defenses.

I regret that the President has seen fit to bring our defense capabilities under such question as a part of the test ban treaty discussion. Surely, most of us would hope that there was no question whatsoever of weakening America under such a treaty. But the question has been raised by the President himself and it must be answered.

The President has said that we cannot build a missile defense. Then I ask what we have built in the Nike-Zeus, which has destroyed Atlas missiles? Of course, this could be called a primitive defense against missiles. But it is a defense, and it is a step toward greater defense.

The President says that the Soviets cannot develop an anti-ICBM. Then what are the missile defenses now deployed around Leningrad? Primitive defenses they may be; but, again, they are defenses, and they are steps toward greater defense. And we must never forget that the Soviet move toward such defenses is vastly aided by the successes of their recent atmospheric tests, tests which may have made them more than willing to pause now and revert to underground blasts.

What of our most recent atmospheric tests? Did they give us similar aid toward an anti-ICBM?

Imagine a world, treaty or no treaty, in which the Soviets had achieved a substantial lead in development of an anti-ICBM. Where then would be our deterrence? Where then would be the sword and shield of peace? What then would be the position of the Soviets to back their aggressions, and what would be our ability to stop them?

President Kennedy is fully confident that we can put a man on the moon—no mean feat—and is willing to spend \$5 billion a year to do it.

I have talked enough to competent scientists and engineers who believe that a good anti-ICBM, capable of protecting the American people, would be no tougher task. But of course it would require an equal enthusiasm, money, and effort as our moon program does to accomplish. How can we fail to apply anything less than our best efforts to produce it?

In this respect, I have just heard Secretary of Defense McNamara testify that we can develop an antiballistic missile system and that we are in the process of so doing. I asked him, rather facetiously, during the testimony, whether he had visited with the President on this problem, because I think the President and the Secretary of Defense should decide whether we can or cannot or whether we should or should not produce this system which I feel to be a very important and valuable adjunct to our defense.

History is replete with examples of high officials making erroneous statements on technological discoveries and advances. Let us recall a few:

First, "Airships won't fly."

Second, "Battleships won't sink."

Third, "An ICBM can never be built," and so forth.

What would be the position of the United States today if we had followed this advice while an enemy had not?

The question seems to boil down to two points regarding ballistic missile defense: "Can we?" and "Should we?"

"Can we?" is a matter of technical and scientific skill. I need only to remind Senators of the almost unbelievable advances made within our lifetime in all fields of science and technology. And the pace of new discoveries is growing faster, not slower. On the order of 50,000 inventions were made last year, and new inventions are still being patented.

The question "Should we?" has the most unfortunate connotation in the President's statement. He admits that defenses are possible, but states:

The defense must build huge, complex missile rings around each city or site it wants to save—would cost \$20 billion to defend only the largest half dozen cities in the United States leaving the rest of the Nation open to nuclear death.

What this means to me as an American is that if we cannot win the game by a shutout, we should not try to win, particularly, if it is expensive.

To a defense planner it could mean that the President is choosing to ignore the integral part that U.S. national defense plays in our whole deterrent posture.

The ultimate defense against ballistic missiles would be to prevent the ICBM's from being launched.

The next best defense would be to kill each ICBM as it was launched, with some appropriate control or emphasis on collateral damage.

The next succeeding degrees of good defense systems would be to destroy the missile in boost phase, midcourse, or, finally, terminal phase.

To say that anti-ICBM is hopeless is to cover 5,500 miles with a single sentence.

There are three main points of argument with the hopeless premise:

First, an imperfect defense is better than nothing.

Second, there are capabilities in the U.S. inventory for limited defense.

Third, there are feasible capabilities for sophisticated defense systems.

Regarding the first point, even a defense which does not solve the whole problem does have value. It can provide some deterrence, can complicate the

enemy's targeting—because unless we tell him, he does not know just how good or poor it is—and will offer a measure of protection to the United States.

Further, a limited defense can have important applications, provided it is designed to be limited, and not just limited by lack of effort. By this I mean to address the President's point of discrimination. Granted it is a difficult task to separate warheads from decoys, it is also a difficult task for the Soviets to design a decoy to give the same radar signature as a 100-megaton warhead. A defense system limited in its design to discriminate and destroy very high-yield warheads seems to me to be of utmost importance.

Second, the Nike-Zeus, although only in development, has demonstrated a kill capability against Atlas missiles launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base. Deployment of a small number of Zeus is feasible. In line with the first point, even one Zeus which destroys one ICBM has earned its way.

Third, the fiscal year 1964 budget calls for \$335 million for Zeus and its follow-on, Nike-X. In addition, \$100 million for Defender, another anti-ICBM development, given highest national priority in 1962. In Mr. McNamara's words:

Whether we will be successful [in anti-ICBM development], I can't predict. But I am not prepared to say that there can be no defense against intercontinental ballistic missiles.

In fact, there are at least a half-dozen promising paths of research toward an anti-ICBM system. Now is the time to expand, not close down, the defense patent office.

And now, before it is too late, is the only time we may ever have to make sure that this proposed partial test ban is not opening a possibly fatal gap in our defenses. At very least, the Senate should demand an ironclad assurance that anti-missile development will not be inhibited by the treaty or by the President's personal pessimism.

Frankly, I question whether even assurances are quite enough in this crucial matter. Our very life as a nation is at stake in this. We need the fullest inquiry. We need to know the relative status of our and the Soviets' missile defenses and the impact of the treaty upon them as well as the impact of unilateral actions we may be taking under the general assumptions of the treaty negotiation.

Prior to the President's statement about anti-ICBM's it was said that this treaty had little if any implications for our national security. The treaty's proponents said just that. But now we have opened a "Pandora's box of doubt" about our defenses. Those doubts must be resolved and any growing gaps in our defenses closed tightly before, in reason and safety, we can bring this treaty to a vote. We know now that national security is involved. Dreams of peace cannot shut our minds to the nightmare possibilities of an armed and aggressive Soviet Union able to leapfrog our deterrent forces by a breakthrough in defensive capabilities—a breakthrough made possible by their past violations of the test moratorium and then sheltered by

the restrictions which this treaty would place upon the free world or its leaders.

I repeat, the President of the United States himself has cast serious doubts upon our defense capabilities and potential as part of his consideration of this treaty. Those doubts must be explored here, fully and finally, lest we vote not for peace but for destruction.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS ACT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1321) to provide for a National Service Corps to strengthen community service programs in the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, during the debate on the National Service Corps, it might be suggested that the program is vague; and it might also be suggested that perhaps we are not working with a program that is carefully planned, or are not setting out what will be done with the projects that will be developed under it. The President's Study Committee worked long, hard, and realistically with a program that has aroused a great deal of emotion. I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point a list of projects which have been described and which have been talked about and have been requested at the grassroots level, to show how specific we have become with the kind of project that will be done by the corpsmen. These are concrete examples of what is and can be done.

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

A. OGLALA SIOUX INDIAN RESERVATION MODEL, PINE RIDGE, S. DAK.

The problems

The Oglala Sioux form the second largest Indian tribe in the United States: 8,500 Indians. They live on the second largest reservation in the country in an area almost as large as Puerto Rico. They have enormous problems.

More than half of the people live in old, badly constructed one-room frame or log houses. One percent still live in tents. The South Dakota winters are not kind—the average winter temperature in 1963 was about 22°, with days of -25° not uncommon. The Indians lack construction skills.

Maternal and child mortality rates are very high—almost four times greater for infants than for the non-Indian babies in the area. Conquerable diseases incidence is also high. The single 49-bed hospital had an average daily patient census of 54 in 1962. Home instruction in health and sanitation is badly needed.

The children are frequently retarded culturally when they enter school at age six or seven because they have learned only the Sioux language and customs.

Although an irrigation project was begun years ago, the Indians do not know how to complete it or utilize it. Without adequate water cattle cannot be bred or fed, and the Indians are thus unable to use these potential income producers. Specialists in irrigation and ranching are needed.

The annual tribal governmental budget exceeds \$400,000. But almost none of the tribal leaders has any experience in government or business management.

The saddest fact of all is that most of the Oglala community groups do not even realize their problems, or know their goals, or know how to start achieving the goals. There is a serious need for community development, recreation, and adult education.

How corpsmen could help

The Oglala have asked for 21 to 37 corpsmen. If this project were selected, it would be integrated into the programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and administered by the tribal council. Supervision at the job level, where appropriate, would be by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Here are some of the jobs:

1. Housing: Corpsmen with experience in carpentry, plumbing, and electrical wiring could act as on-the-job instructors in self-help home and community building construction.

2. Home nursing: Nurses could rotate through the community groups, teaching basic health and sanitation hygiene.

3. Nursery school: Corpsmen could help organize and run the first nursery school on the reservation. Indian children could thus learn the English language and American social customs in addition to their own.

4. Agriculture: Corpsmen could act as on-the-job instructors in repairing and using the irrigation project. In addition, corpsmen could institute a cattle feeding program which would create employment and make profitable use of the reservation's resources.

5. Administration: Corpsmen skilled in public administration and business management could teach their skills to both the tribal council and the Indian public.

6. Community development: Corpsmen skilled in community development—adult education, vocational training, recreation—could work with the Indians to instill in them the ambition, desire, and enthusiasm to change their social and economic situation.

B. MASSACHUSETTS MENTAL HEALTH MODEL

The problems

Massachusetts has made tremendous strides in providing for the mentally ill. Through the use of new drugs, treatments, and therapy, State health officials have been able to open many doors in the field of mental rehabilitation. Yet, for four out of every five patients, these doors remain tightly shut. Why? A lack of manpower to put ideas and techniques into action and a lack of ward space for decent living and care:

In a typical back ward, 50 patients are crowded into a physical space which would normally house two typical American families;

Total furnishings comprise 50 beds, 50 wooden chairs, 5 tables, a common toilet, and a television set;

One psychiatrist must be responsible for the entire ward—in addition to seven other wards like it. Total patients: 350; and

The only nonpatient contact the patient has is with his attendant; therapy consists almost entirely of tranquilizing medication.

How corpsmen could help

One important solution to the manpower problem has emerged in the past 15 years: use of part-time unpaid citizens from the community. The citizen contribution has been in time, energy, and humanity, and it has brought marked improvement in the physical conditions and social environments

of the wards in which the volunteers have visited. The presence of the volunteers has also accounted for basic personality change in the patients, and has provided the patients with the impetus for substantial recovery.

National Service Corps men could expand considerably the role of the volunteer, and increase the number of participants from the community in that role. Here are some of the jobs corpsmen could do:

1. Service coordinator: The corpsmen could work directly with patients, becoming familiar with their needs and referring them into appropriate professional and volunteer therapeutic programs.

2. Project coordinator: The corpsmen could establish or expand a rehabilitation project, and lead the patients into the project. Some of the possible projects include: physical education program, adult education, community service program where patients can make things for the blind and the deaf, an employment agency, training in special skills, counselling patients' families.

3. Halfway house worker: A corpsman could live in and man a new halfway house—a transitional facility for patients who require supervision, guidance, and support while making the step back to the community.

4. Case aid worker: A corpsman could work individually in case relationships with patients selected by the service coordinator. The corpsman could also work with patients to build supportive "companionship" relationships, lead the patients into new social situations, and guide them in appropriate modes of adjustment.

C. CRAWFORD MOUNTAIN (TENN.) HEALTH MODEL

The problems

On Crawford Mountain in Overton and Fentress Counties in Tennessee, are six unincorporated mining camps. In this isolated and depressed region, 2,430 people are barely subsisting. The average annual family income in the two counties is about \$2,000. It is less on the mountain. The median education level in the two counties is less than 8 years. It is less on the mountain.

The total population of the two counties is 27,949. Yet each county has but one public health nurse. The single nurse in Overton County does visit the mountain families—for 2 days each month. The nearest doctor is 25 miles away, a trip that is made only when something very serious comes up. But many families cannot afford to see the doctor.

How corpsmen could help

The mountain community has requested only two corpsmen—but the project could have a tremendous impact in this rural depressed area. Here are the jobs the corpsmen could do:

1. Nurse: A nurse-corpsman would conduct a visiting-nurse program, health clinics, and an educational program. It is felt that the nurse could help prevent deaths which have occurred in the community because the people delayed the trip to the doctor. The nurse could also reduce the need for long hospitalization.

2. Health educator: This corpsman would organize health facilities on the mountain, help develop other community facilities related to health, make people aware of the existing health facilities, and teach them how to use these facilities.

D. SAN CARLOS APACHE INDIAN (ARIZONA) MODEL

The problems

The San Carlos Apache Indian reservation spans a three-county area in east central Arizona. Over 4,800 Indians live on the rough bottomland, arid semidesert, and forest-covered mountains that make up the reservation's 1.6 million acres.

Seventy-five percent are unemployed (compared with the U.S. unemployment rate of 5 to 6 percent).

About three-fourths of the families receive income from a tribal cattle industry—but nearly half of these families receive less than \$500 annually, and another one-fourth receive from \$500 to \$999 annually.

Other tribal enterprises employ seasonal workers for cotton chopping and picking, and cowboy work. This gives some of the tribe a part-time income of \$600.

Almost all of the housing is substandard. Housing generally consists of one or two poorly built rooms. Inside, up to 14 persons are expected to cook, eat, and sleep. The houses are cold in the winter, and so oven-like in the summer that the occupants are forced to live outside.

Sanitation is deplorable. Water must be carried long distances. And it must be heated by outside fires for cooking, bathing, and washing.

How corpsmen could help

National Service Corpsmen could demonstrate, teach, and show by example ways for the San Carlos Apaches to better their standard of living. Here are some of the tasks corpsmen could perform to alleviate the tribe's chronic underdevelopment, low wages for those who do work, substandard housing, unsanitary health conditions and practices, and low educational attainment. The jobs would be integrated into programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

1. General construction workers: Corpsmen with experience in the fields of plumbing, wiring, carpentry, and masonry could assist with the construction and maintenance of self-help housing projects.

2. Adult education teachers: Teaching aides could instruct adults in such fields as tribal, State and National Government, academic skills, and tribal and business administration.

3. Farm aid: A corpsman could instruct in vegetable gardening, slaughtering, small machinery maintenance and repair, and 4-H and Future Farmers of America Club projects.

4. Home aid: Corpsmen could also work with the people in self-help housing projects in such fields as nutrition, infant care, preservation of food, home management and housekeeping practices.

E. CLOVER BOTTOM (TENN.) MENTAL RETARDATION MODEL

The problems

Mental retardation today ranks as a major national health, social, and economic problem. It is 10 times more frequent than diabetes, 25 times more common than muscular dystrophy, and 600 times more prevalent than polio.

But most State institutions for the retarded remain understaffed, overcrowded, and can offer little more than custodial care. Budgetary limitations inhibit the training, education, rehabilitation, and community living programs essential to the cure and release of many retardates. One of these State institutions, Clover Bottom Hospital and School in Donelson, Tenn., serves 1,400 mentally retarded children. Under the jurisdiction of the State department of mental health, and enjoying close working relationships with five nearby colleges, Clover Bottom is one of the understaffed and overcrowded. It is unable to meet the total needs of its mentally-retarded patients, who span all age groups, degrees of retardation, and include both sexes.

How corpsmen could help

The Tennessee Department of Mental Health has asked for assignment of corpsmen to help meet Clover Bottom's personnel shortages. Here is what corpsmen could do.

1. Social service workers: Corpsmen could counsel individual and group retardates in management of day-to-day experiences, community adjustment, development of social skills (dress, manners, etc.).

Corpsmen could also serve as "big brothers" and "big sisters" for an individual residential building, and for counseling, advising, and acting as liaison between parents, institution, and patient.

2. Teaching aids: Corpsmen, working in conjunction with the institution's regular teachers, could offer individual classroom attention and assistance in both trainable and educable classes. The corpsmen might eventually help initiate and develop programs in special classes for the mentally retarded in nearby communities.

3. Recreation aids: Corpsmen could work with patients unable to participate in the institution's regular physical recreation activities, develop a total recreation program for a particular residential building, teach intramural sports, and develop indoor activities for inclement weather.

4. Vocational education instructors: Corpsmen could instruct patients in such skills as leatherwork, ceramics, machinery, radio-television repair, and printing. Learning a trade is a vital part of the patient's rehabilitation. Without it, the patient's success as a useful, self-sufficient member of the community will be severely limited.

F. HARLAN COUNTY, KY., RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODEL

The problems

Harlan County, already burdened with an inordinate share of America's poverty and deprivation, was hit by the most disastrous flood in its history in March of 1963. Damage exceeded \$21 million. Forty-nine homes were washed away and 1,500 were damaged. Two thousand schoolchildren were isolated for a time as 120 bridges were washed out, and roads were undermined and destroyed.

This natural disaster devastated an historic county in southeastern Kentucky that has suffered from manmade upheavals for too many years.

Coal mining is the county's principal source of income. But coal production has declined and automation has been replacing workers. From 1942 to 1962, production was cut in half. Coal employment dropped from 12,500 men to 3,183 men.

The county's 1950 population was 75,544. It lost more than 21,000 people in the next decade. Almost a quarter of its current population is unemployed. More than \$6 million a year is paid out in social security, public assistance, and unemployment insurance benefits.

Twelve thousand people receive surplus farm food.

Even before the flood hit, nearly two out of three housing units were classified as substandard.

The youth in Harlan County suffer incalculable handicaps. Eighty-five percent are undernourished. A majority of the draft-age young men are rejected by the armed services due to bad health and illiteracy. The county has the highest percentage of juvenile delinquents in the State.

School dropouts are an enormous problem. Of the 13,092 youths between 6 and 18 years of age, nearly 20 percent are not enrolled in school. Nearly 60 percent dropped out of high school between 1958 and 1962. Median school years completed in the county is only eight. One-fourth of the adult population has less than a fifth-grade education and is classified as functionally illiterate. Only 18 percent of the residents have completed high school or more. And, not surprisingly, the State's last log schoolhouse can be found in Harlan County.

How corpsmen could help

The cooperating Planning Council of Harlan, Ky.—composed of representatives from civic clubs, agencies, public officials, and institutions throughout the county—has requested National Service Corpsmen to help in the major attacks on the county's mas-

sive health, education, delinquency, unemployment and other problems.

Here are the projects and here is what corpsmen could do:

1. Improve the physical and mental health of youths—both in and out of school.

In-school youth would be helped by corpsmen working with teachers to establish good physical fitness and recreational programs, identifying mental health problems and improving mental health, and developing a desire to improve physical and mental health.

Out-of-school youth would be aided by corpsmen working with existing community leaders and agencies to help establish recreational areas and community centers; providing leadership and training in organizing youth club teams, and groups for specific purposes; and enriching the cultural background of young people by providing opportunities for them to learn music, art, etc.

These corpsmen would also contact adults to help provide leadership and build a youth program.

2. Work with recent school dropouts and in the prevention of dropouts.

Specific tasks would include tutoring in the academic areas of grades 7-12; counseling and guidance of youth; providing for a recreation program; teaching crafts; organizing and leading youth groups for work and play; and working with school personnel and existing agencies to enhance youth programs.

3. Develop an educational program for adults.

Corpsmen would provide instruction in adult education in such fields as elementary academic education; subsistence farming to supplement family incomes; training in vocational courses such as typing, home maintenance and renovation, pottery-making, simple crafts, opportunities for senior citizens, and social work with families on specific problems.

4. Stimulate tourism and preserve the county's natural resources.

Other corpsmen are requested to work with local people and agencies in surveying the county for possible tourist attractions; helping train residents in skills needed in building tourism; and helping develop pilot projects as tourist attractions in the scenic mountains.

G. MICHIGAN MENTAL RETARDATION MODEL

The problems

The crippled, mentally retarded child seems destined to be cruelly neglected. His need for help is great—both before and after hospitalization.

In the Detroit, Mich., area, these children are on long waiting lists for institutional treatment. They receive virtually no services whatsoever. Most of their families are poor, and often have little understanding of how they can help their children and themselves.

Result: the retarded child is left completely unattended and uncared for. Even when the crippled, mentally retarded children are treated (frequently including surgery), they require care and training. But they usually receive little of either in their homes. It is extremely difficult for mothers to get their children to the proper State home or agency that could give them the treatments and training required.

Because of a shortage of personnel, no agency is now able to provide services in the home for the unattended retarded child. But the Michigan Department of Mental Health is convinced that nonprofessionals can do effective work in this vital area.

How corpsmen could help

The Michigan Department of Mental Health and the Plymouth State Home and Training School have requested corpsmen for a home visiting program. Corpsmen would visit the homes of a selected list of

Detroit families with crippled, mentally retarded children.

Corpsmen can help these children who are in such desperate need. And they can also help improve the lot of the poor parents of these children—people who are plagued with a multitude of misery. The corpsmen can bring both tangible help and a vital ray of hope. Any by their efforts, they can inspire others in the Detroit area to help and demonstrate to the Nation the usefulness of nonprofessional work with retarded children.

Corpsmen would not have to have specific professional talents. It is more important that they be mature individuals, interested in people and able to work with the lowest socioeconomic portion of the population. Here is what corpsmen can do.

1. Spend a part of each day or week working with the family of the retarded child in meal preparation.

2. Institute general health measures for better hygienic living.

3. Provide recreational and training opportunities for the children.

4. Train the family to provide simple physiotherapy techniques for the children.

H. FRESNO (CALIF.) COMMUNITY MIGRATORY AND SEASONAL FARM LABOR MODEL

The problems

In the southwestern part of Fresno, 2,500 people dwell in a dismal slum. More than half of these are children under the age of 19. Most of the adults are agricultural farmworkers. Some work as domestics and construction laborers. About 90 percent are Negroes. Few enjoy anything approximating the kind of life that has produced the bountiful crops grown just a few blocks away.

Half the dwelling units are classified as substandard.

Average annual income of these families is between \$2,000 and \$2,500.

About four out of five families receive welfare assistance at some time during the year.

The high school dropout rate is 32 percent. Reducing this rate is viewed as the key to the area's problems: the people do not possess enough basic education to benefit from adult education and vocational training. Because there is considerable population stability in this neighborhood, an increase in high school graduates would bring profound long-term benefits to the area.

How corpsmen could help

The North Avenue Community Center, a settlement house serving this area, has requested national service corpsmen for a club and crafts project for children in grades 8 through 12. The project would attack the root cause of poverty, illiteracy, and disease by motivating the students to stay in school. And this would enable the students to acquire the vocational training and basic education necessary to break the depressed-family cycle.

The project could have catalytic effect, not only in stimulating volunteer activity in the Fresno and California area, but in providing a model for the Nation. Here are the jobs corpsmen could do:

1. Corpsmen would work to develop the interest of schoolchildren in specific vocational areas while children are still in school. Club and crafts work would be provided in automobile and farm machinery maintenance and repair, irrigation skills, domestic and homemaking skills, and selected trades, depending on the interest of the school and adult population.

2. Corpsmen would supply limited crafts training in addition to their counseling.

3. They would also contact and visit parents of the children participating in the program to stimulate interest in the development of trade skills by the children and themselves.

Corpsmen would not be expected to inculcate enough skills to enable the students and adults to engage in a vocation or trade. Rather, the corpsmen would create sufficient interest in the acquisition of skills so that the students will remain in school for the duration of the project—36 months. At the end of this term, it is hoped that the community will have received the necessary training facility to enable high school graduates to receive specific training in their desired field.

I. UPPER KENTUCKY RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODEL (PERRY, LESLIE, KNOTT, LETCHER COUNTIES)

The problems

In this Appalachia region of eastern Kentucky, employment in the coal mines has declined by two-thirds since 1950. Almost one-fifth of the counties' 93,000 people were dependent on mining for a livelihood before 1950. Today, only 6,520 are employed in the mines.

As unemployment rose, wages dropped, until now, the average annual per capita income is only \$1,066—less than half of the U.S. average.

Educational attainment in the four counties is extremely low. Median school years completed by persons over 25 years of age is only 7.6 years. More than 12,000 of the 41,000 adults are classified as functionally illiterate, below a fifth grade level. Only 2,928 adults over 25 have graduated from high school—indicating a 93-percent drop-out rate.

Health and housing problems are enormous. Ninety percent of the individual water systems are unprotected. Seventy-five percent of the population is using unsatisfactory sewage disposal facilities. More than a third of the housing was built 33 years ago. There are but 6 public health nurses for the 4 counties—a ratio of 1 nurse per 15,000 people.

How corpsmen could help

The Upper Kentucky River Area Development Council, in cooperation with county development councils in each of the four counties, has requested National Service Corpsmen to help tackle the area's education, health, and community development problems.

One group of corpsmen could be assigned to public and private agencies in the counties to serve in interpreting, coordinating, and stimulating programs as resource persons, consultants, and expeditors. Some of their jobs might include—

1. Adult education instructor.
2. Public health specialists.
3. Business management consultant.
4. Youth development supervisor.
5. Housing and construction instructor.
6. Recreation counselor.

The model calls for a second group of corpsmen to work in small communities on various self-help projects. They would help to stimulate local leadership and would live and work in the localities. The corpsmen might have skills that would enable them to act as public health educators, nutritionists, nurses, and teachers.

J. WASHINGTON, D.C., URBAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MODEL

The problems

In Southeast Washington, D.C.—in an area bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue, St. Elizabeths Hospital, and the Anacostia River east to the District line—the population has increased 23 percent since 1950. Most of the increase was due to the in-migration of nonwhites.

The Southeast is split into three distinct sections: One of the District's oldest Negro communities, a well-established white community, and a transition section in between the two.

With few opportunities for mutual discussion, the area has been the scene of racial strife and a harbor of criminal activity.

Many in the area are on public assistance and receive surplus food. Many mothers are unwed, and many do not receive prenatal care.

The Southeast Neighborhood House itself is a victim of displacement and community transition. Caught in the path of a projected thoroughway, it had to vacate its long-time home. Now furnishing staff services from scattered, borrowed quarters, the house nevertheless is attempting a large variety of projects aimed at transforming neighborhood groups into a cohesive, participating community.

How corpsmen could help

The Southeast Neighborhood House and the Washington Urban League have jointly proposed a project asking for National Service Corpsmen to help tackle the area's most pressing educational and community development problems. Here are some of the jobs corpsmen could do:

1. Corpsmen could be assigned to each of the 10 schools in the area to organize special classes for the guidance of those in need. They would give instruction to all ages in basic reading and arithmetic, Negro history, U.S. Government, District of Columbia government, arts and crafts, cooking, and sewing.

2. In addition, corpsmen could give courses in adult education in such fields as credit buying, home repair, the citizen and the law, social agencies in the District of Columbia.

3. Corpsmen, working from the local center, could work with people of all ages on a block-by-block basis to discuss and help resolve family, neighborhood, and other social and economic problems.

In all of these jobs, it is planned that corpsmen would gradually be replaced by local volunteers trained for specific jobs.

K. KANSAS MENTAL HEALTH AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY INSTITUTIONAL MODEL PROJECT

The problems

Three of the eleven institutions administered by the Division of Institutional Management of the Kansas State Department of Social Welfare deal with (1) persons afflicted with mental illness, (2) mental retardation, and (3) boys convicted of juvenile crimes.

The Boys Industrial School in Topeka contains 200 boys under 16 who have been committed by juvenile courts because of delinquent acts. The school provides an open reeducative community living experience for the boys to develop in them more positive social attitudes and values.

The Ozawatimle State Hospital is one of Kansas' three State mental hospitals. The hospital is a psychiatric center for the treatment of mentally ill persons over 16 years of age. Patients come from a 22-county area of southeastern Kansas. Average inpatient population is 1,000 persons.

Parsons State Hospital and Training Center is one of the State's three institutions for the mentally retarded. Parsons serves the entire State in a multidiscipline program designed to meet the patient's neurological, psychological, social, and cultural needs. Specialists from the Menninger Foundation serve as consultants. The goal at Parsons is to develop the mentally retarded children to the full limits of their inherent capabilities, and to return them to the community as happy, useful citizens—adjusted to their limitations and environments.

How corpsmen could help

The Division of Institutional Management of the Kansas State Department of Social Welfare has requested National Service

Corpsmen to work among the three institutions mentioned above.

The project is designed to provide greatly needed personnel for person-to-person relationships with patients; to alter and improve community attitudes toward the mentally ill, the retarded, and the delinquent; and to orient corpsmen toward future careers in the helping professions. Kansas has also offered to make available the highly developed treatment, training, and research facilities of the Parsons institution as a training site for up to 50 corpsmen at a time—corpsmen who could be assigned not only in Kansas but in other States in the midwest region.

Here are some of the jobs corpsmen could do:

1. Work with patients in wards and in cottages on a one-to-one selected basis.
2. Provide companionship therapy for patients with special needs.
3. Visit patients in their homes during the period of convalescent leave.
4. Assist special education teachers with students who need individual attention.
5. Assist in work with small groups, helping with self-care training such as dressing and feeding and recreation.
6. Assist patients in the development of hobbies such as fishing and games.
7. Assist in Boy Scout movement, and develop an "Explorer Post" at the Boys Industrial School.
8. Assist in music, occupational speech and recreation therapy, and education.
9. Serve as social work aids, carrying out specific assignments under supervision.

L. SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY (CALIF.) MIGRATORY AND SEASONAL FARM LABOR MODEL

The problems

Some of the richest farming land in the world can be found in the southern part of the San Joaquin Valley in Tulare and Kern Counties, Calif.

Some of the most depressed families of migratory and seasonal farmworkers in America can also be found there.

Many of the farmworkers have settled permanently in the area. Typical valley communities have populations of 8,000. But during the growing season, thousands of seasonal local and migratory workers are needed for the harvest; the size of the labor force swells as much as 250 percent. These people come from all parts of the Nation and settle on the fringe of the older communities or on the alkali flats or wherever they can find a patch of land. These workers boost the population of the valley towns by as much as 40 percent.

Quarters are cramped and income is low. The average farmworker's family in the area contains 5.5 persons. His health and that of his family suffer from neglect. Illiteracy, language barriers, ignorance of basic sanitation practices, cultural isolation, a sense of being unwelcome—all these things create a wide gap between the migrant and the communities' permanent citizens.

Local schools, health and welfare agencies—already overburdened—must stretch their services and budgets to cope with the migrants' many problems.

Then, as the growing season draws to a close, competition for the dwindling jobs produces even more friction in the community.

How corpsmen could help

The State of California and a number of public and private organizations in agricultural communities of Tulare and Kern Counties have requested National Service Corpsmen for a community development project. The project has three goals: to help the migratory and seasonal worker and his family to help themselves to improve their homes, neighborhoods, and grow into self-reliant citizens; to improve understanding

and good relations between the farmworker and the community; and to set an example of service and demonstrate how volunteer activity may be successfully used by other communities having similar goals.

Here are some of the projects for which corpsmen have been requested:

1. Poplar: A seasonal worker's community of 2,000. Through its improvement committee, chamber of commerce, and two PTA's, Poplar wants corpsmen to work primarily with youth, but also on community development.
2. Teviston: This town came into being when someone sold a worthless alkali flat to Negro farm families. It is now a community of 300 families. Through its community improvement association, Teviston has requested one corpsman to help on community development.
3. Visalia: Like most of Tulare County, two-thirds of the housing in this community is substandard. Visalia has requested corpsmen skilled in the building and construction trades to help the local farmworkers carry out a self-help housing construction program. The American Friends Service Committee would help with the educational and organizational phase of the project.
4. Visalia, also the site of the Sequoia Farm Labor Association, a worker-owned cooperative with 150 member farm laborers—two-thirds of Mexican-American background—wants corpsmen to teach adults such subjects as basic English, mathematics, government, citizenship requirements, credit and money management, homemaking, and nutrition.
5. Earlimart: Children of farm laborers comprise 75 percent of this community's school enrollment. Through a local committee, corpsmen have been requested to carry on a variety of projects, including teaching farm mothers how to purchase and prepare healthful and economical foods, home maintenance and sewing, raising and preserving much of their food; providing leadership and training in setting up child care centers for mothers who must work in the fields; instruction on setting up co-operative projects; vocational education of farmworkers so they can work in more than one crop area; and helping the local schools to determine the classroom materials most useful with children of farm laborers.
6. Arvin-Lamont Farm Labor Camp and Weedpatch: Through local school, health, labor camp management, church and health-recreation councils, this migrant center, which has up to 3,000 migrants in peak seasons, has asked for corpsmen—including teachers—for remedial work with children who are behind in school or who have language barriers, a recreation leader who will help coordinate and lead a recreation program, particularly for children who presently are left alone while their parents work in the fields; and a community resource worker, who will help the migrants find the existing community resources in time of need.
7. Wasco: This migratory farmworker settlement has requested corpsmen to work with elementary school-age students, both in school and at the migratory camp; to work in setting up a recreation program for young people, to instruct in personal and dental health, and to help teach basic English to youths with language problems.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I propose to have more to say later on the National Service Corps. There are in it areas of considerable concern to me and to my Commonwealth, particularly with regard to our feeling that such a program would be better administered at the State level. I am further concerned about the cost of the program relative to the number of

persons who would become members. We also believe that the national administrative machinery may involve a bureaucracy larger than the Corps itself. I make a definite distinction between the Peace Corps, which I have wholeheartedly supported, and the National Service Corps, which should not be called a Peace Corps. Rather, it is a welfare proposal. We are concerned as to whether or not it may not have the effect of setting up a duplicate department of welfare in each State.

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

Mr. SCOTT. As to these items, I shall have more to say later.

At this time I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a letter written to me by the secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, expressing some of his views in this regard.

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

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE,
Harrisburg, August 7, 1963.

Hon. HUGH SCOTT,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR HUGH: The proposal of a National Service Corps is of immediate interest to the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare and to the new interdepartmental Governor's Council for Human Services. It is our opinion, based on the serious problems of school dropouts and youth unemployment coupled with the rapid acceleration of economic and social change, that the ideas for volunteer service embodied in the National Service Corps bill are sound.

The problems the proposed Corps sets out to solve are similar to those that this department and the other departments in the Governor's Council for Human Service work on constantly. The critical problems of education, mental retardation and mental illness, dependency, neglect and delinquency, migratory farm children, rural poverty, and the handicaps of slum life, are our intimate and mandated concerns.

However, we have questions about the national administrative machinery which is proposed for the Corps. It seems more logical that the national service idea be implemented in the various States through existing operating State government structures. This Commonwealth could benefit from a national service program which would be integrated into the many and varied State services now being offered.

The Federal Government should provide funds, leadership, ideas and even procedures. However, the development of projects, recruitment and management should be handled by each State. While I recognize that not all States will participate, a State operated program will be more effective than a federally operated one. And the program that results will be integrated into each State's program; will mesh with existing services; will allow for more effective program planning and will provide more of a guarantee for continued effort.

It was good to have the opportunity to chat with you about this program, and I hope that my thoughts on the subject may be helpful.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

ARLIN M. ADAMS, Secretary.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senator to my amendment, No. 138, which I offered in

committee and which I propose to offer later. It provides that half of the amount shall be appropriated for the purpose of enabling State agencies to select and train enrollees in the Corps and to administer the projects carried out under the act, the theory being that there be followed an analogy with the National Guard; that half the Corps be State trained and working for the State. I shall spell out the purpose of my amendment in more detail during the debate. It would enable the State to train the people more economically, because it would greatly broaden the governmental agencies which would be engaged in the training. In other words, my amendment would provide that half of the appropriations would be made available to the States to do their own enlisting and training, but in accord with Federal standards of compensation and membership in the corps, very much like the programs under which the National Guard and ROTC operate today.

In view of the Senator's interest, I thought he might want to know that that amendment is printed and available to him.

Mr. SCOTT. I appreciate the comments of the distinguished Senator from New York. What he has said goes in the direction in which I am especially interested. I hope that after it has been fully explained I shall be able to support his amendment as a partial step toward the improvement of the bill, reserving my decision as to final action on the bill.

At this point I wish to comment on the statement made by Mr. David L. Hackett, special assistant to the Attorney General, which appears at page 4369 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in which Mr. Hackett points out that there are approximately 35 million volunteers in the country and that he feels there is need for many more. Reference is made to the fact that the program might be desirable, among other reasons, because it would have both prestige value and serve as a catalyst in getting people with talent and resources, who are not now involved in community problems, to become interested.

I am struck by the wide disparity between a program calling for 200 or 500 volunteers in the beginning, and contemplating no more than 5,000 over a 5-year period, and a pool of 35 million volunteers.

The program is either good, in which case it is a drop in the bucket; or it is bad, in which case it seems to me the States should properly be entrusted with the solution of the problem.

I shall have more to say on this subject. I thought that at this time I should express my thoughts on the subject.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in terms of the small numbers and the great need, I am sure that the Peace Corps, which the Senator supported and continues to support, might be used as a reference. I understand there are approximately 10,000 people in the Peace Corps abroad, operating in scores of countries. The needs of the world are a little greater than our own.

However, the Senator is familiar with the great impact that even 10,000 volunteers have had in countries abroad in meeting peoples' welfare needs.

Mr. SCOTT. I appreciate the Senator's comment. I draw a distinction between the Peace Corps, which is an agency working abroad, and the small domestic service corps, which appears to duplicate, or, at best, mildly supplement the continuing and numerous programs of the Federal and State Governments, with the 35 million volunteers.

One of the big differences is that the Peace Corps goes into undeveloped countries, and behind it is the full prestige of the American Government in offering a type of service which is not yet available in those countries. Those countries, for example, do not have 20 or 25 percent of their people as volunteers already in welfare and charitable programs; also, in most of those countries, there are no programs at all. The members of the Peace Corps are welcome, first, because they do offer an opportunity to teach people how to teach others, to teach farmers how to farm, to teach scientists how to obtain and use laboratories, and to begin at the beginning with matters which we have known for anywhere from 10 to 150 years.

The difference to me also is in the fact that foreign governments would welcome the Peace Corps for the money they bring in, even if they were to accomplish very little. This is not the case. I believe the Peace Corps accomplishes a great deal of good in many parts of the world.

The comparison is not close or particularly apt, since the proposed program is not a peace corps, or domestic peace corps, as it has been called. In the first place, it would not be much of a corps, because it would consist of 5,000 volunteers. Secondly, it has nothing to do with peace, unless it means peace on the city streets by solving some of the problems of dropouts, for example, which it can help to solve, and with respect to which other programs already exist. It is domestic. However, I believe that is the only part of the title that applies. I feel that the use of the term "Peace Corps" —

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. If I may interrupt the Senator, I believe he is wasting his time, because the title of the bill is "The National Service Corps." It is not a peace corps. There is no reference to it in the bill as the Peace Corps.

Mr. SCOTT. I am aware of the title of the bill. I am sure, though, that many times during the debate the term "Domestic Peace Corps" will appear, as it usually appears in the press, rather than as the National Service Corps.

I am somewhat afraid that this proposal is comparable to a small bird flying on the back of an eagle. It is sought to gain the benefit of some of the good will engendered by the Peace Corps and some of the general approval that the Peace Corps has received, and to apply some of that benefit to a program which is hardly analogous.

I have not said I will finally vote against the bill, because I am really giving it extremely careful consideration.

I shall want to consider what the cost of the program may be later; how much it would cost Pennsylvania; the number of volunteers that could be expected from Pennsylvania; and whether or not my State, using it not selfishly or as a sectional argument, but rather as a comparison with other States, would benefit in proportion to the amount of money expended.

The Senator knows that while I am not opposed to the use of Federal funds in aid of the general welfare, and that I support many such programs, nevertheless what I must ask myself, at least, is: Will the program justify the cost? Is it a foot in the door, to become a vast empire, as some other small programs have become? Are we justified at this time, in view of our obligations in other areas, in going ahead with this program? Is it a duplication of other programs?

I recall that the National Science Foundation began as a \$10 million program. I remember the debate on it, when I was a Member of the other body. We were assured that that amount would be enough to get the program well underway; and that it would not cost too much more than that in succeeding years. I do not know whether it costs \$50 or \$100 million more now. I know it does valuable work, but I also know it has grown so large that it occupies huge buildings. It serves a useful purpose, and huge numbers of Federal employees are engaged in its activities.

But my concern is whether a program that will cost from \$4 to \$6 million now will cost \$60 million 3 years from now, or \$600 million 10 years from now.

If we are to be guided in the future by the light of the past, there would be some reason for believing that the national service program might never get off the books. So I am trying to approach the question neither from the conservative standpoint, that anything done to help the welfare of the people might be automatically looked upon with suspicion; nor from the liberal standpoint, that all the Federal money we can get to distribute among people is, per se, a good thing; I am caught again in the dilemma of the moderate, who is trying to ascertain whether the bill would serve a good purpose, bearing in mind the cost and the purpose.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I appreciate the Senator's objectivity. I am sure that all the questions to which he has addressed himself are important in his mind. However, I believe the record will help him to reach the conclusion that he will vote for the bill, because it is not a bill to create a bureaucratic empire. It will not establish a \$60 million program in from 3 to 5 years, because the bill provides a ceiling of 5,000 volunteers.

Perhaps at a later time a terminal date can be fixed—5, 6, or 7 years. I think these problems can be solved to the Senator's complete satisfaction.

The poverty of the people in many of the areas to which we addressed ourselves in the bill, of which the Senator speaks, is not precisely analogous to the poverty to be found abroad. I do not

know how many migratory farm communities the Senator has visited. I do not know how many Indian reservations he has visited. I do not know how many public mental institutions he has been in—

Mr. SCOTT. The Senator means "he has visited," I suppose.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I assure the Senator that that was an unintentional misstatement.

Mr. SCOTT. The Senator from Pennsylvania, so far as he is aware, has never been in a mental institution; he has visited some of them.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. There was no improper meaning behind my statement. As the Senator knows, I paid him a high compliment when we were speaking to a group of young persons from 20 or 30 different countries. I attributed the Senator's education to Harvard. How much more respect could I have shown him? My statement was erroneous, but that shows the respect I have for the Senator.

Mr. SCOTT. I appreciate the comment the Senator made at that time. He was not only incorrect in attributing to me the high virtue and great privilege of attending Harvard; he was even wider of the mark in assuming I would even have wanted to attend Harvard. I am quite satisfied with having attended the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, and Randolph-Macon College.

I am sure that all the products of Harvard which are showered upon us, unabated and seemingly without limit, are an unmixed blessing.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I knew the day would come when the Senator from Pennsylvania and I would be in complete agreement on something.

Mr. SCOTT. My esteem for the Senator from New Jersey has been enhanced to a great degree in the past few minutes, although I have always had extremely high regard for him. I thank him sincerely.

I am honestly trying to make up my mind on the bill. I shall follow the debate with deep interest.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Again, I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn until noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, August 14, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate August 13, 1963:

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

Maj. Gen. Robert Hackett, ~~XXXXXX~~, U.S. Army, in the grade of lieutenant general.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1963

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

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

God of all the races and all the nations, our best contrivings, our wisest plans, will stand out as but mute monuments of futility in a valley of dry bones unless upon them all Thou shalt breathe the breath of life.

If, at last, chastened by Thine immutable laws, a sadly sundered world is to leave behind exploitations, recriminations, suspicions, and hatred, and march together, no matter how long the way, toward a fairer earth in which nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more, then only Thy pillar of cloud and of fire can lead to that golden era.

In this high hour of dawning hope, when the fear-haunted eyes of untold millions see above the mushrooming terror a faint rainbow which speaks of deliverance from the threatening scourge, we lift to Thee our fervent prayer, "Send out Thy light and truth, let them lead us; from the city of destruction, let them bring us to Thy holy hill of life and peace."

In the ever-blessed name of the One who came to bring life more abundantly to all who walk His way. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, August 13, 1963, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

LIMITATION OF STATEMENTS DURING MORNING HOUR

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

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Foreign

Relations Committee be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate tomorrow.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I do not object to the request for permission for the committee to meet tomorrow during the session of the Senate; but I shall appreciate it if the majority leader, when such unanimous consent is requested, will see to it that I am notified at my office. However, at this time, I do not plan to object to such requests for authority for committees to meet during the sessions of the Senate.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Subsequently, on request of Mr. HUMPHREY, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Retirement of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment:

H.R. 7043. An act to amend the act of March 2, 1931, to provide that certain proceedings of the Veterans of World War I of the United States, Incorporated, shall be printed as a House document, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 392);

S. Res. 174. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the committee print entitled "Staffing Procedures and Problems in the Soviet Union" (Rept. No. 393);

S. Res. 177. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the joint committee print entitled "The Federal Revenue System: Facts and Problems, 1961" (Rept. No. 394); and

H. Con. Res. 194. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the "Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag" (Rept. No. 395).

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, reported the following resolution (S. Res. 182); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare hereby is authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate, during the Eighty-eighth Congress, \$15,000 in addition to the amount, and for the same purpose, specified in section 134(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act approved August 2, 1946.

TO PRINT AS A SENATE DOCUMENT CERTAIN MATERIALS RELATING TO RULE XXII (CLOTURE)—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 184); which was placed on the calendar, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed as a Senate document certain portions of the compl-