

student assistance. Added to that is some \$84 million which now appears in the budget request for the work-study program under the Office of Economic Opportunity which will be transferred to the Office of Education. Thus, \$24 million can be made available to help young men and women achieve higher education directly—\$70 million of this is for scholarships; \$15 million is for the new insured student loan program which should generate from private sources some \$700 million in student loan funds; and \$129 million is for work-study.

The insured loan program is vital, since it can provide a way for the middle-income families which are the stable backbone of America to finance, at a reasonable rate of interest, the education of their children. It is difficult to stretch take-home pay of \$6,000 to \$10,000 a year to cover the cost of educating two or more at the same time when college costs are running at the rate of \$1,600 to \$2,400 a year for each. We cannot, and we must not, price the average high school graduate out of the college opportunity. If we do, or if we price the small college out of being in contact with the average student from the average American family, we lose as a nation.

Education is our best capital investment. The dividends which flow from this type of growth, not only repay in a few short years the initial cost, they continue to contribute for a lifetime, returns to our economy. The Treasury of the United States in the coming decades, I suggest to you, will benefit tremendously in terms of individual and corporate returns which otherwise would not be available.

Title II of S. 600 relates to college libraries; \$65 million is earmarked for college library assistance and library training.

Boswell, in 1775, said: "Knowledge is of two kinds. We know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it. When we inquire into any subject, the first thing we have to do is to know what books have treated of it. This leads us to look at catalogs, and the backs of books in libraries."

Many of us, I fear, still cling to the nostalgic stereotype of the book-lined room with wide and sunny windows as the location of the student's work. We should be aware that the hardbound book which fits so well the hand is only one of the modern library tools.

Edison, Steinmetz, De Forrest, and others have vastly expanded the library bookshelf for the storage and retrieval of information.

The flashing lights of a computer and the photoreproduction of the microfilm master may well be the model of the future library, that the generation of men and women now entering kindergarten in Huntington will hold in their minds as they seek in the electronic stacks of the law library the cases which they will need for their moot-court pleadings within the next short 15 years.

With every passing day, because of the sheer magnitude of the information which is pouring forth, from every quarter of the globe, in every tongue and dialect on every scientific and scholarly subject, the task of the librarian becomes more difficult.

An article in the Sunday New York Times of January 4 points up the magnitude of the job ahead.

It speaks of the establishment at the University of Minnesota of a center for documentation and information retrieval to control what has been referred to, and correctly in my judgment, as the information explosion.

The article cites statistics which have been presented to our subcommittee. There are 30,000 technical journals now being published. Annually 1,000 more are added. Today, of all scientists who have ever lived, 80 percent are now living; 2 million articles, based on scholarly research, are published annually. The article indicates how the new electronically based technology may be able to lend to college and university librarians helpful tools and techniques.

More than ever, excellence in teaching and research depends on an adequate selection of books, periodicals, scientific journals, and documents. Yet 50 percent of our 4-year institutions of higher learning and 82 percent of our 2-year institutions fall below accepted minimum standards in the number of volumes in their libraries.

Moreover, current national statistics show a decline in the number of college and university library books per student. The reason is that enrollments are increasing faster than per student expenditures for books. Today, an estimated \$226 million is needed merely to stock the shelves of our universities with the books needed for the present student and faculty population. Meanwhile, rising college and university enrollments are expected to swell from today's 4.8 to 6.9 million by 1970.

Title II proposes a 5-year program to help institutions of higher education acquire library materials needed for their expanded responsibilities in research, teaching, and student use; to encourage new and enlarged college and university training programs to prepare individuals for service in the projects relating to the improvement of libraries and the library and information sciences.

The proposal is divided into two parts. The first would authorize the Commissioner of Education to make grants to colleges or combinations of colleges for the purchase of books, periodicals, documents, magnetic tapes, phonograph records, audiovisual materials, and other related library materials.

Institutions submitting appropriate applications would receive a basic grant of up to \$5,000. The Commissioner would also be authorized to make supplemental grants, not to exceed \$10 for each full-time student. Supplemental grants would be made on the basis of such criteria as size and age of the

library collection, student enrollment, and endowment and other financial resources. Only the basic grant would be matched by the institution. Each institution or combination of institutions would provide assurances that their previous year's expenditures for materials would be maintained.

I am sure that President Hurlley will be happy to explain to each of you how the checks you make out for Salem can be usefully applied to this and other matching funds. That particular \$5,000 from you for library purposes should be a seed corn from which an abundant intellectual harvest can come. It might not be amiss to compare it to the miracle of the loaves and fishes which fed the multitudes nearly 2,000 years ago.

There are other parts to the President's program for higher education, which are designed to assist developing colleges, as in title III of S. 600. Under this 5-year program, funded at \$30 million for the first year, the Commissioner of Education could make grants to pay part of the cost of planning and carrying out cooperative arrangements for strengthening the academic programs of some of our institutions. This could be done in a number of ways, through faculty exchange programs, introduction of new curriculums, visiting scholars, working out cooperative education programs which would permit alternate periods of employment and study as in the Antioch plan, and the joint use of common library or laboratory facilities where feasible.

Finally, in title I of the bill, through an authorization of \$25 million for the first year, a program for expanding and developing university and continuing education programs is envisaged.

This program is an expanded version of a university extension proposal, S. 3477, which Senator RANDOLPH and I carried through the Senate in the 87th Congress, but which was not accepted by the House of Representatives at that time. It is our hope that now that it is part of the administration program, the House will be able to better understand the essential merits of the concept.

Hearings on S. 600 are now underway, and I am confident that after the precise language has been worked out, and after such changes as the Congress deems proper are made, the higher education bill can become a statute.

This has been a rather brief review of a fairly comprehensive program, and in the course of it, I may well have told you far more than you may have wished to learn. I plead guilty to the vice of a teacher. I do get interested in my subject and I get carried away to the point where I sometimes forget to hear the bell at the end of the hour. In closing, I can only once again express to you and to the Senator from the West Virginia, my deep appreciation for your wonderful hospitality and the opportunity you have given time to talk with you tonight.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1965

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Father Joseph F. Thorning, Ph. D., D.D., pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Carrollton Manor, Md., and professor of Latin American history, Marymount College, offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, author of life and of love, let the light of Thy countenance shine brightly upon the Speaker of this House and upon all the Members of the U.S. Congress.

Impart, we beseech Thee, Thy choicest blessings to the President of the United States of America and to those who counsel him.

Vouchsafe to the rulers, legislators, and judges throughout the Western Hemisphere, including Canada, the vision and valor to promote wise, far-reaching programs in ways compatible with respect for all reasonable, responsible citizens, families, and parties.

Accept our heartfelt thankfulness, Almighty God, for sound achievements in the political and social development of Brazil, Peru, and Chile, where newly won liberties and the processes of representa-

tive government promise constant, orderly, and democratic progress.

In Thy presence, dear Saviour, we implore divine graces to understand the Bible which, in the Old and New Testaments, teaches us that "a brother helped by a brother is a strong city," on the national and international scene.

We seek these celestial favors in the name of our most Holy Redeemer, the Christ of the Andes. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

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

**MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE**

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

H.R. 2594. An act to clarify the application of certain annuity increase legislation; and

H. Con. Res. 97. Concurrent resolution to authorize the printing as a House document the pamphlet entitled "Our American Government: What Is It? How Does It Function?"

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

S. 664. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds of the Klamath and Modoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians, and for other purposes;

S. 893. An act to amend the act of June 13, 1935 (49 Stat. 388), as amended, relating to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska;

S. 908. An act to authorize the Department of Commerce to adopt improved accounting procedures;

S. 1129. An act to amend the Textile Fiber Products Identification Act to permit the listing on labels of certain fibers constituting less than 5 percent of a textile fiber product; and

S. 1229. An act to provide uniform policies with respect to recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs of Federal multiple-purpose water resource projects, and for other purposes.

**THE APPROPRIATION BILLS, 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION**

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a tabulation.

*The appropriation bills, 89th Cong., 1st sess., to Apr. 15, 1965*

Bill	Budget estimates of appropriations	House	Senate	Enacted	Reductions—	
					Latest stage of bill	Cumulative
For fiscal year 1965:						
CCC supplemental capital funds restoration.....	\$1,742,209,000	\$1,600,000,000	\$1,600,000,000	\$1,600,000,000	-\$142,209,000	-----
2d supplemental (pay increase, Appalachia, etc.).....	2,226,456,933	2,118,333,083	-----	-----	-108,123,850	-----
Fiscal 1965.....	3,968,665,933	3,718,333,083	1,600,000,000	1,600,000,000	-----	-\$250,332,850
For fiscal year 1966:						
District of Columbia, Federal payment only.....	53,122,000	44,122,000	-----	-----	-9,000,000	-----
Interior.....	1,240,849,500	1,184,090,300	-----	-----	-56,759,200	-----
Treasury-Post Office.....	6,708,510,000	6,604,404,000	-----	-----	-104,106,000	-----
Fiscal 1966.....	8,002,481,500	7,832,616,300	-----	-----	-----	-169,865,200
Session totals:						
House.....	11,971,147,433	11,550,949,383	-----	-----	-----	-420,198,050
Senate.....	1,742,209,000	-----	1,600,000,000	-----	-----	-142,209,000
Enacted.....	1,742,209,000	-----	-----	1,600,000,000	-----	-142,209,000

**TRANSFER OF THE CALL OF THE CONSENT AND PRIVATE CALENDARS TO MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1965**

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Consent Calendar, in order on April 19, and the call of the Private Calendar, in order on April 20, be transferred to Monday, April 26.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

**TRANSFER OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES UNDER RULE XXVII TO MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1965**

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that motions to suspend the rules under rule XXVII, in order on Monday, April 19, be transferred to Monday, April 26.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

**PAN AMERICAN DAY**

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to House Resolution 242, this day has been designated as Pan American Day.

**ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION**

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 328 and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 328

Whereas April 14, 1966, marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of a union of American Republics now known as the Organization of American States; and

Whereas one of the most important functions of the Organization of American States is maintaining a peaceful and understanding atmosphere throughout the hemisphere; and

Whereas the Organization of American States, through its functional units—

(a) promotes cooperation among the sister Republics to achieve better use of resources designed to raise the standards of living of all its people;

(b) seeks stronger ties of friendship and understanding among the American people through increased educational, scientific, and cultural exchanges; and

(c) serves as an advisory body on matters of international law and to obtain uniformity of certain legislation through the hemisphere; and

Whereas the United States has joined its sister Republics under the Alliance for Progress to build a hemisphere where all men can hope for a suitable standard of living and all can live out their lives in dignity and freedom; and

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, much of the scheduled appropriations business of the session is yet to come before the House, but we nonetheless thought it appropriate, on the eve of departure of many Members for their home districts during the brief Easter respite, to include a short recapitulation of the bills thus far processed. There have been two bills supplying supplementals for the current fiscal year 1965, ending this June 30, and three regular bills for the fiscal year 1966.

We have thus far held to the reporting schedule announced earlier. We are right on the mark in that connection and have every hope that the last regular bill can come before the House on June 22 as scheduled.

I believe the tabulation which follows is self-explanatory:

Whereas these aims for a better world face threats of subversion from forces organized to enslave the people incompatible with the principles and objectives of the Inter-American system: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That in honor of this special diamond jubilee anniversary of the founding of the Pan American Union, the House of Representatives of the United States extends to the other Republics of the Western Hemisphere and to the peoples of those Republics its most cordial greetings with a fervent hope for a renewed dedication to the ideals of freedom emphasized in the Charter of the Organization of American States.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, once again it has been my privilege, as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, to introduce a resolution marking the anniversary of the founding of the inter-American system and extending our most cordial greetings to the legislative bodies and peoples of the other American Republics. This resolution, commemorating the 75th anniversary of the inter-American system, also was unanimously approved by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In the intervening 12 months since we last observed Pan American Day here in the House of Representatives, there have been several encouraging developments in the Latin American area.

Last July, the Organization of American States took significant action at the ninth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Its decision that member nations sever diplomatic or consular relations with Cuba; suspend all direct and indirect trade, except for humanitarian purposes; and suspend all sea transport with Cuba, except that of a humanitarian nature, has contributed substantially to the political and economic isolation of the Castro regime. All but one of the American Republics have complied with the OAS decision—Mexico being the single exception.

This decision has had a direct bearing on reducing the movement of subversives, the transfer of funds to finance subversive activity, as well as restricting the dissemination of propaganda, all of which were facilitated by the maintenance of Cuban diplomatic missions in the Latin American countries.

A year ago this month, the Communist-influenced Goulart regime in Brazil surrendered power to military leaders. Several days later, Brazil's Congress elected Gen. Humberto Castello Branco as Provisional President. Under its new leadership Brazil has witnessed a decline of inflation which was destroying the economy, and Government officials are practicing a private enterprise philosophy. Elections for several gubernatorial posts as well as seats in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies are scheduled for this year, and the presidential election is scheduled for 1966.

In Chile, Eduardo Frei gained a tremendous victory last September over the Communist-backed candidate, Salvador Allende. The elections held in March won his party an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies, the first such since 1851. Although facing difficult obstacles in the months ahead, Frei is going forward with a vast economic and social reform program.

In British Guiana, the last pro-Communist regime in Latin America outside of Cuba, the Marxist government of Cheddi Jagan, has fallen. Although the new coalition government elected in December 1964 faces many problems, it hopes to reverse some of the economic trends of the past and establish a climate of confidence for the future.

Yet, despite these significant Communist reversals, testimony received since the reconvening of Congress by the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs indicates that the Communist subversive threat to Latin America is as great as ever.

A secret meeting of Latin American Communist Parties was held last November in Havana. The objectives of that meeting, fully supported by Moscow, appear to have been threefold:

First. To achieve greater coordination and mutual support among the Communist Parties in Latin America.

Second. To give new impetus to Communist activity in the hemisphere.

Third. To bring about a greater degree of unity within the Communist movement and to marshal support for the U.S.S.R. in the conflict with Red China.

Since the November meeting, regrouping of Communist forces has begun to take place in all of the Communist and Communist-affiliated parties in the hemisphere, and new evidences of activity are visible almost daily. It is clear, then, that neither the United States nor our colleagues in the OAS can afford to become complacent or avoid making a still greater effort to meet the increasing danger of communism.

A unanimous report of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, entitled "Communism in Latin America," released only today, warns that the Communist program for the subversion of Latin America, directed and financed through Castro's Cuba, with specific countries as principal target areas, continues to be a direct and serious threat to the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere.

While the report "Communism in Latin America" is available in its entirety both to the Members and to the public, I include at this point in the RECORD the findings of the subcommittee:

#### FINDINGS

##### I

The United States has yet to develop an adequate ideological offensive as convincing evidence to all Latin Americans that our way of life is worthy of emulation.

On the other hand, the subcommittee received much testimony regarding the standard pattern of Communist professionals—boring into the communications media, the educational system, the labor unions, the courts.

##### II

The ultimate answer to the Communist menace in Latin America lies in the solution of major economic and social problems and the evolution of stable, democratic regimes. In the interim period before these goals can be attained, the security forces of individual countries will remain the major obstacle to Communist seizures of power.

The prospects for an increased, rather than lessened, threat of armed insurgency and violence stresses the importance of the role of Latin American security forces in the foreseeable future.

##### III

The widespread social, economic, and political problems of Latin America, are seriously compounded by its population growth, the largest in the world.

The population of all Latin America is growing at a rate of almost 3 percent a year. The present 225 million population will reach 600 million by the turn of the century. This veritable explosion will provide a fertile area for the growth of communism, unless action is taken to meet these growing pressures.

The subcommittee notes that the pressure of rapidly growing populations on available resources is no longer being ignored. The awareness of this problem is more encouraging in Latin America than in other areas, since more and more groups of Latin American societies, including religious leaders, are beginning to talk more frankly about the problem.

##### IV

In Latin American countries which depend on one or two major commodities for their export earnings and their foreign exchange, the stabilization of prices is im-

portant to the economy, and hence, to successful efforts to combat communism.

The sugar economy of Cuba might well be brought to its knees by low and unstable prices over a period of years. Conversely, stabilization of prices of basic commodities in countries other than Cuba would have a significant effect both economically and psychologically.

##### V

Several major deficiencies continue to limit Latin American counterinsurgency capabilities. The means of combating the subversive tactics of the Communist professional require considerable improvement.

Weaknesses include limited training in this type of operation, poor logistical support systems for sustained and widely deployed actions, poor communications, a lack of air and ground mobility, and a diversity of obsolescent equipment. For example, all-out terrorist drives in Venezuela in 1963 were aided by the fact that five separate policing forces shared jurisdictions within the capital city. With U.S. assistance, a joint operations center was established and police capabilities have since improved considerably.

Another limiting factor is the universally short term of service for conscripts. The mass of enlisted men in some countries serve only 6 or 8 months, allowing little time for acquiring professional military skills. Because of the frequent early discharge of the conscripts, the armed forces may be at only half strength for several months each year.

##### VI

While the problem of training of subversives by Cuba has so far been confined to Latin American countries, a distinct possibility exists for an increase in Cuban training of Africans for subversive purposes.

It could manifest itself in a variety of ways, including, for example: (1) An increase in travel by Africans to Cuba for political indoctrination and for training in guerrilla and subversive activity;

(2) An increase in Cuban propaganda directed toward Africa; and

(3) An effort to expand Cuban diplomatic representation in Africa.

The possibility also of Cuban arms and funds being sent to Africa cannot be excluded.

##### VII

The Soviet Union, rather than Communist China, still supports Cuba—economically, politically, and militarily.

Without its direct financial support in the form of hundreds of millions of dollars annually, Cuba's economy would be flattened. Also, Cuba is dependent on the Soviet Union and its satellites for its military equipment and spare parts. There is nothing to suggest that these contributions will diminish materially in the foreseeable future.

Politically, Cuba continues to be influenced by the Soviet brand of communism. Militarily, Soviet advisers in Cuba constitute a substantial degree of Soviet influence and the ability to exert leverage. To allow Cuba's collapse would substantially diminish Communist influence throughout Latin America.

##### VIII

The Communist program for the subversion of Latin America, directed and financed through Castro's Cuba, with specific countries as principal target areas, continues to be a direct and serious threat to the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere.

It is apparent that neither the United States nor our colleagues in the OAS can afford to become complacent or avoid making a still greater effort to meet the increasing danger. Regrouping of Communist forces is taking place in all of the Communist and Communist-affiliated parties in the hemisphere and new evidences of activity are visible almost daily.

IX

Despite efforts on the part of the executive branch to discourage trade with Cuba by our allies and by countries of the free world, there is substantial evidence that such commerce continues.

Free world flag vessels arriving in Cuba since January 1, 1963, numbered 214, with a gross tonnage capacity of 1.5 million tons. Since the first of the year (through March 1965) 39 free world flag vessels arrived in Cuban ports.

Mr. Speaker, based on these findings, arrived at from the testimony of witnesses familiar with the threat posed by Communist operators in Latin America, the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs made the following recommendations:

## RECOMMENDATIONS

I

The United States should take appropriate steps as a member of the Organization of American States (OAS) to develop a more positive and aggressive approach to the whole problem of Communist subversive activities in the Western Hemisphere.

The subcommittee is deeply concerned with the evidence it has received regarding the step-up in subversive activities, prime target areas, and the major deficiencies limiting counterinsurgency capabilities in Latin America.

The subcommittee notes with favor the OAS meeting of consultation of the foreign ministers scheduled for May of this year in Rio de Janeiro. The principal subjects on the agenda are the strengthening and functioning of the inter-American system, measures to improve the functioning of the Organization of American States, and a study of the relationships of the Council with its various organs as well as the functioning of these organs. The subcommittee expresses the hope that the danger to the internal security of the member nations—to the very existence of their forms of government in some instances—will not be overlooked.

II

Measures should be taken by all parties at interest, particularly in those countries which have been identified as prime target areas for subversion, to protect more adequately the lives of U.S. Government personnel, as well as properties of the United States.

The subcommittee condemns the wanton attacks on U.S. embassies and libraries and the bold kidnappings of U.S. officials in Latin American countries. The protection of U.S. property and personnel abroad deserves active and primary attention. Since evidence received by the subcommittee indicates Communist insurgency efforts will increase rather than diminish in the months ahead, the protection of U.S. personnel and property should be a matter of increasing concern.

III

U.S. aid, in the form of military assistance to Latin American countries, should place increasing emphasis on materiel for local military units in civic action projects. Also, the training of Latin American military personnel in the United States should be continued, since it has proved highly beneficial in the fight against Communist aggression in the Western Hemisphere.

The subcommittee found during its hearings that the civic action program has improved the image of the military in Latin America by manifesting the interest of the military and the armed forces in the well-being of the people. At the same time it tends to lessen the vulnerability of the civilian population to subversive efforts.

Training of military personnel from Latin American countries in the United States

provides a better understanding between United States and Latin American military personnel.

The subcommittee received testimony that the prime target of subversive elements in the military forces of our Latin American neighbors is the enlisted man. It also could prove advantageous for the countries of Latin America to direct some additional efforts toward vocational projects aimed at improving the abilities and skills of the enlisted man so that he may take his place in the community at the end of his military service.

IV

The United States should be prepared for increased requests for support in personnel and materiel to counter effectively the tactics of Communist insurgents.

In view of the present and increasing danger posed by Communist subversive terrorists in certain Latin American countries, a need exists to step up the capability of the people, as well as that of the local authorities, to deal with this threat.

V

Increased efforts should be made by the executive branch, both unilaterally and multilaterally, through the Organization of American States, our NATO allies and the free world community, to discourage trade with Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, in noting the Communist reversals that have taken place in Latin America in the past 12 months, let me again reemphasize the present and increasing danger posed by Communist subversive terrorists in that area. The United States and its Latin American allies must be prepared to deal firmly with this threat. Only in this way can our inter-American system survive and flourish.

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

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

Mr. MAILLIARD. I thank the gentleman from Alabama for yielding to me and I want to join him in this commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Pan American Union and the Organization of American States.

Also, I should like to compliment our chairman on the hearings that we recently concluded, as well as those of 2 years ago. It is my opinion that this has enabled people who are interested in this very important subject to obtain information in continuity through the efforts of our subcommittee.

I would like to ask the gentleman from Alabama if he would agree with me that in our committee report, on page 3, where we set out the risks as we see them as they exist today is well worth the time of every Member of Congress to read and to be aware, as the committee was made aware, of the things that developed from the meeting in Havana last November of the Communist Parties throughout Latin America—I would like to ask the gentleman if he would not anticipate—I notice in his statement he emphasized the particular target countries which were revealed at this meeting in Havana—that we could expect direct terrorist activities to step up in these named countries?

Also, if I remember correctly, our information was that the Communists agreed to renew their effort in those

countries other than the direct target areas, and they expected to be able to step up their activities in hiding behind political popular front organizations.

I would think it would be just as important for us to be alerted to this plan to once again attempt to hide behind popular fronts by the Communists in those countries where it does not appear that the Communist Party is politically popular for the moment. These are leftist groups that might make up a popular front which might enable the Communists to operate politically in those countries.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank the gentleman from California, the ranking Republican member of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, and I concur in the conclusions he has reached. While the communique that was issued in connection with the meeting in Havana—incidentally, this communique is printed in the appendix of the report—emphasizes the fact that certain countries will be primary target areas, there is no indication there will be any decrease in the emphasis on Communist activities in the other countries of Latin America.

Mr. MAILLIARD. It seems to me that one of the things that came out of the examination of this picture is, as the gentleman so well asserted in his statement, in countries like Brazil where if we go back a year or so the Communists were on the verge of success, and Chile, in a very critical state until the recent election, in these areas, is where the Communist cause seems to have suffered a setback politically. I think we should be alerted to their effort in this regrouping of their activities and reorganization on a hemispherewide basis of their political activities that may be pretty well concealed, and will not openly admit that they are a part of the Communist organization.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank my distinguished colleague from California and agree that we should be extremely alert, not only the United States, but the other countries of the OAS as well.

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

Mr. SELDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. I thank the gentleman from Alabama for yielding. I certainly want to join in the remarks he has made commemorating this very important day. It has been a privilege to serve on the gentleman's Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. I especially note the continuity of interest which he has maintained and which the subcommittee is maintaining. The distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] is very conscientious, dedicated, and well informed. He continues to make significant contributions to the foreign policy of this country.

The report which has just been released by the subcommittee is one that is very well balanced. I want to commend the gentleman from California [Mr. MAILLIARD] for making the point that while we have every right to be reasonably pleased at the progress made in Latin America in the last year—certainly a great deal more than had been

anticipated—nonetheless pressure is still on. The Communists certainly have every plan to increase their activities in the entire area.

It is interesting to note, too, that the Russian Communists at the meeting in Havana in November announced that they are out to regain or recapture control in Latin America in this struggle between the Russians and the Chinese. The fact is that the Russian Communists have pursued the struggle in Latin America and have, interestingly enough, adopted Chinese methods. This is a significant change in the Communist tactics in Latin America, that is, the Russians are seeking to consolidate their position and to make the drives, and in doing so have, in effect, adopted the Chinese pattern of increasing terrorist activities and violence and the use of the popular-front device.

The inter-American system as we celebrate its 75th anniversary has come a very long way, yet I think the turning point was in 1960 in many ways. Perhaps the principal reason was that both political parties in the United States recognized the tremendous importance of Latin America, not only to the United States but to the entire free world; and that we were no longer content to sit back as passive bystanders enunciating high-sounding platitudes about the free world movement and the involvement of the Latinos in that movement.

We, the United States, in 1961, with the dramatic announcement of the Alliance for Progress, became intimately, personally, and directly involved with the Latin Americans themselves in trying to bring about the political, social, and economic evolutions and revolutions necessary in Latin America, and tie them in with our destiny and with the destiny of the free world.

This, Mr. Speaker, in my judgment is the electric change which has captured the imagination of North and South Americans and, indeed, the free world, and is the most significant advance made by the inter-American system since it began 75 years ago or since Simón Bolívar first announced the idea that Americans ought to get together to do those things which were in their best joint interests.

I think it is very important for us on this day of observance also to point out that notwithstanding the fact that we in the United States have become more directly and intimately involved, the truth is that the Latins themselves now recognize this and have recognized it for several years. The results of that recognition have been really heartwarming, not only in terms of the Communist reversals, which are set forth in our report, but in terms of actual progress toward the objectives which President Johnson seeks to achieve in both North and South America. In terms of broad economic development, of social changes, or of political evolution, we must say, notwithstanding the tremendous problems which confront the people of South America, such as their fantastic and phenomenal population growth, notwithstanding the pressure of the Communists, notwithstanding the inherent

political problems that exist, that together we have made phenomenal progress in a short time, and we have every reason, giving due recognition to the problems that exist today, to look to the future with great optimism.

Also, Mr. Speaker, the point needs to be made, that while the United States in its Alliance for Progress programs and other programs is very much involved in Latin America, there is increasing recognition on the part of the Latin Americans themselves that their problems can be multilateralized and notwithstanding that every one of those countries is individual and sovereign they have worked together better than has happened in the past. Furthermore notwithstanding the very substantial financial assistance and contribution in terms of Government funds of one kind or another which come out of this country, I emphasize again that the great majority of funds necessary to carry out the broad objectives of this tremendous program must come from private funds as well as from public sources within Latin America itself. The essential remaining ingredient in addition to the money, has to be the willingness, the spirit and cooperation of the Latins themselves. This they have demonstrated. They have demonstrated it politically. They have demonstrated it economically. They have demonstrated it by the adoption of self-reform programs which only a few short years ago we on this floor thought would have been impossible of achievement.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I believe that we can say today on this 75th observance of the creation of the inter-American system that, indeed, we do have an *Alianza para el Progreso*—an Alliance for Progress—in which the peoples of North and South America show to all of the world that together we can achieve common objectives to assure the things that both of us really desire, which is our own strength, our own liberty, our own freedom and our own fulfillment in life.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Florida, who is an extremely able and well-informed member of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs and who always makes a very fine contribution.

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

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

Mr. HANNA. I simply would like to underscore the remarks made by the gentleman from Florida which I think were very telling and quite true. I would say to the gentleman also, I think a great contribution has been made in the establishment within the leadership of South America of a confidence in themselves as equals in negotiations and with the relationships to the United States, and as that confidence has built up in the leadership, it has also begun to be imbued in the people themselves. When they have that confidence which really is the basis for the dignity that is necessary for people to move and work together, we will really be making progress in the spirit in which it was meant to be when we established the alliance.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank the gentleman.

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

Mr. SELDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time not to oppose but to confirm my support again as I have in the past. But I think we ought to take note perhaps of some of the events that have taken place toward the beginning of our relationship with our hemisphere neighbors.

I just note from the export-import papers that Brazil has just sold to Red China 1 million tons of wheat for sterling dollars and would not disclose the price. The assumption of the person who wrote the article was that the price was probably at a base below the world price.

Brazil has also announced a negotiation with the Soviet Union for an undisclosed amount of wheat to be paid for by barter, by oil, machinery, and fuel.

In both of these transactions we in America have a very vital stake. It is very important that we continue to work with our hemisphere neighbors and to try to achieve that understanding that the gentleman now addressing us in the well of the House has worked so hard to try to achieve between the Latin American countries and our Nation. However, I believe it is incumbent upon the nations to which we are giving of our substance and our aid all along the line that they take into consideration the impact of whatever maneuvers and whatever trade and whatever policies that they follow in the world or in international trade, which maneuvers and trade and policies can undermine for us some of the great progress that we have been making in other areas of the world.

I say that this should be looked into. It should be investigated. We ought to find out exactly what happens and whether American dollars are being used to foster trade in an indirect manner with those whom we are avowed to see do not disrupt the peace of the world.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

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

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to compliment the gentleman from Alabama. I doubt if there is another Member of the House who works harder or longer than the gentleman from Alabama. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, he has done an outstanding job, and he deserves praise and appreciation all over our great American hemisphere.

Mr. Speaker, I have a sentimental interest in Latin America. Some of my dearest days were spent in Nicaragua when I was a boy. Later I was in Cuba during the war for the inspection of that beautiful island. Nicaragua and Cuba are imbedded in my heart close to my own country, the United States.

I have always believed that the closest and deepest interest of the United States was in Latin America and in Africa. I know there are freedom's interests in the Far East, and involvements there, that cannot be dismissed, but I believe our immediate, direct, and most meaningful

interest is in Latin America and in Africa.

The shortest crossing of the Atlantic Ocean is from Africa to South America. This fact I would say stresses the closeness of the interest of our country in Latin America and in Africa.

The countries of Latin America and of Africa produce many of the same commodities. The pressing need is for some workable system of stabilization. I know this involves a big problem, but what is needed for the benefit of our Latin-American neighbors, for our own benefit, and for the benefit of our neighbors in Africa is a stabilization program. We have to work it out. I know it will be difficult. We have had difficulty in our own country with our agricultural program, but unless we had worked out an agricultural program what would have happened to the economy of the United States?

Mr. Speaker, I was in Nicaragua in the year 1895. I attended a public school there, and the young man teacher stood in the rear with a ruler. We studied out loud, and if we did not shout loud enough the teacher rapped us over the head with that ruler. My Spanish was literally knocked into my head, and later I found it was not very good Spanish at that, a mixture more Carib Indian than Spanish.

I mention this because I have recently been rereading a book on the Nicaraguan Canal written by Henry Isaac Sheldon in 1895 in which he states that the population of the entire State of California at that time was about the same as the population of the city of Philadelphia. If within my lifetime, California has grown to such giant proportions, what may be ahead in the lifetimes of my younger colleagues? For one thing I am confident, within another half century the powers and the glory and the might of all the Republics on the American Hemisphere will have multiplied a hundred-fold and among the largest cities in all the world surely will be one in Latin America.

Again I compliment the great chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. I am privileged and happy to be here on the thrilling occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Pan American Union.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Illinois for his very kind remarks. I would like to add that he is a very able member of the subcommittee of which I am privileged to be chairman. Since my colleague from Illinois has mentioned price stabilization, I am certain he would want me to point out that one of the findings in the subcommittee report deals directly with this subject. Finding No. IV states:

In Latin American countries, which depend on one or two major commodities for their export earnings and their foreign exchange, a stabilization of prices is important to the economy, and hence, to successful efforts to combat communism.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, want to join with my colleagues in commending the gen-

tleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] and his committee for again bringing to the attention of the House this very significant day and particularly so this year, the 75th anniversary of our Pan American organization. I am particularly impressed over the years here with the significant work the gentleman from Alabama has done in trying to develop a broader and more favorable policy as between our country and our neighbors to the south and particularly his strong efforts in trying to do something about Cuba and the tyranny of communism which exists there.

Along with my own colleague the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], who is a member of this committee, and the activity which he has also exhibited in this field is something which I should make note of at this point. This would not be a Pan American Day in the House, certainly, if our old friend Father Thorning were not here to participate. It is good to acknowledge his presence here today and the contribution which he has made in this field.

However, today I am particularly interested that as we see an escalation of events in North Vietnam, with Communist expansion attempted in that area, we do not forget that Communist tyranny still does exist in Cuba and that something must be done about it. We must remember and be sure that we do not push into the background a solution of the problem of Cuba because we are devoting so much time and energy to the solution of the problem in North and South Vietnam. Certainly the Pan American organization—the Organization of American States is a proper group to do something effectively about this problem along with our own country through the efforts we are making in this direction.

Certainly the committee and the subcommittee chaired by the gentleman, and this House, have taken very effective action in helping to crimp Castro's method of operation. The economic blockade has put his economy in bad shape. But so much more can be done if we get greater cooperation even among the countries who comprise the Organization of American States. I think it is encouraging that they have gone along in so many ways toward this end, but so much still needs to be done. On the 75th anniversary of this group, I think, if we can encourage even greater cooperation by the Organization of American States—and certainly this committee handling such legislation can be a spearhead for this—then I am certain that we can see the end of Castro. We already have some reports that the Cuban Militia is upset and there is unrest there. We have had recent reports of killings that Castro has had to carry out because of this unrest. Also we have received reports that there is increased training of subversives who are designed to fan out into this hemisphere. Let us not forget that we must solve the problem of Cuba in this hemisphere.

Pan American Day 1965 is a good day on which to dedicate our renewed efforts to bring this problem again to the forefront of this Nation and to work toward

a solution of it by all of the nations of this hemisphere.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks a very fine article written by Mr. Ralph De Toledano, of the Pompano Sun-Sentinel entitled "We Invite Disaster by Ignoring Castro":

WE INVITE DISASTER BY IGNORING CASTRO  
(By Ralph De Toledano)

For many Norteamericanos, Cuba is a subject of little interest these days. But for the citizens of Latin America, Fidel Castro is a lively topic. Take, for example, the people of Colombia. They are the recipients of Communist largess, to the amount of some 750 highly trained underground operatives.

These men are Colombianos who slipped out of their country and took intensive training in Castro's Cuba. They were taught such subjects as the techniques of political agitation, guerrilla warfare, incendiarism, and kidnaping—then sent back to their homeland to work for the overthrow of the government.

If 750 trained lawbreakers and subversives seem like a small number, consider what they were able to do in the past year.

Castro-trained operatives in Colombia kidnaped 123 farmers. It cost \$900,000 to ransom them.

Acts of violence against the people and the government have become the order of the day. The government has said: "It is clear from the evidence that we are dealing with a serious and well organized attempt to overthrow Colombia's constitutional government."

Acting as an agent for Red China, Cuba is now deep in the narcotics traffic. Puerto Rico is the way station for larger and larger shipments of marijuana and heroin, the latter from Red China. In the past months, for example, two Cubans were seized in New York with \$3 million worth of cocaine in their luggage.

In this traffic, the Cuban delegation to the United Nations has been acting as a cover. The same delegation has worked with Castro terrorists in the United States. Most people no longer remember that as far back as 1962, New Jersey police arrested a Cuban gang which had plotted the sabotage and destruction of oil refineries in that State and warehouses in New York. The arrested Cubans were found to be part of the "entourage" of President Dorticos, of Cuba.

Whenever an important Cuban official arrives in the United States for a visit to the United Nations, he brings with him a group of trained saboteurs who somehow never return to their own country. These men engage in the various undercover and subversive activities demanded of them by the Red Chinese and the Kremlin. Sabotage and drug peddling are but two of those activities.

It is not only the Colombians—or Latin Americans of the other republics—who have reason to feel concern over the depredations of the tinpot traitor in Cuba. Acting alone, he would be no threat. But he has the money, the know-how, and the muscle of the Chinese Communist regime and the Soviet Union behind him.

If we allow ourselves to forget the peril that Castro represents, we are inviting disaster. The drugs being poured into Puerto Rico can destroy the thriving economy of that island—and enslave thousands who will be compelled to become Castro agents in order to satisfy their craving for heroin.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank the gentleman from Florida whose sincere and constructive interest in the nations of Latin America is well known to all of us.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank my very fine colleague from Alabama for yielding to me at this time.

We do so thoroughly appreciate the work that you are doing as chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, and I am most happy to join with my colleagues in thanking you for it, and also in expressing my own sense of the very real need which exists for us not to forget what is going on in this hemisphere. We know that our opponents have a way of being very active in one part of the world in order to draw attention to that part thinking that we will forget the other things they are doing. I think the South American and the Cuban situation particularly are vastly important, and this has been demonstrated lately. I should hope very much that many people will read this little report on communism in Latin America. It is very well done and very thoughtfully done, and I think with an eye to the future. Who knows but what we may be standing alone in this hemisphere unless Latin Americans realize the danger and join us in this effort and permit us to join them.

Some of us have felt that we Americans, when we go out, do not listen enough to what the other people are thinking. We are too anxious to tell them what we think. Perhaps we do not think quite straight always; perhaps we would think a little differently if we listened to them in the first place.

So I want to thank the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] for the work he is doing in getting us to see the other point of view, to realize how very serious this whole matter is and to set up ways and means—a little here and a little there, but big in the whole accounting—to understand the countries of South America, but most of all the people of South America. The world is made up of people.

We can understand each other if we make an effort to do so.

So again I thank the gentleman very much for giving me these few moments to take part in this celebration of Pan American Day here on the floor of the House.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleague from Ohio. I am sure she will agree that if we cannot win the battle against communism here in our own hemisphere, it will be extremely difficult to do so in other and more remote areas of the world.

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

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

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in complimenting the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] for the leadership which he has brought to this particular problem and the constructive nature of that leadership. I think it can truly be said that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN], supported strongly by his committee, has been one of the strongest factors that we have had in the gains that we have made in this hemisphere

against the Communist threat. I believe this publication which has just been made available to the membership, "Communism in Latin America," which I have in my hand at this time, is an example of that constructive approach because the committee has not contented itself merely with pointing out difficulties and pointing out problem areas, but it has given constructive suggestions and ideas for ways in which we can help to roll back this Communist threat in Latin America and throughout the Western Hemisphere and to entrench firmly and solidly freedom and free enterprise throughout this part of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I think that this annual series of talks which occurs on the floor of the House serves a very useful purpose in highlighting the positive things that are part of the overall picture. I should like to compliment the gentleman from Alabama for his leadership in making this discussion possible today.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my able and distinguished colleague from Oklahoma for his very kind remarks.

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me once again?

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

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I think it might be worth while, as we get near the windup of this annual discussion, to point out to those in the House who may not know, that the distinguished gentleman from Alabama and I were privileged last summer to act as advisers at the first and only meeting, as far as I know, of the Inter-American Foreign Ministers ever held in the city of Washington. And, I am sure he was impressed, as I was, with the very superior quality of our delegation and representatives to this meeting. I am speaking, of course, of Mr. Rusk, Mr. Mann, and Mr. Bunker and their assistants.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this is appropriate since we are celebrating here the 75th anniversary of the inter-American system to call a little bit of attention to something to which insufficient attention was paid at the time, and that was the tremendous success of that meeting last July where for the first time the Castro government was really put in coventry by its fellow Latin-American governments.

Mr. Speaker, this represented, to me at least, a very encouraging sign of the growing effectiveness of the Pan American system as it has evolved over the last 75 years.

I thank the gentleman from Alabama for yielding.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank the gentleman from California for calling the results of this important meeting to the attention of the House because I, too, feel that the job done by Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Mann, by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, and by Secretary of State Dean Rusk in that conference was outstanding and that the steps we took at that time have brought to the inter-American system a number of advantages in its fight against Communist infiltration in the Latin-American area.

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

Mr. SELDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. I think the observance certainly ought to close on an optimistic note—and that will not be my task as I assume the chairman of the subcommittee will do that—but I believe as we discuss this matter I would like to take this time to emphasize a couple of points that have been made by the subcommittee.

There will be found in the report—and I trust the Members will find it an interesting one—an entire section on the ideological offensive in Latin America as contemplated and conducted by the Communists. This is the new warfare, the new emphasis, the new battleground for the United States. I would like to read just one very short paragraph from the hearings and the testimony of the Deputy Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency in which he says:

The Communists subversion campaign incorporates the exploitation of nationalists and ultra-leftist groups, dissemination of propaganda, attempted infiltration and neutralization of the armed forces, intensive ideological indoctrination, development of aggressive forces through guerrilla training and active insurgency in some countries.

Mr. Speaker the plain portent is that we are confronted very determinedly with a new type warfare. This the subcommittee in its report has pointed out and I emphasize it. We have also said that our Government is taking appropriate action with respect to this new type warfare but we have recommended those areas in which we believe further emphasis or effort is necessary.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SELDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. I would like to join with the gentleman from Alabama in his excellent statement.

I believe the subcommittee has made real progress and it is to be complimented upon its effective efforts.

I would like to further point out that these people in Latin America are our second best customers and if we all work for progress it will mean progress and success for all of us, including our country and the countries of Latin America.

Mr. SELDEN. I thank my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, today, as we celebrate the 75th anniversary of the founding of the inter-American system, we take time here to appreciate the significant successes of this hemisphere in combating age-old dilemmas with new vitality. The relatively simple purpose for which the Pan American Union was first established—to foster greater trade within the Americas—no longer suffices nor dominates our hemispheric concerns. Rather, we have con-

tinually expanded the role of regionalism in the Americas, to the point where it is the most comprehensive, effective, and positive of international institutions designed for the solution of continental problems.

We are constantly made aware of Latin America's importance to the United States. We all know of Latin America's strategic and commercial significance. But, what we too often take for granted, is the pattern we set in the Americas for international relations throughout the world.

All the elements for international difficulty are present in this hemisphere: distinct differences in language, customs, ideologies, race, and economies; and great disparities in power could produce insuperable strains on the functioning of the system. Yet, the principal ends for which the Organization of American States stands—the preservation of peace, social and economic development, human rights, and continental security—have, in recent years, taken precedence over temporary dissension.

We are reminded of the remarkable extent of continental cooperation when we cursorily review some of the past year's important events. On the grand scale, we see that the promise of the Alliance for Progress is, despite tremendous obstacles, being fulfilled. Social and economic indices of progress indicate that the past year has been one of the most dynamic throughout Latin America. Per capita income rose at a rate greater than the goals we once projected. Housing, still a key problem, is being tackled by labor unions and other institutions concerned with basic investments. Health facilities and education are expanding to meet increasing demands. Our efforts, of course, must not cease with the accomplishments of 1 or 2 or even 10 good years; we should begin to look at the goals of the Alliance for Progress as real and attainable. We should take steps, together with our Latin American allies, in the wars against poverty, oppression, and injustice, to make the Alliance a permanent feature of our inter-American relations.

Last July cooperation for security became a fact when the American nations voted to suspend their diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba. All but one nation has complied with this remarkable show of solidarity and purpose. Though, as inevitably must happen, some compromise was required to effect combined efforts, the result was a firm and notably far-sighted agreement which effectively isolates Cuba from the Americas. The wisdom of this course of action has been confirmed by the rapid decline of Castro's image. No longer the image of the oppressed, Castro today stands as a hollow symbol of communism's inability to create domestic miracles and its capacity to produce international crises.

The firm, wise, and judicious attitude of the Organization of American States when confronted with the Panamanian dispute enhances its reputation and increases confidence in its ability. Where else, but in the Council of the Organization of the American States can one expect to find amicable, just, and

thoughtful resolution of inter-American tensions?

As the hemispheres' security and inter-American harmony increase, we can expect that our example will be studied throughout the world. Then, the deeds of this continent shall encourage others while fulfilling the promise for which it was constructed.

As President Kennedy once wrote, the Bolivarian legacy has signified to all the Americas the need "to protect their heritage of freedom from alien encroachment, to realize to the fullest the spiritual and material greatness of their nations, to extend to all Americans the benefits of freedom and social justice, to make common war against poverty and sickness and human inhumanity to man."

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to add a few remarks on the significance of Pan American Day. As you know I have the privilege of serving on the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, and we have quite recently finished our report on communism in Latin America. In the report we tried to document several recent developments which may have great repercussions on the future of Latin America.

Particularly, we are alarmed by a secret meeting held last November, by many of this hemisphere's Communist leaders. As you can imagine, the major topic discussed was how subversion could be stepped up throughout the Americas.

Singled out for special programs and emphasis were the Governments of Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Those attending the meeting urged active assistance to so-called national liberation forces in each of these seven countries.

Such is the vision of communism for this hemisphere; subversion, sabotage, chaos, and hardship. It is a frightening vision to contemplate. The 75th anniversary of the founding of the inter-American system gives us an opportunity to reflect upon an alternative vision for the Americas—a vision of progress, justice, and peace. Recently, this country, in cooperation with the countries to the south of us, has been striving with renewed effort toward these goals. Today, I would like to describe briefly some impressive developments in the inter-American system which represent significant steps toward the achievement of these goals, and to indicate some areas where improved efforts should be made.

Private enterprise has a constructive role to play in the development of Latin America. Foreign investment in Latin America increases the technical and managerial skills available, overcomes serious obstacles to rational allocation of resources, and develops a sound basis for development decisions. I welcome the interest of our Agency for International Development in increasing the availability of investment guarantees to U.S.-owned businesses operating in the less developed countries. Means to attract long-term institutional lenders should be encouraged, particularly as debt servicing becomes an increasing barrier to development. Tax credits, also, would significantly add to private U.S. invest-

ment in these countries. Numerous other programs assist investors: for example, loans to private enterprise, financial support for feasibility studies, and guarantees against convertibility, war, and expropriation. Response to these programs has been generally encouraging; but continued promotion of these opportunities for the American investor is essential for continued growth in Latin America. The Brazilian-American Investment Guarantee Treaty, signed this past year, constituted another important step forward in this kind of cooperation between the United States and a sister American Republic.

As never before, the American labor movement is increasingly active in Latin American economic and social development. Private firms, labor unions and AID sponsor vital programs under the aegis of one organization, the American Institute for Free Labor Development. The AIFLD is currently involved in investing \$94 million for social projects in 13 Alliance nations. These projects are creating and expanding facilities of credit unions, workers' banks, consumer and producer cooperatives, medical clinics and rural development programs. Badly needed housing has received the careful and sympathetic attention of allied unions.

Civic responsibility has long been lacking in Latin America. During the past year Latin Americans have become increasingly aware of the necessity for improving their attitudes on constructive citizenship. One means of supporting this development is through the various exchange programs run by the State Department. Constructive critics complain of the lack of originality, and fear of controversy which motivate many of those administering our exchange-of-persons programs. These defects are particularly grievous in Latin America where we are perilously close to ending a meaningful dialog with the region's important intellectuals.

Another trend deserving our attention and support is that toward increasing civic responsibility for Latin America's military. In nearly every country in this hemisphere, the military can play an important role in strengthening the infrastructure necessary for future development. Transportation, health, and education facilities, and even marketing programs have received important help from the armed forces in many Latin American countries. Through civic action programs we must increase our efforts to make the military a constructive participant in Latin America's progress.

Meaningful fiscal reform, a necessity for viable public investment in Latin America, is finally making an appearance in Latin America. Tax evasion, for the first time in most Latin American countries, is being made a crime. Before the Second World War, privately run companies collected taxes on a commission basis in most of Latin America. This system, as you can imagine, led to gross inequities and opportunities for graft. Progress in the means of tax collection has a long way to go in Latin America. But encouragement from the United

States, principally in the forms of technical advice, and of supervision by the various organs of the Alliance for Progress, can do much to provide more efficient and more equitable means of raising public revenues.

From this brief description of some of the necessary programs already underway in the hemisphere, and of some of the areas where our efforts can well be increased, we gain an idea of the vast responsibilities this country has assumed in the leadership of the Americas. We also gain an idea of the important role Congress has played and must continue to play in weighing measures that affect the life of the nations to the south of us and affect the future of the inter-American system. Our power, our respectability in the family of nations, our democratic ethos, and our genuine concern for the development of other nations, give us magnificent opportunities to assist those nations which desire our support and have the will to match our support with their own efforts. Today, we must not only applaud the cooperative endeavors of the past; we must also rededicate ourselves to the success of the cooperative endeavors of the future. Only thus can the inter-American system flourish and prosper in the years to come.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have special interest and affection for Latin America salute the ideals and reality of Pan American Day. Today marks the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the inter-American system's first formal body. Since April 14, 1890, the concept of cooperation in the American Continent has been many times strengthened with positive and meaningful acts.

Our concern for events in Latin America grows constantly. On the one hand, we are alarmed by the boldness, immorality, and violence attending communism's attempt at subverting this hemisphere. With the securing of Cuba as its base, Communist infiltration is a fact of life in nearly every one of the American nations. The defeat of a Communist-supported candidate in Chile last September was a glorious victory for democratic principles. No doubt, Castro's tarnished image is quickly becoming a liability to the spread of communism. Yet our constant vigilance is called for. Brazil's patriotic military managed to frustrate well-laid plans for what would have been a Communist takeover of Latin America's largest country. We have had ample warning; we must take ample precautions to secure this continent from external threats.

On the other hand, we are heartened by some magnificent achievements of recent years. Our confidence in the peaceful development of Latin America has been justified. During the past year, economic growth in Latin America exceeded original projections, education received considerable public and private investments, trade between the Latin American nations was further expanded, and industrialization continued its rapid increase. We can be proud of such events, since the United States has taken the lead in the creation of such institu-

tions as the Inter-American Development Bank, and its sister institution, the Social Progress Trust Fund, and CIAP—the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress. These regional institutions, along with the United Nations Economic Committee for Latin America, have great responsibilities for funneling development loans, requiring efficient planning, and stimulating private enterprise in Latin America. Our concern for the manner in which they discharge their several functions must increase with their burgeoning responsibilities.

By no means is the battle over, Mr. Speaker. We must recognize that there are those who gain from stagnated economies, social injustice, and economic nationalism. Our interests, in the long run, lie in positive achievements. We here in Congress, and Americans everywhere, should reflect on the meaning of Pan American Day, as a time when we pledge our friendship and cooperation with the vibrant peoples of the American Continent.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today we mark the 75th anniversary of a modest, yet fruitful event: the founding of the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics. This organization—as its name implies—was devoted to fostering better commercial relationships among the hemisphere's nations. Looking back on this small beginning, we are struck with how much has been accomplished in uniting the policies and goals of this hemisphere's diverse nations.

The inter-American system has evolved from a small organization designed principally to stimulate trade between the United States and Latin America to a truly multilateral institution which fosters economic and social advancement, the maintenance of hemispheric peace and security, increased appreciation for the diverse cultures which bless the Americas, and political cooperation in fields as diverse as sanitation and postal service.

Viewed dispassionately we can assert with sincerity that since 1890 the United States role in increasing hemispheric harmony and progress has been a positive one.

Others have said that Latin America is the vital area in the world as far as U.S. interests are concerned. Nearly \$4 billion of our exports go to Latin America and many of our most crucial raw materials come from Latin America. Our security planning can be predicated on a faith in the continued friendship of our northern and southern neighbors. Despite the occasional tensions which inevitably intrude on the best of friendships, we know that Latin Americans share with us a common faith in democracy and a concern for economic and spiritual needs of man.

Since April 14, 1890, it has become axiomatic that cooperation can achieve more in this hemisphere than coercion. North and Latin Americans have come to accept agreement as a natural process in their continental policies. When we contrast this with other continents, other power configurations, other regional institutions conceived for similar purposes,

we realize how much has been accomplished and, perhaps more importantly, how much more we can expect to achieve.

In the past few years our Latin American policy has become popularly synonymous with the Alliance for Progress. This is fitting, if not wholly accurate. So much of our success in our relations with the nations of this hemisphere depends on the social and economic progress they achieve, and the dignity they enjoy in directing these twin processes.

The Alliance for Progress has turned the corner in Latin America. Throughout the hemisphere countries are improving their economies, planning for social and economic development, broadening the base of political consciousness, and developing new hemispheric concerns. These developments were outlined only 3 weeks ago, in the fourth annual report of the Social Progress Trust Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank. Noting some of the encouraging growth statistics, the Fund further reported on some of the remarkable progress made in education, housing, sanitation, and health.

Heartening for their longrun significance are the changes in the institutions of Latin Americans. Even governments which have come to power by military means are showing new concern for social and economic development. Concerted self-help programs are underway to transform hitherto subsistence agricultural areas to profitmaking farms by building roads, forming cooperatives, buying fertilizers, and improved seeds. In all these activities, the people of North and Latin America are joined.

We applaud the progress toward common markets in both Central and South America. Many observers claim that the Central America Common Market is making possible the industrialization of an area which only a few years ago lacked an adequate market, natural resources, trained labor, transportation facilities, and nearly all the other requisites for a modern economy. The situation has changed. Outside sources of investment have greatly aided the development of natural and human resources. All the more important, however, has been the increased confidence of the Central Americans themselves constructing wholesome development of their potential.

Another recent development which augurs well for the growth of hemispheric solidarity is the growing dialogue between the youth of Latin and North America. It was not very long ago that American intellectuals drew almost all their sustenance from Europe. Today, however, we are tapping new-found resources in exporting many of our cultural strengths. Universities, organizations such as the Experiment in International Living, private groups, and cities have initiated well-conceived student exchange programs. The Peace Corps has been particularly successful in Latin America. American volunteers, both young and old, bring productive attitudes as well as skills to other countries. One recalls, with a touch of irony, what some foreign critics once said when the Peace Corps was being formed. To some, this

was another "yanqui invasion," bringing American ideas and people in a new type of "coca colonization." The Cuban Government warned that these volunteers were actually American "spies." Of course, nothing of the sort occurred. Aside from its considerable tangible accomplishments, the Peace Corps has created a new image of the United States for many Latin Americans. Side-by-side they work with Latin American campesinos and students alike. These various people-to-people programs have done much to solidify the bases of our enduring friendship with Latin America. Not to be discounted, also, is the experience and knowledge our citizens gain from such activities.

Mr. Speaker, recently we voted to increase U.S. participation in the Social Progress Trust Fund. Measures such as this demonstrate the recognition we, as North Americans, have for inter-continental cooperation in achieving the promise of Latin America. We bear great responsibilities for the economic betterment of Latin America. It is essential that North Americans join with their hemispheric neighbors in their aspirations. Our ideology of cooperation, peaceful change and responsibility for our fellow man should fit well into the Latin American experience. The inter-American system which we celebrate today has been a powerful force for bringing together the diverse people of this hemisphere for a common objective: peace and the dignity of man.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution which designates this day, April 14, 1965, as "Pan American Day."

Today marks the 75th anniversary of the first Conference of American States which was held here in Washington and from which has developed the bulwark of democracy and freedom in our own hemisphere—the Organization of American States.

Throughout the long life of this organization, which is the oldest of its kind in the field of international relations, we have seen the wisdom of its founders and the need for its stated purposes. Among the essential purposes proclaimed by the charter of the Organization of American States are two which are most familiar to us. These are, first that the Organization is to strengthen the peace and security of the continent, and, second, that it is to prevent possible causes of difficulties and to insure the pacific settlement of disputes that may arise among the member states.

In the effective accomplishment of these purposes, this Organization of 21 American Republics has in recent times presented a solid front against the encroachment of any subversive political philosophy, particularly communism, which has threatened and continues to threaten its member states.

Threats to our continental security and solidarity have taken other forms. The Cuban missile crisis and the situation at Panama, of course, were epic examples.

As we rededicate ourselves on this Pan American Day to the principles which affirm the necessity for peaceful, cooper-

ative action through the Organization of American States, let us resolve to bring to the attention of each of its member states the need for legislation such as that which was recently considered within these very Halls. I refer to legislation which provides aid to education of children born to poverty and which promotes the health and economic welfare of older persons. It seems to me that this would advance in a meaningful way one of the least known purposes of the Organization of American States, and that is, the member states shall "promote, by cooperative action, their economic, social, and cultural development."

It is within the Pan American framework of peace, security and an enlightened and healthy citizenry that the member states, individually and collectively, can continue to observe Pan American Day with ever-increasing significance.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, April 14, 1965, marks the 75th anniversary of formal regional cooperation in the Americas, but the interest of the United States in creating an inter-American system dates far earlier than 1890. In fact, from the very beginnings of our Republic, leading political figures urged hemispheric cooperation to preserve the independence of the New World from European domination and to resolve peacefully tensions among the American nations.

The desire among North Americans and Latin Americans alike for hemispheric cooperation finally came to fruition at the end of the 19th century. In 1889 and 1890 the First International Conference of American States met in Washington. From this conference emerged the first hemispheric machinery for peaceful arbitration of disputes and the first permanent inter-American agency, the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, later renamed the Pan American Union.

Cooperative efforts in the Americas slowly and gradually grew until the Second World War tested hemispheric solidarity: all the American nations joined forces against the Axis powers. The basis had been laid; solidarity had been tested and proven. In a sense the war was a watershed in inter-American relations, for it sparked intensified efforts at cooperation.

Thus, in the years since World War II inter-American cooperation has been consolidated and inter-American institutions have proliferated into our present-day inter-American system. The Rio Treaty of 1947 formalized our hemispheric defense structure. The Bogotá Charter of 1948 creating the Organization of American States organized the hemisphere into an actively functioning regional political system.

In the years since World War II the inter-American system has developed into a dynamic instrument of hemisphere solidarity, successfully preserving the collective security of the hemisphere against the No. 1 danger today: Communist aggression. Recently the American nations have turned more and more to a set of problems virtually ne-

glected in the early years of inter-American cooperation: the pressing economic and social problems of the hemisphere. The Inter-American Development Bank and the Punta del Este Charter are cornerstones of a vast cooperative effort to improve living conditions throughout the hemisphere.

The first 75 years of the inter-American system have witnessed a remarkable growth in solidarity, particularly during the last 20. The focus of cooperation has changed with the times: from collective defense against European domination to collective defense against Communist aggression. Political cooperation has expanded into economic and social cooperation. But the goals have not changed: a better life in freedom for everyone throughout the hemisphere. May the next 75 years bear witness to even greater progress through hemisphere cooperation.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with other Members in expressing appreciation for the fine leadership of my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN], as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Committee. His fine work has been a credit to our State and to our country. Americans of every political persuasion owe him a debt of gratitude for his outstanding contribution in this area of foreign affairs.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, in closing I am sure I express the appreciation of the entire House for the appearance again on this Pan American Day of Dr. Joseph F. Thorning and the very beautiful prayer that he gave in this Chamber.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

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

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

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

A call of the House was ordered.

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

[Roll No. 75]

Adair	Bray	Fino
Andrews,	Broyhill, N.C.	Fisher
N. Dak.	Clark	Fraser
Ashley	Collier	Frelinghuysen
Ayres	Colmer	Fulton, Tenn.
Baldwin	Conyers	Gathings
Belcher	Cunningham	Gilligan
Bolling	Dawson	Gurney
Bonner	Denton	Hamilton
Bow	Evins, Tenn.	Hansen, Wash.
Brademas	Farnum	Harsha

Harvey, Ind.	MacGregor	Roosevelt
Hathaway	Mackie	Rostenkowski
Herlong	Martin, Mass.	Roush
Hollfield	Martin, Nebr.	Scott
Holland	Mills	Shipley
Horton	Mize	Smith, Calif.
Jonas	Moorhead	Smith, N.Y.
Jones, Ala.	Mosher	Stalbaum
Karth	Nelsen	Steed
King, Calif.	Nix	Sweeney
Langen	Olson, Minn.	Taylor
Latta	Pirnie	Teague, Calif.
Leggett	Poage	Toll
Long, La.	Powell	Tupper
Long, Md.	Quile	Vanik
Love	Redlin	Weltner
McClory	Reifel	Wilson, Bob
Macdonald	Rooney, Pa.	Young

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). On this rollcall 348 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

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

#### FUNDS FOR INVESTIGATIONS AUTHORIZED BY HOUSE RESOLUTION 245

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I call up House Resolution 246 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

##### H. Res. 246

*Resolved*, That, effective from January 3, 1965, the expenses of conducting the investigations and studies pursuant to H. Res. 245 by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$170,000, including expenditures for the employment of investigators, attorneys, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee or subcommittee, signed by the chairman of such committee or subcommittee, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

Sec. 2. The official committee reporters may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia if not otherwise officially engaged.

Sec. 3. The chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Maryland is recognized for 1 hour.

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

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire of the gentleman or of the chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, if the funds provided under House Resolution 246 and the funds provided for studies and investigations pursuant to House Resolution 245 will include an investigation of the recently disclosed action of the Postmaster General in conjunction with the Internal Revenue Service wherein without notifying recipients and without search warrants or without due process under the Constitution—particularly

amendment IV thereof—of seizing undelivered mail, searching it, and using it as a means to bring about the payment of tax liens?

Having brought up the question during consideration of the appropriation bill which passed the House a week ago Tuesday, and having been told that it was not appropriate to consider even limiting funds for that purpose in an appropriation bill, I would like very much that it should properly come before the legislative committee. Having appeared as the leadoff witness yesterday before the Senate subcommittee on this subject, as to the admissions by both the Postmaster General and the Director of the Internal Revenue Service that they had been "kidnaping" the mail without due process, or notification of the sender and the recipient—I would like to be assured that before we pass this resolution without objection or by unanimous consent, that we will go into this investigation and, if necessary, submit necessary legislation to see that this practice is halted.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, I will answer the gentleman's question in two words—we will.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman; his answer is better and more succinct than my long but explanatory question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### ADDITIONAL EXPENSES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I call up House Resolution 310 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

##### H. Res. 310

*Resolved*, That, effective April 1, 1965, additional expenses of conducting the investigations authorized by section 18 of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, incurred by the Committee on Un-American Activities, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, in investigating the Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States, for the purpose of aiding the Congress in the consideration of any necessary remedial legislation, not to exceed \$50,000, including expenditures for employment of experts, special counsel, investigators, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by said committee and signed by the chairman of the committee, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

Sec. 2. That the official stenographers to committees may be used at all hearings, if not otherwise officially engaged.

Sec. 3. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Ac-

tivities shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. EDWARDS] for a statement, but not for any amendment.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this bill, House Resolution 310, to appropriate for the House Committee on Un-American Activities an additional \$50,000 for expenses of the committee for its proposed investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.

I respectfully point out that just 7 weeks ago, on February 25, the House appropriated \$370,000 for the committee's yearly expenses, the highest amount in history. The committee now asks for an additional \$50,000, a total of \$420,000. Since its first appropriation as a standing committee in 1946, there has been an inexorable average yearly rise in its budget. Its budget was \$75,000 in 1947. Today it asks an increase to \$420,000. At this rate of increase its budget will be \$610,000 for the year 1975 and \$790,000 for the year 1985.

In contrast, this year's budget for the House Judiciary Committee is \$250,000. With this comparatively modest appropriation the Judiciary Committee holds extended hearings and produces sophisticated, complicated legislative proposals on Presidential disability and succession, reapportionment of congressional districts, civil rights, immigration and naturalization, copyrights and patents, and scores of other major bills in addition to the hundreds of resolutions relating to private claims. Even with this huge workload, the Judiciary Committee did not spend its total appropriation of \$266,000 for last year and turned back to the Treasury \$66,917.60.

The source of my deep concern today, Mr. Speaker, is not related to the budget of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, excessive though it is. The problem is much deeper and more serious.

For a number of years it has been increasingly apparent that in seeking the achievement of their civil rights in some parts of the South, American Negroes and the whites who aid them are likely to be falsely arrested, assaulted, and even murdered by hostile white men. These crimes are not a new phenomena in our country. They commenced a hundred years ago with emancipation. They continue to this day, and with tragic regularity we learn of assaults against, and murders of, children, men, and women, both Negro and white, whose only offenses were the peaceful pursuit of their lawful rights.

Following the Civil War, among the criminals who intimidated, assaulted, and even murdered Negroes seeking a measure of equality were members of a racist organization of hoodlums called the Ku Klux Klan.

Then as now, it was clear that the necessary solution to the problem was the formulation of Federal criminal statutes to use against local police, private persons, and private organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, who used violence in

their invasion of constitutionally protected rights of the newly freed Negro.

A century ago, in accordance with the established procedure and the rules of both bodies, the issue was referred to the House Judiciary Committee and to the Senate Judiciary Committee for study, for hearings, and for the preparation of appropriate legislation.

I wish that my colleagues could read the debates that took place in this great Hall and in the Senate when the Judiciary Committees brought to the respective floors the proposed legislation.

Our predecessors well understood how delicate a subject lies here. They well understood that the heart of our form of government is the Federal system, and that any criminal laws passed by Congress to deter the violence of local police and private persons must be painstakingly drawn after the most careful study to avoid unconstitutional intrusions into areas specifically reserved to the States.

After exhaustive deliberations by the two Judiciary Committees and after elaborate Senate and House debate the statutes were enacted in the years from 1866 to 1870. They were vetoed by President Johnson but the veto was overridden by each House. In 1909, these laws were codified and became title 18, United States Code, sections 241 and 242.

Section 241 provides that—

If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or

If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured—

They shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

Section 242 provides, in part:

Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States \* \* \* shall be fined not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

My limited time today will not permit a detailed discussion of these statutes. Suffice it to say, they do not provide the protection intended by their enactors. They legislate in an area fraught with difficulties of jurisdiction and public policy. They attempt to provide Federal criminal sanctions to deter crimes which have always been the responsibility of local police and courts. Although the Federal jurisdiction is clear, its limitation to crimes involving rights protected by the Constitution presents drafting problems susceptible only to the legal scholar of exceptional craftsmanship.

The Federal courts have wrestled with criminal cases arising out of violations of sections 241 and 242 for decades. The Screws case alone elicited four separate

opinions by the nine Justices of the Supreme Court, totaling more than 25,000 words.

This is what we are talking about when one suggests "an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan." We are talking about a review and study of the existing Federal criminal laws relating to crimes against Negroes who are seeking their civil rights.

We are not talking about an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan for purposes of punishing the Ku Klux Klan or, to use the words of the House Committee on Un-American Activities of a few years ago "to expose to the merciless glare of publicity" the beliefs and associations of private individuals. Such activities are clearly outside of the authority of a congressional committee, and the Supreme Court has clearly spoken on these principles.

There should be immediate action by the House Judiciary Committee. These statutes must be reviewed and studied. There must be hearings at which distinguished legal scholars will testify. It is entirely conceivable that Ku Klux Klan members will be subpoenaed. All of the talent and experience of the 35 lawyers of the House Judiciary Committee and of its excellent legal staff must be utilized if effective statutes are to be drawn which can utilize the recognized Federal power in this area without inflicting irreparable damage to the fabric of the Federal system's requirement that the keeping of the peace is the responsibility of the local police and courts.

All of the foregoing, Mr. Speaker, brings me to the source of my great concern. It was announced a few weeks ago that this matter, this delicate and subtle legal problem, is not to be handled by the Judiciary Committee—that instead it was to be assigned to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and conducted in the guise of an "investigation of Ku Klux Klan organizations."

I must protest with great indignation this cavalier bypassing of the Judiciary Committee. There is not even the trace of dual jurisdiction here. The jurisdiction in this area of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is nonexistent.

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

Mr. EDWARDS of California. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WILLIS. The gentleman referred to bypassing the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Judiciary. He and I are on that committee, and I think the gentleman understands that the chairman of the full Committee on the Judiciary agrees that we are not the proper forum to conduct this investigation.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. I thank the gentleman. I am not certain myself if the matter were today presented to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary that his response would be the same. However, I cannot speak for the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Let me read to you rule XI that defines and limits the jurisdiction of the

House Committee on Un-American Activities:

The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

I defy any lawyer to read rule XI and to show wherein lies the committee's jurisdiction to investigate the Ku Klux Klan or to prepare proposed legislation dealing with murder and violence against people seeking their civil rights.

I cannot predict what the results will be of the House Committee on Un-American Activities' investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. It is extremely unlikely that legislative proposals will be forthcoming. In the last 8 years the committee has spent \$2,627,000 and has produced two bills that became law, and one of these was to make a minor correction in an earlier law and was unopposed.

I shall be deeply regretful if the proper committee is not handling this matter, because there is a vital need for a reform of these statutes and the wisdom, the experience and the prudent judgment of the Judiciary Committee are needed to provide the proper machinery.

The physical security, the safety, and even the lives of good and peaceful citizens are at stake here. I urge my colleagues to vote against this appropriation.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WALKER].

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, it becomes immediately obvious that the real purpose of this bill asking for \$50,000 to go to the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate the Ku Klux Klan is for the one and only purpose of appeasing a group of people.

Our American freedom and the freedom of all mankind was never in greater danger than when the voices of appeasement are loud in this land. These apostles of appeasement have no insight into the constructive course the United States must follow if we are to remain free. Until the policy of appeasement is discontinued, we can only expect more riots, more social unrest and conflict in the United States, and we will see more Korea's, more Vietnam's, and more Communist subversion all over the world.

I have no firsthand information about the Ku Klux Klan and its activities, and I offer no defense in their behalf. But I do know that when anything happens in several of the Southern States, a few people in Washington always accuse the Ku Klux Klan. And when anything happens in Harlem, cries immediately arise saying that we should be sympathetic to the poor underprivileged. I do, however, have firsthand information

about the subversive elements in CORE—the Committee on Racial Equality; SNCC—the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; COFO—the Council of Federated Organizations; and Martin Luther King's Southern Leadership Conference. Since we are undertaking an investigation, I feel that it would be a discriminatory investigation and not complete if we did not include these four groups. They have not only been directly responsible for the deaths of many Americans, but on many occasions have not denied their organizations were infiltrated by Communists. They have caused an increase of crime, delinquency, rape, and immorality.

Mr. Speaker, I know that it has become the recent fashion on Capitol Hill to humor the Communists and Dr. Martin Luther King's activities, but I cannot sit idly by and see one organization investigated when there are four that are so destructive to America and to our way of life. Since amendments are not allowed under the rules, I submit we should defeat this resolution until there can be a thorough investigation of all the aforementioned groups. I am at this time introducing a resolution to investigate the aforementioned organizations.

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

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POOL. The gentleman said something a moment ago about CORE, SNCC, and some other of these organizations. Has any documented evidence been brought before the committee?

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. It has been brought up on the floor of the Senate and the House.

Mr. POOL. The committee would like an opportunity to look over documents and other evidences you might supply if you have any.

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. It has been brought before the House before, and before the Senate before.

Mr. POOL. While I disagree with the gentleman, I admire the gentleman's courage in defending the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. I did not defend the Ku Klux Klan, and I do not defend people like you, either. I am surprised that my colleague from Texas would take such a stand in defense of SNCC, COFO, and Dr. Martin Luther King's organizations, particularly in view of recent events where subversive groups have been identified with these organizations.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. I yield.

Mr. BURTON of California. I should like to inform the gentleman that this legislation neither enlarges nor detracts from the jurisdiction the Committee on Un-American Activities may have. When the gentleman mentions the Klan, does he think it possible that the White Citizens Council and the Society for the Preservation of the White Race might come under investigation once this investigation gets underway?

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. I am not aware of that. I would like to include in the RECORD how a noted Negro journalist from Mississippi feels about

these intruders. I think I should also include in the RECORD an article published in the liberal Washington Post of January 5, 1965, airing COFO, CORE, SNCC, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in some of their operations.

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, Apr. 8, 1965]

#### GREENE SEES NO NEED FOR MARCHES

Negro editor Percy Greene, president of the Mississippi Negro Citizenship Association, says "there is no longer any need for mass marches and Negro voter registration demonstrations in Mississippi."

Writing in his weekly Jackson Advocate, Greene cited as reasons "a completely new atmosphere and the growing support of responsible public opinion, brought about by the widespread assumption of political leadership on the part of the State's most outstanding and influential business, industrial, and financial leaders."

The editor also noted "the exertion of greater influence at the local level by white community leaders."

Greene added:

"With such growing support for the Negro right to vote and political participation, it is being pointed out that there is no longer any justification for any Negro of responsibility and community standing, anywhere in the State, to harbor the old fears that have been responsible for Negroes being afraid to go up to register to vote.

"Every such Negro should go and register as an individual and not wait to be joined by and led by any individual, group, or organization."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 5, 1965]

#### RIFT IN RIGHTS GROUPS IN MISSISSIPPI AIDED

New York, January 4.—The extent of the split among civil rights organizations working in Mississippi last summer was laid bare today by two officials of the NAACP.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, said the organization's Mississippi branches had been allowed very little weight in decisionmaking during the summer.

Aaron Henry, Mississippi State Chairman, said summer civil rights workers had criticized the NAACP, frequented "places of ill repute, like taverns, where they were likely to be arrested," and run up bills the NAACP then had to pay.

The criticisms came during the annual meeting of the NAACP. At a press conference, Wilkins said the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)—a combination of national and local civil rights groups that operated the Mississippi voter registration project—had "become in the last year the operation of one organization: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Wilkins said the NAACP was considering dropping out of COFO.

Wilkins then revealed the national NAACP had spent only \$3,500 in the COFO project all summer.

"We did not make a larger contribution because we did not have any say in spending it," he said.

Other organizations in COFO are SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. All but the NAACP engage in civil disobedience. SNCC is considered the most militant.

SNCC spokesman said it was impossible to obtain an accurate account of how much was spent by COFO during the summer, but he estimated that it was at least \$100,000.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER].

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, the question has been raised here this after-

noon as to whether or not the House Committee on Un-American Activities has within its present authority the authority to investigate the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. The rules of the House state:

The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Mr. Speaker, under this broad authority this committee has the authority within the prescribed rules of the House to investigate the activities of any group or any individual whose activities might be un-American in nature or suspected of such activity.

Let there be no question in anyone's mind where I stand on the subject of un-Americanism. I am opposed to it in any form it takes. I think Chairman WILLIS will bear me out when I say that I have stood beside his committee every time it has been criticized by the extremists of the left wing. I have supported every appropriation request and I intend to keep on supporting the House Committee on Un-American Activities as long as they do their job because I am opposed to un-Americanism in any form.

It is my understanding that the leadership of the Klan has said they welcome an investigation; that the Klan has nothing to hide. I know nothing of their activities in Louisiana or any other State and I have no idea what an investigation will unearth, but if un-Americanism is suspected, then it is my position that an investigation should be undertaken. But, it should not stop with an investigation of the Klan.

There are a number of organizations that should be put under this same spotlight. The American Nazi Party, for example. Here is an organization, with its headquarters right across the Potomac, literally in the shadow of the Capitol, complete with swastikas and all the garbage associated with Adolph Hitler. It occurs to me that if there is any outfit of sick individuals in this country that should be investigated, this one is it.

And what about the Black Muslims? There can be no question in anyone's mind but that the vicious hatred of the white man which spews from this organization is un-American, even ungodly. Any investigation into un-Americanism should include the Black Muslims.

It took 30 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on July 29, 1963, to list the Communist affiliations and associations of the officers and directors of the NAACP. The same Red tinge runs throughout CORE, SNCC and SCLC. Communism is un-Americanism and it makes no difference to me in what organization it is found. It should be rooted out, exposed, and prosecuted.

It is the responsibility of this Congress and the express responsibility of the

Committee on Un-American Activities to find out whether or not the actions of these organizations are un-American and if they are, then we should clean their house for them because it is our duty to do so.

Because I advocate the investigation and exposure of un-Americanism in any form, it would be inconsistent of me to ask that these other organizations be investigated and, at the same time, oppose an investigation of the Klan when it has welcomed it.

These other organizations have not had the same courage to welcome an investigation. As a matter of fact, I am quite sure they will scream to high heaven that their constitutional rights are being violated when the spotlight is turned on them. But the more they holler, the closer they should be examined. I am suspicious of anyone or any organization that feels it cannot be looked at by a committee of this body.

When Chairman WILLIS appeared before the House Committee on Administration, I questioned him closely on the subject of investigating these other organizations and he told me that this was being considered. I, for one, am going to continue to insist that they are looked at and that the Klan is not singled out as being the only organization in the country that can be suspected of un-American activities.

I have the distinct feeling that the sudden demand that the Klan be investigated is an outgrowth of the mass hysteria which has swept the Nation in recent months. If this is so, it is to be deplored. No investigation should be undertaken by the House or any committee of it that is a thinly disguised witch hunt. It must be an impartial investigation if it is to be of any value. And if it is impartial, it must include these other organizations.

In the end, many who are demanding this investigation of the Klan, may regret that it ever began if the spotlight turns on some of the organizations and questionable societies to which they belong.

The Klan has said it has nothing to hide. I do not know. But, as long as it welcomes the investigation, let it be a starting point, but by no means, the finishing point. Before we are through, let us see what is under the rocks of all these other groups as well.

Let the chips fall where they may.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK].

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution. As we stand here today, the House Un-American Activities Committee has \$370,000. We voted \$370,000 for them. We did not tell them who to investigate or how to investigate them. It was against my wishes that this money was granted.

Now I would like to know why the magic number today of \$50,000? Have the mathematicians on that staff come up with a magic number that we have seven times as many Communists as we have Klansmen? It seems to me that we could start the investigation if they are

set on starting the investigation, with this money, and then if they require additional funds to come back for a supplemental appropriation. I oppose the investigation because I do not think we are going to get any laws out of this investigation. I think we are going to get some more headlines. We are going to have some more shattered careers. We are going to paint the entire picture either white or black, depending on who the witness is. We are going to get all the overtones of turning this investigation into an investigation against Martin Luther King and the southern Christian leadership.

I maintain that two wrongs do not make a right. And as to the operation of the committee, judging from how it has operated in the past, and certainly it has not operated in a proper manner, I cannot see that it is going to operate in a proper manner against the Klan as well.

This investigation belongs in the hands of the Committee on the Judiciary. I would hope this House of Representatives would vote against this appropriation and turn the money over to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RESNICK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. I wonder what you are going to hide from America and could the gentleman tell me, if he knows, why the Director of the FBI called Martin Luther King the most notorious liar in America—and if he knows, is this what he is trying to hide?

Mr. RESNICK. I suggest the gentleman ask the Director of the FBI. I cannot answer for Mr. Hoover.

Certainly he has available to him any forum in which he wishes to give the facts, based on this ludicrous statement. The gentleman is talking about the man who won a Nobel Peace Prize.

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. In answer to that I quote from a great American, a great Democrat, the former President of the United States, Harry Truman, who just yesterday was given the Freedom Award "for giving a battered world new hope." When asked how he could criticize Martin Luther King, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, Mr. Truman said, "I didn't give it to him." I feel the same way.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution, which would authorize another \$50,000 for the House Un-American Activities Committee.

There is no doubt that the Ku Klux Klan and other organizations such as the White Citizens Councils and the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race are engaged in a conspiracy to commit acts of violence, terror, and murder, as well as intimidation, to stop the inevitable end of segregation. Incidentally, this resolution is restricted to the Klan.

However, I do not believe that the House Un-American Activities Committee is the proper committee to handle the matter. As I have pointed out ever

since I have been in the Congress, it is not a legislative committee. It does not hold hearings for normal legislative purposes. Its purpose in the past has been exposure for exposure's sake and publicity for publicity's sake.

Two months ago the House appropriated \$370,000. Now we are asked to appropriate another \$50,000. I opposed the first appropriation, and I oppose this one.

Violations of law by the Klan and by other organizations clearly are matters for the Department of Justice and the FBI to investigate. Moreover, the murder of Viola Liuzzo, the killing of Rev. James Reeb, the Penn murder case, the brutal slaying of the three Mississippi civil rights workers, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, and countless other dastardly crimes demonstrate the need for further legislation to deal with violence, intimidation, and murder perpetrated upon those engaged in the exercise of their civil rights and in helping others to achieve full equality. Such legislation belongs in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, which has undeniable jurisdiction over civil rights legislation and Federal criminal statutes. The Justice Department is presently considering amendments to existing criminal law which will be referred to the Judiciary Committee. I have introduced H.R. 5427 to protect citizens from police brutality. This bill, of course, was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Speaker, the investigation of people for their political beliefs is wrong and violates constitutional principles, no matter how repulsive or obnoxious their beliefs are.

Let me quote from Mr. Justice Black:

Liberty, to be secure for any, must be secure for all—even for the most miserable merchants of hatred and unpopular ideas (*Braden v. United States*, 365 U.S. 431, 432).

Investigating political beliefs of citizens for the sake of exposure, which is the specialty of the House Un-American Activities Committee, whether of the extreme right or of the extreme left, achieves the same result. Freedom of ideas and freedom of association are eroded. The goal here should be the development of criminal laws to deal with those who are engaged in criminal acts to prevent civil rights activity. In doing this we should turn to the Judiciary Committee. Let us keep the goal clearly in mind. It is to come to grips with brutality and murder and to protect American citizens from acts of violence and physical harm, not from speech and propaganda.

It is significant that we have heard from at least two Members of the House today—the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WALKER] and the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONER]—the suggestion that the committee should also investigate CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and other groups dedicated to the achievement of equality here and now and the fulfillment of the ideals upon which this Nation was founded. The Reverend Martin Luther King needs no

defence from me. We can expect the segregationists to attack him constantly. But this kind of attack makes clear what we really face, if this resolution is adopted. It will be an opening wedge for some kind of "witch hunt" into the civil rights organizations. I feel very strongly that we must protest against opening this door and giving any opportunity to this committee, which certainly is not known for its defense of civil rights or advocacy of integration, to conduct a "witch hunt" into the civil rights movement. The resolution should be defeated.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Martin Luther King does not need any commendation from me for the magnificent contribution he has made to improving this democracy of ours.

I should also like to make it clear that while I speak in opposition to this resolution I favor the strengthening of existing Federal statutes, in the area of outlawing criminal behavior on the part of those who are making an effort to deny Americans in our country their full opportunity to develop their civil and constitutional rights. This we must do.

The nub of the issue is a very simple one, and earlier speakers have already developed it. The nub of the issue, simply stated, is this: no committee of the Congress has the authority to determine whether or not any organization, including the Klan, will be proved to be un-American. There is a separation of powers in our Government.

It is a judicial and not a legislative function to determine the guilt or the innocence of people in our land. It is the judicial process that carries with it the right to confront and cross-examine one's accusers, the right to be presented with a bill of particulars, the right to be tried by a jury of your peers. It is the judicial process that also carries with it a presumption of innocence.

The legislative function must relate to and deal entirely with whether general patterns of actions or conduct square with existing law and whether existing law should be modified, strengthened, or repealed. Under no circumstances does the House Committee on Un-American Activities nor any other body constituted by this Congress have the right to determine whether or not the Klan, or any other association of free men in a free country, collectively or as individuals, are proven to be un-American or not. The forum for that determination is in the courts—not the Congress. I state this: Freedom of association is one of the cardinal strengths of our society. I do not like the racist right nor—for that matter—the philosophy of the totalitarian left; but if they have violated a Federal law, then let them be tried in a Federal court. If the laws are not strong enough, let us strengthen them, but let us not bring up individuals and pillory them and bring associations of free men into calumny in terms of public opinion. Let us be mindful of our responsibility—which is to develop legislation and to strengthen the free and democratic

fabric of our country. The suggested pattern of this investigation will work in the opposite way.

I note with interest that not one responsible spokesman for the countless number of Negroes and others who have been involved in civil rights actions or who have been maimed, killed, or hurt in the North as well as the South—not one responsible spokesman has supported this resolution. Why? It's a great tribute to the leaders of the freedom movement that they understand the basic need which exists for a strong, free, and democratic process. They have thus withstood the temptation to strike out at the Klan via this improper forum because they know that the Constitution protects none of us, unless it protects all of us.

They know full well that the inequities in our society have to be resolved within the framework of our Constitution—by strengthening existing statutes, effective participation in our elective processes and seeking redress of grievances in the courts and not by activities such as are contemplated by this legislation.

I am opposed to the resolution and hope it is defeated.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS].

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, it has been suggested that the Committee on Un-American Activities is not the proper committee to investigate the Ku Klux Klans.

I am convinced that it has clear authority to do so, that its mandate is unmistakable on this point.

Foreignisms—such as Nazism, fascism, and communism—are not the only ideologies which are un-American, a threat to our national security and to the preservation of our democratic form of government.

The House has taken formal cognizance of this fact. For over 26 years it has held that purely domestic movements might attack the principle of the form of government guaranteed by our Constitution and that any movement which did this was un-American and subject to investigation.

The House has expressed this view in its rule XI, paragraph 18—that section of its rules which spells out the duties and authority of the Committee on Un-American Activities. It has not wavered from this position for over a quarter of a century.

The rule in question reads, in part, as follows:

The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of \* \* \* (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is \* \* \* of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution.

Are the Klans encompassed by rule XI, paragraph 18? Do they attack the principle of our form of government? Are their activities properly subject to congressional scrutiny for the purpose of enacting legislation to curb, hinder, or outlaw their operations?

Any group that engages in organized, large-scale intimidation in the political, economic and social fields and terrorizes individual and groups, attacks the very root of the democratic process. It does so because it destroys freedom and, without free citizens, our representative form of government is not secure and cannot be preserved.

When large numbers of people in any part of our country, regardless of race, color or religion, fear physical, economic or social injury if they dare to speak as they honestly feel, to patronize such businesses as they wish, to vote unhesitatingly for any candidate of their choice, then, I say, the very foundation of our form of government is being attacked, weakened and undermined. If such a condition is allowed to continue and to spread, it could lead eventually to the end of the form of government guaranteed by our Constitution and to the imposition of a national tyranny based on fear in its stead.

What is the nature of the Klans? In 1928, speaking of one of the predecessors of the modern Klans, the U.S. Supreme Court made the following finding:

It is a matter of common knowledge that this organization functions largely at night, its members disguised by hoods and gowns and doing things calculated to strike terror into the minds of the people.

Democracy cannot coexist with terror. The two are incompatible. One or the other must go.

The basic concept of our Government is the belief that man has certain inalienable rights, that is the function of the Government to protect those rights, that not even the state may deprive any man of them. These fundamental rights are, in the words of our Declaration of Independence, the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But more than one human life has been taken by Klanners of late. The Klans have consistently infringed individual liberty. And can any of us argue that persons in the South, white as well as Negro, who are victims of Klan terrorism are enjoying "the pursuit of happiness"? Are not the Klans, then, attacking "the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution"?

Years ago, the Committee on Un-American Activities requested the Brookings Institution, one of the most highly respected social science research organizations in the country, to prepare for it standards which could be used by the committee in determining just what were un-American activities and, as such, subject to investigation by the committee under House rule XI.

The Brookings Institution published its finding in 1945. Based on its study of rule XI, the U.S. Constitution, and also the oath required of all persons seeking U.S. citizenship, the Institution found five "definite substantive standards" for judging un-American activities. The first one read very much like a description of what, evidence indicates, the Klans are doing today:

It is un-American for any individual or group by force, intimidation, deceit, fraud

or bribery, to prevent or seek to prevent any person from exercising any right or privilege which cannot constitutionally be denied to him either by the Federal Government or by a State government.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities had investigated the Klans several years earlier. No one questioned its authority to do so at the time.

The Brookings Institution study, though not binding on the committee in any way, confirmed what was then—and is today—the conviction of the Committee on Un-American Activities as regards its jurisdiction in this area. Rule XI, paragraph 18, being as clear as it is, it is not surprising that the Brookings Institution should agree with the committee on Un-American Activities as regards at this late date, some voices should be raised in an attempt to cast doubt on the obvious.

I should add that the Supreme Court of the United States, in the 1928 decision I have previously quoted, upheld the constitutionality of a New York statute whose very purpose was to curb the Ku Klux Klan. In doing so, it made still another finding about the Klan which indicates that Klan activity comes under the committee's mandate in light of my earlier remarks about the principles underlying our form of government:

It is a matter of common knowledge that the association or organization of which the relator is concededly a member exercises activities tending to the prejudice and intimidation of sundry classes of our citizens.

Now, there has been some reference to the type of legislation that might or should result from these investigations, and a suggestion that whatever legislation may result would have to come about through the Committee on the Judiciary.

Let me say this. As far as any legislative recommendation the Committee on Un-American Activities may make, I would point out that six of the committee's members are lawyers, and that three of them are members of the Judiciary Committee. It may be that the Judiciary Committee will have a chance to weigh the proposed legislation. And, of course, every Member of this House will have an opportunity to consider it carefully before it is enacted.

It is, of course, too soon to predict what kind of legislation might be indicated to deal with the Klan organizations. Much will depend upon the nature, the administration and practices of the various Klan organizations, the control, or lack of it, by their responsible officers, and such matters.

Generally speaking, the Klans are oath-bound organizations, some of which have their own constitutions and even legislatures and enforcement officers, and require oaths of various kinds, some possibly in conflict with the Federal Constitution.

Depending on what we find, it might be desired to outlaw the organizations and penalize them and their "knowing" members. Or a certain type of control could probably be exercised over the Klans by a registration statute, either like the one in the Internal Security Act or the New York State act which required oath-bound organizations—other

than unions and benevolent orders—to register, giving their membership.

That statute made it a crime for anyone to become or to remain a member of such an organization if he knew that it had failed to make the required registration. This New York statute was enacted, as I have already indicated, in order to deal with the evils of the Klan, and its constitutionality was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

There may be certain advantages in a registration statute such as the New York one. But beyond merely seeing that there appear to be legislative remedies that we could suggest to the Congress, it would serve no useful purpose to try now, to attempt to forecast the shape of any possible legislation.

I would add another point. If the legislation proposed and enacted is going to be effective, it must not only meet all constitutional tests, but it must be realistic. It must be based on thorough and sound knowledge of just how these Klan organizations operate. This knowledge, I submit, can be developed only through the type of investigation and hearings the Committee on Un-American Activities is authorized to conduct.

My colleague the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONER] referred to a colloquy before the House Administration Committee. Of course, that is executive, but let me quote here the March 30 resolution of our committee, approving this investigation:

Whereas at the commencement of the 89th Congress the Chairman instructed the staff to commence a preliminary inquiry into the activities of the Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States to assist the Committee in determining whether it should authorize an investigation of the Klan organizations; and

Whereas the committee on February 2, 1965, by resolution, unanimously directed the chairman to continue the preliminary inquiry; and

Whereas the chairman has today made a report to the Committee on the results of this preliminary inquiry, which report clearly indicates that the nature and scope of the Klan organizations' activities are such that the Committee should authorize an investigation; and

Whereas the President's recent public appeal also demonstrates that such an investigation is justified and necessary; and

Whereas the President has offered the full cooperation of the executive branch of the Government in such an investigation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the committee undertake an investigation of the various Klan organizations and their activities with the view of holding hearings for the purpose of aiding Congress in any necessary remedial legislation; and be it further

*Resolved*, That inasmuch as the appropriation for the committee's work for this session is not sufficient to enable it to undertake this investigation in addition to other investigations already approved and under way, the chairman is directed to request a supplemental appropriation of \$50,000 to conduct an investigation of Ku Klux Klan organizations; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the chairman is directed to continue the preliminary inquiry into the activities of the Black Muslims, the Minutemen, and the American Nazi Party previously authorized by the Committee, for the purpose of determining whether an investigation of these groups is called for.

Note that the chairman is directed in the final resolve clause to continue the preliminary inquiry into the activities of the Black Muslims, the Minutemen, and the American Nazi Party, previously authorized by the committee, for the purpose of determining whether an investigation of these groups is called for. We are going to do just that.

There has also been some reference to the criteria used by the committee in determining whether to investigate an organization. I should say that there have been some rather loose statements about that. In my own words I would say that it is the general policy of the committee not to investigate any organization as such—I am talking about outside organizations that my friends have been mentioning, being interested in Communist activities. We do not investigate organizations as such—a college, a union, a civil rights, or other group—unless we have convincing evidence that the organization is actually controlled by the Communist Party.

What about infiltrated organizations? We do not investigate them, as organizations, because we do not want to unjustly tar any group with the Communist brush if it is not Communist led. Communists are always infiltrating all kinds of groups. There's a big difference between infiltration and control.

When confronted with infiltration which merits investigation, the committee investigates the infiltrators rather than the organization so as to determine, here as elsewhere, whether legislation is needed to cope with their efforts. It investigates the activities of the individual Communists who are penetrating some group for the Communist Party. And we follow these Communists wherever they go. It is the committee's view that these people have no immunity from investigation, no matter what guise they assume and no matter what kind of organization they try to use as a cover for their Communist operations.

Our committee has not only the authority but the duty under the rules of the House to make our own findings and we are ordered to report to the House every year. We do that. And we have a congressional guide in respect to what are Communist-controlled organizations, infiltration, and so on, in the Internal Security Act. That act defines a front organization as an organization substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a Communist-action organization—that is, a Communist Party—and primarily operated to aid and support a Communist-action organization, a Communist Party.

The act also defines Communist-infiltrated organizations. It states that a Communist-infiltrated organization is one substantially directed, dominated or controlled by individuals who are, or within 3 years have been, engaged in aiding or supporting a Communist-action organization or the world Communist movement.

So, we have to be very careful in this area. We cannot willy-nilly undertake an investigation of an organization—and we do not—or go into an investigation of an individual, and we do not. You know,

under court decisions, to call one a Communist is libelous.

Mr. Speaker, we welcome information. We will continue our policy of using restraint.

The late and great Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, a close friend of mine during his lifetime, told me once that in his opinion the greatest word in the English language was "judgment."

We try to exercise good judgment. We have to use restraint and be selective. That is exactly how we propose to proceed in this area.

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

Mr. WILLIS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. LENNON. The gentleman from Louisiana knows the esteem and respect that I personally have for him as an individual and as chairman of the great House Committee on Un-American Activities.

However, the resolution states on its face that the committee has the authority to make the investigation. The gentleman from Louisiana has confirmed that by a statement in the well of the House to the effect that there is no question but what the committee has the authority.

Knowing that the committee was appropriated \$370,000 to be used to carry on investigations by the committee, why is there the necessity for this resolution and why does not the committee have the funds with which to conduct the investigation that it seeks to conduct under this resolution?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has again expired.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. WILLIS. I would be glad to answer the gentleman, and I am glad the gentleman has asked that question.

When we asked for our regular appropriation funds early this year, in a letter now on record with the Committee on House Administration, I pointed out, in all frankness, that I had been directed to make a preliminary inquiry as to the Black Muslims, the Minutemen, the Rockwell Nazi group, and the Ku Klux Klan, but that that study had not been completed, and we did not know whether it would lead to an investigation. The committee's \$370,000 appropriation was to finance other investigations and hearings outlined in my letter which were definitely scheduled for this year.

Now we have determined to make a full-fledged investigation based upon the preliminary inquiry of this particular organization, the Ku Klux Klan. Hence we have asked for this supplemental appropriation of \$50,000. May I say that all of these actions were taken by the unanimous vote of the committee on both the Democratic side and the Republican side.

Mr. LENNON. Would the gentleman yield for one other question?

Mr. WILLIS. None of the Members asked for less than \$50,000.

Mr. LENNON. Would the gentleman now yield for a question?

Mr. WILLIS. I would be glad to yield further to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. LENNON. Why were the other organizations that the gentleman specifically called to the attention of the Committee on House Administration not included in this resolution?

Mr. WILLIS. Because we are continuing the preliminary inquiry. It has not been completed as regards the other groups. We finished the preliminary inquiry as to the Ku Klux Klan and determined upon a full-fledged investigation. The resolution of my committee directing this full-fledged investigation into the Klan directs me to continue—I just read it—the preliminary inquiry into the three other organizations.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has again expired.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of House Resolution 310.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the last 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK].

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, first of all, I want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS]. I urge passage of House Resolution 310. This resolution is identical to H.R. 311 which is my bill and which I introduced in cooperation with Chairman WILLIS. I am convinced that the Ku Klux Klans should be investigated. Such an investigation is within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Un-American Activities and the committee has the ability to do the job and do it well.

There have been some indications that some people fear that such an investigation may mark the beginning of widespread committee investigations of non-Communist groups of all types. Being a Member of the committee and knowing it and its chairman as I do and, additionally, speaking as the ranking Republican Member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, I can assure every Member of the House and the American people that the committee has absolutely no intention of going on fishing expeditions, of ranging far and wide, of investigating all kinds of organizations and merely unpopular thoughts and opinions, or so-called extremist groups of one kind or another.

The committee opposes extremism of both the right and left as obstacles to effective anticommunism. But, in its view, it does not have the power, and does not want the power, to investigate any group simply because it is extremist.

The expression of extremist views is fully protected by the first amendment. In times of crisis and turmoil such as these, extremism is something we will always have to face in the political arena. If Congress or the committee ever undertakes to investigate mere extremism,

they will be doing what certain enemies of the Committee on Un-American Activities falsely accuse it of doing—stifling honest political dissent, free debate and expression of opinion, and thus creating an atmosphere of fear and repression.

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

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WILLIS. I call the attention of the House also to the reverse side of the coin. In the Statement I made immediately after a decision was reached to conduct this investigation, which statement was approved unanimously by all Members, I said then, and I think the RECORD ought now to contain this statement:

All Americans of good will want peace and order in the South and everywhere else. All informed and thinking Americans realize, however, that elimination of the influence of the Klans alone will not bring the peace and order we all desire. There are other racial agitators at work in all parts of the country. The committee is aware that Communist influence is at work in this field. These Communists have no honest interest in civil rights. Their aim is to promote racial discord, to tear down and subvert.

The restoration of racial harmony in all parts of the country depends on the elimination of their influence as well as that of the Klans. For this reason, the committee is not losing sight of its jurisdiction in the area of Communist activities and will continue to investigate them.

I request that the full text of my release of March 30 be made a part of the RECORD at this point.

RELEASE OF HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS, COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 30 1965

The committee has voted unanimously to proceed with an investigation of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States. Its decision was based on the following factors:

1. This morning I presented to the committee the results of the preliminary study of Klan movements which I had directed the staff to undertake at the beginning of this Congress. As has been previously announced the committee subsequently voted unanimous support of this directive at its organizational meeting early in February. This study clearly indicated that Klan activities are such that investigation is called for.

2. Statements by Federal officials indicating that Klan members have been involved in a number of recent murders and other unconstitutional acts of violence and terrorism.

3. The President's recent appeal in which he indicated support for congressional investigation of the Klans as an aid to the enactment of remedial legislation.

The committee's preliminary study indicates that shocking crimes are carried out by highly secret action groups within the Klans. These groups are known as "knock-off squads," or "holy terrors." If they are caught, the Klan usually denies any association with the crime. These denials are designed to protect those Klan leaders who are parties to the crimes committed and to mislead the Klan membership and the public.

Klansmen who do not approve of murder and the other vicious crimes which have been committed by these terror squads should now face up to the reality of the evil the Klans can do—and get out.

The committee has a big job ahead of it in this investigation. It will take time and

effort and a lot of hard digging to develop the facts needed for hearings on which sound legislation can be enacted. For this reason, I add my appeal to that made by the President last week and call on all patriotic Americans to do what they can to aid this undertaking. And when I say all, I mean just that. I mean private citizens and public officials on all levels. This includes citizens with knowledge of the Klan, former leaders and members of the Klan—and current members, too—many of whom, I am sure, cannot reconcile vicious and brutal murder with Klan preachments of devotion to God and country.

Some Klan leaders and former Klan leaders have written to the committee in recent weeks to say that they will cooperate in any committee investigation. I hope they mean what they say, and that their full cooperation will be forthcoming.

Based on the committee's preliminary study, it is my conviction that Klanism is incompatible with Americanism, that it is doing injury to our Nation and, in particular to the South which it claims to protect and defend. I am convinced that the South and the entire Nation will be much better off if all Klan influence is ended, once and for all.

All Americans of good will want peace and order in the South and everywhere else. All informed and thinking Americans realize, however, that elimination of the influence of the Klans alone will not bring the peace and order we all desire. There are other racial agitators at work in all parts of the country. The committee is aware that Communist influence is at work in this field. These Communists have no honest interest in civil rights. Their aim is to promote racial discord, to tear down and subvert.

The restoration of racial harmony in all parts of the country depends on the elimination of their influence as well as that of the Klans. For this reason, the committee is not losing sight of its jurisdiction in the area of Communist activities and will continue to investigate them.

In its investigation of the Klans, the committee will do the best it possibly can to develop the facts needed to assist the Congress in enacting appropriate legislation.

One more point: The time has come, I believe, to give a factual and a legal answer to the charge sometimes made against the Committee on Un-American Activities that it engages in investigations in order to expose for exposure's sake. Some persons say that this is always the purpose of investigations by this committee, and that it never has a legislative purpose. Some others say that from time to time this has been the purpose of this committee.

As we all know, committees of Congress can make investigations and hold hearings only in aid of a legislative purpose, and where that legislative purpose is not present, a committee's action may be successfully challenged.

The easiest and the most penetrating challenge which can be made to the purposes of a congressional committee is in the Federal courts in criminal cases growing out of its hearings. Such cases are trials for contempt of Congress against witnesses who refuse to answer questions or otherwise commit defaults, and trials for perjury where witnesses are charged with giving false testimony.

I said that these cases are the easiest way of testing a committee's legislative purpose, because the courts require that a committee before whom a contempt or perjury is charged not only must be pursuing a legislative purpose at the time,

but the executive arm of the Government in order to make a successful prosecution in court must carry the burden to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the committee had such a legislative purpose. I said that the most penetrating challenge to a committee's legislative purpose is to be found in these criminal cases, because as we have learned over the years—and more and more every year—the courts have scrutinized ever more carefully criminal charges which have stemmed from congressional committee action.

It is my information, based upon what those who have studied the matter have advised me, that in not one single case of a citation to the courts for contempt of Congress have the courts ever found lacking a legislative purpose for any committee's investigation. This is to the very great credit of both Houses of Congress. And when I say that, I include, of course, the Committee on Un-American Activities. This committee and its predecessor special committees have cited a total, if my information is correct, of approximately 170 persons for contempt of Congress under section 192 of title 2 of the United States Code. This is nearly twice the total number of citations from all other committees combined, of both Houses, which means that the work of our committee has been scrutinized by the courts not only more than all other committees together, but many, many times more than any single committee's work. Of these cases, 17 reached the U.S. Supreme Court. In 6 of these cases the Supreme Court found that the committee acted with a proper legislative purpose and in the remaining 11 did not address itself to this subject.

Likewise in perjury cases, this committee's legislative purpose has never been successfully challenged.

I do not know how any committee's record in the courts for acting with a legislative purpose can be better than perfect.

Of this record, both past and present, I am justly proud and this House should be proud of it as well. For the critics of the Committee on Un-American Activities to charge, and to repeat, that this committee has engaged in investigations and hearings in order to expose for exposure's sake alone, is a charge which can only be made by someone who does not know the facts, or who is activated in some way unknown to me. It is a matter of considerable regret when I find that such loose charges are made at times by Members of this great body.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that this factual and legal answer I have given here today will be noted, so that at least no Members of Congress will make such a charge against the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

In conclusion, I will like to repeat my conviction and that of the Committee on Un-American Activities that an investigation of the Klan organizations is clearly within the committee's jurisdiction. But I do want to add that I am grateful for the support this House will give to it—for I am confident that the resolution before us will pass by an overwhelming vote.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I thank the chairman for adding that important statement to this debate.

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

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I want to express my faith in the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, and its members, and to indicate my support of this investigation. I am confident that under the capable leadership of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS], this committee shall conduct a thorough investigation, and one which shall be of legislative value. I am equally confident that this investigation shall be conducted with due regard to the constitutional rights of the citizens involved. As a Member from the Deep South, I have supported this action since January, and with conviction.

The South and the Nation have borne too long the burden of violence and terrorism perpetrated by a vicious criminal minority in no way representative of the people of America, or of the South. It is time for the guilty to bear responsibility for their guilt. If the Klan is innocent, as its leaders maintain, then they have nothing to fear from investigation. If guilty, then investigation and corrective action are long overdue.

I am grateful that the chairman has reiterated his earlier comments dealing with other forces contributing to racial strife. This has clearly been an area of Communist activity, and one in which their influence has been a disruptive force, frustrating the efforts of those working toward reasonable, rational, and right solutions.

I know that the committee, while fulfilling this new responsibility, will not neglect its central function of combating the influence of communism wherever it extends. We must do so, and without fear or favor. I deem it most appropriate, however, that this same committee which is our watchman on the wall, should help to serve as guardian against those forces within, which would substitute a reign of terror for the rule of law. Thus can this committee doubly serve toward protecting the constitutional right of every American to life and to liberty under law.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the committee is also very much aware of the fact that terms such as "extremist," "ultra right," "far left," and so forth, are imprecise and relative terms, meaning different things to different people. If the committee were to investigate "extremism," just what organizations and movements, right and left, liberal or conservative, would properly be included? Where would it begin? Where would it end?

The remedy for extremism is not investigation and legislation, but rather education and the challenging of such views in the public forum. As a free, democratic government and people, we should be able to tolerate extremism and overcome it without too much difficulty.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has no intention of investigating any organizations other than those

whose activities are clearly encompassed by rule XI, paragraph 18. The only persons who have any reason to fear committee investigation are those who would knowingly subvert or attack the republican constitutional form of government established by the people of the United States.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose the additional appropriation requested today by the Committee on Un-American Activities for the purpose of investigating the Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen, the American Nazi Party, and similar organizations. My opposition to this appropriation is based solely upon my firm belief that the Committee on Un-American Activities is not the appropriate committee to conduct such an investigation.

That the Klan and similar self-appointed vigilante groups need to be investigated is absolutely clear. The brutal crimes of the very recent past which have been visited upon people who were peacefully pursuing rights guaranteed by the Constitution make it imperative that the Congress strengthen the Federal criminal law. The Nation cannot afford to stand by helplessly when murderers are charged with mere misdemeanors.

I have recently joined 23 of my House colleagues in stating that an immediate investigation by the proper committee of the Congress should be undertaken so that legislation can be drafted to protect citizens from intimidation, assault and murder, whether perpetrated by members of the Ku Klux Klan or anyone else. The laws that we seek are for the Federal protection of civil liberties and rights, and the proper committee to formulate those laws in the House is the Committee on the Judiciary. That committee has clear jurisdiction and has conducted all of the hearings on previous and pending civil rights legislation.

I, along with a number of colleagues, oppose an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by the Committee on Un-American Activities because it is not the proper committee to prepare the needed legislation. Exposure for exposure's sake violates the first amendment of the Constitution and serves no legitimate end. We support full investigation and hearings needed to prepare the required criminal statutes by the proper committee, the Committee on the Judiciary.

I have long been an opponent of the continued operations of the Committee on Un-American Activities because of my firm belief that the legitimate scope of its activity is properly within the jurisdiction and expertise of the Judiciary Committee—all of whose members are experienced lawyers. I have, as recently as February 25 of this year, pointed out that despite grossly inflated committee appropriations, no meaningful legislative proposals have ever issued from the Committee on Un-American Activities.

On the other hand, the Committee on the Judiciary has a record of monumental achievement—achievement for which this body and the entire Nation shall forever be grateful. And, the Judiciary Committee has always proceeded in its hearings and deliberations

in a manner of objectivity and procedural fairplay toward witnesses who appear before it.

But, we are not confronted today with the question of whether the Committee on Un-American Activities serves a legitimate legislative purpose. We are not called upon today to endorse or criticize the procedures employed by the Committee on Un-American Activities. We need not pass any judgment today upon the product, or lack of it, from the Committee on Un-American Activities.

We are confronted with what can fairly be called a national emergency—the immediate need for Federal law to protect every American from intimidation and brutalization by those President Johnson characterized as “enemies of justice who for decades have used the rope and the gun and the tar and the feathers to terrorize their neighbors.” We are confronted with the immediate need to protect the civil liberties and rights of Americans.

Under rule XI(d) of this body, the Committee on the Judiciary has specific jurisdiction over civil liberties, and under rule XI(a) over judicial proceedings, civil and criminal, generally.

Are we to ignore not only the logic and reason of our rules, but also the very word of these rules? And if one would argue that the acts of terror of the Klan and other groups are in fact subversive of our Government, I would answer that so too is the denial of certain of our citizens' voting rights. So, too, is the denial of equal opportunities in employment. So, too, is the denial of equal access to public accommodations.

Let us turn to our magnificent Committee on the Judiciary for a thorough, fair, and productive investigation of the Klan and other such vigilante groups, in the most justified expectation that we will have before us proposals to rid our land of those depraved and lawless acts to which we have been witness so frequently in these past months and years.

Let us answer our President's impassioned plea responsibly.

Let us respect our rules.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the pending resolution which would provide the House Committee on Un-American Activities with an additional \$50,000 for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.

First of all, I believe that the \$370,000 recently appropriated to the committee provides it with ample resources to conduct its proposed investigation of the Klan. In my opinion, it is already engaged in various activities which are not appropriate to the functions of a standing committee of the House, and discontinuance of these activities would provide the Committee with funds with which to conduct the proposed investigation.

Second, I believe that the committee's proposed investigation of the Ku Klux Klan may well be an unnecessary duplication of the much broader task which confronts the House Judiciary Committee; namely, the task of surveying the very apparent need for stronger criminal and civil laws to protect from terror, intimidation, violence, and even murder

our citizens who are engaged in activities designed to assure the enjoyment of their own constitutional rights or the constitutional rights of others. I understand that bills along these lines have already been introduced and have been appropriately referred to the Judiciary Committee. I trust that the Department of Justice will shortly submit proposed legislation also, which will likewise be referred to the Judiciary Committee. I look forward to the recommendations that the Judiciary Committee will make to the House for legislation in this field at an early date. It is, in my opinion, imperative that action be taken at this session.

I want to make it clear that, so long as the House Un-American Activities Committee is in existence and in business, I am not opposed to the committee turning its attention to the Ku Klux Klan. It may represent some progress for it to recognize that its attention should not be entirely focused on the radical left, but should also encompass the radical right. I would hope that its proposed investigation will not in any way deter the Judiciary Committee from making the broad inquiries needed in the accomplishment of its legislative tasks.

My opposition to the whole concept of the House Committee on Un-American Activities remains unchanged.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank my colleague from Mississippi.

Let me say that I have no objection to the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan or any other group. Yet I feel that the investigating committee should follow its normal practice of conducting preliminary studies to seek out all groups warranting investigation for un-Americanism, and that the House should not, by special resolution, single out one group for special investigation.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe there is a great deal of opposition in the House to the proposed investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. Its acts of violence, its hate mongering, its intimidation, its unlawful activities have made such an investigation inevitable. The question is by whom should such an investigation be conducted. When I called for an investigation of the Klan on the floor several weeks ago, I recommended that it be made by the Committee on the Judiciary. However, upon checking with the staff of the Committee on the Judiciary this morning, and with its chairman, the gentleman from New York, Hon. EMANUEL CELLER, I was informed that the committee could not make the investigation within the foreseeable future, particularly in view of the announcement by the Committee on Un-American Activities that it was proceeding with its investigation.

It has also been recommended that a presidential commission be appointed to go into the matter carefully. I believe this is a meritorious suggestion, but there is no indication that legislation setting up such a commission will receive a hearing by the appropriate committee within any reasonable time, if at all.

I believe the unlawful activities of the Klan should be investigated. Under the

circumstances, I shall vote for this resolution today.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I believe that violence in the South has not yet run its course. There is ample evidence that much of the present violence is part of a conspiracy by the Ku Klux Klan and related groups to thwart the achievement of equal civil rights for Negroes.

A congressional investigation to determine the necessity of additional legislation to halt the Ku Klux Klan conspiracy is a must.

I believe that the proper committee to conduct this investigation and consider necessary legislation is the Judiciary Committee of this body. Since it is clear to me that the distinguished chairman of that committee believes he cannot undertake this task at this time, and the choice is between no investigation and one by the House Un-American Activities Committee, I shall vote for an investigation.

My votes earlier in this session have made it clear that I believe our legislative purposes would be better served by elimination of the Un-American Activities Committee with the transfer of its functions to the Judiciary Committee. This body, in its wisdom, thought otherwise. I therefore shall not comment any further on the House Un-American Activities Committee except to urge them to provide us with a thoughtful answer to one of the most crucial problems of the day. How do we stem the violence and lawlessness that is preventing many of our fellow citizens from exercising basic human and civil rights?

I have conferred today with the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS]. He told me that "There will be much weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth" where he comes from, but nevertheless, this was "going to be a responsible and serious investigation and definitely not a whitewash."

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, two prominent Wisconsin newspapers have very recently offered editorial comments regarding the question before the House today; that is, whether a committee of the Congress should investigate the Ku Klux Klan and, if so, whether the House Un-American Activities Committee should be authorized to conduct it.

On April 11 the prestigious Milwaukee Journal, largest newspaper in the State, and on April 3 the Portage Daily Register, a prominent daily newspaper in my congressional district, argued effectively that the House Un-American Activities Committee is not the proper agency to undertake this investigation.

Mr. Speaker, both editorials reflect an ever-growing concern about the activities of this committee and the propriety of its investigations. Their misgivings are well taken and I believe their recommendations should be accepted by the House today.

The editorials follow:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Apr. 11, 1965]  
INVESTIGATING THE KLAN

The House Un-American Activities Committee is in the preliminary stages of plan-

ning an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. Representative WELTNER, Democrat, of Georgia, a southern Member who supports civil rights, wants it to hold hearings on the Klan, the American Nazi Party, the Minutemen, the Black Muslims, and other extremist groups of the radical right. President Johnson has also called upon the committee to investigate the Klan.

The activities of these groups are often illegal. But the problem posed is one of criminal violation of law which, as the Civil Liberties Union points out, is a matter for local law enforcement officials and the Department of Justice to deal with.

The committee in its long history has often contributed to extremism. It has defamed innocent individuals and groups through charges of guilt by association. It has a barren record when it comes to major legislation—the basic purpose for congressional committees in the first place.

The area in which the committee has acted should properly be dealt with by the Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate. If investigation of the Klan and similar groups is needed—and it must not be undertaken lightly because experience shows that too often this involves invasion of the areas of freedom under the first and fifth amendments—the Judiciary Committees should handle it. It is important that proper agencies, and not one given to intimidation and persecution as is the Un-American Activities Committee, handle the delicate matters of personal belief and civil rights.

[From the Portage (Wis.) Daily Register, Apr. 3, 1965]

#### J.F.K. AND THE KU KLUX KLAN

There are two moves of the Federal Government which cannot help but cause concern.

The first of these is a film, "John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," which is a highly emotional, extremely effective propaganda film put out by the U.S. Information Agency.

What bothers us about the film is not that the USIA made it or that it is very much a propaganda film. What bothers is that the film is going to be released domestically—in this country.

It is not the purpose of the Federal Government to provide films for domestic viewing which help the name and image of one person or one party.

The second area of concern is the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its recent decision to investigate the Ku Klux Klan—and to begin preliminary investigations of the American Nazi Party and the Minute Men.

The hate-filled teachings and terror of the Ku Klux Klan are as despicable as the prejudice, hate, and terror of the Communists—the normal target of the House Un-American Activities Committee. It would be best for the FBI to investigate and the Justice Department to prosecute through the courts any subversive activities of these extremists.

Throughout its long history, the House committee has investigated but has produced no significant legislation out of its investigations. The problem with this is that the function of the committee—a nonjudicial organ—is not to judge but to legislate.

In fact, however, the committee might well be accused of "witch hunting" as it calls people before it and puts them in the position of being a Communist by implication. There is no trial or safeguards of the legal process. Quite the contrary, the criterion seems to be "guilty until proven innocent—with the burden of proof on the accused instead of the accuser." How opposite our system of justice.

Well, the House Un-American Activities Committee is starting another investigation. Only the group they are investigating has changed. From all indications their mode

of operation, their end result, and their lack of justice remains.

It is a shame that both of these projects—the film and the investigation—cannot be taken on by the right people in the right places. Yet, it seems that they are not going to take that route. We can only hope that the die is not permanently cast, however, and that an end change can still be made.

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote no on this resolution. If this resolution is solely to provide money, my answer is that only weeks ago we appropriated \$370,000 for the work of this committee. If, as we are advised the committee needs no additional authority to undertake this proposed investigation and, as we have seen, the committee has already been funded, the resolution is unnecessary. If, by the resolution, additional authority is sought, then I oppose any grant of such further authority.

I hold no brief for the Klan any more than I hold a brief for the Communist Party; indeed, there are many other extremist organizations with which I disagree. But the proper thrust of legislative committee activity is to write the laws, not to expose or punish the breach thereof. In the instance of the Klan, it is the violence, the murder, the commission of crimes allegedly perpetrated by members of the Klan that furnish the incentive for the investigation of the organization.

The accused may be members of other organizations, church groups, fraternal organizations such as the Elks, Masons, and so forth. Must they, likewise, be investigated in turn? Already we have had on the floor today the suggestion that the Birch Society, the various civil rights organizations, the Minutemen, the White Citizens League and, perhaps, others should and will come next.

What good will come from the investigation of such organizations? Is it the ideas which they allegedly hold and espouse that we are after? If so, then it has been well said here this afternoon that the answer to extremist ideas is not investigation but the competition of the ideas and ideals of freedom on which this country is based. If so, then the list of eligible organizations grow long and will inevitably include the B'nai B'rith ACLU, church groups, and, sooner or later, political organizations of non-conformist leanings and many others.

Rather our attention focuses on specific instances of murder and violence; of lynch law; acts which are crimes under the laws of all of our States and all civilized nations. What we are concerned with is individual crime and what appears to be a breakdown of law enforcement and the protection from such crimes which every citizen, regardless of his feeling on civil rights, is entitled to expect.

And here I tremble at the prospect of the Federal Government taking over the law enforcement duties which have always been the responsibility of local government. I tremble at the thought of a Federal police force. And yet the prospect is before us. And it is the old, old story of the escalation of responsibility for governmental function upwards to

the Federal Government because of the inability or the unwillingness of local governments to do the job which is rightfully theirs.

We say today that the Ku Klux Klan will be investigated. And yet it is not an organization which will be called to the witness table. It will be people who will be tried in the court of public opinion. And all my training as a lawyer, all of my years of practice at the bar, all of my training as a citizen and as a public servant tells me that a legislative body is peculiarly unadapted to do this job. That under our Constitution, one who is accused of violating the law should be indicted and tried in the courts with the presumption of innocence, the right to be confronted by one's accusers, the right of cross-examination, and all of the other rights which we give our citizens to protect them from the possible tyranny of the state.

Some of the guilty will go free under this system. It has been always so recognized that this is the price we pay to protect the innocent. It is only by prejudging the guilt of the one accused that one can justify any other course.

The organization may be found to be undesirable. We may attempt some law to outlaw it. What will that accomplish? The organization will go underground or will disband and another tailored to fit the new rules will appear and we will start the merry-go-round again—and in the process hurt, again, innumerable innocent citizens to reach the conclusion that murder is wrong and cannot be tolerated by a civilized nation.

The one who pulls the trigger, or swings the club or the dagger or throws the bomb may belong to the Klan. But he may also be Presbyterian or a Methodist or a Catholic or a Jew, he may be black or white, he may be a Mason or an Elk or a Moose, or a White Citizen or a Black Muslim. But before that he is an individual, responsible for his actions, and is entitled to a fair trial under our laws in the courts in New York or Alabama or Oregon, not in a legislative committee room. And I have confidence that, in spite of temporary lapses, our judicial system in all of our States will function impartially as it was meant to.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, there doubtless are many good and wise people in our country who think the public welfare and security are advanced by the exposure that comes with congressional hearings.

If something is sinful, or vile, or contemptible, or the instrument of treason, why should it not be exposed and thus to some extent be exterminated?

The answer is that exposure itself can be so devastating as to destroy what citizens hold most precious, and in a congressional investigation, no matter how prudently conducted, there cannot be that protection from gossip, hearsay, and downright malice that centuries of experience have planted in the laws of evidence in our courts.

The fabric of our democratic government is rent when one branch of government invades the domain of another. The tragedy of government that has lost its chart and rudder is inevitable when

one man, or one body as the Congress of the United States, both makes and executes the laws.

The sole province of the Congress is to make the laws, and it follows that its investigative powers properly can be employed only in the investigation of needs and forms for new or amended statutes.

Congressional inquiries just for the sake of exposure itself was foreign to the minds of the men who made our Constitution.

As a Member of Congress, during the years I have been here, I have voted for appropriations of countless millions for the administrative offices to enforce the laws that the Congress has enacted. I have voted for every cent that Hoover has asked to ferret out and punish crime, including that of subversion.

It well may be that new laws or revision of the old are needed adequately to cope with the menace of organizations of hate and violence such as the Ku Klux Klan. This, however, is clearly within the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee, and an appropriation to that committee, or a subcommittee thereof, to make the proper study and recommendations I would think entirely meritorious and worthy of my full support.

But, Mr. Speaker, there is a vast difference between a study and an investigation leading to the enactment of better and stronger laws and what is here proposed.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the pending resolution to provide funds for the Committee on Un-American Activities to conduct an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.

Last month, on March 27, I announced my support of all efforts by the Government to eliminate the evil influence of the Ku Klux Klan. I also said that an exhaustive investigation was needed and it should be undertaken at once.

I believe the funds this resolution will provide fulfill the desire of many Members of Congress to move swiftly and positively in this investigative process.

I expect this congressional examination will be full and fair. The public is entitled to a complete disclosure—and exposure—of what the Ku Klux Klan means.

Bigotry and hatred seem to be at the base of Klan activities. Even the President has publicly identified the participation of four klansmen in the violent murder of the noble woman from Michigan as she was being driven through an Alabama night.

Hooded agents of violence bent on nurturing passions of inhumanity have no place in our society. I trust the investigation we are funding today will add the weight of Congress to helping the Nation excise the cancer of the Klan.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, on March 26, President Johnson indicated that the Federal Government was drafting legislation to regulate the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. He also indicated that a congressional investigation of the Klan would be appropriate.

In my view, any investigation of the Klan should be carried out by the legislative committee of the Congress concerned with civil rights and Federal

criminal legislation—in this case, the House Judiciary Committee—to determine what changes are needed in existing laws. Investigation for investigation's sake serves no useful purpose. In any case, no additional money is needed by the House Un-American Activities Committee should they wish to make an independent inquiry into the activities of the Klan.

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

The previous question was ordered. The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered. The question was taken; and there were—yeas 313, nays 43, not voting 87, as follows:

[Roll No. 76]

YEAS—313

Abbltt	Devine	Jacobs
Abernethy	Dickinson	Jarman
Adams	Dole	Jennings
Addabbo	Donohue	Jeonins
Albert	Dorn	Johnson, Calif.
Anderson, III.	Dowdy	Johnson, Okla.
Anderson,	Downing	Johnson, Pa.
Tenn.	Dulski	Jones, Mo.
Andrews,	Duncan, Tenn.	Karsten
George W.	Dwyer	Kee
Andrews,	Edmondson	Keith
Glenn	Edwards, Ala.	Kelly
Annunzio	Ellsworth	Keogh
Arends	Erlenborn	King, Calif.
Ashbrook	Evans, Colo.	King, N.Y.
Ashmore	Everett	King, Utah
Aspinall	Fallon	Kirwan
Baring	Farnsley	Kornegay
Barrett	Fascell	Krebs
Battin	Findley	Kunkel
Beckworth	Fisher	Laird
Bell	Flood	Landrum
Bennett	Flynt	Latta
Berry	Fogarty	Lindsay
Betts	Foley	Lipscomb
Blatnik	Ford, Gerald R.	Long, Md.
Boggs	Fountain	McCarthy
Boland	Frelinghuysen	McCulloch
Bolling	Friedel	McDade
Bolton	Fulton, Pa.	McDowell
Brook	Fuqua	McEwen
Brooks	Gallagher	McFall
Broomfield	Garmatz	McGrath
Brown, Ohio	Gettys	McMillan
Broyhill, Va.	Giaino	McVicker
Buchanan	Gibbons	Mackay
Burke	Gilbert	Mahon
Burleson	Goodel	Machen
Burton, Utah	Grabowski	Maillard
Byrne, Pa.	Gray	Marsh
Byrnes, Wis.	Green, Pa.	Martin, Ala.
Cabell	Grelgg	Mathias
Cahill	Grider	Matsunaga
Callan	Griffin	Matthews
Casey	Griffiths	May
Cederberg	Gross	Meeds
Chamberlain	Grover	Michel
Chelf	Gubser	Miller
Clancy	Hagan, Ga.	Mills
Clark	Hagen, Calif.	Minish
Clausen,	Haley	Minshall
Don H.	Hall	Mize
Clawson, Del.	Halleck	Moeller
Cleveland	Halpern	Monagan
Clevenger	Hanley	Moore
Cohelan	Hanna	Moorhead
Conable	Hansen, Idaho	Morgan
Conte	Hansen, Iowa	Morris
Cooley	Hansen, Wash.	Morrison
Corbett	Hardy	Morse
Corman	Harris	Morton
Cramer	Harvey, Mich.	Moss
Culver	Hays	Multer
Curtin	Hechler	Murphy, III.
Curtis	Henderson	Murphy, N.Y.
Daddario	Hollfield	Murray
Dague	Hosmer	Natcher
Daniels	Howard	O'Brien
Davis, Ga.	Hull	O'Hara, Mich.
Davis, Wis.	Hungate	O'Konski
de la Garza	Huot	Olsen, Mont.
Delaney	Hutchinson	O'Neill, Mass.
Dent	Ichord	Passman
Derwinski	Irwin	Patman

Patten	Rumsfeld	Tenzer
Pelly	Satterfield	Thomas
Pepper	St Germain	Thompson, La.
Perkins	St. Onge	Thompson, Tex.
Philbin	Scheuer	Thomson, Wis.
Pickle	Schisler	Trimble
Pike	Schmidhauser	Tuck
Poage	Schneebeli	Tunney
Poff	Schweiker	Tuten
Pool	Secrest	Udall
Price	Selden	Ullman
Pucinski	Senner	Utt
Quillen	Shriver	Van Deerlin
Race	Sikes	Vigorito
Randall	Sisk	Waggonner
Reid, Ill.	Skubitz	Walker, N. Mex.
Reid, N. Y.	Slack	Watkins
Reinecke	Smith, Calif.	Whalley
Rhodes, Ariz.	Smith, Iowa	White, Idaho
Rhodes, Pa.	Smith, N. Y.	White, Tex.
Rivers, S. C.	Springer	Whitener
Rivers, Alaska	Stafford	Widnall
Roberts	Staggers	Willis
Robison	Stanton	Wilson,
Rodino	Steed	Charles H.
Rogers, Colo.	Stephens	Wolff
Rogers, Fla.	Stratton	Wright
Rogers, Tex.	Stubblefield	Wyatt
Ronan	Sullivan	Wydler
Roncallo	Talcott	Yates
Rooney, N. Y.	Teague, Calif.	Younger
Roudebush	Teague, Tex.	Zablocki

NAYS—43

Bandstra	Ford,	Ottinger
Bingham	William D.	Powell
Brown, Calif.	Gonzalez	Resnick
Burton, Calif.	Green, Oreg.	Reuss
Callaway	Hawkins	Rosenthal
Cameron	Helstoski	Roybal
Conyers	Hicks	Ryan
Craley	Kastenmeyer	Saylor
Diggs	Leggett	Sickles
Dingell	Lennon	Smith, Va.
Dow	Mackie	Todd
Duncan, Oreg.	Mink	Vivian
Dyal	Nedzi	Walker, Miss.
Edwards, Calif.	O'Hara, Ill.	Whitten
Farbstein	O'Neal, Ga.	

NOT VOTING—87

Adair	Fulton, Tenn.	Nelsen
Andrews,	Gathings	Nix
N. Dak.	Gilligan	Olson, Minn.
Ashley	Gurney	Pirnie
Ayres	Hamilton	Purcell
Baldwin	Harsha	Quie
Bates	Harvey, Ind.	Redlin
Belcher	Hathaway	Reifel
Bonner	Hébert	Rooney, Pa.
Bow	Herlong	Roosevelt
Brademas	Holland	Rostenkowski
Bray	Horton	Roush
Broyhill, N. C.	Jonas	Scott
Carey	Jones, Ala.	Shipley
Carter	Karth	Stalbaum
Celler	Kluczynski	Sweeney
Collier	Langen	Taylor
Colmer	Long, La.	Thompson, N. J.
Cunningham	Love	Toll
Dawson	McClory	Tupper
Denton	Macdonald	Vanik
Evins, Tenn.	MacGregor	Watts
Farnum	Madden	Weltner
Feighan	Martin, Mass.	Williams
Fino	Martin, Nebr.	Wilson, Bob
Fraser	Mosher	Young

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Feighan with Mr. Adair.  
 Mr. Hébert with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.  
 Mr. Carey with Mr. Harsha.  
 Mr. Herlong with Mr. Bow.  
 Mr. Madden with Mr. Harvey of Indiana.  
 Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Jonas.  
 Mr. Roosevelt with Mr. Fino.  
 Mr. Nix with Mr. Ayres.  
 Mr. Evins with Mr. Belcher.  
 Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Bob Wilson.  
 Mr. Shipley with Mr. Cunningham.  
 Mr. Toll with Mr. Martin of Nebraska.  
 Mr. Celler with Mr. Horton.  
 Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. MacGregor.  
 Mr. Macdonald with Mr. Bates.  
 Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Quie.  
 Mr. Sweeney with Mr. Pirnie.  
 Mr. Brademas with Mr. Collier.  
 Mr. Holland with Mr. Gurney.

Mr. Ashley with Mr. Mosher.  
 Mr. Stalbaum with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.  
 Mr. Denton with Mr. McClory.  
 Mr. Scott with Mr. Langen.  
 Mr. Taylor with Mr. Nelsen.  
 Mr. Gathings with Mr. Bray.  
 Mr. Bonner with Mr. Reifel.  
 Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania with Mr. Tupper.  
 Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Carter.  
 Mr. Purcell with Mr. Frazer.  
 Mr. Vanik with Mr. Weltner.  
 Mr. Love with Mr. Watts.  
 Mr. Young with Mr. Williams.  
 Mr. Roush with Mr. Colmer.  
 Mr. Karth with Mr. Dawson.  
 Mr. Olson of Minnesota with Mr. Gilligan.  
 Mr. Farnum with Mr. Hamilton.  
 Mr. Redlin with Mr. Hathaway.

Mr. CRALEY changed his vote from "present" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Ways and Means have until midnight Monday, April 19, to file a report to accompany S. 701.

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

There was no objection.

CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF COMMEMORATIVE POSTAGE STAMPS

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced in the House a bill that is designed to reassert congressional policy in an area of postal operations where it has been lacking for many years. My bill provides for the approval by the Committees on Post Office and Civil Service of the Senate and House of Representatives of all commemorative stamps that are proposed to be issued by the Postmaster General.

It is my understanding that some 16 or 17 years ago an informal agreement was reached between the members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committees of both Houses, that they would not consider any of the large number of bills that were being introduced each year providing for commemorative stamps. While I do not intend at this time to argue either the merits or demerits of such an arrangement, it has had the effect of giving to the Postmaster General exclusive and final authority over the issuance of such stamps. This rather informal arrangement between the two committees, which has continued over the years, has put the Congress in the position of abdicating its own authority in this area.

In 1958, the Congress enacted the now famous Postal Policy Act in which it "hereby emphasizes, reaffirms, and restates its function under the Constitution of the United States of forming postal policy." Early in this session of Congress, my Committee on Post Office and Civil Service completely revised its rules of procedure and created eight standing subcommittees in order that we could more adequately discharge our full responsibilities in the many areas of our jurisdiction, and in order that we, as the committee initially charged with forming postal policy, could give real meaning to the Postal Policy Act. I submit that congressional policy is lacking in the field of commemorative stamps and my bill is an attempt to fill that void.

The postal service, the largest communications system in the world, is owned by the people of the United States, and we here in the Congress are, in effect, its board of directors, directly responsible to the people for its operation. The matter of issuing commemorative stamps is of increasing interest and importance to a great many of our constituents. This entire subject warrants more of our attention and of our interest than it has received heretofore. We certainly should, by reasserting our authority, give back to the people some voice in the establishment of standards, criteria, and policies to be followed in issuing these special stamps.

It is interesting to note that, even though my committee does not act on any of the special bills providing for commemorative stamps, 75 such bills were introduced by my colleagues in the 88th Congress. So far in this Congress, there are 16 such bills pending within my committee. This would certainly seem to indicate that, even though we have more or less abdicated our responsibilities in issuing commemorative stamps, many Members of the Congress are not in agreement with us.

I have here a complete listing of the stamps and stamped paper that were issued by the Postmaster General in 1964, and a list of those stamps and stamped paper which already have been issued and which are announced for 1965. I will include these lists for the information of the Members at the conclusion of my remarks.

In comparing these lists with the calendar of commemorative stamp legislation introduced in the 88th Congress and in this Congress, one cannot help but make some interesting observations, particularly as to how much influence the wishes of Members of Congress have apparently had on the Postmaster General's decisions. For example, seven Members of Congress, practically the entire Indiana delegation, introduced bills in the 88th Congress providing for a special commemorative stamp on the 150th anniversary of the admission of the State of Indiana to the Union. We find no Indiana stamp on the Postmaster General's lists, but there are New Jersey and Nevada stamps.

Several Members of Congress have introduced bills calling for a special commemorative stamp in honor of Taras Shevchenko. There is no such stamp

listed on the Postmaster General's lists, but we do find listed an amateur radio operator's stamp, a William Shakespeare stamp, and a fine arts commemorative stamp.

Four Members of Congress have introduced bills providing for a special "Star-Spangled Banner" commemorative stamp. I find no mention of such a stamp on the Postmaster General's lists, but I do note that later this year we will have an International Cooperation Year—United Nations commemorative stamp, and that last year we had an American music commemorative stamp and a homemakers' commemorative stamp, and I am sure that all Members will recall the famous series of Christmas postage stamps we had last year that were noticeably devoid of anything at all connected with the birth of Christ.

I do not intend that my remarks be construed as criticism of any of the stamps that already have been issued, or that are planned by the Postmaster General, but I do think that what I have said does point up in some small measure the fact that there seems to be no real policy on who, or what, should be honored, and when.

As I indicated earlier, this is a matter of major importance to many people, and I feel very strongly that the Congress should reassert its authority and jurisdiction. I certainly intend to press for early action on my bill.

#### STAMPS AND STAMPED PAPER ISSUED IN 1964

January 10: 5-cent Sam Houston commemorative stamp—Houston, Tex. (rescheduled from December 13, 1963), 130 million (black on white), 487,986 first day covers.

February 22: 4-cent U.S. Customs Service commemorative postal card, Washington, D.C. 43 million (blue and red on white), 313,275 first day cancellations.

March 19: 5-cent Charles M. Russell "American Painting" commemorative stamp, Great Falls, Mont., 125 million (yellow, brown, and blue), 658,745 first day covers.

April 22: 5-cent New York World's Fair commemorative stamp, 130 million (green), 1,656,346 first day covers, New York World's Fair, Flushing, N.Y.

April 22: 5-cent New York World's Fair commemorative stamped envelope, 50 million (maroon and white), 466,422 first day cancellations, New York World's Fair, Flushing, N.Y.

April 29: 5-cent John Muir commemorative stamp, Martinez, Calif., 125 million (brown and green), 446,925 first day covers.

May 5: 5-cent Battle of the Wilderness "Civil War Centennial" commemorative stamp, Fredericksburg, Va., 120 million (red and black), 450,904 first day covers.

May 29: 5-cent John F. Kennedy memorial stamp, Boston, Mass., 500 million (blue), 2,003,096 first day covers.

June 15: 5-cent New Jersey Tercentenary commemorative stamp, Elizabeth, N.J., 120 million (blue), 526,879 first day covers.

July 22: 5-cent Nevada Statehood commemorative stamp, Carson City, Nev., 120 million (red, yellow, and blue), 584,973 first day covers.

August 1: 5-cent Register-Vote commemorative stamp, Washington, D.C., 213 million (red and blue on white), 533,439 first day covers.

August 14: 5-cent William Shakespeare commemorative stamp, Stratford, Conn., 118 million (brown on tan), 524,053 first day covers.

September 11: 5-cent Doctors Mayo commemorative stamp, Rochester, Minn., 120 million (green), 674,846 first day covers.

September 26: 4-cent Social Security commemorative postal card, Washington, D.C., 50 million (blue and red on white), 293,650 first day cancellations.

October 5: 8-cent Dr. Robert H. Goddard commemorative airmail stamp, Roswell, N. Mex., 60 million (blue, red, and yellow), 421,020 first day covers.

October 15: 5-cent American Music commemorative stamp, New York, N.Y., 120 million (red, blue, and black on blue paper), 466,107 first day covers.

October 26: 5-cent Homemakers commemorative stamp, Honolulu, Hawaii, 120 million (red, green, and light purple on paper decorated with a yellow linen design), 435,392 first day covers.

November 9: 5-cent Christmas postage stamps (four different designs), Bethlehem, Pa., 1.4 billion (red and green), 794,900 first day covers.

November 21: 5-cent Verrazano-Narrows Bridge commemorative stamp, Staten Island, N.Y., 120 million (green), 619,780 first day covers.

December 2: 5-cent Fine Arts commemorative stamp, Washington, D.C., 120 million (red, blue, and black), 558,046 first day covers.

December 15: 5-cent amateur radio operators commemorative stamp, Anchorage, Alaska, 120 million (purple), 452,255 first day covers.

#### STAMPS AND STAMPED PAPER ANNOUNCED FOR 1965

January 5: 5-cent stamped envelope (Eagle), Williamsburg, Pa., unlimited printing (purple).

January 6: 4-cent stamped envelope (*Old Ironsides*), Washington, D.C., unlimited printing (blue).

January 6: 1½-cent stamped envelope (Liberty Bell), Washington, D.C., unlimited printing (brown).

January 7: 8-cent airmail stamped envelope (jet plane), Chicago, Ill., unlimited printing (red).

January 8: 5-cent Battle of New Orleans commemorative stamp, New Orleans, La., 120 million (red, blue, and black), 466,029 first day covers.

February 15: 5-cent Physical Fitness-Sokol commemorative stamp, Washington, D.C., 120 million (black and red on white).

February 25: 25-cent Paul Revere coil postage stamp (issue of 1958), Silver Spring, Md. (Wheaton, Md., postmark), unlimited printing (green).

April 1: 5-cent Crusade Against Cancer commemorative stamp, Washington, D.C., 200,133, 115 million (orange, black, and purple).

April 9: 5-cent Appomattox "Civil War Centennial" commemorative stamp, Appomattox, Va., 245,222, 115 million (shades of black and blue).

May 29: 11-cent John F. Kennedy Aerogramme, Boston, Mass., 02109, unlimited printing.

June 15: 5-cent Magna Carta commemorative stamp, Jamestown, Va., 23081.

July 2: 5-cent Salvation Army commemorative stamp, New York, N.Y., 10001.

August 4: 4-cent U.S. Coast Guard commemorative postal card, Newburyport, Mass., 01950.

August 10: 5-cent Herbert Hoover commemorative stamp, West Branch, Iowa, 52358.

August 19: 5-cent Robert Fulton commemorative stamp, Albany, N.Y., 12201.

September 3: 5-cent traffic safety commemorative stamp, Baltimore, Md., 21233.

Five-cent Florida Quadracentennial commemorative stamp; Dante Alighieri commemorative stamp; John Singleton Copley "American Painting" commemorative stamp; Winston Churchill commemorative stamp.

Five-cent International Cooperation Year—United Nations commemorative stamp.

Eleven-cent International Telecommunication Union Centennial commemorative stamp.

#### CLOSING OF VETERANS HOSPITALS

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to take this opportunity to publicly commend two of my distinguished colleagues for their dedication as members of the President's Commission To Investigate the Closing of Veterans Hospitals. I refer to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. OLIN TEAGUE and the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. ROSS ADAIR.

These two gentlemen, acting in the highest tradition of the Congress, disrupted their personal and public schedules last weekend to make a trip to various VA hospitals affected by the closed-down order. One of the hospitals visited was Castle Point, N.Y. I commend these gentlemen for the way they are meeting their duties and responsibilities as members of the Commission. Mr. TEAGUE of Texas and Mr. ADAIR did not have to make the tiring trip. There was no glory or promise of personal advantage to be gained, but they did go, at great inconvenience to themselves, because they would not shirk their responsibility. They wanted to see at firsthand what facilities the hospital offered our veterans.

I sincerely hope that the other members of the President's Commission will follow the example set by my two distinguished colleagues. It is my hope that all other members of the Commission will visit these hospitals and meet their responsibility as Mr. TEAGUE of Texas and Mr. ADAIR did last weekend.

#### THE VOTER REGISTRATION BABY

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the labor pains of the Attorney General and the Judiciary Committee in bringing forth an illegitimate voter registration baby focus attention on the absurdity of the whole thing when, in the name of ending discrimination, they are just as guilty of discrimination.

What is becoming more obvious every day is that the President acted hastily and under pressure from the mob when he extended the Lafayette Square rally into the Halls of Congress. Even his own advisers have seen the folly and unfairness of the bill and are now having to rewrite it in a vain attempt to correct so many serious errors. The result, however, will surely be to multiply problems instead of solving them.

This is what one meets when one tries to psychoanalyze from afar and convict a board of registrars simply by using statistics as evidence. It is like saying a high death rate proves murder.

There are many factors to be considered in analyzing statistics. Voter apathy and indifference that characterize those concerned only with satisfying the daily animal appetites is an important consideration. The fact that Democrats have run unopposed in general elections in the South is a very important consideration. If things continue in the present trend, however, the administration will unwittingly and unintentionally wipe out this last reason.

On Monday of this week the Washington Star reported that the White House was in conflict with the House Judiciary Committee on certain factors that would apply to Texas. It was reported in the news item that the Attorney General thought there was danger of affecting the "practicability." This was a euphemistic way of saying "let's keep it so that it does not discriminate against too many States if we expect to pass it."

Mr. Speaker, how many sacred principles will be destroyed if they pressure this bill through Congress? What will become of section 2 of article I of the Constitution? Will it simply be repealed the same way the 10th amendment has been repealed? Is there any doubt that it has been repealed? Who repealed it? What about the principle that no American is required to prove his own innocence? Does this apply to a State or a subdivision thereof? What about ex post factor laws? Will the new bill enact such a law?

Will the affected States or registration boards have their "day in court" or will they be convicted of malfeasance on long-distance psychoanalysis and without "due process of law"?

Will jurisdiction be granted to a non-resident court? The very thought is repugnant.

Will the Constitution of the United States have universal application? This bill will make a mockery of this deeply ingrained principle.

Turning election machinery over to the Federal Government is another step toward centralization of power. Drawing the line of application at any percentage of the population of voting age registered and voting is a highly arbitrary distinction. It proves its own idiocy by including Alaska when even the authors of the bill had no intention of doing so.

One of the words frequently used in discussing this vicious bill is the word "trigger," used in connection with the proposed activation of Federal registrars. Mr. Speaker, I do not know who first suggested this word, but it is well chosen because it brings up the mental picture of a lyncher's shotgun aimed at an unconvicted victim—in this case selected States.

I would like to suggest to my colleagues that the rights of only a few States are involved today, but when the precedent is established it may be yours tomorrow on some issue other than voter registration.

In closing I quote from that highly respected publication the Christian Science Monitor:

There is widespread agreement on its purposes. But if they are achieved by questionable means, the mistake will surely remain to haunt the Republic. The end does not justify dubious means in this or any other case.

ALBERT CARDINAL MEYER,  
ARCHBISHOP OF CHICAGO

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, with thousands of other Chicagoans who mourned his untimely passing, I attended the funeral of the beloved Albert Cardinal Meyer, Roman Catholic archbishop of Chicago. His death came as a profound loss not only to the archdiocese of Chicago and to the Roman Catholic Church, but to men of all faiths everywhere, for his was a spirit of religious understanding and a moral concern for human rights second to none.

In Chicago we knew him as the magnanimous prelate of the largest Catholic diocese in the Nation. His time among us was brief, barely 6 years. His leadership and influence manifested itself quickly as a decisive force for good in our city, particularly in the area of human relations. Men of all races, creeds, and colors recognized him as a courageous and articulate champion of social justice.

Beyond the confines of the archdiocese, Cardinal Meyer emerged as an eloquent prince of his church. In Rome, he became a president of the Second Vatican Council, and as a respected spokesman for the American church, he became a central figure in the reform movement at the council. His determined leadership in the struggle for interfaith understanding, which he pursued in Rome and practiced in Chicago by initiating and promoting dialog and action between different religious faiths was admired by all. His stature as a great man of God, known so well by the people of Chicago and Wisconsin, where his priesthood began 39 years ago, was confirmed on the world scene through his activity in the far-reaching deliberations in the Vatican in recent years.

Cardinal Meyer was a man of peace drawn to a crucial time of conflict in human affairs. Outwardly, he was a reserved, almost shy, person but in pursuit of human justice, equality, and understanding he demonstrated tenacity, determination, and toughness for the tasks at hand. With these qualities he summoned up reservoirs of the human spirit that have given a new direction and a new impetus to his church and his community. He moved quietly and firmly to impress upon his priests his philosophy that "religion cannot be separated from life. The Christian gospel

applies to politics, business, social, and domestic life."

In 1960, less than 2 years after he was enthroned in Holy Name Cathedral, he instructed his priests to accept Negroes into their parishes, schools, hospitals, and other church institutions. The next year he told them to preach on racial equality and the next he lent support to the interfaith National Conference on Religion and Race. He said:

We must remove from the church on the local scene any possible taint of racial discrimination or racial segregation and help provide the moral leadership for eliminating racial discrimination from the whole community. Fundamentally, the [race] problem is a moral one, involving the spiritual character of every man, his uniqueness as an image of God, and his inalienable rights given by the same Lord and Creator of all, who is dishonored when any of his children are dishonored because of their physical difference, background or national origin.

Mr. Speaker, we in Chicago shall not forget the impact of Albert Cardinal Meyer's spirit of dedication, of his brave leadership in thought and action as he sought to achieve a renaissance of the democratic spirit. We value his reverence and love for God and God's creatures. We have shared in his translation of faith into action. If his place is now empty, the memory remains full of this great man and of the ideals for which he worked.

All of us who knew him regret that his labors were confined to so brief an hour of history, but it was a bright hour, and his gifts to the church, to the community and to the world will be long remembered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES ACT

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, my district is blessed with relative prosperity and a great desire to care for its own. Its local charities, community relations groups, and civic organizations exert responsible leadership in our communities and have always tried to assist our less fortunate neighbors to improve their lot.

Now we are organizing our efforts so as to take full advantage of the Economic Opportunity Act, so that even more rapid progress may be made. This is truly a grassroots program, and I am certain my colleagues will be interested in remarks made to the Battle Creek Rotary Club by Dr. Charles Swan, of Albion College, who is one of the leaders in this program in Calhoun County.

I include his remarks, as follows:

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES ACT AND THE ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM

(Speech to the Rotary Club of Battle Creek, Mich., Mar. 29, 1965, by Dr. Charles L. Swan)

Mr. President and friends of Rotary, it is a pleasure to be invited to speak to you

again. I have addressed you before on two occasions, and on both I took you to lands overseas, reporting on the journey my wife and I took overland from Denmark to India and Nepal. Today, I have been asked to present a program which is stirring our own country, the antipoverty program.

I should first make a disclaimer. I am going to talk about poverty, but I don't really believe in it, though I confess my wife sometimes thinks I do. Though I am going to describe aspects of a piece of important legislation, the Economic Opportunities Act, I'm not really a legal expert, and I have brought Mr. Richard Anthony and Mr. Robert Langer, of our Calhoun County Community Council, to help me out if your questions, after the speech, become too difficult for me. Finally, I am really here as a substitute for Mr. James Heinz, the chairman of our social action division of the community council; he should be asked later on to come and speak for himself, for he knows the program, and you can depend upon his judgment as one of our county's most able legal minds.

Now there are two reasons why, as a college professor of sociology, I am involved in this antipoverty program. First, the young men and women with whom I work are going to be needed by this program. Second, in a larger and more important sense all of us are involved in this program. In 1847, in his "Communist Manifesto," Karl Marx prophesied that our civilization would one day be destroyed by the conflict between "the have nots" and the "the haves." He said that the differences between the upper classes and the lower classes would become steadily more and more bitter and irreconcilable until finally a bloody and mortal revolution would break out. "The have nots" would liquidate "the haves," capitalism would be eliminated, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would be established. Actually, a very different story has been told by our history: The prophesy of Marx has not been fulfilled because of people like my students and programs like the antipoverty program. My students come from very fortunate homes; they are the sons and daughters of prosperous and successful men. They attend a high-tuition, high-standard private college. They are capable of entering into the most rewarding of professions and positions. Yet they deliberately and consciously choose to serve the "man furthest down" (as Booker T. Washington called him). They belong to that basic tradition of decency and justice which undergirds our civilization and makes impossible the fulfillment of Marx's prophesy.

In 1962 Luther Hodges and his Department of Commerce was asked by the national legislators to make a survey of our country. They found that of our 47 millions of families, 9,200,000 families—with a total population of more than 30 million—are living on an annual income of less than \$3,000. They found that of the 3,200,000 rural farm families in America, 43 percent are below the \$3,000 line; of our 4,600,000 nonwhite families, 45 percent are below the \$3,000 level; of our 6,800,000 families with the head of the family older than 65 years, 47 percent live on less than \$3,000 a year; and of the 4,700,000 families in which a woman is the head of the family, 48 percent fall below the \$3,000 annual income level. But these statistics do not clearly describe the real "face of poverty" in our land.

Michael Harrington, in his "The Other America," has given us the phrase, "the culture of the poor." He suggests that a "way of life" has grown up among the poor which literally captures generation after generation of these people. This "culture of the poor" includes all the mental and moral

devices necessary for an individual's adjustment to prolonged poverty, including the fatalism, the escape mechanisms of fantasy and withdrawal, the habits of defeat. Parents pass on these values, these adjustment patterns, to their children so that we have a continuing community of the poor, a culture within our culture. This analysis of poverty brings us a first step toward a useful understanding of the poor.

A special segment of the Negro poor deserves particular notice: the unmarried Negro mother. There are, of course, white women who are on aid to dependent children but they involve a different set of problems. The Negro woman in this class has a special history. For one thing, the man who should marry her cannot really afford to support a family; he is unskilled and unproductive and generally unrewarded in our economy. The best he can do is to "visit," and move away whenever there is a threat that the welfare subsidies will be withdrawn. Then again, the unmarried Negro mother lives in the continuing shadow of slavery. In the cabins of the field laborers, a woman was well-adjusted who learned to regard marriage as a brittle, impermanent liaison. As the Negro man learned that it was psychologically fatal to fall deeply in love with a woman and her children, the woman learned to take full charge of her brood and fulfill the whole parental role, insofar as she knew it.

The patterns of this relationship have persisted. The establishment of the attitudes and habits of permanent, monogamous marriage is not easy. The preparation for monogamy is difficult outside the monogamous home, and children brought up in homes where the marital relationship has been different need patient help if they are to acquire a new set of values, a changed set of habits. There is a clamorous demand, today, that we become punitive in our treatment of the Negro unmarried mother. This clamor fails to understand the real difficulties before us. Furthermore, if we should halt the welfare aid to these women, we would suddenly find a million new commercial prostitutes on our streets, and such a prospect is enough to dismay the most callous hearts.

One more segment of our poor should be noted. It was not long ago that a Michigan farmer said to me, "If I had not been able to borrow \$50,000, I would have had to sell the farm and try to get a job in a factory, if there was one to find." You have heard this said lately. Or perhaps you have talked to the man who did not get his loan. Between the years 1950 and 1955, one-third of the farmers of Calhoun County stopped farming, turning over their lands to others. The vast technological changes which have engulfed our agriculture have left a host of folk in another economic backwater, where they seem to be trapped by their lack of preparation, by their old habits, and lack of new knowledge. They need patient help if they are to return to the main stream of the American prosperity.

The Economic Opportunities Act is the product of a generation of preparation. It makes, in the first place, available to us a sum of a little less than \$1 billion. This is a far cry from the \$11 billion which could be so easily wasted on a cash handout to the poor, but it is, by the best estimates, the amount which can be used this year to stimulate our country into action. In the second place, this money is to be spent by local groups, those groups which have been at work for 30 years trying to solve the problems of poverty in their experimental, limited programs. This emphasis on the local community does not mean that we are going to fall into the barren philosophy of "localism": ideas and talents have free-flow

in this modern America of ours, and men know how to move and reach across State lines, county lines, community lines for ideas, methods, resources in the solution of our common human problems. We are not confined to local brains and local experience; but local leadership has accepted the responsibility for initiative. Finally, it is recognized that poverty is a complex, ever-changing problem with numerous forms and facets. To transmute the relief recipient into a contributing citizen requires a great deal of patience and a variety of different programs. No one in Washington has been given the power to veto a program which has any real chance of success. That is how the law has been written.

Here in Calhoun County, the Calhoun County Community Council has taken the initiative. Following the advisory sections of the act, the council has organized what is called the social action division of the council, and given its authorization to carry on under the act. The division is composed of all sorts of people, practically everyone who has had some experience with successful work among the poor—whether they have been administrative people or people who have been helped by the existing programs. The "Division" represents the whole county and every segment of the community.

A number of task forces have been appointed. For instance, I was put in charge of the task force to which was assigned the task of describing and preparing a research and program-development project. We have already asked for a sum of \$20,000 under the act. With this money, we will get a research man to work with our Mr. Robert Langer in a year-long effort to see how best to use any money we may ask for. In this study we will use volunteer personnel. Last week I came to know that Albion College is planning a program for training VISTA workers; workers for the internal Peace Corps. If that plan goes through, the research project will use some VISTA personnel—during and after their course of training—to give Calhoun County a hard and steady examination.

Already, Dr. Harry Davidson and his colleagues in the Battle Creek Public School System have put in a request for some \$120,000. For years they have been "itching" to do some necessary extra work among the underprivileged children of Battle Creek, and their families. They know the limits of local resources; now that funds are available they have taken prompt and apt action. They are, I believe, going to be able to do, this summer and this coming year, work among their charges which they have so urgently desired to do for so long.

The word is getting around to responsible people all over this county that it is time to untie the hands which have too long been tied. People who have been looking at poverty with a tragic feeling of helplessness, people who have long known that certain things could be done to change the "culture of the poor," people who know their county well are stirring into action. School people, social agency workers, the colleges, private organizations, and private individuals are beginning to feel the impetus of new opportunity. The war on poverty has been joined in Calhoun County.

The social action division, with James Heinz of the Wolverine Insurance Co. at its head, will act as a clearinghouse. It will scrutinize all proposed projects with careful realism. Men of experience in the schools and social agencies will bring to bear on the projects the light of a generation of accumulated understanding. And in 2 or 3 years we will have a report to make to you.

There are cynics around us. Cynics have a useful role to play, in that they save us from mistakes. But a community that makes no mistakes never does anything, and cynics are not the people who move the human race forward. We have fatalistic people who say

that the world cannot be improved; but fatalism is not the philosophy of leadership. There are opponents to the antipoverty program. But our county also has a host of men of good will and foresight, men of hope and of leadership. With their support and encouragement, I believe the social action division of our county community council will operate the Economic Opportunities Act successfully in our little square of America's good earth.

**VERMONT MAPLE SIRUP**

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Vermont?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of last week, during consideration of the second supplemental appropriation bill, several of my highly respected and distinguished colleagues from the States of Massachusetts, Ohio, and Wisconsin took occasion to discuss the excellence of the maple sirup produced in their constituencies.

They did so in the course of supporting the continuing necessity for a Federal research center to improve maple products, located in Philadelphia, Pa.

While we in Vermont also believe it wise to continue the work of the research center, we can understand the special urgency of the pleas made in its behalf by my colleagues.

Their sirup is good—but if it is to compete with that from the Green Mountains it needs much improvement.

My colleagues on Tuesday of last week challenged each other to a contest to determine which State produced the best maple sirup. That is as it should be. When a winner has emerged, if he has the courage, let him then challenge the acknowledged champion in this field—Vermont.

Should the maple sirup from his State approach the excellence of that produced in Vermont, we might then extend to him the privilege—somewhat involuntarily made available to our immediate neighbors, New York, New Hampshire, and Quebec—of marketing a limited quantity of the best maple sirup produced in his State under the label "Made in Vermont."

**HORTON BILLS HELP VOLUNTEER FIRE COMPANIES**

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing two bills today, the benefits of which are desired and deserved by hundreds of thousands of volunteer firefighters in this Nation and the volunteer fire companies they serve.

One would give volunteer fire companies, as well as volunteer ambulance and rescue squads, the same reduced

postage rates now available to many other charitable groups.

The second bill would exempt the fundraising and social activities of volunteer fire companies from Federal taxes when the proceeds are used exclusively in connection with their firefighting functions.

I believe this is needed legislation. It is becoming increasingly difficult for volunteer fire companies to raise the money they need in order to protect our lives and property. Certainly, we can help to relieve some of that burden by extending them reduced mailing rates and tax exemptions on the various events they conduct to purchase new equipment.

Every year the heroic deeds—often unsung—of our friends and neighbors who are volunteer firefighters save the taxpayers millions of dollars. Enactment of this legislation is one of the ways we can say "thanks."

**PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS ACT OF 1921, AS AMENDED**

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921.

This act sets forth the responsibility and authority under which the Secretary of Agriculture supervises trading in livestock, meat, and poultry. Its primary purpose is to protect livestock producers, poultry producers, and others from unethical and dishonest practices, and to maintain a climate which assures the free working of competitive forces in determining industry prices.

The act in its original form was generally well written, but experience has shown that certain deficiencies do exist, and sweeping changes which have taken place in the marketing industry since 1921 necessitate further amendments to the act.

Paramount among these industry changes are: the entry of retailers into the packing function; a concentration of meat retailing in large volume firms; a substantial increase in the number of packers handling large volumes; a very great increase in direct negotiation and settlement between producers and packers; and the decentralization of sales over a wide area.

Presently subject to the Packers and Stockyards Act are 2,250 stockyards, 3,300 packers, 17,000 commission firms and dealers, and 1,000 poultry dealers or processors, which, in 1963, handled about \$11.5 billion worth of livestock, \$18 billion worth of meat, and \$1.5 billion worth of poultry.

Thus, an industry handling products worth \$31 billion in 1963, or over 5 percent of our gross national product for that year, is currently regulated under a law more than 40 years old. There is no doubt that the Packers and Stock-

yards Act of 1921 must be revised to conform to the conditions existing in 1965.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. —

A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, as amended, and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, 42 Stat. 159, as amended (7 U.S.C. 181 et seq.), is amended by changing the title of said statute to read as follows: "An Act to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in livestock, meats, meat food products, livestock products, poultry, and poultry products, and for other purposes."

Sec. 2. Subsection 2(a) of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 182) is amended as follows:

(a) By deleting the word "and" at the end of paragraph (5) and redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (8); and

(b) By adding new paragraphs (6) and (7) to read, respectively:

"(6) The term 'poultry' means chickens, turkeys, geese, ducks, and other domesticated fowl—whether live or dead;

"(7) The term 'poultry products' means all edible or unmanufactured inedible products and byproducts of the poultry slaughtering and processing industry derived in whole or in part from poultry, and including slaughtered poultry; and"

Sec. 3. Subsection 2(b) of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 183) is amended by changing the first sentence to read:

"For the purpose of this Act (but not in anywise limiting the foregoing definition) a transaction in respect to any article shall be considered to be in commerce if such transaction is part of, or burdens or affects, or such article is in, that current of commerce usual in the livestock or meatpacking or distributing industries or in the poultry or poultry slaughtering, processing, or distributing industries, whereby livestock, meats, meat food products, livestock products, poultry, or poultry products are sent from a point in one State with the expectation that they will end their transit, before or after purchase, in another State, including, in addition to cases within the above general description, all cases where purchase or sale is either for shipment to another State, or for slaughtering, manufacturing, processing, or preparing within the State and the shipment outside the State of the products resulting therefrom."

Sec. 4. Section 2 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 182, 183) is further amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection (c) to read: "(c) The term 'unfair practice', as used in this Act, shall include (1) the failure, without reasonable cause, in any transaction subject to this Act, to make full payment for livestock, meats, meat food products, livestock products in unmanufactured form, poultry, or poultry products in accordance with the applicable contract; and (2) the refusal, without reasonable cause, in any transaction subject to this Act, to accept, or fail to deliver, any such commodity in accordance with the applicable contract. Nothing in this subsection shall be deemed in anywise to limit the meaning of the term 'unfair practice' as used in this Act."

Sec. 5. Section 201 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 191) is amended to read:

"Sec. 201. When used in this Act—

"The term 'packer' means any person engaged in the business (a) of buying or otherwise acquiring in commerce livestock or poultry for purposes of slaughter, or (b) of manufacturing, processing, or preparing in any manner meats, meat food products, or

edible poultry products, for sale or shipment in commerce, or (c) of buying or selling or otherwise marketing meats, meat food products, livestock products in unmanufactured form, or poultry products, in commerce."

Sec. 6. Sections 203, 204, and 205 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 193, 194, 195) are amended by inserting the phrase "or live poultry dealer or handler" after the word "packer" wherever the latter word appears in said sections.

Sec. 7. Section 203 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 193) is further amended by deleting from subsections (a) and (b) the phrase "this title" and substituting the phrase "this Act".

Sec. 8. The heading of Title III of said Packers and Stockyards Act is amended to read: "Title III—Stockyards; Registration; and Reparation".

Sec. 9. Section 203 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 203) is amended as follows:

(a) By inserting the phrase "in such manner and" before the phrase "under such rules and regulations" in the first sentence, substituting a period for the comma following the word "prescribe" in the first sentence, and deleting the rest of said sentence;

(b) By inserting the phrase "and under such rules and regulations" after the phrase "in such manner" in the second sentence; and

(c) By adding at the end of the section the following sentence: "This penalty shall not apply in case of violation of any order suspending or revoking a registration, for which a different penalty is provided by this Act."

Sec. 10. Section 306 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 207) is amended as follows:

(a) By substituting the word "thirty" for the word "ten" wherever the latter word appears in subsection (c);

(b) By substituting the word "ninety" for the word "thirty" wherever the latter word appears in subsection (e);

(c) By inserting the phrase "including any initial schedule," after the comma following the word "schedule" the first time the latter word appears in subsection (e) and by deleting the phrase "change of" before the word "rate" in the last sentence of subsection (e); and

(d) By adding the following to subsection (e) at the end of said subsection: "The burden of proof with respect to the reasonableness of any rate, charge, regulation or practice shall be on the proponent thereof."

Sec. 11. Section 307 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 208) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deprive a stockyard owner from exercising the right to manage and regulate his stockyard in a just, reasonable, and nondiscriminatory manner, including the right to require those persons engaged in business at the stockyard to conduct their operations in a manner which will foster and insure an efficient, competitive public market."

Sec. 12. Subsection 308(a) of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 209(a)) is amended to read:

"(a) If any person subject to any of the provisions of this Act violates any of the provisions of this Act or of any order of the Secretary made under this Act, he shall be liable to the person or persons injured thereby for the full amount of damages sustained in consequence of such violation."

Sec. 13. Section 309 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 210) is amended as follows:

(a) By changing the first sentence in subsection (a) to read:

"Any person complaining of anything done or omitted to be done by any person subject to this Act (hereinafter in this section re-

ferred to as the 'defendant') in violation of any of the provisions of this Act or of an order of the Secretary made under this Act, may, at any time within one hundred and twenty days after the cause of action accrues, apply to the Secretary by complaint which shall briefly state the facts, whereupon if the Secretary has reasonable grounds for believing that the defendant has violated the Act or an order of the Secretary made under the Act, a copy of the complaint thus made shall be forwarded by the Secretary to the defendant, who shall be called upon to satisfy the complaint, or to answer it in writing, within a reasonable time to be specified by the Secretary."

(b) By changing the word "or" to "and" in the last sentence of subsection (a);

(c) By deleting the word "petition" from the second sentence in subsection (c) and substituting the word "complaint"; and by adding after the words "including the power" the phrase:

"to submit evidence in favor of or in opposition to any issue and";

(d) By substituting a colon for the period at the end of subsection (e) and adding thereafter the following proviso:

"Provided, That in complaints wherein the amount claimed as damages does not exceed the sum of \$1,500, an oral hearing need not be held and proof in support of the complaint and in support of the defendant's answer may be supplied in the form of depositions or verified statements of fact unless the Secretary directs that an oral hearing be held."; and

(e) By adding at the end of said section the following subsections:

"(g) Any party adversely affected by the entry by the Secretary of an order granting or denying reparation may, within thirty days from and after the date of such order, appeal therefrom to the district court of the United States for the district in which the hearing was held: *Provided*, That in cases handled without oral hearing in accordance with subsection (e) or in which oral hearing has been waived by agreement of the parties, appeal may be to the district court of the United States for the district in which any party complained against is located. Such appeal shall be perfected by the filing with the clerk of said court of a notice of appeal, together with a petition in duplicate which shall recite the prior proceedings before the Secretary and shall state the grounds upon which petitioner relies to defeat the right of any adverse party to recover, or to establish his own right to recover, the damages claimed, with proof of service thereof upon each adverse party. Such an appeal by an appellant who has been ordered by the Secretary to pay a reparation award shall not be effective unless, within thirty days from and after the date of the Secretary's order, the appellant also files with the clerk a bond in double the amount of one hundred and thirty percent of the amount of the reparation awarded, conditioned upon the payment of any money judgment entered by the court against the appellant, plus interest and costs, including a reasonable attorney's fee for the appellee, if the appellee shall prevail. Such bond shall be in the form of cash, negotiable securities having a market value at least equivalent to the amount of bond prescribed, or the undertaking of a surety company approved by the court. The clerk of the court shall immediately forward a copy of the petition to the Secretary, who shall forthwith prepare, certify, and file in said court a true copy of the Secretary's decision, findings of fact, conclusions, and order in said case, together with copies of the pleadings upon which the case was heard and submitted to the Secretary. Such suit in the district court shall be a trial de novo and shall proceed in all respects like other civil suits for damages, except that the findings of fact and

order or orders of the Secretary shall be prime facie evidence of the facts therein stated. An appellee shall not be liable for costs in said court and, if he prevails, he shall be allowed a reasonable attorney's fee to be taxed and collected as a part of his costs. Such petition and pleadings certified by the Secretary upon which decision was made by him shall upon filing in the district court constitute the pleadings upon which said trial de novo shall proceed, subject to any amendment allowed in that court.

"(h) Unless a defendant who is registered under this Act, and against whom an order for the payment of money has been issued, shows to the satisfaction of the Secretary within five days from the expiration of the period allowed for compliance with such order either that he has taken an appeal as provided for in subsection (g) of this section or that payment has been made in full as required by such order, he shall be suspended automatically as a registrant under the Act at the expiration of such five-day period until he shows to the satisfaction of the Secretary that the amount therein specified has been paid, with interest thereon to date of payment. If an appeal is taken by such a defendant and the judgment of the court is adverse to the appellant, or if the appeal is dismissed, unless the defendant within five days thereafter makes payment as required by the order, he shall be suspended automatically as a registrant until he shows to the satisfaction of the Secretary that payment has been made, with interest thereon to date of payment. If such a judgment is stayed by a court of competent jurisdiction, the suspension shall become effective five days after the expiration of such stay unless full payment has been made, with interest to date of payment, and shall continue until a satisfactory showing of payment has been made to the Secretary.

"(i) Unless any other defendant, against whom an order for the payment of money has been issued, shows to the satisfaction of the Secretary within five days from the expiration of the period allowed for compliance with such order either that he has taken an appeal as provided for in subsection (g) of this section or that payment has been made in full as required by such order, such defendant shall be liable to a penalty of \$500 per day for each day, after said five days, in which he engages in any business subject to this Act, until such defendant shows to the satisfaction of the Secretary that the amount specified in the order, with interest to date of payment, has been paid, which penalty shall accrue to the United States and may be recovered in a civil action brought by the United States. If an appeal is taken by such defendant, said penalty shall not begin to accrue until five days after judgment by the court adverse to the defendant, or dismissal of the appeal. If such a judgment is stayed by a court of competent jurisdiction, the penalty shall become applicable beginning five days after the expiration of such stay unless full payment has been made, with interest to date of payment, and shall continue to be applicable until such payment has been made."

Sec. 14. Sec. 310 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 211) is amended by deleting from subsection (b) the phrase "owner or operator" and substituting the phrase "stockyard owner or market agency".

Sec. 15. Section 311 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 212) is amended as follows:

(a) By changing the first sentence to read: "Whenever in any investigation under the provisions of this Act, or in any investigation instituted upon petition of any stockyard owner, market agency, dealer, packer, or live poultry dealer or handler concerned, which petition is hereby authorized to be filed, the Secretary after full hearing finds

that any rate, charge, regulation, or practice of any stockyard owner, market agency, dealer, packer, or live poultry dealer or handler, in connection with any transaction, not in commerce, in any commodity of the kind regulated under this Act, causes any undue or unreasonable advantage, prejudice, or preference as between persons or localities in intrastate commerce on the one hand and interstate or foreign commerce on the other hand, or any undue, unjust, or unreasonable discrimination against interstate or foreign commerce, which is hereby forbidden, and declared to be unlawful, the Secretary shall prescribe the rate, charge, regulation, or practice thereafter to be observed, in such manner as, in his judgment, will remove such advantage, preference, or discrimination."

(b) By deleting the phrase "or dealers" from the second sentence and substituting the phrase "dealers, packers, or live poultry dealers or handlers".

Sec. 16. Subsection 312(b) of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 213(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Whenever complaint is made to the Secretary by any person, or whenever the Secretary has reason to believe, that any stockyard owner, market agency, or dealer is violating or has violated the provisions of subsection (a), the Secretary after notice and full hearing may make an order that he shall cease and desist from continuing such violation to the extent that the Secretary finds that it does or will exist or has existed."

Sec. 17. Subsection 314(a) of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 215(a)) is amended by changing the first sentence to read: "Any stockyard owner, market agency, or dealer, or any officer, director, agent, or employee thereof, who fails to obey any order made under the provisions of sections 310, 311, 312, or 409 shall forfeit to the United States the sum of \$500 for each offense."

Sec. 18. Section 315 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 216) is amended as follows:

(a) By inserting in the first sentence, after the word "dealer", a comma and the phrase "or any officer, director, agent, or employee thereof,"; and

(b) By changing the second sentence to read: "If after hearing the court determines that the order was lawfully made and duly served and that such stockyard owner, market agency, or dealer, or any officer, director, agent, or employee thereof, is in disobedience of the same, the court shall enforce obedience to such order by a writ of injunction or other proper process, mandatory or otherwise, to restrain such stockyard owner, market agency, or dealer, or any or all officers, directors, agents, or employees thereof, from disobedience of said order or to enjoin upon him or them obedience to the same."

Sec. 19. Section 316 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 217) is repealed.

Sec. 20. Section 402 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 222) is amended by deleting the phrase "subject to the provisions of this Act, whether or not a corporation" and substituting the phrase "as defined in this Act".

Sec. 21. Section 403 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 223) is amended as follows:

(a) By inserting in the present provisions of said section, before the comma following the word "Act", the phrase "or orders of the Secretary under this Act"; and

(b) By adding at the end of said section the following: "Any cease and desist order issued under this Act against any packer, live poultry dealer or handler, stockyard owner, market agency, or dealer may also be directed against any individual who, as an officer, director, agent, or employee thereof, was responsible for the act, omission, or failure on which such order was based."

Sec. 22. Section 407 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 228) is amended by inserting in the first sentence, after the word "provisions", the phrase "or to accomplish any of the purposes".

Sec. 23. Said Packers and Stockyards Act is further amended by redesignating section 408 as section 412 and by adding to the Act four new sections to read, respectively, as follows:

"Sec. 408. The Secretary may require reasonable bonds from market agencies, dealers, packers, and live poultry dealers and handlers, in such manner and under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, to secure the performance of their obligations with respect to transactions involving livestock or poultry."

"Sec. 409. Whenever the Secretary determines, after opportunity for a hearing, that any registrant is insolvent or has violated any of the provisions of this Act or an order of the Secretary under this Act, he may by order suspend the registrant for a reasonable specified period and, if the violation is flagrant or repeated, he may by order revoke the registration of the offender. Such order shall take effect within such reasonable time, not less than five days, as is prescribed in the order, unless suspended or modified or set aside by the Secretary or a court of competent jurisdiction. Any person who carries on any business in violation of a suspension or revocation order under this Act, shall be subject to the penalty and enforcement provisions of this Act relating to violation of an order of the Secretary. If a registrant who has been suspended, by an order under this Act, for a period of ninety days or less shall permit any other person to engage in any business for which registration is required under this Act at the place of business of the suspended registrant during such period, the suspended registrant shall thereby be deemed to fail to obey such order."

"Sec. 410. Whenever the Secretary has reason to believe that any person subject to this Act, (a) with respect to any transaction subject to the Act, has failed to pay or is unable to pay for livestock, meats, meat food products, livestock products in unmanufactured form, poultry, or poultry products, or has failed to remit to the person entitled thereto the net proceeds from the sale of any such commodity sold on a commission basis; or (b) has operated in violation of the Act in a fraudulent manner which may endanger payment for such commodities purchased by him or result in injury to any person with whom he engages in business or enters into any business transaction subject to this Act; or (c) (in any case in which injunctive remedies are not otherwise provided for) has operated in violation of an order of the Secretary under this Act; or (d) does not have the required bond, the Secretary may notify the Attorney General, who may apply to the United States district court for the district in which such person has his principal place of business or in which he resides, for an injunction to enjoin him from operating subject to this Act, or to enjoin him from operating subject to this Act except under such conditions as the court may prescribe for the protection of vendors or consignors of such commodities or other affected persons. Upon a showing by the Secretary of the need for a court order to effectuate the purposes of this selection, the court may issue a temporary restraining order, preliminary injunction, and permanent injunction as it deems appropriate."

"Sec. 411. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person subject to this Act—

"(1) to acquire, or to hold, directly or indirectly, the whole or any part of the stock, other share capital, or assets of any other person subject to this Act, where in any line of commerce, with respect to livestock, meats, meat food products, livestock products in unmanufactured form, poultry, or poultry

products, in any section of the country, the effect of such acquisition or holding may be substantially to lessen competition, or tend to create a monopoly; or

"(2) to conspire, combine, agree, or arrange with any other person to do, or aid or abet the doing of, any act made unlawful by this section.

"(b) Whenever the Secretary shall have reason to believe that any person subject to this Act intends to acquire or has acquired or holds any stock, other share capital, or assets in violation of this section he may institute a proceeding to be conducted in accordance with the provisions of section 203, and if, after hearing, he finds that such person intends to acquire or has acquired or holds such stock, other share capital, or assets and that the effect of such acquisition or holding may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce, with respect to livestock, meats, meat food products, livestock products in unmanufactured form, poultry or poultry products, in any section of the country, the Secretary may order such person to refrain or cease and desist from such violation and to divest himself of any such stock, other share capital, or assets so acquired, or held, in the manner and within the time fixed by such order. The provisions of sections 203, 204, and 205 of this Act shall apply to such orders and the persons subject thereto. The Attorney General may, upon request of the Secretary or upon his own initiative, apply to the United States District Court for the district of residence of any person proceeded against, for any injunction to prevent and restrain the alleged violation of this section pending the final disposition of the proceeding before the Secretary.

"(c) Every packer and live poultry dealer or lender shall at least 90 days prior to acquiring any stock, other share capital, or assets of any other person subject to this Act, notify the Secretary of his intention to do so, and shall furnish, within 30 days after service of a request therefor, such additional information with respect to the proposed acquisition as the Secretary may require. Any packer or live poultry dealer or handler failing to give notice or to furnish information as required by this subsection shall be subject to a forfeiture of \$100 for each and every day of the continuance of such failure, which forfeiture shall be payable into the Treasury of the United States and shall be recoverable in a civil suit in the name of the United States brought in the district where such packer or live poultry dealer or handler has his principal office or in any district in which he shall do business. Failure of the Secretary to impose objection to such acquisition within the 90-day period shall not bar the institution at any time of any action or proceeding with respect to such acquisition under any provision of law."

Sec. 24. Section 503 of said Packers and Stockyards Act (7 U.S.C. 218b) is amended as follows:

(a) By deleting the phrase "for purposes of slaughter" in the second sentence; and

(b) By adding at the end of said section two new sentences to read: "The term 'handler' means any person engaged in the business of (a) buying or selling live poultry in commerce on a commission basis, or (b) furnishing services or facilities in connection with the receiving, buying or selling on a commission basis or otherwise, marketing, feeding, watering, holding, delivering, shipping, weighing, unloading, loading on trucks, trucking, or handling, in commerce, of live poultry. A common carrier shall not be deemed to be a 'handler' solely by reason of its common carrier operations."

Sec. 25. The proviso in the paragraph designated "Packers and Stockyards Act" under the heading "Marketing Service" in the Act

of July 12, 1943 (57 Stat. 422; 7 U.S.C. 204), is deleted.

SEC. 26. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby. Pending proceedings shall not be abated by reason of any provision of this Act, but shall be disposed of pursuant to the provisions of the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended, and the Act of July 12, 1943, in effect immediately prior to the effective date of this Act.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITION OF AFRICA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, because of the wide interest in the new nations of Africa, which have every good wish of the American people, I am extending my remarks to include an article by John Allan May in today's Christian Science Monitor. The article, which is given a conspicuous display on page 1 of the Monitor, follows:

#### POOR RESOURCES: AFRICA FOUND IN ECONOMIC MIRE

(By John Allan May)

LONDON.—The economic situation of the many newly independent states of Africa now is more serious than most people probably imagine.

It requires fresh and urgent action.

Chinese Communists are increasingly active in spreading the claims of Marxism as the solvent for all intractable problems.

The West's most effective replies are likely to include these:

Training of more Africans in business and industry.

Provisions of more money immediately for investment in local, small industry.

Action to prepare the base for more sophisticated African manufacturing industries later.

Building of a continental African communications network.

Strong support for the integration of Africa's economies if possible on a continental scale.

Opening of Western markets to Africa's processed and semiprocessed goods.

#### REVERSE COLONIZING

These conclusions emerge clearly from two new surveys of the economies of Africa.

One is by the economic intelligence service, "Opera Mundi Europe."

The other is by a commission of the European Economic Community (Common Market).

At present Africa is fragmented, according to Opera Mundi—"one of humanity's saddest mistakes is that decolonization should have followed so slavishly the pattern of colonization."

Between 85 and 90 percent of Africans depend for work on agriculture.

This agriculture is primitive, and its pattern is repeated from state to state.

Industrialization is necessary, Opera Mundi points out, but is "practically impossible without cooperation between the neighboring countries."

In 14 states in the French franc zone of Africa, "agriculture" means five basic products: ground nuts, cocoa, coffee, timber, and cotton.

Ground nuts, for example, constitute 90 percent of all Senegal's exports, and cocoa is 65 percent of Ghana's.

These countries, meanwhile, are seldom complementary from an economic point of view. "Most often they compete with one another," declares Opera Mundi, "or at best are indifferent to each other."

Talk of an African common market it calls "purely wishful thinking." Possibly, "a dangerous illusion." A common market demands industry and Africa "has hardly started."

Niger has neither minerals nor industry. In Dahomey 64 percent of the 1964 budget was used to pay civil servants.

#### BEGINNINGS MADE

All the same a beginning has been made. Chad and Cameroun have built a joint cement works in Chad and a joint textile center in Cameroun.

The Bamako Conference of African States in October 1964, agreed to build a joint steel works in Nigeria.

But "for all these countries \* \* \* especially for the small ones, the choice," says Opera Mundi, "does not lie between industrializing all by themselves or industrializing together—it lies between industrializing together or not industrializing at all."

Aid today is concentrated largely on schools, roads, ports, power stations, and other public works.

The Common Market has made a significant contribution here, with \$561 million for 18 associated countries in the first 5-year program up to 1963 and a projected \$730 million in the next.

#### ALUMINUM DEVELOPED

Britain in 1964 provided \$230 million from government sources for Commonwealth countries. There are also 5,000 private British firms operating in Africa.

For the United States, Kaiser and Reynolds are building an aluminum factory in Ghana.

Chase Manhattan Bank and Indian Head Mills are sponsoring textile industries in Nigeria, and Singer is making sewing machines there.

Italian roadbuilders are busy in Africa, and there are plans for a Fiat tractor assembly plant in the Congo.

The West German Government is financing 383 projects in 30 countries.

French businesses provide \$60 million a year for African states. Some 92 percent of the Common Market's contracts have gone to French firms so far. And France nationally provides more government money for developing states in Africa than any other country.

#### CRASH PROGRAM URGED

But a great deal of all government aid—French, American, and British—is tied to the products of the donor.

What is needed is a crash program for training local African entrepreneurs, Opera Mundi declares—and a new understanding in Africa of the need to reward private investment.

It is here perhaps that the Communist drive is most menacing. For without this investment and without those entrepreneurs the future of Africa appears gloomy indeed.

To all this the Common Market report submitted to the European Parliament at Strasbourg adds the note:

"No adequate speedup of economic growth—which is the final objective of development aid—can be expected from the expansion of the exports of the developing countries in the next few years.

"Growth requires an adequate diversification of national production. This objective in turn presupposes, primarily, a growth of manufacturing industry established on a competitive footing and orientated toward

more sophisticated products which enjoy rapidly expanding demand in the developing countries themselves."

#### TAX REDUCTION GIMMICK

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, when the 1964 income tax reduction bill was approved, a few of us warned that a little publicized provision of the law could spell trouble for many taxpayers on April 15, 1965. Under that provision the withholding rate was cut from 18 percent to 14 percent, which represented a proportionately deeper cut than the actual reduction in basic tax rates on 1964 income. Thus, there was widespread underwithholding of income taxes during the year. Of course, the desired result was realized in an election year. With less money being withheld from his paycheck, the worker was led to believe that the tax reduction amounted to more than the law actually permitted and those who insisted on this withholding gimmick knew that the day of reckoning would not come until the 1964 elections were over.

The Internal Revenue Service has expressed sympathy but there is not much that can be done at this late date to solve the problem that was created in the first place by the Johnson administration.

Tomorrow, April 15, is the final day of reckoning and for those who have to borrow money to meet their tax payments, I suggest they write to the foreign aiders here in Washington and ask for a loan at the same low rate of interest—or no interest at all, that is available to foreigners.

#### THE FUTURE OF SILVER

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, silver is a vital subject of discussion both as a commodity and as a material for coinage. This precious metal is a concern to the people of the Nation and is very important to the people and industries of my district.

On April 6, 1965, there was on this floor a discussion about market control measures relating to silver during which the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. WHITE] made certain suggestions for steps that might be taken during the transition to a new coinage. Unlike the gentleman from Idaho, I am not a silver miner, nor do I represent a State which would benefit by the legislation which he proposes. On the contrary, people in my State—both users and consumers of silver prod-

ucts—would probably suffer severely from the steps which he proposes. I share his concern about our coinage but the proper solution is to eliminate silver from our subsidiary coins and not resort to halfway measures.

During the discussion on the floor, the text of a paper setting forth the views of the silver producers was included in the RECORD. This paper was presented to the New York Society of Security Analysts on March 29. Eleven days earlier, March 18, a paper was submitted to this group setting forth the views of the silver users. The speaker was John B. Stevens, senior vice president of International Silver Co., which is located in my district. Mr. Stevens is also chairman of the executive committee of the Silver Users Association. I ask unanimous consent at this time to place in the RECORD Mr. Stevens' remarks and urge that all Members avail themselves of the opportunity to read this presentation of "the other side of the coin":

#### THE FUTURE OF SILVER

(An address by John B. Stevens, senior vice president, International Silver Co., and chairman of the executive committee of the Silver Users Association, before the New York Society of Security Analysts, New York City, Mar. 18, 1965)

I appreciate very much the opportunity to speak to you today about a complicated subject of vital importance—the future of silver.

First, I would quickly like to state the variety of uses to which silver is put in our country today. Total industrial use, according to a statement by a Treasury official made on February 6, was 110 million troy ounces in 1963, broken down approximately as follows: photographic film, 33.3 million; electric equipment, 26 million; silverware and jewelry, 22 million; brazing alloys and solders, 13 million; batteries, 6.2 million; dental and medical, 5.1 million; mirrors, 3.1 million; missiles, 200,000; and miscellaneous uses, 1.1 million.

The Silver Users Association, for whom I am now speaking, is comprised of members in practically all of these categories, and we estimate that our members account for approximately 75 percent of all silver consumed in the United States.

I am going to discuss the present silver situation in its relation to supply and demand, new production, and the question of elimination of silver from our subsidiary coins. I will evaluate the factors involved in the elimination of silver from coins; they are: the circulation of coins, intrinsic value in coins, vending machines, counterfeiting and slugs, and foreign coinage.

#### THE PRESENT SILVER SITUATION

##### Supply and demand

The basic factor in the silver situation today is that consumption exceeds new production. Free world industrial use for 1965 is estimated at 300 million ounces, while production is estimated at 225 million ounces. The best estimates are that both industrial consumption and new production will increase about 5 percent each year. In addition, foreign coinage consumption is estimated at 50 million ounces. The ever increasing deficit is made up partly from supplies above ground in varying quantities and through the redemption of silver certificates for bullion.

Treasury stocks now amount to 1.1 billion ounces. In acquiring this silver, the Treasury paid for it by issuing silver certificates, redeemable on demand with silver, at the

rate of \$1.29 per ounce. The Government is legally and morally bound to redeem silver certificates. The demand for redemption amounted to 141 million ounces in 1964. It is now at the rate of 120 million ounces. However, this silver is also being used for coinage at a rate in excess of 312 million ounces a year. This silver is also being sold to other U.S. Government departments and agencies—8 million ounces were used in this manner in 1964. Thus the current demand on the Treasury stocks is at the rate of 440 million ounces a year. Present coinage requirements alone would exhaust the supply in about 3 years.

Reduction of the silver content in subsidiary coins to 30 percent, as proposed by the silver bloc, would require over 100 million ounces at the present rate of coinage. In addition, to combat the coin shortage, the Treasury states it is prepared to double this rate, which may be necessary if outstanding coins are withheld from circulation. In this case, coinage requirements alone would exhaust the supply in about 5 years.

##### Production

It is estimated that industrial use will require 345 million ounces of silver in 1968. The Silver Committee of the American Mining Congress on November 12, last year, using figures prepared by the staff of the American Smelting & Refining Co., estimated that new production during that year would be 32 million ounces above present production, or a total of 247 million ounces. However, on December 4, a new estimate was made by this committee foreseeing an increase of 38 million ounces, and bringing the total to 283 million ounces. These estimates were based on U.S. production increases of 7.2 and 8.2 million ounces respectively. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, however, estimated an increase of only 6 million ounces in U.S. production by 1970. In other words, using the highest estimated figures of the silver producers, there will be a total deficit between free world consumption and free world production of 92 million ounces in 1968. Any silver used in coinage would cause that much more increase in the deficit.

In relating the silver committee's figures on December 4, Mr. Robert M. Hardy, Jr., stated that almost all of the increased silver production would be recovered in association with other metals, and that almost all of the projects would involve an expansion in the production of copper, lead, and zinc. Simon Strauss, a vice president of American Smelting & Refining, who is also a member of the committee has stated that: "At present much silver production is derived as a byproduct from the mining of ores valuable chiefly for their copper, lead or zinc content. An increase in silver from this source can only occur when demand for the base metals justifies an increase in overall production."

It has long been recognized that factors other than the price for silver affect its production. From 1933 to 1963, the Treasury was forced by law to acquire 3 billion ounces of silver in an effort to raise the market price. The 1.1 billion ounces now remaining in the Treasury is a part of this stock. During this period domestic producers received up to 40 cents an ounce above the market price. In 1947 domestic production amounted to approximately 35 million ounces. Fifteen years later in 1961, despite Treasury buying prices ranging as high as 31 cents per ounce above the market price, domestic production was still 35 million ounces, with an average annual production of 36 million ounces during this period. In 1964, despite a 42-percent increase in the market price since 1961, production is still at the 36-million-ounce level.

Obviously, new mine production cannot cover industrial requirements alone, to say nothing of coinage requirements. Please note

that a rise in the market price for silver does not result in substantial increases in production. With world production for 1965 estimated at 225 million ounces, and U.S. production estimated at only 37 million ounces, producers outside the United States account for approximately 85 percent of the total world production, and would receive the benefit from the increased prices.

##### Silver in coins

An analysis of all the factors involved clearly shows that the only solution to the silver supply situation is the elimination of silver in the minting of coins. As I have indicated, there will not be enough silver to meet industrial requirements alone. The use in coinage of a metal in short supply violates every concept of a proper medium of exchange. The market price for the metal will sooner or later be driven up to the melt-down value of available coins. This is the objective of those who advocate the retention of silver in our coinage in the face of shortages.

Bear in mind the fact that at the present rate of coinage, 30-percent-silver coins would require over 100 million ounces a year, and it may be necessary to double this rate if new coinage requirements so demand. Foreign coinage will require 50 million ounces at the present rate.

The retention of silver in our subsidiary coins is advocated by the silver producing interests. In an article appearing in the February issue of Mining Engineering, the reason is set forth very clearly by Mr. Strauss, of American Smelting & Refining, a company whose refined silver production normally is in the range of 90 million ounces annually: "That the silver coinage producers should want to have silver retained in coinage is not surprising either. To them the use of silver for coins is a traditional market—one that has existed for thousands of years. As sellers they want as many different customers as possible and particularly they like to have a buyer with the financial resources and the insatiable appetite of the U.S. Treasury."

In the same article he also asks: "Is it more important to have silver for spoons and forks than to have silver for coins?"

The next question will be, Is it more important to have films than silver for coins—"cheap" silver coins, containing only 30 percent silver?

The retention of some silver in coins would again use our coinage system as a vehicle for a rise in the market price. The use of any silver in coins reduces the amount of Treasury silver available to make up the existing deficit between consumption and production and eventually the users of silver would be forced to resort to melting down coins to obtain silver. It is interesting to note that the Mexican Government has provided silver for its domestic users at 69 cents an ounce.

The producers plan for the withdrawal and melting down of high content coins for reminting into "cheap" coins of 30 percent silver content. This would raise the melt-down value of subsidiary coins from \$1.38 per ounce to \$4.80 per ounce.

The philosophy of the producers is rather interesting. The following is taken from a statement by the American Mining Congress on January 21, 1965:

"After the bulk of the old coinage has been withdrawn from circulation, a gradual rise in the price of silver above the level at which it is profitable to melt down present subsidiary coinage could occur, preceded by a rise in the monetary price. This would have two effects:

"1. It would stimulate segments of industry and the arts to seek more economical substitutes, thereby further reducing total demand for silver.

"2. It would stimulate additional new production, thereby further adding to the world supply."

Representatives of the silver producing interests have also informed us that: "In the long run, increased prices of silver will stimulate the search for new production and chase certain silver users out of the market. Some consumers will be eliminated, thus lessening the demand and the search for development of new silver production will be stimulated apart from base metal production."

The proposal by the American Mining Congress is novel, to say the least. The producers seek a price rise which will drive their customers to look for more economical substitutes, thereby reducing demand, and they also seek to increase supplies, ostensibly for customers whom they have driven away.

#### FACTORS INVOLVED IN ELIMINATION OR RETENTION OF SILVER IN COINS

##### *Circulation of coins*

The most important question in the decision as to silver or no silver in coins is the question of circulation. Coins must circulate or trade will cease. We now have a coin shortage in spite of a phenomenal increase in coinage. Coins are being collected, hoarded, held from circulation, sold at a premium, and held for speculation. This is in addition to saving coins in piggy banks.

The increase in coinage is far out of proportion to the increase in population, gross national product, coin vending machines, or any other criteria. The coin shortage was not created by a silver shortage, but the former has created the latter, which necessitates immediate action.

The supply situation does not permit the continuation of any silver coins unless high content coins now in circulation can be captured and melted down to make reduced silver content coins. Proposed legislation calls for 30 percent silver. The same legislation calls for the redemption of silver certificates at \$4 an ounce for silver at which price the metal content of the present silver coins will be worth three times their face value. Will the public permit them to be captured by the Government and melted down to make cheap silver coins? Judging by recent actions in connection with the coin shortage, they will not, and there is every reason to believe that outstanding high content coins would disappear for speculative purposes.

What is the alternative? The only one is to issue coins without silver. The public must be reassured that they can keep the present coins. The Treasury must continue to protect outstanding coins by keeping the market price of silver at \$1.29 until sufficient new coins are in circulation. Further, the Nation cannot fail to redeem silver certificates.

##### *Intrinsic value in coinage*

Those who contend that our subsidiary coins must have intrinsic value, specifically silver, do not understand the function of a coinage system. Coins must circulate freely as a medium of exchange. They must not have value which causes them to be kept out of circulation, such as a potential metal value greater than the face value of the coin, or any other value, such as the Kennedy half dollar which is, in reality, a commemorative coin.

The gold dollar is the standard unit of value in the United States. Even if gold were available it would be impractical to divide it into smaller pieces than the dollar. Accordingly, token coins are issued which represent the standard metal, which is gold. The United States has two types of token coins—subsidiary silver coins of 50 cents, 25 cents and 10 cents and minor coins of 5 cents and 1 cent.

Any material may be used in token coins, however, it must be in adequate supply. It is necessary to choose specifications which

will keep the value of the metal content well below any possible market price. The value of token coins is not derived from their content. It stems from their usefulness as a medium of exchange as convenient fractional substitutes for standard money. The intrinsic value of our silver coins has varied with the market price which has ranged from 24 cents an ounce to the present \$1.29 per ounce.

The principal metals now used for token coins are silver, copper, and nickel as well as combinations of these metals. When our coinage system was established in 1792, the silver dollar and lesser silver coins were also standard money. The content of the dollar has never been changed. The content of other silver coins was reduced slightly so that they would circulate, but it remains very high. This has not been a detriment until recently because of the plentiful supply and low price of silver. However, the inevitable problem has now arisen because of a world shortage of silver which has driven the market price almost to a point where our subsidiary coinage is endangered. Indeed, if the Treasury were not redeeming silver certificates for bullion at \$1.29 per ounce as prescribed by law, the market price would reach a level where subsidiary coins would be melted down for their silver content. This is always a dangerous situation, and particularly so for the United States where a coin shortage already exists.

Intrinsic value in coins is desirable only where the purchasing power of the money at its face value is uncertain. This is not the situation with regard to U.S. money. Any amount of silver in our coins is not only unnecessary, but under existing circumstances, undesirable. The market price could rise to the point where coins would be melted down.

There has been a good deal of talk about the necessity of retaining silver in our coinage for prestige, psychological, historical, or other reasons. Such talk comes from those who would profit through the retention of silver in coins. Confidence in our coinage is based on confidence in the economic and financial structure of our country and it is absurd to contend that some silver, no matter how small the amount, is necessary in coinage for this purpose. In comparison with our present 90-percent content coins, a 30-percent content can scarcely be called a significant amount.

##### *Counterfeiting and slugs*

It has been stated that a coin containing a significant amount of silver is uneconomical to counterfeit. However, we have counterfeiting with our present high-content coins. Until the Treasury decides upon a new material for subsidiary coins it is not possible to evaluate the counterfeiting potential. We now have a cupronickel 5-cent piece without appreciable counterfeiting problems. Furthermore, all United Kingdom coins are made of cupronickel. Counterfeit coins may not, and probably would not, work in vending machines. It is difficult to understand why anyone would bother to make counterfeit coins for use in vending machines when it is possible to use slugs.

Slugs are now used in coin machines. A penny filed down to the size of a dime will work in any machine. This is prohibited by law, and obviously is not an overriding problem. Concern has been expressed that if a cupronickel 10-cent piece were adopted, our present 5-cent piece would be filed down to the size of a dime. Obviously, this operation is more difficult and less profitable than reducing a penny to the size of a dime.

##### *Vending machines*

Coin operated devices have varying methods of rejecting slugs, which are pieces of metal which may be inserted into the slots for the purpose of operating the machines.

Automatic merchandising machines, generally called vending machines, have, in addition to others, a rejection system which depends upon the electrical conductivity characteristics of coins. This is based on the application of the so-called eddy current system. These machines now accept 5-cent pieces made of cupronickel—75 percent copper, 25 percent nickel. They will reject 10-, 25-, and 50-cent pieces which do not have the same conductivity characteristics as the present coins. The machines can be altered to accept coins of materials with different conductivity characteristics. They can be altered to accept both present and other coins. The broadening of the field of acceptable conductivity could increase the materials which might be used as slugs. However, copper slugs will work in present machines, but such use is obviously within limits acceptable to the industry.

Unless coins are adopted which will work in the present vending machine mechanisms, alterations may be required. This may entail some loss of sales and some cost for alterations. It is hoped that this can be avoided or minimized through the selection of new silverless coins which will be compatible with existing coins. Most machines will operate with 5-cent pieces which could help during the transition period.

One important factor, which appears to have been overlooked by the vending machine industry, is the fact that increased coin shortages are bound to accompany attempts to retain any amount of silver in subsidiary coins, and this will, in turn, certainly have an adverse effect on the vending machines, which will be inoperative without coins.

Specifications for the new coins should be decided with a view toward the best interests of the Nation as a whole.

##### *Foreign coinage*

One of the arguments advanced for the retention of some silver in U.S. coins is that there is a world trend toward the resumption of silver in foreign coins. Available figures, however, do not substantiate this contention. A considerable amount of silver in foreign countries goes into the minting of commemorative coins which are not issued regularly, but which are included in coinage totals. The average for foreign coinage over the past 5 years has been about 60 million ounces. In 1964, of the estimated total of 61.5 million ounces, at least 20 million ounces were used in commemorative coins. Thus, the use of silver in coins used as a medium of exchange has declined appreciably. Nearly all silver coins of large denominations have paper equivalents.

Canada is the only foreign country using a substantial amount of silver in circulating coins. It has been announced that Canada will soon use cupronickel in place of silver in all coins except the silver dollar which will be retained for prestige reasons. Likewise, Australia, in 1966, is shifting from silver to cupronickel in all coins except the 50-cent piece, and South Africa has announced plans of shifting from silver to bronze and nickel coins, minting only one silver coin, a new 1-rand piece.

France is the second largest user of silver in coins. Her monetary unit is the franc which is made of nickel. The French have minted a 5-franc coin which has been rapidly disappearing from circulation. France has now started a limited distribution of a 10-franc silver coin which is designed specifically for hoarding in order to cut down consumer spending. It is estimated that only 7 million ounces will be used by France this year, as contrasted with 10.5 million ounces used in 1964.

Japan's monetary unit is the yen, which is made of pure aluminum; however, one silver coin, the 100 yen, is minted. In 1964, to commemorate the Japanese Olympic

Games, Japan minted two commemorative coins, the 100 yen (0.600 fine) and the 1,000 yen (0.925 fine). Japan consumed 18 million ounces in these commemorative coins which have virtually disappeared from circulation.

In 1964, Germany, Austria and Italy each used a little over 1 million ounces of silver in coinage. None of these countries use silver in their standard units. Sweden, the Netherlands, and Switzerland each used from 1 to 3 million ounces of silver in their coinage of 40 percent silver, 72 percent, and 83.5 percent, respectively. Thus, it can be seen that the use of silver in coins used as a medium of exchange has dwindled to an insignificant amount except in Canada. The most significant example of the fact that silver is not required in coinage is that of Great Britain which eliminated all silver in coins in 1946, obviously without loss in prestige, lack of confidence in the monetary system, and all the other attributes which even a "pinch of silver" is supposed to impart. Much of the confusion results from a failure to understand the difference between monetary units of a country and token coins.

#### THE FUTURE FOR SILVER

If the use of silver is continued in subsidiary coinage, it is impossible to predict the future of silver as a commodity. Shortages in supply will seriously affect all industrial users, while a rise in the price would drive some users out of business. This situation could adversely affect the producers.

Higher prices do not guarantee any increase in production, but there will be less silver used. In the end, no one will gain, but by far the most important losers will be the public who may be without coins as a medium of exchange, and will have to pay higher prices for all silver products.

The elimination of silver from subsidiary coinage, however, should end speculative interest in a windfall due to some Government action relating to coinage, which would cause the price to rise. Treasury silver stocks would no longer be dissipated in the minting of coins. There will be no need for the Treasury to retire silver certificates except to provide silver for other Government departments and agencies which required 8.7 million ounces last year.

The deficit between free world consumption and new production in 1965 is estimated at 75 million ounces. Foreign coinage is estimated to require about 50 million ounces, making a total deficit of 125 million ounces. At this rate, silver obtained through the redemption of silver certificates should make up the deficit for a number of years, depending upon how much silver the holders of silver certificates desire for other purposes. Treasury silver was acquired to help the mining industry by taking both foreign and domestic surplus silver off the market. It should now be used to protect our coinage and to make up the deficit caused by the Treasury's purchases throughout the world.

Until the speculative interest has abated, it will be difficult to assess the situation. The Treasury, the Congress, as well as the users and the producers, all agree that the price must not exceed \$1.29 during the transition to another material in coins.

There will be continuing demand for silver at \$1.29 per ounce.

The effect of this price on the producers is stated by Representative **COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.**, of Idaho, in his recent speech to the Colorado Mining Association: "To briefly summarize, I would say that no matter what happens with regard to silver-coinage legislation silver miners are going to enjoy unprecedented prosperity."

Yet, note that Representative **WHITE** gears his remarks to suit his audiences.

Changing his pace, he remarked on January 11, 1965, on the floor of the House: "The present ceiling of \$1.29 per ounce not only discourages production but prevents a fair return to the miners of this metal."

An official of the largest silver mining company in the United States made the following statement in August 1964: "One prospect should be kept in mind by all. That is the possibility of the profit margin per ounce of silver being tripled or quadrupled within a few years because of the immediate price rise. After all, when the costs of extraction are more than covered at present, any rise in the market price of silver will immediately increase the profit per ounce produced."

The silver users are now generally operating profitably. However, the sterling silverware manufacturers, who use a very high proportion of silver in individual items, have seen a marked decrease in unit sales. The most important reason for this decrease is the increase in the cost of silver. The price of silver has doubled in the last 15 years, while the use of silver in silverware has been almost cut in half. In other words, unit sales declined almost in direct proportion to the increases in the price of silver. Unit sales obviously determine the number of jobs required for production. Thus, employment has decreased substantially.

Even in the face of deficits, efforts will be made by the silver producers to whittle down the supply available by calling for the repudiation of the obligation to redeem silver certificates at the present rate, or through the creation of a stockpile. A bill has been introduced to create a silver stockpile of not less than 500 million ounces of silver which is to be administered by the Secretary of the Treasury and would thus be outside of the existing stockpile established for other materials. The need for such a reserve has yet to be determined. These and other issues will be dealt with as they arise.

As developed in the 1963 congressional hearings, the purpose of our present silver laws set forth by the administration and the Congress was the recognition of silver as an industrial material for which there is an increasing demand. The senseless retention of silver in coins is contrary to this purpose.

In conclusion, I cannot emphasize too strongly the potential repercussions of retaining any amount of silver in our coins. Although mint production has increased tremendously over the last 5 years, we still have a coin shortage. In a 5-year period from 1959 to 1964, the mint more than doubled its production of coins, jumping from 2.4 to 5.5 billion. The Treasury's estimate for 1965 is an astounding figure of 9 billion, or 15 percent of the total minted since 1792.

Despite this fantastic production, a combination of numismatists, collectors, hoarders, holders, savers, and speculators have perpetuated a coin shortage. What is going to happen if silver is retained in our coins to permit a market price rise above the melt-down value of our present outstanding coins? Proposed legislation mentions the price of \$4 an ounce. This would make the metal content of present coins worth three times their face value. As specialists in the financial field, if you were in any of the above categories, what would you do?

It is inconceivable that the mint would recommend the retention of silver in coins for the benefit of the silver producers, a situation that would also provide a windfall for speculators.

Whether or not you are interested in the positions of the users of silver or the producers, whatever happens to our coinage system is of direct concern to you, both as financial specialists and as American citizens.

I thank you for your attention.

#### STUDY OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. **HARRIS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **HARRIS**. Mr. Speaker, I am today ordering a study of the organizational structure and the huge, expanding, and farflung operations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Emphasis will be placed on those agencies and bodies within the Department whose activities are primarily within the jurisdictional purview of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Anything further would be ancillary to the study.

This study will be undertaken by a special subcommittee within the Subcommittee on Investigations of our committee.

Recently, the committee reported a bill which would provide for three additional Assistant Secretaries of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I supported this proposal because I believe the organization is such that there is a need and requirement for these additional Assistant Secretaries.

The main purpose of the subcommittee will be to study the organizational setup of the Department as it pertains largely to matters of public health. We would have in mind particularly the U.S. Public Health Service, including the National Institutes of Health, and the Food and Drug Administration.

The study will, of course, be objective in its purpose and intent. To carry out the study, the chairman of the special subcommittee will be the gentleman from Florida, the Honorable **PAUL G. ROGERS**. With him will be the gentleman from California [**Mr. VAN DEERLIN**], the gentlemen from New Hampshire [**Mr. HUOT**], the gentleman from California [**Mr. YOUNGER**], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [**Mr. CURTIN**].

As recently as February 1965, an important report was submitted to the President. A committee of distinguished scientific and lay members, headed by **Dean E. Wooldridge**, was asked by President Johnson to survey the organization and activities of the National Institutes of Health. That committee's report contains a number of conclusions and recommendations that need evaluation by Congress. A principal purpose of our proposed study will be to consider the conclusions and recommendations of the **Wooldridge** report.

The concern for public health of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce dates back to the early days of our Republic. In the last Congress, the committee, through its Subcommittee on Health and Safety, held hearings on the organization of the U.S. Public Health Service.

There is growing concern in Congress over the rapid expansion of the size and activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. A significant portion of the committee's legislative accomplishments in recent years has been in the health field.

In the past few years, the participation of the Federal Government in supporting basic and applied medical research has grown as never before. NIH research funds alone jumped from \$28 million in 1950 to \$570 million in 1963. The total appropriation proposed for NIH in the 1966 budget exceeds \$1.1 billion.

It is estimated that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will spend \$2.2 billion in 1966 for health research, training, public health services, and related consumer protection activities.

I think the time has come for us to take a hard look at how these expanded programs fit into the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as a whole.

#### THE CHIPS ARE DOWN FOR GRAND CANYON

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on April 7 our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Arizona, GEORGE F. SENNER, addressed the House concerning the current Bureau of Reclamation proposal to construct Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon Dams to the detriment, in my opinion, of the Grand Canyon. My very able friend had some complimentary remarks to make about me which I assure you I appreciate. But, as I told the gentleman, "Flattery will get you nowhere," when it comes to trying to make one of the most unfortunate schemes ever to come out of the darkness of the Bureau of Reclamation more palatable.

I can understand and appreciate why my friend from Arizona would be interested in construction of this preposterous project because it is in his own backyard. I believe he is sincere in his statement:

If anyone in this Nation were to intentionally or unintentionally do any damage to so beautiful a natural phenomenon, I would be the first to rise and protest with all the energy at my command.

For this reason, I suggest he restudy this proposal with an open mind and make his own conclusions rather than being led astray by some fast-talking bureaucrats who want to further their own little empires.

Mr. Speaker, many of the individuals who are beating the drums for construction of Marble Canyon and Bridge Canyon Dams are reminiscent of the old medicine show pitchmen hawking the snake-oil elixir which they claimed would cure all ills; but, in reality, would

result only in a big headache the next morning.

Fortunately, I am not alone in my concern over the consequences which these dams could have on the Grand Canyon. Several newspapers expressed opposition to the proposal in editorial columns. Other Members of Congress have already expressed themselves in both bodies in opposition to this latest raid on nature's handiwork by the Bureau of Reclamation. Recently I received the February 1965 bulletin of the famed Sierra Club. I am sure each of my friends here today will recall that the Sierra Club, which was founded in 1892, has devoted itself tirelessly to the study and protection of national scenic resources, particularly those of mountain regions. The club has helped people explore, enjoy, and protect parks, wilderness, waters, forests, and wildlife. The Sierra Club has done much to rescue places that made America beautiful and which can help keep it beautiful. I mention this brief background of the Sierra Club to indicate that it is not unthinking and unresponsive to the needs of our people.

Included in this recent issue of the Sierra Club bulletin was a sincere and thoughtful discussion of the bills which have been proposed to construct Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon Dams. The title of this discussion is "The Chips Are Down for Grand Canyon."

While I can agree with many of the Sierra Club's analyses of the shortcomings of this proposal, I would have to take exception to part of their suggested alternative. At one point in the article it is stated:

Power is acknowledged in the report on the Southwest water plan to be only a small increment of the projected future power demand of the area. It obviously could be generated by public or private thermal plants fueled by fossil fuels—oil, gas, or coal—or nuclear fission. It appears that no engineering analysis has been made and released of this alternative: Providing the needed pumping power with thermal plants and providing the subsidy for the plan either from nonpower revenues or from public thermal plant revenues.

I would agree that power needed in the Southwest could be generated by private thermal plants, but I would resist—as I am sure the Congress would resist—any suggestion or proposal that the Federal Government construct public thermal plants in that or any other area of this Nation outside TVA. The Congress has repeatedly refused to authorize such Federal construction and has refused to recognize that the Federal Government has a utility responsibility to supply the total power requirements of Federal customers regardless of amount and regardless of cost.

I do not question the Sierra Club's right to make such a suggestion because they are not directly concerned with Federal policy on public thermal electric generating plants. But, I have been reliably informed that there is no power shortage in the Pacific Southwest and no future shortage can be expected. The existing electric companies have always constructed facilities in anticipation of future demands. In fact, last fall 10 investor-owned utilities operating in all

or parts of Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Texas, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Idaho announced a \$10.5 billion, 20-year expansion program which will be entirely financed by capital secured from the investing public. No Federal tax money will be used. The program calls for the long-range joint planning of some 36 million kilowatts of new generating capacity and an extra-high-voltage transmission system interconnecting the member power suppliers. With an expansion program such as this envisioned by the taxpaying electric utilities, the need for publicly owned thermal plants is nonexistent.

So that each of us in this body can have the benefit of the thinking of this conservation group, I am including the full text of the Sierra Club's article at this point in my remarks:

#### THE CHIPS ARE DOWN FOR GRAND CANYON

Bills authorizing dams within Grand Canyon proper are in the congressional hopper. California and Arizona have reached a compromise on distribution of Colorado River water, and the Bureau of Reclamation's plan for destroying the living river in the Grand Canyon is moving forward rapidly with all too few people knowing what is at stake and how totally unnecessary the enormous sacrifice would be.

You, and your friends who care, are the only safety Grand Canyon has—plus the people in Government you can awaken.

What Grand Canyon dams are proposed? Why will they destroy the Grand Canyon as we know it?

Why are they totally unnecessary? What can you do?

You owe it to yourself to find the answers to these questions. You also owe it to the unborn of future generations who can vote only through your perception now. What you lose by being too busy to care no one can ever replace.

For these reasons, please set aside whatever time it takes you to read through these four pages and to act now upon what they have to suggest. These pages are our best short summary, based upon what we can put together in this emergency, of what the facts are. Please do what you can with this information, augmented by other sources we cite. More will follow, from now until Grand Canyon is saved from the Bureau of Reclamation's dam-building momentum—the adverse force that needlessly destroyed Glen Canyon, that threatened Dinosaur National Monument and still does, that breached an honorable agreement to save Rainbow Bridge.

What you do, now, will make the difference.

#### IT COSTS YOU NOTHING, BUT WOULD YOU GIVE IT UP FOR A DIME?

Because of some dramatic moves initially by Theodore Roosevelt and good defensive battles fought since then by a legion of citizen-conservationists, America still has an unspoiled Grand Canyon as one of the great places on earth. It cost the taxpayers nothing, really, to get the land, and we all own a share of it. All the world shares our ownership in a sense. Grand Canyon is one of the places people want to see in their one chance on earth.

Evaluating each American's interest in it as worth about 10 cents per year, and the world's interest as worth nothing at all, the Bureau of Reclamation is proposing to destroy the heart of Grand Canyon.

That 10 cents per year per American citizen is about what the alleged economic advantage would be if electrical energy were produced by dams in Grand Canyon instead of by alternate means. We say "alleged" because the advantage is no more than an alle-

gation. There is evidence from other sources to suggest that power could be generated sooner, cheaper, and with less risk by using coal-fired steam plants instead damming Grand Canyon. Moreover, it could be generated closer to market, and with less damage to water quality, saving enough water (otherwise lost through reservoir evaporation) to supply Denver and Phoenix.

Coal reserves in the intermountain States are far longer lasting than reservoirs on a silt-laden Colorado River. And there is evidence that atomic power, competitive with coal-fired plants now, will soon be cheaper.

Use of the alternative power sources would keep Grand Canyon unspoiled, as it was intended to be when parts of it were set aside as a national park and national monument—unspoiled as some exceedingly beautiful parts of it should continue to be even though they are not yet protected by park or monument status.

It is true that Arizona's central plateau is running out of water; it has developed so fast that it has overdrawn its water bank badly, and depletions will increase faster than they can be corrected if the population continues to grow at the present rate. The Southwest water plan would try to correct the same water deficit in the Southwest as a whole, a deficit produced by the same causes.

But hydroelectric dams and power are not essential in order to put water on the thirsty land. Instead they waste water where there is none to waste, and they further the American threat to the quality of Mexico's water, downstream.

What these dams would be, instead of a solution to a region's water problem, is a monument to the lack of imagination of the Bureau of Reclamation—a monument to the Bureau's inflexibility, to its unwillingness to attempt some legislative pioneering and to find other ways of financing the movement of water.

Further, any dams in Grand Canyon would be a permanent monument to the cynicism of the Bureau that computed a value of 10 cents per year as the American citizen's interest in his canyon—and then destroyed the canyon so as to claim that 10 cents as a benefit to America.

Such cynical disregard for a supreme natural wonder comes at a strange time. On February 8, in his much admired message to Congress on natural beauty, President Johnson wrote: "For centuries Americans have drawn strength and inspiration from the beauty of our country. It would be a neglectful generation indeed, indifferent alike to the judgment of history and the command of principle, which failed to preserve and extend such a heritage for its descendants."

The President's words struck a responsive chord. Senator HART seemed to speak for a vast majority of his countrymen when he said, "I hope that two or three generations down the road those who follow us will be able to say that Congress responded to this message appropriately and effectively."

A response that was hardly appropriate (and which we hope may be ineffective) was made by more than 30 Members of Congress who introduced bills authorizing construction of dams in Grand Canyon. (One of the sponsors, Congressman MORRIS UDALL, said, "The President's natural beauty message will be cited for years to come as one of the most thrilling conservation landmarks in the Nation's history." Another sponsor, Senator KUCHEL, is quoted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 8 as saying: "When men of the future look back on the last half of the 20th century, let us hope they will be moved to say, 'There was a generation which was a good steward of the earth and its bounty.'") How appropriate a response to a plea for preservation of natural beauty is a proposal that would mar the most celebrated natural scene in America, if not the world? Is it

good stewardship to destroy something unique in order to save things that we have in abundance?

#### HIGH-COST ELECTRICITY TO SUBSIDIZE LOW-COST WATER

Perhaps the most important point to bear in mind is that the Marble Gorge and Bridge Canyon Dams would produce only electricity and dollars from the sale of electricity—both of which are obtainable from other sources. Hydroelectric power would be sold, and revenues from its sale would be used to subsidize the pumping of water to users at prices lower than the cost of pumping it. The two dams would add nothing to the total supply of water in a water-short area, but on the contrary, would waste much of the already inadequate supply through evaporation losses and seepage.

Power generated at the dams would be expensive, saleable only as peak power that commands a premium price when demand rises above base capacity. Without low interest Government financing of the dams, and the high price commanded by peak power, the project would not be feasible at all. Who will buy this high cost public power? The buyers would be private utility companies, which would otherwise have to build added capacity to handle peak loads with their own capital.

Proposed dams in Grand Canyon would be water wasters, and as such, are antithetical to the southwest water plan. They are included in the plan merely to provide financial support, at taxpayers' expense, for a project that cannot pay its own way. They make the project economically feasible, or appear to, only because of a pattern of financing that amounts to a Federal subsidy for the region. The power project, says an Interior Department document, would "use a region's hydroelectric resources to tax the people in support of long-range and large-scale Federal resource investments that are beyond the ability to repay of immediate beneficiaries."

Surely the dams would serve some useful purpose besides generating dollars? Yes, they would. Part of the power generated would be used to pump water into central Arizona. But the dams are not needed and would not be used to divert water into the central Arizona aqueduct; power to operate the pumps would be conducted through transmission lines to a diversion point far below Hoover Dam on the lower Colorado.

If hydroelectric power is used to pump water from the lower Colorado into central Arizona, the system may be technologically obsolete before it is completed. The San Francisco Chronicle of February 16 reported that California's director of water resources had proposed a nuclear powerplant producing 4.1 billion kilowatt hours of energy a year. Part of this power would be sold, the rest would be used to pump water over the Tehachapis into southern California—a far greater lift than is required in the central Arizona project. Is hydroelectric power, bought at so dear a price, conceivably the best alternative in a region that contains some of the Nation's largest reserves of coal and uranium?

#### WILL THE PLANS PAN OUT?

Admitting for the sake of argument that dams in Grand Canyon would be a tolerable alternative, what guarantee have we that they would achieve the results that the Bureau of Reclamation hopes for? The Bureau has proved somewhat less than infallible in the past, and the stakes are immense. (Preliminary estimates—seldom high—show the Bridge Canyon Dam costing \$511 million and the Marble Gorge project costing \$239 million.) Assumptions underlying the entire Southwest water plan may be unrealistic.

The Arizona Republic reported in January that "a 440-year study of climate, as re-

corded by tree rings, indicates that the Southwest may have to reevaluate its water plans." An annual flow of 16 million acre-feet past Lee's Ferry was assumed on the basis of a wet cycle from 1906 to 1920, but the flow has exceeded this estimate in only 13 years out of 49. In 7 years the flow was less than 7.5 million acre-feet, and it once dropped to 4.4 million. The average has been only 12.8 million. The last wet cycle comparable to the one that led to this miscalculation occurred in 1826-40 and the last one before that in the early 1600's.

Overoptimistic estimates of the Colorado's flow have already led, many contend, to the creation of more reservoirs than the river can fill. On February 9 the Department of the Interior announced that it had awarded a million-dollar contract for boating facilities on Lake Mead. "The work is necessitated," the announcement said, "by conditions resulting from the rapid drop of Lake Mead due to low flow of the river." Older facilities are now high and dry. This situation may be attributed in part to the closing of the gates at Glen Canyon Dam to form Lake Powell. But some old canyon hands doubt that the Colorado River can fill both Lake Mead and Lake Powell in normal years, much less additional reservoirs. There is reason for doubt. The Boulder City News reported January 14 that "about 25 percent of the water being held back of Glen Canyon Dam in Lake Powell seems to be percolating into the porous Navajo sandstone basin. This is substantially higher than the 15-percent factor allowed by the Bureau of Reclamation \* \* \*. With Lake Powell less than quarter full at 6,200,000 acre-feet content, stream-flow records indicate an additional 1,600,000 acre-feet to have seeped into the porous lake bottom and sides."

If all goes well with the Bureau of Reclamation's plans, and badly for the rest of us, Bridge Canyon Dam would back a reservoir up through Lake Mead recreation area, along and through Grand Canyon National Monument, and into Grand Canyon National Park itself. Marble Gorge Dam would drown a canyon comparable in beauty to an earlier victim, Glen Canyon. Of the Colorado River's 280 miles within Grand Canyon, only 104 miles would remain a flowing river. Even this remnant would be inaccessible to boatmen since there is no place between the Marble Gorge and Bridge Canyon reservoirs where a boat could be brought down to the river.

What is at stake is not just the future of white water boating on the Colorado, or the preservation of the unimpaired beauty of 150 miles of the Grand Canyon's inner gorge, or even the protection of the integrity of Grand Canyon National Park. What is at stake is the whole National Park System. If we sacrifice Grand Canyon National Park and Monument to the dam builders' dreams of empire, we will sooner or later have to accept similar infringements of Dinosaur, Glacier, Yellowstone, Grand Tetons, Yosemite, Kings Canyon, Mammoth Caves, Big Bend, and Arches national parks and monuments. The Bureau of Reclamation and Army Corps of Engineers have plans for them all.

If ever there was a fight that conservationists (and the country) could not afford to lose, it is the fight to prevent the violation of Grand Canyon. Where could we hope to make a successful stand if we failed to beat back an attack on the world's most magnificent canyon and the national park we thought protected some of it? A defeat here would turn the flank of the whole conservation movement and put men who cherish natural beauty on the defensive everywhere. Enlist in this fight. It's your fight—and the future's.

#### SOME POINTED QUESTIONS AND PERTINENT ANSWERS

1. Why should Americans be concerned about dams in Bridge Canyon and Marble

Gorge of the Grand Canyon, dams which would flood only the bottom of a narrow canyon in the national park and monument?

The dams the Bureau of Reclamation plans to build in Marble Gorge and at Bridge Canyon, within the Grand Canyon proper, would destroy not only the living river but also the unique life forms that through the ages have come to depend upon the river's life. The major part of the canyon walls would still be there, but the pulsing heart of the place would be stopped. A chain of destructive forces would be begun in what by law was set apart as part of the National Park System, to be preserved unimpaired for all America's future.

2. Aren't these dams essential to the water supply needs of Arizona and southern California?

Not at all. Looked at hard, these dams are nothing more than hydroelectric power devices to produce electricity and dollars from its sale to pay for projects that ought to be financed by less costly means. The dams would make no water available that is not available already. Indeed, they would waste enough to supply the water needs of both Denver and Phoenix, and would impair the quality of the too little that was left. Water already too saline is made more so by evaporation to the peril of downstream users, especially of neighbors in Mexico. All this on a river that already has more dams than it has water to fill them.

3. Aren't these dams essential to the total Southwest water plan and the central Arizona project?

No. Alexander Hildebrand, registered professional mechanical engineer, says in "Time and the River Flowing" that they are " \* \* \* not necessary to divert water; not necessary to conserve water; not necessary to generate power; and not desirable economically, except to save fuel costs for future generations who may have cheaper ways of generating power anyway. They are 'necessary' only if we insist on using a particular water subsidy system, even when to do so would submerge the heart of one of the scenic wonders of the world."

4. Isn't the power generated by these dams of major importance to the Southwest?

Such power is acknowledged in the report on the Southwest water plan to be only "a small increment of the projected future power demand of the area \* \* \*". It obviously could be generated by public or private thermal plants, fueled either by fossil fuels (oil, gas, or coal) or nuclear fission. It appears that no engineering analysis has been made and released of this alternative: providing the needed pumping power with thermal plants and providing the subsidy for the plan either from nonpower revenues or from public thermal plant revenues.

5. Aren't alternative sources of power, such as steamplants, more expensive?

Steamplants would admittedly have fuel costs, and hydroelectric plants would not. At 3.6 mills per kilowatt-hour, however, 3 percent interest on the \$487 million investment saving would buy enough fuel to generate over 4 billion kilowatt-hours per year; it would take about 30 years for the savings on fuel of the hydroelectric plants to pay for their higher cost and the interest thereon. Thus steamplants could be built much faster, would save the heart of the Grand Canyon, and would have a lower cumulative cost until fuel costs exceeded the savings on initial investment some 30 years after completion of the plants.

6. What alternative sources of water are possible?

Many projects exist or are contemplated to import water from areas of surplus to areas of deficit—without, in the process, destroying a unique scenic resource. And research on the desalination of sea water accelerates year by year.

7. Does the law establishing Grand Canyon National Park allow dams and reservoirs to be built within it?

The Bureau of Reclamation says yes. It quotes section 7 of the Grand Canyon National Park Act: "That, whatever consistent with the primary purposes of said park, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to permit the utilization of areas therein which may be necessary for the development and maintenance of a Government reclamation project." The primary purpose of the park is "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." Bridge Canyon Reservoir would obliterate the scenic values of the river flowing between canyon walls, would destroy the river (and the plants and wildlife dependent upon it) as a "natural object" that the national park was designed to protect, and could not in any sense be consistent with the primary purposes of the national park.

8. Won't the proposed dams provide some important recreation in areas now accessible to only a few people?

We already have on the Colorado River more than 600 miles of reservoir recreation behind Flaming Gorge, Navajo, Glen Canyon, Hoover, Davis, Parker, and Imperial Dams. There is recreational value in swift-running water, too.

#### AIRLINE BAGGAGE WEIGHT LIMITATIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, printed below is a letter I dispatched to the Civil Aeronautics Board on Monday. I take this means to advise my colleagues, the traveling public, and the airlines of this move to initiate a review of airline baggage weight limitations. It is my purpose hereby to enlist the assistance of as many interested parties as possible to encourage such a review.

APRIL 12, 1965.

Re airline baggage weight limitations.  
Mr. ALAN S. BOYD,  
Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BOYD: I believe it is past time for the Board to initiate a constructive review of the so-called free allowance of 40 pounds baggage on domestic airline flights. This review should aim at upping the allowance a reasonable amount.

The airlines define "baggage" to mean "all luggage, including briefcases, portfolios, parcels, camera equipment, and similar articles whether carried in the cabin or checked in the cargo compartment." Any baggage weight in excess of the 40-pound limit must be paid for at the rate of one-half of 1 percent of the full first-class adult one-way fare per pound. Thus, on a flight carrying a \$100 first-class fare, the charge is 50 cents per pound.

Suppose a passenger flying jet tourist from Washington to Los Angeles or San Francisco has 50 pounds baggage. He must pay an excess baggage charge on 10 pounds at one-half of 1 percent of the first-class fare of \$152.75 per pound, or around \$7.64. The first-class traveler pays the same amount. Two hundred pounds' excess baggage would cost the same as a first-class ticket, \$152.75, receives no free drinks, no free meal, no attention from the stewardess, and is unable to enjoy the movie.

It is a well-known fact that many passengers, resenting this extra charge, conceive a variety of ways to get around it by carrying into the cabin heavy parcels that have not been presented for weighing. The alert Air Line Pilots Association has expressed safety concern over the increasing amount of carry-on luggage being brought aboard aircraft. If it is not stored properly under the seat it can become a lethal projectile should a crash landing, severe turbulence, or rapid deceleration occur. Even if properly stowed, such carry-on baggage can be dislodged and can interfere with speedy evacuation.

Originally there was a valid reason for establishing a penalty for excess baggage. Early in commercial airline history, load weight was a very critical safety factor. Passengers had to be encouraged to travel with a bare minimum of luggage. This was done by placing a penalty on baggage weight. Some 30 years ago when airlines used the Curtiss Condor biplane and the Ford Trimotor, 30 pounds of luggage was allowed free. The *Graf Zeppelin* had the same luggage allowance. Yet today, 30 years later, when airframe and aircraft engine developments, for all practical purposes, have eliminated load weights associated with passengers as a safety factor, the allowable weight has been increased by only 10 pounds.

The situation has changed completely. I have been furnished statistics by the Airways Club indicating that if every inch of baggage space of a modern DC-8 or Boeing 707 jet airliner were crammed with gold bricks, it would still be impossible to overload the aircraft. Yet severe weight limitation remains as an anachronism and a source of revenue for the airlines.

It is specifically requested that the Board initiate a review of the weight limitation question as soon as its schedule permits.

Sincerely yours,

CRAIG HOSMER,  
Member of Congress.

#### THE BRACERO PROGRAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. RONCALIO] is recognized for 30 minutes.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

There was no objection.

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, on at least three occasions in this session in both Houses of the Congress much time has been consumed by debates dealing with the passing of the bracero. To add to this interesting and historical matter, we have had features in some of our great newspapers treating of this in the light of a Steinbeck novel of the thirties or of Edward Murrow's famous features of a decade ago.

Mr. Speaker, to all of this there is a poignancy and the underscoring of loss to domestic farmers of America, good old-fashioned American citizens. It seems to me that these are the real unsung victims of this change, not particularly the corporate farmers of California or the vast growers of Florida, but the little beet farmers of the Rocky Mountain States and particularly Wyoming which is the congressional district I represent.

Mr. Speaker, much debate has dealt with the large numbers of Mexican nationals going into the rich fields of California and with the presence in Florida of migratory farmers from Puerto Rico and from the British West Indies.

The introduction of legislation to extend the bracero program for years on end is the last thing and is furthest from my mind. I do believe, however, that under the existing limits of the law which expired last year, it is now the intent of Congress that if the Secretary of Labor finds hardship in any area of America where immigrant, imported labor is no longer permitted, under the statute he may certify such hardship and will thus effect the importation of qualified numbers for specific lengths of time in the particular areas of America where such labor will thus avoid a hardship.

Mr. Speaker, the sugarbeet companies with plants in Wyoming have cooperated over the years with research agencies, the extension people everywhere, in an effort to develop agricultural techniques and farming materials which may reduce the necessity for stoop labor in the thinning process of the sugarbeet industry.

It is my hope that machinery will soon be developed which will eliminate the need for any human being, foreigner or American, to have to engage in the topping, loading, and delivery of sugarbeets from the fields to the factories. This is menial, difficult labor and it will be a great day for mankind when this labor can be eliminated, as it was when the blasting of coal from the face of the seams in the great coal fields was ended, and machines replaced the human being and the animal, in this function.

I rise today to say that a 12-hour day in the fields by a Mexican national is just as difficult as a 12-hour day by anyone else, whether engaged in by the braceros—the good worker from Mexico—or whether it is engaged in by the farmers of Wyoming whose concerns are just as vital to our economy as is the slowing up of the migrant from Mexico in this regard. The sugarbeet farmer and his role in the economy of this Nation is what is of vital concern today, and what warrants an exception made now for a certification of import labor in my particular State.

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

Mr. RONCALIO. I yield to the gentleman from California, whose interest in this subject is deep and sincere.

Mr. COHELAN. The gentleman from Wyoming well knows my position on this matter, having made a very fine contribution the other afternoon when we discussed this matter at length. I do not want to interrupt the gentleman, if he wants to complete his statement, but with his permission I would like to ask a question:

Does the gentleman know how many workers are required in this particular area?

Mr. RONCALIO. I believe so, and I will show out of five particular areas we have now signed up domestic workers in at least one of them—Torrington.

Mr. COHELAN. Does the gentleman know whether the growers in the gentleman's district complied with the criteria of the Department of Labor?

Mr. RONCALIO. Yes, I am happy to report, and I will touch on this criteria in my speech. It has been complied with, and I hope today or tomorrow the Secretary of Labor could make this a memorable Easter for all of us by a statement of certification for Wyoming.

Mr. COHELAN. Having met those requirements in all cases, where there is a clear, demonstrated case and there is a requirement for supplementary labor, this fact will be considered by the Department in making such proportionment?

Mr. RONCALIO. Yes. I may say to the gentleman I am aware of this, and I hope I may look for the cooperation of the gentleman from California to alleviate our problem in this regard.

Mr. COHELAN. The gentleman understands it is the purpose of the gentleman from California, as I know it is of the gentleman from Wyoming, not only do we not want any crops to rot in the field, but we do not want any people to rot in the field. It is our objective to raise the standards of migratory labor, and I know the gentleman shares that goal.

Mr. RONCALIO. I thank the gentleman. I will touch on that later in my remarks.

Some of us had hoped that we might be permitted in the transition from the passing of the bracero era to all domestic labor that any hardships that might be imposed would be alleviated by the temporary use of certain numbers of braceros for a short time. Many Members of both Houses of Congress were extremely critical of the Secretary of Labor for playing the role of an advocate rather than a fact-finder. I was one of those Members who expressed a wish that the Secretary would go to the fields of the States involved and engage in some fact-finding, and make his own objective determination of the necessity for certified import labor. I was happy to see that the Secretary did travel to California and make his own conclusions accordingly, and I was one of the first to express the wish that the Secretary would visit the States involved and make his own investigation, and report accordingly, and I was among the first to compliment him for doing this very thing.

Two occurrences have taken place in the past several weeks, Mr. Speaker, that make it mandatory that the Secretary of Labor should indicate certification now for a few beet workers in Wyoming. One of the present results of the impasse is simply this—but before we get to that I wish to show compliance again so that the Members interested, including the Members from Florida and California, can see that the companies of Wyoming have complied and have made every possible effort in good faith to hire all the domestic help possible.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks an article from the Torrington, Wyo., News, of Thursday, April 8, pointing out the effort which both companies have made in sending out personnel all

over the six Rocky Mountain States looking for help to work in the fields:

#### BEET GROWERS MAKING STATEWIDE EFFORT TO RECRUIT FIELD WORKERS

Wyoming sugarbeet growers are making an all-out effort to recruit local beet workers this year and, from recent reports, the outlook is for adequate laborers for local beet growers.

The two Wyoming sugar processors, Holly Sugar Corp. and Great Western Sugar Co., are sending their representatives to various cities in Wyoming in an effort to sign up beet workers. Holly has assigned Dave Prado, of Torrington, and Great Western has named Ralph C. Stenehem, of Billings, to do recruiting at Green River, Rock Springs, Rawlins, Laramie, Cheyenne, and Casper during April.

They will be offering Wyomingites 6 to 8 weeks' employment in any of the various sugarbeet growing areas of Wyoming; Powell, Lovell, Greybull, Basin, Worland, Riverton, Clearmont, Douglas, Wheatland, or Torrington. The pay will be piece rates, so much per acre and there will be a guarantee of \$1.25 per hour to qualified workers, if their piece-rate earnings fall below that average in a 2-week pay period. To qualify, workers should be in good health, at least 16 years of age and willing to work 6 days a week, 8 hours a day, with the long-handled hoes furnished by the farmers. Some children, ages 14 and 15, may also be hired. No past experience is required.

Workers who are hired will be furnished transportation to the place of work and, if they work until the end of the season, they will be provided transportation home. Workers will also be given housing and occupational insurance without charge. They will provide their own food.

Sugar company recruiters will be in Green River and Rock Springs Tuesday, April 13; in Rawlins on Thursday, April 15; in Laramie Friday, April 16; in Cheyenne Tuesday, April 20; and in Casper Thursday, April 22. In addition, beet worker recruitment will be continuous in all branches of the State employment offices throughout the State. Recruiters have been searching for beet workers throughout Texas since mid-February and may also recruit in New Mexico, Arizona, and on Indian reservations.

Interested crews, families, and individuals may obtain more information at any office of the Wyoming State Employment Service.

I also include at this point an article from one of the papers of Wyoming entitled "Wanted—Sugarbeet Workers":

#### WANTED SUGARBEET WORKERS

Crews, families, individual workers, 14 or more years old, to hoe sugarbeets—6 to 8 weeks employment.

Transportation, housing, occupational insurance furnished.

Wages: Piece rates per acre hoed, guarantee of \$1.25 per hour to qualified workers.

Areas: Powell, Lovell, Greybull, Basin, Worland, Riverton, Clearmont, Douglas, Wheatland, Torrington.

How to apply: Arrange for hiring interview by calling or visiting the State employment office at special recruiting office at Green River City Hall on Tuesday, April 13, 1965, 9:00 a.m. to noon, 91 West First North, Green River, Wyo. Phone 875-3324.

Duration: Work will start in May, will run into July, but put in your application right away.

For their growers:

HOLLY SUGAR CORP.  
GREAT WESTERN SUGAR CO.

To the employment service officers of Wyoming, we and our growers—this is from the Holly Sugar Corp., of Colorado Springs—have placed clearance orders

for 2,530 workers, either solo or in family groups.

These criteria have been prescribed as follows by the Secretary of Labor in order for them to be eligible for employment:

(a) A guarantee of \$1.25 per hour even though the employee is working on a piecework basis established by the Secretary of Agriculture;

(b) The obligation of the employer to maintain a complete payroll record;

(c) A guarantee of work for three-fourths of the work days during the contract period;

(d) The obligation to provide occupational insurance at no cost to the employee;

(e) The obligation to provide free transportation from the area of recruitment to the place of employment and return;

(f) The obligation to provide free housing and other perquisites; and

(g) The obligation to pay subsistence of \$1.50 per day when the employer does not provide work opportunity for 64 hours of employment in each 2-week work period.

#### STILL AN ACUTE SHORTAGE

As of this date, we have no assurance of the availability of sufficient migratory labor except for one of the five areas in the State of Wyoming. It remains pessimistic for Worland, Riverton, Clearmont, and Sheridan, Wyo., in spite of the generous offer of employment.

The results of all this mean two things: first, the beet growers in Wyoming are giving up their coveted allotments. I read now from the Casper Morning Star of a week ago:

POWELL.—A total of 23 sugarbeet growers in the Lovell factory district have turned back all or part of their 1965 acreage allotments because of the uncertainty of the beet labor picture.

Among them was Joe Kysar, the largest grower in the district, who decided against the big labor gamble this year—now that braceros from Old Mexico will not be returning to the fields in the spring. Kysar had 321 acres.

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASCS) office in Powell reported that a total of 750 acres of sugarbeet allotments had been turned back for redistribution to other growers in the district.

Despite this, the ASCS said more than enough requests for additional acreage had been received to make up the difference. The office had set a March 31 deadline for turning back beet acreage allotments.

"Many growers are just waiting to the last minute to see if any assurances are made that we'll get the labor we need," said Howard Hart, president of the growers' association. "To date, we don't know we'll have the labor."

Second, I quote from a Mexican magazine called *Vision* in which the Mexican writer states that "due to the arbitrary cutoff of imported labor, the Nation of Mexico feels that the agricultural processing industry may well start moving to Mexico from the United States, and that this could be of real benefit to Mexico and Central America."

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I frankly plead that the Secretary of Labor make a certification for temporary employment of approximately 2,530, or whatever the number that may be proven, foreign braceros to be used in the conversion from imported foreign labor to domestic labor in the beetfields of Wyoming.

Mr. Speaker, let me again say how strongly I urge that he consider this, be-

cause otherwise he may cause irreparable damage to the beet growers and workers of Wyoming.

#### THE REAL PROBLEM

Mr. Speaker, a small State where life is difficult at best, a State high in the arid plains of the mighty prairies of America, with elevations of 3,000 and 4,000 feet above the fruited plains of the sea level valleys of Florida and California, now fights to stay alive in the highly competitive agricultural America we have today. Thus we find ourselves, citizens and farmers, who by and large have asked little except to be left alone to live in decency with their fellow men, now categorically denied opportunity to stay in business in the sugarbeet industry, all because of the dramatics attached to the end of a program of importing migratory labor. I wish I could enlist all to see the real nub of this problem, Mr. Speaker. The real need is money.

I should like to treat this matter from this eternal angle.

It is a fact that at this late date, most of us in Wyoming had complacent faith farmers and sugar companies have had all along that the administration would at a proper time make the usual provisions so that the migratory Mexican laborers would stream happily back to the beetfields from their impoverished Mexico.

I should like to submit that a better hope is some type of money appropriation to the beet farmer to pay a better wage to beetfield labor whether it be domestic or whether it be imported.

The problem is really money, as it has always been. The farmers of Wyoming have never received enough money for their beets to justify the wages that the difficult and backbreaking work in the beetfields warrants. And, of course, as long as there has been an easily available import labor always waiting with hat in hand for the few small crumbs to fall from the farmer's all-too-small slice of bread, that farmer has been happy to oblige in accepting contract labor.

If the money were available to pay a better salary than is now being paid, there is no doubt in my mind that there would be plenty of domestic labor available to do this work.

Mr. Speaker, let me refer again to the criteria I mentioned earlier for employment of these workers, and in some instances, workers as young as 14 years of age where the law permits—\$1.25 per hour minimum guarantee even though on piecework; free transportation; field housing; and subsistence of \$1.50 per day when there is not an opportunity to work 64 hours in a 2-week period. These are minimal standards, Mr. Speaker.

I submit that the very essence of the present drive toward the alleviation of poverty could not find a more appropriate beginning than to raise at this time the economic levels of the sugarbeet farmers of Wyoming and of those who labor in their fields.

After all is this not what this entire program is about?

I would like to give you two examples.

#### LIFE IS HARD

Sixteen years ago, great mountain climbers, great citizens of Wyoming, settled to become farmers in one of the valleys of my State. After 10 years of struggling with the elements, fighting the ground, crop failures, long hours and endless days of labor upon 160 acres, and a log cabin which they called home, they walked away after a long investment to make their home "in town" with nothing to show for their attempt at a life on the high plains of the West.

Theirs is but an example of the tribulation that individuals meet in trying to become farmers and eke out an existence in Wyoming. And what of the laborer?

Let me give you this example—I have been in and out of hundreds of Mexican homes in recent years, and in all of my life I am oppressed by the appalling depredation of their lives. Whereas improvements do seem to be made in the other ethnic groups, I find an absence of this improvement with this particular group. I happen to know very well the history of one particular Mexican girl of about 32 years old—she was at one time a handsome female; now she looks 60 years old. For many years she worked for a local farmer in Wyoming of some repute in the beetfields, lambing his sheep, hauling manure, driving tractors, plowing in the spring. She clearly did more work for that man for \$300 a month than that farmer could have obtained for three times that amount invested in standard so-called American-type farm labor. But yet, after he lays her off each season when the lambing and the shearing are done his complaints are manifold and he bellyaches with letters to his Congressman and letters to his editor all summer because she frequently has to appeal to welfare for a little food to keep her family from starving. Although she lives in Wyoming, Mr. Speaker, her life is just as segregated as it would be if she were black in Alabama or Mississippi.

Her children are all attractive, and they are intelligent, but the poverty of their lives is guaranteed unless something can be done to bring about a raise in the level of the existence of their mother.

The whole foundation of hand labor upon the farms of the West has always been the sometimes brutal, sometimes benevolent use of other men. The Secretary of Labor's basic position in this matter is, of course, sound and it is not in fact the Secretary for Labor's basic position, it is the position of Congress as reflected by the people themselves, who will bring about an end to braceros eventually. But this end must be done in good conscience, without an abrupt destruction of the lot of the farmer himself, and with regard for the industry, and for the economy of large areas of Wyoming.

I feel confident that the limited use in Wyoming of some braceros labor this year, a new look into a program of higher pay both for the farmer and for labor, can bring about corrections to two groups who have long suffered in the iniquities of sharing the prosperity of our land.

## PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, at the time the vote was taken on House Resolution 310, I was unavoidably detained and did not vote. Had I been able to be here, I would have voted "yea."

## INTRODUCTION OF TRUTH-IN-PACKAGING BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, today I introduce a companion bill to Senator HART's truth-in-packaging legislation. I sponsored similar legislation in the last Congress, and I submit that the pressing need for the enactment of this bill is greater now than it has ever been in the past.

Today, there are well over 30,000 supermarkets in this country, and a countless number of smaller markets, each of which contains as many as 8,000 different items. In deciding which of the various competing products to purchase, the consumer can no longer rely upon the informed advice of the neighborhood grocer. Rather, he must look to the package for pertinent information on the product it contains. Too often, however, this information is hidden, deceptive, or just not there, and the consumer selects at his peril.

When the consumer strolls the aisles of a supermarket or looks at the shelves in a store, he sees an orderly display of attractive packages. What he cannot realize until he returns home is that the illustrations appearing on the packages often deliberately misrepresent the article inside; the package is twice as large as the product it contains; and what may be advertised as "serving four" will probably serve only two. In addition, it is often extremely difficult to locate the net weight on packages, and even more difficult to compare it with the net weight of similar items, which will either be expressed in complicated fractions or in different units of measure. Instances of this nature are by no means rare and by no means accidental. My bill represents a frontal assault on a carefully calculated scheme to confound and confuse the consumer.

The bill would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Federal Trade Commission to promulgate regulations governing the packaging and labeling of consumer commodities. It would require net weight or quantity statements to be printed on the front panel of packages, and would establish standards of location and prominence for such information. It would prohibit deceptive illustrations on the label, "cents-off" promotions, and such qualifying terms as "giant half-quart."

In addition, discretionary authority would be provided for the issuance of regulations, on a product-to-product basis, that would: standardize package sizes to specified quantities, determine shapes of packages, and establish criteria for the use of such designations as "small," "medium," and "large."

Mr. Speaker, these measures are necessary if the Congress is to discharge its responsibility to the American consumer. I have the highest regard for the intelligence of the American consumer, but one's judgment can be only as good as the facts upon which it is based. This bill would establish and protect the consumer's right to those facts.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, may I point out that earlier this year, in his economic report to the Congress, the President expressed his support for this kind of legislation. He acknowledged that the consumer needed the kind of information this bill is designed to provide him, and stated:

Truth in packaging will help to protect consumers against product misrepresentation.

The Council of Economic Advisers reported the prevalent abuses and lauded the purposes of this legislation. Esther Peterson, the President's Special Assistant on Consumer Affairs, has long supported our efforts in this area. In light of this, it is most unfortunate that Mr. Connor, the new Secretary of Commerce, is reported to be opposed to this legislation, and that, on the basis of this, the administration is working out a new position. Mr. Speaker, the time for delay has passed. The need for this legislation has been with us for too long, and now is the time for action.

## THE OAS AT 75

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in marking Pan American Day. This year, as you know, the celebration of Pan American Day is of particular import since it is also the 75th anniversary of the organization that we know as the Organization of American States. The OAS is today, perhaps more so than at any other time in its long existence, serving as one of the bulwarks of the Western Hemisphere. That we can effectively work together to achieve common goals through the combined efforts of the members of this organization has been forcefully illustrated in the events affecting this hemisphere in recent years. I salute this organization which has not let its 75 years of existence stultify its approach to today's problems. An anniversary is not only a time for reflection, but should provide an occasion to look toward the future, to assure that by not becoming complacent over what has been, there will be commemorations for years to come.

An editorial in this morning's New York Times wished the OAS "many happy returns." I join in this wish. I believe the text of this editorial is of merit and I include it at this point.

## THE OAS AT 75

Pan American Day, which is celebrated every year on April 14, has a special significance today because it is the 75th anniversary of what is now called the Organization of American States. This makes the OAS the oldest international organization of its kind in the world.

The week-long celebrations that are underway all over the hemisphere are legitimate. There is something to celebrate. But when the banquets, the speeches, and the self-congratulations are over, it would be well to turn to the ways in which the OAS can be improved.

Secretary General José Mora did just this last November with a series of recommendations. He suggested strengthening the Council of the OAS, which is a permanent executive body like the Security Council of the United Nations. The theoretically supreme body of the OAS is the Inter-American Conference, which is supposed to meet every 5 years. It has not met since 1954 and no one wants it to meet. Mr. Mora suggested, instead, that the foreign ministers of the hemisphere meet at least once a year.

Nothing has yet been done to reform the OAS. Admittedly it will not be easy. That maverick, Cuba, has been excluded from participation in the OAS, but it is legally still a member, since there is no provision in the Bogotá Charter to expel members. The Inter-American System is, by mutual agreement, anti-Communist and democratic, although some regimes that have not been excluded can hardly be considered democratic.

Latin America has not found an ideology of its own. Its traditional authoritarian political structure and its feudal social structure have broken down in many countries and they are collapsing in all 20 nations. Marxism, as an ideology, is weak except in Cuba, and Christian Democracy has taken hold only in Chile and Venezuela. Democracy, as it is practiced in the United States, does not suit either the temperament or the economic structures found in the Latin American countries.

Thus, one falls back on the good old—75 years old—Organization of American States. It provides collective security and an instrument for international action. It is a bit infirm, but there is a lot of life in it. On this anniversary one can sincerely wish the OAS many happy returns.

## FREE WORLD SHIPPING TO NORTH VIETNAM IS INCREASING

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, lack of free world cooperation is making our task in South Vietnam unnecessarily difficult. For example, free world trade with Communist North Vietnam is increasing. Although much of this is doubtless food and other so-called non-strategic items, it nonetheless benefits North Vietnam directly and substantially.

A free world trade embargo against North Vietnam would certainly aggravate the supply problems of the Communists and hopefully hasten the day when we can negotiate with them on our terms.

Our most pressing and urgent need is to negotiate with our free world allies, rather than with the Communists. We

must unify free world policy in trouble spots like Vietnam. Consultation has obviously been inadequate.

The table below, prepared for me by the Library of Congress, shows the trend in free world trade with North Vietnam:

*Trade of North Vietnam with the free world, 1962-64*

[In thousands of dollars]

	1962 exports	1962 imports	1962 total	1963 exports	1963 imports	1963 total	1964 exports	1964 imports	1964 total
United States.....	1		1						
Austria.....				28		28	58		58
Belgium-Luxembourg.....	60	58	118	1,514	2	1,516	544	15	569
Denmark.....	89	1	90	5	41	46	10	12	22
France.....	28	26	54	3,600	2,542	6,142	3,740	2,550	6,290
Germany.....	26	504	530	191	322	523	200	1,100	1,300
Ireland.....				3		3			
Italy.....	118	213	331	593	2,207	2,801	1,269	1,000	1,269
Netherlands.....	51		51	2,276	167	2,443	1,272	122	1,394
Norway.....									
Sweden.....	( <sup>1</sup> )	1	1	2	167	169			
Switzerland.....	20	2	22	70	72	142	70		70
United Kingdom.....	197	44	241	73	102	175	165	101	266
Iran.....	3		3						
Morocco.....				3	11	14			
Ivory Coast.....				1		1			
Jordan.....				27		27			
United Arab Republic (Egypt).....	169	332	491	9	140	149			
Burma.....	2		2						
Cambodia.....				1,409	580	1,989	1,093	936	2,029
Hong Kong.....	719	29	748	3,304	162	3,466	3,729	88	3,817
India.....	999	83	1,082		81	81		52	52
Indonesia.....	222		222						
Japan.....	4,554	4,781	9,335	10,255	4,316	14,571	8,628	2,919	11,547
Malaya and Singapore.....	52	42	94	1,434	1,296	2,730	1,241	1,225	1,466
Pakistan.....				163	163				
Senegal.....				3	3				
Australia.....				350	350				
New Zealand.....				27	27				
Argentina.....									
Mexico.....		30	30	3		3			
Venezuela.....									
Finland.....		376	376						
Yugoslavia.....		14	14						
Total.....	7,300	6,536	13,836	11,899	12,751	24,650	21,019	10,755	31,774

<sup>1</sup> January-October.

<sup>2</sup> Less than \$500.

<sup>3</sup> January-June.

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of International Commerce, International Trade Analysis Division.

(1) Exports of free world countries to Sino-Soviet bloc countries, 1959-62; January-December 1963; 1964, cumulative and latest month.

(2) Imports of free world countries from Sino-Soviet bloc countries, 1959-62; January-December 1963; 1964, cumulative and latest month.

### DO CUSTOMERS APPROVE OF INCREASED PRICES?

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Wirtz and a few Members of Congress have recently said in effect "farmers can increase wages, improve housing and boarding facilities, provide family housing for the migrant farm laborers and enhance the many fringe benefits—and that the housewife and consumer of fruit and vegetables will gladly pay the increased costs."

There is no proof of this noble assertion. I wish it were true because many workers could use increased wages. Every farmer I know would gladly pay his employees more if consumers would pay him more.

There are some apparent paradoxes in the noble way in which the Secretary dismisses the farmers' problems of increased costs.

The administration claims to be protecting the farm laborers from competi-

tion from "cheap foreign labor." But will the administration protect the farmer from the competition of cheap foreign produce and products which are produced not only with cheap foreign labor but with cheap foreign materials, seeds, water, land rent, fertilizers, capital and management?

If the increased prices are so certain why, I wonder, did not the "grasping" farmers increase the prices much sooner?

If higher prices were so easily obtainable and profits so great and certain, what are we to do with the great influx of farmers and financiers into the fruit and vegetable industry?

An apricot grower asks me where the housewife or consumer is that will pay 40 cents a unit (his present cost) for his apricots when comparable, but cheaply grown, apricots imported from Spain and South America are selling in the same U.S. markets for 38 cents.

Can we expect the same "protection" by our Government for the farmer as the unemployed factory worker who wants to become a farm laborer?

All the vegetable farmer asks is fair treatment—the same treatment afforded other importers, other employers, other producers, other laborers. Is this asking too much?

### CHANGES NEEDED IN DOCUMENTARY TAX REGULATIONS TO PERMIT CREDIT FOR STATE TAXES PAID ON CONVEYANCE OF REALTY

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce today a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a credit against the Federal stamp tax on the conveyance of realty for amounts paid under equivalent State sales, stamp, or transfer tax laws.

When the Federal conveyance tax was first imposed in the early days of the Republic, it was needed to finance various crises; that is, the Civil War, Spanish-American War, and so forth. It has long since stopped serving a revenue purpose. In fiscal year 1963, for example, the Federal Government's take on all documentary taxes amounted to \$140 million, or one-tenth of 1 percent of its tax collections. Only about one-fourth of this \$140 million was realized from the Federal documentary tax on conveyances, or real estate transfers; the remaining three-fourths coming from the Federal documentary taxes on the issue and transfer of stocks and bonds.

My bill is concerned only with the Federal tax on conveyances, however, since these taxes involve thousands of individual transactions at the county court house level and, in those cases where State and local taxes are also levied, involve overlapping taxation. They create the image of unnecessary Federal-State duplication in the minds of individuals, particularly attorneys and realtors, who are required to purchase stamps at two different windows and to compute relatively small tax liabilities two different ways.

Mr. Speaker, apparently no studies of the cost of administering documentary taxes have been made, either within or outside the Treasury Department. However, the Federal conveyance tax has a record of weak enforcement and spotty taxpayer compliance. Because the amount of revenue involved is small, the Internal Revenue Service devotes minimal effort to the enforcement of documentary stamp taxes. Nor is Federal tax enforcement likely to be increased because it is tangential to the mainstream of Internal Revenue activity—which is geared to the income tax—and the revenue yield would not be expected to increase much above the costs of increased enforcement.

It would be difficult to justify urging the Treasury Department to assign to the stamp tax on conveyances the amount of resources that would be needed to enforce it adequately. Effective Federal enforcement of this tax might well require extensive audit of the deed records at county courthouses throughout the Nation. The cost of

such auditing would probably be prohibitive in the light of the insignificant revenue return it would yield.

In regard to taxpayer compliance, deed documents conveying real estate and policies issued by foreign insurers are required to have the stamps affixed—but the regulations allow considerable latitude, and affixing practice varies. The blue-ribbon Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations stated in their report of September 1964, entitled "The Intergovernmental Aspects of Documentary Taxes," that:

Compliance, in fact, is almost completely voluntary and noncompliance and violations may be considerable.

The tax on real estate transfers is one of the very few that can be enforced effectively at the local level. Most real estate transactions are recorded by county recorders, many of whom are elected officials. Since the States have it within their means to require such local officials to enforce their laws, the administrative support that local officials can give the tax is available for the enforcement of State laws in connection with the providing of State sales, stamp, or transfer tax credits against the Federal stamp tax.

Mr. Speaker, the principal consideration supporting the Federal real estate transfer tax has been its alleged by-product value for assessment-sales ratio studies to improve property tax administration. However, because of inadequate enforcement and exclusion of assumed mortgages from the tax base, the stamp value frequently bears little relationship to actual selling price, and this, in turn, severely limits its usefulness for assessment-sales ratio studies. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations reported that analyses in connection with ratio studies have uncovered numerous cases that range from complete noncompliance to under- or overstamp. The Commission concluded:

The deficiencies of the Federal real estate transfer tax for establishing the sales price of realty could be overcome only by shifting enforcement responsibility to the States.

This would be the case with the enactment of my bill, as the incentive of increased State revenues would be present as well as the existence of State laws with which the local and State officials would be compelled to comply. The States would be able to obtain the necessary market value information under the system provided for by this bill.

Utilization of credits against the Federal conveyance tax by enactment of State laws is expected to be widespread. Indeed, transition would not be a problem, as State and local governments are already showing a rising interest in real estate transfer taxes. Some 12 States and the District of Columbia have real estate transfer taxes; four of these States have enacted them since 1951. The State and local documentary taxes are patterned, by and large, after the Federal taxes.

It is worth noting that the nine States—Florida, Louisiana, Maryland,

Massachusetts, Minnesota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia—now having a State tax rate equal to or greater than the Federal tax, would be relieved of the Federal tax burden. By a slight increase in the State rate and/or the statewide adoption of the local tax, three States—Alabama, Pennsylvania, and Washington—and the District of Columbia also would be relieved of the Federal tax burden. The 38 remaining States could, by adopting a tax equivalent to the Federal, gain revenues without increasing the overall tax burden within the State. By adopting the credit device, the Internal Revenue Service would not lose the value of capital gain information on realty transactions in all States and the Federal Government would be inviting the States to enact their own real estate transfer taxes without adding to the tax burden of their own taxpayers. Since the taxpayers' liability would be the same whether the State imposed the tax or not, the availability of the Federal credit would exert a strong compulsion on the States to impose their own transfer taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I urge careful and complete consideration of this bill by my distinguished colleagues in the House.

#### THE CASE FOR VIABLE INTEREST RATES

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 22, 1965, Hon. JOE L. EVINS, placed in the RECORD two recent articles written for the United Press International by my colleague, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN and myself presenting our views concerning the great issue of viable interest rates versus low interest rates. I received a number of letters from various people commenting on these two articles, to which I have responded. One of these letters, I believe, would be of general interest in carrying forward the dialog on this important economic problem; and I include a copy of it in the RECORD:

Thank you for your March 25 letter regarding my article, "The Case for Viable Interest Rates," in the Washington Post. I am always pleased to have the opportunity to amplify my views to those who are interested.

As you know, Mr. PATMAN, the chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, argues for a reduction in interest rates that many consider already too low. Mr. PATMAN does not think of interest rates as a cost like other costs, which are determined by the forces of demand and supply and which represent compensation to banks for performing financial services. Interest rates are the market's mechanism for maintaining the balance between the supply of money and the demand for it. When I and other Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee advocate a policy of "viable" interest rates, we ask only that demand and supply not be

manipulated to produce distorted interest rates that will damage the U.S. economy and international economic posture.

I stated in my article that "only by the exercise of self-discipline can we maintain correct monetary and fiscal policy." We must curb our understandable preference for an "easy money" policy because such a policy can produce harmful results. Past experience has shown that easy money policies are inappropriate during periods of economic boom.

What effects can an overreliance in low interest rates cause?

One effect may be inflation. On the surface inflation does not seem to exist. Wholesale and retail price indexes and traditional indicators have remained stable. But I and others are concerned about the existence of concealed inflation. Since 1961 bank credit has grown 28 percent while gross output has increased by only 22 percent. Since wholesale prices have remained relatively stable, we must ask where the excess in the growth of credit over capacity has gone.

One answer is that credit increases have maintained wholesale prices at a high, though stable, level. Without credit expansion the wholesale price level would probably have dropped, as it has during other periods of our economic history.

My concern about the possibility of inflation stems not only from the threat of concealed inflation but also from the boom psychology the President and his economic advisers have encouraged. Such forced optimism is politically motivated and dangerous. For the promotion of a boom through overconfident reliance on "easy money" policies will likely lead to painful correction.

Furthermore low interest rates may also have a harmful effect on the quality of credit. I have no doubt that the office expansion you plan is soundly based. But this has not been the case with many U.S. borrowers. Easily available money encourages marginal businesses to expand operations without sound financial bases. Many such ventures subsequently fail because they simply are unable to compete—they are uneconomic. Such failures are wasteful and costly to the entire economy.

Home mortgage loans are subject to the same forces. In 1964 the foreclosure rate exceeded 100,000, higher than any year since 1939. For every 1,000 mortgages there were during this period 4.59 foreclosures—twice the 2.34 figure for 1959. In a recession such foreclosures would no doubt increase as low-income families became unable to meet payments. Tighter credit policies would help to reduce this disturbing high foreclosure rate, promote more careful lending policies, and thus strengthen the economy.

Another result of easy credit policies has been to stimulate the outflow of United States bank funds to other countries. This outflow became so large in the last quarter of 1964 that the administration felt remedial action was required. Thus the "interest equalization tax" on foreign securities purchased by American citizens is proposed by the administration to be extended to bank loans. This action would represent a restriction of the free flow of capital across international boundaries, a policy for which the United States has stood for two decades. The same restriction, many economists agree, could be achieved by higher interest rates.

All of the above are good reasons for looking very critically at present United States credit policy. If this examination shows that on balance interest rates are too low to be in the long-term welfare of the economy, then they should be allowed to rise in accord with the demands of the market.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

## THE SECOND BEST KNOWN TEXAN IN WASHINGTON

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the April issue of Fortune magazine has given deserving recognition to our colleague and friend, the gentleman from Texas, WRIGHT PATMAN, in an article "The Warrior From Patman's Switch." In a fair and objective account, the author, Hubert Kay, describes the activities and interests through the years of the man who has become, in this session of Congress, the chairman of both the House Banking and Currency Committee, and the Joint Economic Committee.

As a member of both these committees, and knowing of the chairman's hard work and determination, I think it appropriate to place this article into the RECORD so that all his colleagues in the House may have a chance to read it.

The article follows:

### THE WARRIOR FROM PATMAN'S SWITCH

(By Hubert Kay)

(NOTE.—The second best-known Texan in Washington has tried to scalp Andrew Mellon, Herbert Hoover, and the Rockefellers, and now he's going after the banks and the Federal Reserve System.)

It should be no surprise to anyone that a sizable chunk of the recent financial news—about the balance of payments, the gold backing for the dollar, interest rates, Federal Reserve policy, bank failures, the economic power and tax advantages enjoyed by foundations—involves WRIGHT PATMAN, Congressman for the past 36 years from Texarkana, Tex. PATMAN himself often seems to be the financial news. Over the years he has left his name on one major piece of economic legislation (the Robinson-Patman Act) and his imprint on scores of others (notably the Employment Act of 1946); nowadays he is perhaps best known in connection with the long and acrimonious war he has waged against the Federal Reserve System, which, in PATMAN's book, is just a "wholly owned subsidiary of the American Bankers Association."

PATMAN's continuous presence onstage in the House arises mainly from the fact that he is chairman of its Banking and Currency Committee, through which legislation affecting banking, monetary matters, and housing must be filtered. Recently, for example, the committee had the job of rushing through approval of President Johnson's proposal to remove the gold backing on Federal Reserve deposits. PATMAN, fresh from a hospital siege of "executive flu," got the required approval through the committee in 1 day. The Banking Committee chairmanship, which he attained in 1963, is not PATMAN's only lever on congressional power. Since 1957 he has also been alternate chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, a Senate-House group that advises Congress on issues raised in the President's annual Economic Report. He brought about the creation of the select House and Senate Small Business Committees, and until 1963 served as chairman of the House committee. At 71, he commands the additional prestige and influence of having served in Congress longer than all but four other Members (HAYDEN, CELLER, MARTIN, McCORMACK). PATMAN is

surely the second best known Texan in Washington, and his prestige is obviously not dimmed by his old and well-known friendship with the best known Texan.

But perhaps the ultimate source of his influence has been, simply, the persistence and zeal that marks all his works. Originally a poor boy, from a northeast Texas town called Patman's Switch (it was named for his own numerous family and a Katy Railroad switch), he sees himself as the champion of the little fellow, and is all over the place with bills to help him and to thwart the big interests. Recently, he was preparing to sponsor bills strengthening the area redevelopment program and providing for a massive expansion of the urban-renewal program. In addition, he was announcing that the committee would look into a string of bank failures, was assailing the Treasury for its reluctance to crack down harder on tax-exempt foundations, and was warning that the Fed was again trying to raise long-term interest rates. Bank stockholders, he tirelessly proclaims, profit at the taxpayer's expense through the Fed's chronic bias in favor of banks in general and of high interest rates in particular.

Perhaps PATMAN's most predictable move in this Congress was his introduction of a bill, on the session's first day, "to make the Federal Reserve System responsive to the best interests of the people of the United States and to improve the coordination of monetary, fiscal, and economic policy." PATMAN has introduced Fed-reform bills in every session of Congress since 1934, even though they have never had administration support. Most bankers view the current bill as an effort, not merely to end the Fed's independence, but to yoke it to inflation. PATMAN naturally sees his proposals in a more constructive vein. During his committee's hearings last year, he said to the Fed's chairman, William McChesney Martin: "It is my contention, Mr. Martin, that if we had had the Federal Reserve System operating in the people's interest and the Government's interest the last 40 years, we would not have any \$300 billion debt today; we might not even have any debt."

In the course of feuding with the Fed, PATMAN has got into the habit of summoning its officials for prolonged questioning about the broad drift of monetary policy, the narrow details of administration, and everything in between. A year ago he became convinced that the Fed was spending the taxpayers' money on high living for its own employees and executives, and tirelessly read into the record a list of expenditures made by the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, including money for ping-pong balls and paddles, theater tickets, and a \$125 comedian, who performed at the bank's annual dinner dance. PATMAN stopped short of asking for an audited report on the number of jokes the man had told, but just barely.

Naturally, PATMAN has a fair number of enemies and detractors. Many bankers would warmly endorse the judgment of Mariner Eccles, who once, when he was Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, said to PATMAN in public: "Your conception of the American banking system and how it operates is totally erroneous." Some of his colleagues dismiss him as a crank and a bore. But not all of them. Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, who has alternated with him as chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and who is one of the few men in Congress with unimpeachable credentials as an economist, says, "I consider WRIGHT one of the most underrated men in Congress. He knows more about the Federal Reserve than anybody in Congress, and has more factual knowledge of its operations than its officials themselves. I wouldn't want to have him making all monetary policy, but he's a good influence."

### THE SQUEEZABLE CONGRESSMAN

PATMAN in person is something of a surprise to anyone who knows him only from the financial pages. He is soft-voiced, friendly, alert, with something of a paunch, a small round head, twinkling blue eyes, and a cherubic smile—the overall effect being a mixture of Santa Claus and Foxy Grandpa. In public debate or oratory he often employs the invective of a prosecuting attorney (which, as a matter of fact, he once was). But in conversation, though highly opinionated, he is also quiet and calmly reasonable. He doesn't get personal or impugn motives, and he seems to believe that nearly all the people who disagree with him are honestly mistaken. The appeal of what might be called PATMAN's noncombat personality is attested by a young woman newspaper reporter in Texarkana, who calls him "Honorable Honey," or sometimes "Hon Baby," and declares: "He's so sweet that you just feel like squeezin' him every time you see him."

Actually, the friendly Congressman they know in Texarkana is quite a different proposition from the fire breather of the financial headlines. Most of his constituents know little or nothing about the monetary and other economic crusades that have won him national renown. What his constituents do know is that their Congressman works endlessly to strengthen the district's faltering economy, reads every letter addressed to him and gets off a prompt reply, listens patiently to individual callers, and spares no effort to help either a supporter or an opponent. Although he has long suffered from diabetes, and tires a bit as the day wears on, PATMAN still follows his long-time habit of going to his office—in Texarkana or Washington—7 days a week. He puts in half a day on weekends, but a good 10 hours or so Monday through Friday.

Not many bankers have been exposed to PATMAN's lovable side, and there are quite a few who would deny that he is even sincere in what he says about big business. They can, in fact, point to a fair number of charges he has made that seem wild. His Small Business Committee's 1962 report on foundations included a suggestion that Rockefeller-endowed foundations' holdings of oil-company stocks represented an attempt to restore the old Standard Oil Trust. Again, many bankers are infuriated by the five-volume report on his investigation of the ownership of stock in leading banks. They contend it proves nothing except that some investors own stock in more than one bank—but that it implies the existence of a sinister conspiracy.

Another, more serious complaint that bankers have against PATMAN concerns his insistent demand for lower interest rates and his apparent belief in a high rate of expansion of the money supply. His position on these matters is a little fuzzy around the edges, and perhaps this is why he is sometimes accused by bankers of insincerity. To be sure, he denies that he favors inflation and seems to believe that the rate of increase in the money supply should be reduced any time inflation is a threat; this would be done by raising bank reserve requirements. However, these views are put forth in a way that makes them seem a bit academic, and his pronouncements on any current Federal Reserve policy almost invariably involve complaints that it is not supplying enough money to the economy and is keeping interest rates artificially high. There seems never to have been a time when PATMAN was actually heard to complain that rates were too low or the money supply too large. In general, it is hard to know what are his criteria for determining the amount of money needed by the economy. PAUL DOUGLAS says, "WRIGHT's weakness is that he won't accept the quantity theory of money"—i.e., the theory of the relationship between the quantity and rate of use of money in circulation,

the price level, and the output of the economy. The formulations below, taken from a 135-page booklet, "A Primer on Money," issued by the Banking Committee, may suggest what DOUGLAS means—and also suggest why so many bankers suspect the worst about PATMAN:

"If the Government can issue bonds, why can't it issue money and save the interest?"

"A few clearheaded and firm individuals, such as Abraham Lincoln, have insisted that the Government can \* \* \*. To a small extent, the Government does issue money, to buy back the bonds it has already issued, through the Federal Reserve System. However, it has long been one of the political facts of life that private banks must be allowed to create the lion's share of the money, if not all of the money. Thus there is little opposition to the Government's printing bonds and then permitting the banks to create the money with which to buy those bonds; but proposals that the Government itself create the money instead of the bonds have always set off tremendous political upheavals. Bankers are politically very powerful, even in wartime. For example, Abraham Lincoln set off a political furor when he insisted upon having the Government issue \$346 million in money (the so-called greenbacks) instead of issuing interest-bearing bonds and paying interest on the money \* \* \*. It is a fallacy to think, as many do, that the 'greenbacks' were inflationary.

"If the Government issued more money instead of Government bonds isn't there a danger that the Government would issue too much money and cause inflation?"

"Once again, it is no less inflationary for the private banks to create \$1 billion of new money to buy \$1 billion of bonds than it is for the Government to create \$1 billion of new money."

Most bankers would probably object that this answer is irrelevant. Ordinarily, when the Treasury issues \$1 billion of bonds there is no occasion for the banks to create \$1 billion of new money. Most Treasury bonds are bought by private investors—which means that they sop up private savings and are not inflationary. Before 1951, it is true, the Fed was often a heavy buyer of these bonds, and PATMAN has a point when he notes that such purchases were no less inflationary than just printing new money. The Fed's checks for the bonds would end up in banks, ultimately expanding their reserves and lending capabilities and, in effect, adding to the Nation's supply of "checkbook money." The purpose of the Fed's heavy buying was to peg the prices of Government bonds; the bonds carried interest rates too low to attract many private buyers. But these forced purchases interfered with the Fed's function of controlling the money supply, the Fed itself was distressed by their inflationary effects, and the practice ended with the famous March 1951, "accord" between the Fed and the Treasury. PATMAN himself was, and is, loudly opposed to the 1951 accord.

#### WHAT COMES AFTER THE PRIMER

PATMAN's views about money management clearly inspire his efforts to overhaul the Fed's administrative and policymaking apparatus. If he were a monetary conservative, these efforts would not seem so controversial. But given the ideas expressed in the "Primer on Money," it is hard to view the demands for an overhaul except as a preface to other demands, for cheap money.

PATMAN's argument with the Fed comes down, essentially, to two matters: (1) his contention that the Fed is now improperly dominated by private banks; and (2) his insistence that it should be responsible to the President and the Congress.

Proposition No. 1 refers primarily to the Fed's Open Market Committee, which meets every 3 weeks and decides whether to in-

crease or decrease the Nation's money supply—i.e., by buying or selling Government securities. PATMAN contends that commercial banks unduly influence these crucial decisions. Commercial banks elect most of the directors of the 12 regional Federal Reserve banks, and the directors elect the Reserve banks' presidents, five of whom sit on the Open Market Committee. (The president of the New York bank is a permanent member; the other four seats are rotated among the other 11 presidents.)

At any given time, to be sure, the five are outnumbered by the seven members of the Fed's Board of Governors, who are permanent committee members. But PATMAN points out that all 12 Reserve bank presidents attend the committee meetings and have an opportunity to argue and influence the Governors. In a vote, moreover, only two Governors need be won over to give the bankers a majority.

Most bankers and Fed officials deny that PATMAN has much of a case. First of all, they point out, the election of any regional Reserve bank president can be vetoed by the Board of Governors in Washington. In addition, the five men representing the banks often disagree with one another. The most important vote taken by the committee last year was probably a 6-to-5 decision, on August 18, to switch to a slightly less easy monetary policy. The five bank presidents voted 3 to 2 in favor of the new policy.

PATMAN's other main contention about the Fed—that it should not be independent of the President and Congress—probably has more support than his charges of banker domination. Many conservatives agree with PATMAN that it is undemocratic for monetary decisions to be sealed off from the voters; for example, Prof. Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago, whom many regard as our most distinguished writer on monetary theory, testified before PATMAN's Banking Committee last year that "it is most undesirable politically to give so much power to individuals not subject to close control by the electorate." Many also agree with PATMAN's view that it is absurd to tolerate a situation in which responsibility for the health of the U.S. economy is shared by the Fed, the Treasury, and other agencies, but there is no formal coordination between them. PATMAN wants the administration to have statutory control of the Fed "so that one agency will not be stamping on the brake while another is stepping on the accelerator."

If PATMAN's bill were enacted, the Fed would scarcely be recognizable. The bill would abolish the Open Market Committee, leaving its functions to be performed by the Board of Governors alone. It would compel member banks to sell back their stock in the Federal Reserve banks; this would serve to end the banks' troublesome illusion, as PATMAN sees it, that they "own" the Reserve banks. Otherwise, the bill is devoted to canceling out the provisions by which previous Congresses sought to assure the Fed's independence of political control. For example, the Fed is now uniquely free of any need to request appropriations; before turning over to the Treasury the sizable income it derives from interest on Government securities, it deducts its own expenses (of about \$200 million per year). PATMAN's bill would compel the Fed to ask Congress for a yearly allowance like any other agency. It would also require the Fed, which now has its books audited by private firms, to justify its expenditures to the Comptroller General and Congress through regular audit by the General Accounting Office.

The seven members of the Board of Governors are now appointed by the President for 14-year terms, with one member's term expiring every 2 years. Thus, barring deaths or resignations, it is only during his last 2 years in office that a two-term President can

enjoy a board with a majority of members appointed by himself. PATMAN's bill would change this by reducing the board to five members appointed for 5-year terms, with one member's term expiring each year; thus the President would have a majority after his first 2 years. He would also be empowered to begin and end any member's term as chairman whenever he chose.

Nor is that all. PATMAN also wants to clear up an ambiguity in the 1946 Employment Act. The preface, which he helped to write, makes it the responsibility of the President "to coordinate and utilize all of the Government's plans, functions, and resources \* \* \* to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." PATMAN believes that this means Federal monetary policy is now required to be coordinated with the Treasury's fiscal policies. Fed Chairman Martin believes that the Fed has cooperated to this end, but that it is not legally required to. PATMAN's bill would make it mandatory for the Fed to carry out the President's recommendations on fiscal and debt-management policy as well as guidelines concerning monetary policy, domestic and foreign, including the growth of the money supply as defined by him, and to submit quarterly reports to Congress setting forth in comprehensive detail just how this was being done. In sum, the Patman bill would reduce the handsome white Federal Reserve Building on Constitution Avenue to an annex of the White House.

#### THE ROAD FROM PATMAN'S SWITCH

WRIGHT PATMAN and Samuel Ealy Johnson shared one of the Texas Legislature's double desks in the early 1920's, and there is a warm bond between PATMAN and Lyndon Johnson today. The President has often publicly recalled the advice his father gave him when he was first elected to Congress in 1937: "Son, when you get up there in Washington you're going to have to vote on a lot of issues that you won't have had time to study up on. So when you don't know how to vote, you pass until you see how WRIGHT PATMAN votes and vote like he does, because he always votes for the people."

PATMAN's concern for the people, and his hostility to big eastern banks, are admittedly bound up with nostalgia for the small town and rural America of his youth. During his hearings on the Fed last year he declared: "I think a lot of these ghost towns all over America today can be charged to the failure of many of the banks—not all of them—to come to the aid and rescue of their own local people \* \* \*. Today it looks like we are going to have about 12 big cities with practically all the population—little towns dried up, the countryside bleak."

The Patmans had come to Cass County from Georgia, around 1865, in covered wagons; they stopped at what came to be known as Patman's Switch because the red hills there looked like Georgia. Most of them were Primitive Baptists, who believed that churches should have no trappings or music in them. The Patmans owned farmland, had sawmills, shingle mills, and gristmills, and a country store at Turkey Creek. They also built a church, which the older Patmans quit going to when the Missionary Baptists in the congregation installed an organ. WRIGHT's recollections of his boyhood make it clear that life was austere in Patman's Switch. "My father was a farmer, and earned a little extra by repairing cotton gins, but we were always poor. Neither of my parents had much education, but my mother was an ardent student of the Bible. She told me never to use the Lord's name in vain and I never did. My father was against cigarettes—he called them coffin tacks—and said he'd rather see me drink than smoke if I had to have a vice, although he would rather I didn't do either. So I didn't do either. In recent years I may take one

cocktail at a party—but I almost never go to cocktail parties. I'd rather spend 15 minutes really talking with somebody."

At 15, PATMAN began reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and organized a high school debating society. After high school he sold life insurance for a while, later worked as a sharecropper until he had saved enough for a 2-year course (and a law degree) at Tennessee's Cumberland University. By 1920, when he was 27, PATMAN was a lawyer, a war veteran, a Boy Scout leader, a spellbinding orator—and obviously a political comer. He was elected to the legislature and promptly attacked the Ku Klux Klan, which almost beat him when he came up for reelection in 1922. But he won again, by 300 votes, and in 1924 moved to Texarkana, where he was elected district attorney.

The job was a tough one, for Texarkana sprawls across the Texas-Arkansas border and is also near both the Oklahoma and Louisiana State lines—a location that, during prohibition, attracted bootleggers, high-jackers, gamblers, and vice operators. "We had highjacking and robberies in the streets, in the post office, and all around," PATMAN remembers. "I had a hectic time. Thugs were sent from Chicago to get me, and the Governor sent Texas Rangers to protect me. But I broke up vice and gambling." In 1928 he was elected for the first time to the U.S. House of Representatives.

#### A BONUS OF CONTENTION

PATMAN got off to a fast start there too. He was one of the early supporters of the intensely controversial bonus bill, and soon became leader of the campaign for it. The bill concerned the soldiers' bonus, originally adopted by Congress in 1924. Each World War I veteran was to receive an extra \$1.25 per day for oversea service and \$1 per day for service in the United States, with payment in the form of endowment policies payable in 1945. When the depression began, demands for immediate cash payment of the bonus rose to a clamor. PATMAN was among those who believed that a huge payment in greenbacks might boost purchasing power enough to end the depression. (He still thinks it might have.)

The Hoover administration opposed the bonus bill, and this got PATMAN into a feud with Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon. Before long, PATMAN was charging that Mellon had used his office to further private business interests. He tried to get Mellon impeached, but after 2 weeks of hearings the Secretary resigned to become Ambassador to Britain, and the charges were dropped. The bonus battle warmed up in the summer of 1932, when a ragtag "bonus army" of veterans camped on Anacostia Flats and demonstrated in front of the Capitol. This was at a time when the House had passed but the Senate had rejected the Patman bonus bill. When the Army burned out the Anacostia encampment and dispersed the veterans, a move arose in Congress to impeach the President. The impeachment resolution never got very far, but PATMAN was among those who tried to prevent the House from tabling it.

The bonus bill did a lot to hurt PATMAN's political advancement. He was now permanently labeled an inflationist and a "funny money" man. Worse, perhaps, he was a rebel in the eyes of his party leaders—for Roosevelt no less than Hoover opposed the bonus payment. Vice-President-elect John Nance Garner ordered PATMAN to lay off, but he refused. In retaliation, PATMAN says, "they kept me off the Banking and Currency Committee for 8 years. Otherwise, I would have become chairman of it 18 years ago" (instead of 2 years ago).

Session after session he popped the bonus bill first into the House of Representatives hopper, so that "H.R. 1" became almost synonymous with "Patman bonus bill." In 1935 both the House and Senate passed a modified version of the Patman bill, pro-

viding for \$2.2 billion worth of greenbacks; President Roosevelt appeared in person before a joint session of Congress to deliver his veto message. Finally, in January 1936, both Houses of Congress passed still another version of the bill and also overrode the President's veto. Out to veterans that June went \$2.2 billion worth of "baby bonds" (they accumulated interest but were not salable). By the end of the year over \$1 billion of the payment had been cashed in by the veterans.

To PATMAN's intense disappointment, the payment seemed to have no effect whatever on the economy. The reason, he gradually came to realize, was that the Fed was then acting to cut down consumer purchasing power (it doubled bank reserve requirements in 1936-37). PATMAN's hostility toward the Fed dates from this episode.

#### THE TEXARKANA TRUSTBUSTER

Meanwhile, he had found another challenge to his crusading instincts—the challenge of monopoly. He became exercised about the problem of suppliers that offer special temporary discounts to big and favored customers, thereby helping them to outdistance and eliminate their competitors. The Clayton Act of 1914 had outlawed such discriminatory pricing except when made "in good faith to meet competition." With the coming of the depression, hard-pressed independent merchants began clamoring that this "good faith" loophole was giving the big new chain stores an unbearable advantage. With Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas, the Senate majority leader, PATMAN put together a loophole-closing bill that swept through Congress in June 1936, in a near-unanimous vote.

Trade associations of grocers, druggists, and some small businessmen are still warm supporters of the Robinson-Patman Act. PATMAN himself calls it the Golden Rule of American business. But in practice the act's provisions have proved difficult to enforce; they generate a fantastic volume of litigation, and some lawyers believe that their net effect is to restrict legitimate price competition.

PATMAN's biggest cause in recent years, aside from his war on the Fed, has been a war on tax-exempt foundations, waged through the House Small Business Committee. His ostensible purpose was to look into the "tax-dodge" aspects of foundations. PATMAN did, in fact, have little difficulty in showing that many foundations with worthy sounding purposes were actually set up to enable their sponsors to avoid income taxes. But as the investigation developed, it came to be a kind of nit-picking exposé of all sorts of big business practices that he considered wicked—e.g., the Ford Foundation's payment to Benson Ford of \$15,000 for attending only three trustee meetings during 1960-62.

#### A BOUQUET FROM ROBERTSON

But whether PATMAN is remembered as a major figure in economic history or as an ineffectual meddler in money matters will depend on the outcome of his feud with the Fed. What is the likely outcome?

PATMAN's immediate plans call for still another round of Banking Committee hearings on the Fed. However, he does not expect congressional action soon on his bill, and he is not forecasting Presidential help on it either. Any aggressive Presidential action against the Fed would be surprising in the light of Johnson's statement last October, when the President pointed with pride to the excellent results of the Nation's monetary policy "over the past 4 years," and continued: "All this has been made possible by close ties between our monetary and our fiscal and debt-management policies, and close harmony among the men responsible for these policies. We have maintained the Federal Reserve's traditional independence within the Government. Yet the Federal Reserve and the administration agree en-

tirely on the practical need for informal coordination among the various economic programs of the Government." Another clue to the way the wind is blowing toward PATMAN from the White House is the fact that, soon after becoming President, Johnson offered him a Federal judgeship.

On the whole, then, it does not seem likely that PATMAN will succeed in overhauling the Fed drastically. But perhaps the outcome of the feud will not be seen as a total setback for PATMAN, either. There is, at least, something to be said for a view that was put forward by one of the Fed's own Governors, J. L. Robertson, a conservative who has generally opposed PATMAN in the past. At the opening of the Banking Committee hearings last year Robertson said, "I think that it is all to the good that you are taking a look at the whole System and all aspects of it." Then, addressing himself directly to PATMAN, the Governor declared: "I would like to add that I think that the scrutiny which you, Mr. Chairman, have personally lavished on the System over the years has been beneficial in more ways than you know, because it has served to keep the System on its toes."

#### A PROGRAM WITH RESPECT TO WILD PREDATORY MAMMALS

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a bill which I have introduced to establish a national policy and program with respect to wild predatory mammals such as the wolf, the mountain lion, the lynx, the bobcat, several species of bear, and other large wild carnivorous animals native to North America. My bill is identical to one which was introduced earlier this session by the gentleman from Michigan, Congressman DINGELL.

Mr. Speaker, during the 87th Congress I introduced a House resolution calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Predator Control. I was prompted to do so by my concern for the seemingly wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of these native American animals under the guise of protection of domestic animals and agricultural crops. This concern was shared by many conservation organizations in this country. The state of affairs in this area was such that following the introduction of my bill, Secretary Udall called upon a blue ribbon group under the leadership of A. Starker Leopold to investigate the question of predator and rodent control in the areas under his jurisdiction; namely, the Branch of Predator and Rodent Control.

On March 9, 1964, the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, as this group was named, transmitted to the Secretary its report. This report has since become known as the Leopold report. Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote the first paragraph of the two paragraph summary of this report. The paragraph states that:

Federal responsibility for minimizing animal damage is properly assigned to the Fish and Wildlife Service. But the program of

animal control, under the Branch of Predator and Rodent Control, has become an end in itself and no longer is a balanced component of an overall scheme of wildlife husbandry and management. In the opinion of this board, far more animals are being killed than would be required for effective protection of livestock, agricultural crops, wildland resources, and human health. This unnecessary destruction is further augmented by State, county, and individual endeavor. The Federal Government, it would seem, should be setting an example in the proper scientific management of all wildlife resources, with a view to total public interest and welfare. Instead, the Branch of Predator and Rodent Control has developed into a semiautonomous bureaucracy whose function in many localities bears scant relationship to real need and less still to scientific management.

Mr. Speaker, the bill which I have introduced today would be a first step in the right direction. It would be a first step in the creation of such an overall scheme as is mentioned in the Leopold report, but it would not infringe upon the prerogatives of the Secretary of the Interior who, as we all know, has shown such admirable commonsense in matters such as these.

Speaking as an avid hunter who has long recognized the necessity of marshaling our natural resources and who has long advocated a sensible conservation policy by all groups, I strongly urge that my colleagues support this necessary legislation.

The bill calls upon the Secretary of the Interior to make such reorganizations, reductions, and adjustments in the predatory control programs of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife as are necessary to prepare for the implementation of this act.

It also states that the policy of this Congress is to recognize that the wolf, the coyote, the mountain lion, the lynx, the bobcat, the several species of bear, and other large, wild carnivores native to North America and commonly known as predatory mammals, are among the wildlife resources of interest and value to the people of the United States, and that the Secretary of the Interior, through the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, is authorized to engage in the conservation and, when necessary to prevent damage to domestic livestock, the control of such predatory mammals.

#### PAN AMERICAN DAY

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, today we mark the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Organization of American States. This Organization, which has existed for three-quarters of a century under various names, is the oldest international organization of this kind in the world.

The accomplishments of this organization in terms of hemispheric solidarity

and development are legion. Today we mark not only the anniversary of an organization but the reaffirmation of our own commitment to Latin American nations and peoples.

Together we can do much to strengthen the ties of loyalty and solidarity between our nations. But we can also continue our steady progress toward economic and social development in the Latin American nations.

We have made great gains. The partnership of the Alliance for Progress has resulted in a better standard of living and more of the fruits of modern technology and science for millions of people already. But much more remains to be done. Perhaps the most important lesson of the Alliance thus far is the magnitude of the job before us and the necessity for patience in solving the problems that have developed over centuries.

As a member of the Inter-American Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have been honored to represent the United States at a number of interparliamentary meetings with Latin American legislators. I have developed warm friendships with many of them and feel a personal commitment to hemispheric progress.

Time and again, I have been struck with the dedication and purpose of these leaders in helping their nations solve their pressing problems. They know, as we know, that while Pan American Day is an opportunity for commendation of our progress to date, it is also an occasion to take a new look at the structure of hemispheric relations.

I was pleased that the New York Times and the Washington Post today took the opportunity to point out possible revisions of the Bogotá charter and other measures to bolster freedom in Latin America. I would like to call these two editorials, both entitled "The OAS at 75" to the attention of my colleagues by inserting them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point in my remarks:

#### THE OAS AT 75

Pan American Day, which is celebrated every year on April 14, has a special significance today because it is the 75th anniversary of what is now called the Organization of American States. This makes the OAS the oldest international organization of its kind in the world.

The weeklong celebrations that are under way all over the hemisphere are legitimate. There is something to celebrate. But when the banquets, the speeches and the self-congratulations are over, it would be well to turn to the ways in which the OAS can be improved.

Secretary General José Mora did just this last November with a series of recommendations. He suggested strengthening the Council of the OAS, which is a permanent executive body like the Security Council of the United Nations. The theoretically supreme body of the OAS is the Inter-American Conference, which is supposed to meet every 5 years. It has not met since 1954 and no one wants it to meet. Mr. Mora suggested, instead, that the foreign ministers of the hemisphere meet at least once a year.

Nothing has yet been done to reform the OAS. Admittedly it will not be easy. That maverick, Cuba, has been excluded from participation in the OAS, but it is legally still a member, since there is no provision in the Bogotá Charter to expel members. The Inter-American System is, by mutual agree-

ment, anti-Communist and democratic, although some regimes that have not been excluded can hardly be considered democratic.

Latin America has not found an ideology of its own. Its traditional authoritarian political structure and its feudal social structure have broken down in many countries and they are collapsing in all 20 nations. Marxism, as an ideology, is weak except in Cuba, and Christian Democracy has taken hold only in Chile and Venezuela. Democracy, as it is practiced in the United States, does not suit either the temperament or the economic structures found in the Latin American countries.

Thus, one falls back on the good old—75 years old—Organization of American States. It provides collective security and an instrument for international action. It is a bit infirm, but there is a lot of life in it. On this anniversary one can sincerely wish the OAS many happy returns.

#### THE OAS AT 75

Ever since the epoch of discovery, residents of the New World have sensed that their hemisphere was somehow tied together by more than geographic accident. In 1826, Simon Bolívar saw the New World as comprising "independent nations, bound together by a common set of laws which would govern their foreign relations and afford them a right to survival through a general and permanent congress."

The Organization of American States, which today marks its 75th birthday, reflects and enhances that historic impulse. The OAS finds its origins in the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, created in 1890 as the first venture in Pan-Americanism. From that seed grew the OAS, which took its present form in 1948, and the Alliance for Progress, which is the economic and social analogue of the hemisphere organization.

Much has changed in 75 years. What is truly remarkable is the extent to which that common sense of destiny has survived those changes. It is undeniably true that countries with an Iberian heritage differ in fundamental attitudes from countries with an Anglo-Saxon background. It is true that the United States has had to learn some hard realities about Latin-American national sensibilities—and that the day has gone forever when a Secretary of State could say (as did Olney) that the United States was "practically sovereign" throughout the New World.

Yet it is not empty hyperbole to speak about the sister Republics in the hemisphere. The best proof was offered during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. When the pinch of pressure was hardest, and when the outcome was far from certain, Latin-American members of the OAS were unanimous in supporting the United States in the confrontation with the Soviet Union. There is little question that Soviet behavior was influenced by the common resolve displayed on that critical occasion.

No doubt the OAS is imperfect. It is hampered by twin difficulties. The constitutional inhibitions of the United States, which make this country reluctant to enlarge its grant of authority to the OAS, are one problem. Another is the very diversity and frequent clash of interests that characterize the Latin-American countries—making them reluctant to vest more responsibility in a regional group.

Still, progress has been enormous and growth impressive. The Pan American Health Organization, founded in 1902, has become a model of its kind. The Inter-American Development Bank, established 5 years ago, has become a principal instrument in the Alliance for Progress. And the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance, known as CIAP, has brought a small patch of order into the complex and confused economic interrelations of sovereign states.

More progress can be achieved this May at a Special Inter-American Conference in Rio. There are some practical organizational proposals suggested by Secretary General Mora, who is showing a somewhat stronger leadership role than in the past. Certainly the OAS should do more to ensure respect for human rights and constitutional government. Annual meetings of foreign ministers are an obvious and useful idea.

Some countries—notably Chile—are interested in even more drastic changes in the OAS structure. Surely debate will be welcomed, because the warmth of the discussion suggests that the system is worth arguing about. On its 75th birthday, the OAS not only survives but flourishes. It may yet show the way to a freer, safer, and more prosperous world.

Another series of events marking Pan American Day and Pan American Week will take place in Boston in the next week. Throughout the month of April special exhibits have been shown in Boston through the auspices of groups such as the Boston Public Library, Boston University, and Harvard University.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has prepared a special showing of Peruvian textiles, the Boston University Latin American Club prepared an exhibit on Brazil and films and art displays on various Latin American nations are scheduled.

On Thursday, April 22, the Pan American Society of New England, under the presidency of Mr. Forrest Cranmer, will conduct a day-long program on "Private Initiative in Latin America." I think that these programs demonstrate the affection and interest in Massachusetts for Latin America, and I would like to include the list of the scheduled events in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PROGRAM OF THE PAN AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND

DATES, EVENTS, AND COOPERATING GROUPS

Month of April 1965, Copley Square: Exhibits in connection with 75th anniversary of the Pan American Union and National Library Week, Boston Public Library.

March-April 2, room 8, 725 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston: Pan American Society exhibit on the Bi-National Institute of Mexico City, Boston University.

April 6-30, third floor, exhibit area, 300 The Fenway: Bi-National Institute of Mexico City exhibit, Simmons College.

Thursday, April 1, 2:40 p.m., room 100, Baker Library: "How Latin America sees the U.S. Investor," first public lecture in the 1965 George H. Leatherbee Lecture series on international affairs. Speakers: Dr. Enrique Garcia Vasquez, vice president, Central Bank of Argentina, and Mr. Miguel S. Wionczek, of Mexico City, information director, Center for Latin American Monetary Studies, Harvard Business School.

April 1-May 2, galleries DD, 465 Huntington Avenue, Boston: "Peruvian Textiles Mark Pan American Anniversary," from the museum's own collection, colorful tapestries, embroideries, headdresses and dolls range in date from approximately 300 B.C. through the 18th century, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Museum hours: Tuesday 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.; Wednesday to Saturday 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; Sunday 1:30 to 5:30 p.m.

Sunday, April 4, 4 p.m., galleries DD, 465 Huntington Avenue, Boston: "The Special Exhibition of Peruvian Textiles," gallery talk by Mr. Adolph S. Cavallo, curator of textiles, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, April 13, 14, 15, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., George Sherman Union, Stone Lobby, second floor, 755 Commonwealth Avenue: Exhibit on Brazil—

photographs, handcrafts, paintings, books, magazines, newspapers. Brazilian music. Brazilian coffee will be served. Arrangements made through the cooperation of Marcio Rego Monteiro, Brazilian Consul to Boston, Boston University, Latin American Club.

Wednesday, April 14, 11 a.m., 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge: Outstanding display of Mayan art and archeology, with rare gold objects. Gallery talk by Dr. Gordon R. Willey, Bowditch, professor of Mexican and Central American archeology and ethnology, who has recently returned from Guatemala. He will discuss the many art objects and give an account of recent work at the great Maya Center at Seibal in the Guatemalan Peten, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Museum hours: Daily 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., Sunday 1 to 4:30 p.m.

Thursday, April 15, 2 p.m., lecture hall, Central Library, Copley Square: "People of Latin America," a program for the Never-Too-Late group. Two films: "Man of America," and "A Portrait of Mexico," Boston Public Library.

Thursday, April 15, 8 p.m., George Sherman Union, ballroom, 755 Commonwealth Avenue: "Obstacles to Progress in Latin America," address by Mr. Bruce Lancaster, Deputy Director, East Coast Affairs (countries of Colombia and Venezuela), U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., Boston University, Latin American Club. Introduction by Samuel H. Beer, professor of Government, Harvard University.

Wednesday, April 21, 8:30 p.m., Jordan Hall: Concert of 15th and 20th century Latin American music, voices and ancient instruments, conducted by Charles Fidler, graduate assistant, MIT, New England Conservatory of Music.

Thursday, April 22, 1:30 to 10 p.m., Sheraton-Boston Hotel, Prudential Center: Private initiative in Latin American development, a conference to promote World Trade Week and to observe the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Pan American Union. Significant discussions and addresses by specialists concerned with trends in "Social Evolution by Private Initiative," "Business Opportunities and Challenges in Latin America," "Private Responsibility and Voluntary Action in Latin America." Brochures available. Write to Pan America Society, 75A Newbury Street, Boston, or call CO 6-2248. Cosponsors: Pan American Society of New England and International Trade Association of New England with the cooperation of 60 business, educational, and voluntary agency groups. Do plan to attend this important event. Register early.

Saturday, April 24, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., Clark University, Worcester: The 14th spoken Spanish contest finals. Purpose: To stimulate interest in spoken Spanish. Topic: "Mexico—Evolution and Revolution." Open to students of Spanish in New England public and private schools and universities. Clark University; American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (New England chapter), Pan American Society of New England; many public and private schools and universities in New England; Mexican schools offering scholarships; book and music stores presenting prizes; business firms giving awards.

Tuesday, Wednesday April 27-28, 8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., 64 Westbourne Terrace, Brookline: Latin American festival; music, art and table displays on Latin American culture and business. Pupils of Mr. Ara Ishkanian, Michael Driscoll School.

Friday, April 30, 8:30 p.m., YMCA, 316 Huntington Avenue: Demonstration of rarely heard native instruments, performed by Latin American students, Folk Music Society of Greater Boston.

The ideal that we work toward in our relations with Latin America was stated in 1826 by the patriot Simon Bolivar

when he said that the New World should be composed of "independent nations, bound together by a common set of laws which would govern their foreign relations and afford them a right to survival through a general and permanent congress."

The Organization of American States has made notable strides toward that goal. We congratulate the institution today and wish it a future of continued success and even greater progress.

RESIDUAL OIL IMPORT QUOTAS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in the recent uproar over the residual fuel oil import program when the Secretary of the Interior did a last minute flip-flop and announced continuation of these needless controls, there was considerable speculation as to the source of pressure on the Secretary which forced his reversal, which forced it in spite of his frank admission that there is no justification, especially on national security grounds, for import quotas on residual fuel oil.

In all the furor little attention was paid to the revised import allocations for the period April 1, 1965-March 31, 1966, which were announced on April 1.

Included among authorized importers is the General Services Administration in Washington, D.C., which now has an allocation to import 4,110 barrels of residual oil a day or 1,500,150 barrels a year. This amount, I am advised, represents GSA's total requirements for the year to heat and cool buildings in the Washington area, including numerous schools, hospitals, military installations, and other Federal facilities.

Now that GSA has this import quota for all the residual oil it needs in Washington, it no longer will have to pay needless premiums for its supplies—premiums, incidentally, which the Secretary of the Interior estimates will cost non-Government consumers over \$40 million a year. I am delighted the Interior Department has taken care of the Federal Government, at least in this area. I am concerned, however, that only this one Federal agency's problem has been solved and many other public users of residual oil from Maine to Florida still face the same problems GSA had prior to receiving its own allocation—specifically, lack of competitive bidding among fuel oil suppliers resulting in unfavorable fuel oil prices.

I think the problem of public residual oil users was stated most succinctly by Mr. J. David White of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority in his testimony on March 11, 1965, at the Secretary of the Interior's hearing on the question of residual fuel oil imports. Under unanimous consent I insert Mr. White's remarks at this point in the RECORD:

The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, of Boston, Mass., is the largest public user of residual fuel oil in the New England area. The authority uses approxi-

mately 650,000 barrels a year, which are used in the authority's powerplants that generate electricity for our subway's rapid transit cars, PCC cars, and trackless trolleys.

Three years ago, the authority requested proposals from 15 companies in the Boston area. We received three proposals of which only two were of a competitive nature. Eight other oil companies stated that they would like to submit proposals, but because of the import restrictions, they were unable to quote.

This year the authority will again request proposals from the same 15 companies. During the past 2 weeks, I have contacted four of the larger companies who have stated to me that because of the import restrictions they do not feel they will be able to submit proposals. Of these four com-

panies, two are companies that submitted a proposal 2 years ago.

In my opinion, when the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority requests proposals for 650,000 barrels of residual fuel oil, we will receive only one bid and that will be from our present supplier.

In addition, I have contacted other public agencies, municipalities, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In every instance they have expressed the same sentiments. There has been considerable reduction in the number of bids received since import restrictions went into effect. Judging from the public bid openings in the Boston area to date, not only has there been a great reduction in competition, but the price of residual fuel oil has increased 5 to 10 cents a barrel.

	Bid opened	Lowest price quoted <sup>1</sup>	Number of bidders	Previous price <sup>1</sup>	Increase over previous price <sup>1</sup>
City of Boston.....	Feb. 4, 1965	\$2.283	5	\$2.1956	\$0.0874
City of Quincy.....	Mar. 2, 1965	2.38	1	2.327	.053
Town of Framingham.....	Dec. 18, 1964	2.31	2	2.277	.033

<sup>1</sup> Price is per barrel.

In the case of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, if the cost of oil increases 5 cents a barrel, the cost to the authority would be an additional \$32,500. If it should increase 10 cents a barrel, our additional cost would be approximately \$65,000. That would be reflected in the additional cost of service to the 78 cities and towns served by the authority.

It is my understanding that one major supplier in the past had available about a million barrels which they used for public competitive bidding. This year because of the import restrictions they expect to have only 250,000 barrels which they will use for public competitive bidding.

Many companies, in order to fulfill their present commitments, have to buy the oil at premium prices and, of course, the additional cost is passed along to the consumer.

I have noticed that in 1963, the Federal Government had a difficult time receiving competition right here in the Washington area and that this problem was quickly corrected by allowing the General Services Administration to receive an allotment of import tickets.

At a meeting of the Governmental Purchasing Agents Association on Monday of this week, the subject of residual fuel oil was thoroughly discussed by the representatives of the municipalities and public institutions throughout the New England area. It was unanimously voted that the New England Governmental Purchasing Agents be recorded as being strongly opposed to the continuation of the import restrictions on residual fuel oil.

In closing may I again thank you for the opportunity to speak and to be recorded against the continuation of the import restrictions.

The problems of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority are exactly the same as those experienced by GSA before the Interior Department, "in the public interest," came to GSA's assistance. If it was "in the public interest" to find relief for the Federal Government then, by all means it would be in the public interest for all the State and other public residual users along the eastern seaboard, including the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, to obtain similar relief. The easiest, simplest way to realize this objective would be through the complete elimination of import controls. In this regard

I am disturbed by statements attributed to Secretary Udall that we might be stuck with this \$40 million burden for another full year just because he was not permitted to act decisively on March 31. These controls could be eliminated tomorrow without causing the slightest disruption of supply or confusion to the fuel oil market.

Mr. Speaker, one ray of sunshine in this distressing situation, however, is the promptness with which the Honorable Buford Ellington, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, moved in announcing his investigation into the national security justification for continuing residual controls. I would suggest to the OEP Director that while waiting for the submission by interested parties of additional statements on this issue that he review the mountains of material available which clearly refute any assertion that these controls are essential. Let him look at the February, 1963, report of his own OEP which considered the impact of imported residual oil on all facets of our economy—including the oil industry, the coal industry, and the coal-carrying railroads—and which concluded that "a careful and meaningful relaxation of residual controls would be consistent with national security." It's true, circumstances have changed in the last 2 years—but only to the point where these controls are less necessary, if that is possible, than they were then.

The percentage of residual produced domestically has continued to decline.

Coal production and coal profits have increased substantially even though miner employment is down.

The railroads are carrying just about all the coal they can handle.

On these latter two points, the Fairmont, W. Va., Times on April 2, 1965, carried an editorial which points up the practical realities of the situation. I would like to quote from that editorial:

Northern West Virginia mines are working at capacity and the railroads are handling about all the tonnage they can move. The relationship between producers and consumers has reached the point where the mar-

ket can be called fairly stabilized, and the tonnage displaced by residual—while considerable—does not mean the difference between life and death to the coal industry that it once did.

The newspaper favors even tighter curbs on the importation of residual fuel oil, as it always has. (In spite of the fact that the Secretary of Defense with the unanimous support of the Secretaries of State, Labor, Interior, and Commerce has concluded that tighter controls on residual imports would not be in the national interest.) But if present market conditions continue, it also feels that the coal industry will be able to weather the storm.

I would also like to suggest to Governor Ellington that he review the still secret—for some strange reason—report made by Secretary McNamara's special inter-agency coal study committee which, I have been reliably advised, analyzed in depth the impact of imported residual oil on the coal industry.

From these last two sources alone, in my opinion, the OEP Director should find sufficient evidence to expedite his finding and his recommendation to the President.

It is my understanding that a significant decision may be made by Secretary Udall with regard to the entire mandatory oil import control program prior to the next crude oil allocation period in July of this year. I see no reason why the OEP's conclusion—which has to be that continued residual controls are not essential to national security—could not and should not be implemented at this time. I would like to urge that the administration select July 1, 1965, as its target date and end once and for all the uncertainties of this grossly unfair and unnecessary program.

**BILL PROTESTING BOMBARDMENT OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE BY UNSCRUPULOUS PURVEYORS OF FILTH**

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, there is no part of the United States where prominent clergymen of all faiths and educators on all levels have not raised their voices to protest against the ever-increasing bombardment of our young people by unscrupulous purveyors of filth.

The bill which I have introduced today is designed to authorize a full study of this evil trade in order that a concentrated attack at all levels of government may be made upon smut. This bill is not intended as a censorship bill; rather, it is an attempt to further define the scope of the problem.

The study group which my bill sets up will consist of persons representing a broad spectrum of our society appointed by the President. This committee of 15 members will consist of 1 representative from each House of the Congress, 1 from the Post Office Department, 2 from the Department of Justice—one of whom

shall represent the Federal Bureau of Investigation—1 from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 3 from the clergy—with the proviso that no 2 clerical members shall represent the same faith—1 librarian, 1 from the book publishing industry, 1 from the newspaper, magazine, and periodical industry, 1 from the motion picture industry, 1 from the radio and television industry, and 1 educator.

Mr. Speaker, the spreading network of filth which is intended for juvenile consumption presents us with a problem which is no longer local in scope. What we are dealing with is a gigantic industry which earns an annual profit, estimated to be in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, for unscrupulous individuals who earn their living debauching our youngsters.

The other day, we passed a bill which would allow a householder to return offensive material to the Postmaster General, who would then order the distributor to cease sending mail to the postal patron unless it was solicited.

While the overwhelming majority of the Members of this House voted for this bill, they did so, I am sure, with the full knowledge that this bill would only solve one facet of the national traffic in smut.

Clearly, we are faced with a problem which has become gigantic in scope. It is for this reason that I urge passage of my bill. We must mobilize every level of government and every sector of our society in a war against this insidious evil which is eating away at the moral fiber of the Nation. I urge all Members of this House to vote for the bill which I have introduced today.

#### NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—PART XLVI

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article on the crime situation in New York City.

The article is part of the "New York City in Crisis" series and appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 4, 1965.

The article follows:

#### NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—FEAR: THE IMPACT OF RISING CRIME ON NEW YORKERS

(By Jim Lynn, of the Herald Tribune staff)

(Crime-bred fear has become a way of life. Today the Herald Tribune talks to some of the 8 million New Yorkers who—once cautious about walking on dark streets—now wait in fright even behind the bolted doors of their own homes. Tomorrow, five working experts talk about the crime crisis and what can be done to cope with it.)

A West Side political club invited a policeman over one evening not long ago to tell members how they could help make the city's streets safe to walk in. Quite a few people said later they had missed the officer's talk because they had been afraid to walk to the meeting.

"Here in New York City, in 1965, in the heart of town, people are afraid to go out at night," said Franz Leichter, Democratic leader of Manhattan's seventh assembly district. "What you really have—or almost have—is battle conditions in New York City."

Many New Yorkers agree with that assessment.

"When I come home late at night I walk in the middle of the street," said a self-employed man who lives alone in a high-rise, high-rent building on Central Park West.

"If I walk anywhere and it's after dark, I walk fast and keep my head down," said a young career woman who lives with a roommate just off Madison Avenue in the eighties.

"I heard about those tear gas bombs that look like a lipstick," said a financial executive who lives on West End Avenue. "I got one for my wife. Some women have gotten whistles, or sirens, but they're more expensive."

These people may be frightened, but they are not cranks. They are simply dwellers in a city where practically no one is a complete stranger to violence. Who in New York today does not know someone who has been robbed, attacked, or even murdered by a mugger, a rapist, a gunman?

The statistics are sobering. In New York last year there were 636 killings, 1,054 forcible rapes, 7,988 robberies, 14,831 assaults—in every category an increase over the figures for 1963, by anywhere from 14 to 28 percent.

That averages out to almost 2 homicides a day, just under 3 rapes, 22 robberies, 41 assaults. These are complaints actually received by police; no one knows how many crimes go unreported for one reason or another.

Not everyone is frightened by these numbers. A good many New Yorkers—especially women living alone—believe they are safe if they choose their neighborhood carefully and make a few rules for themselves about getting from one place to another after dark.

"I live here," said a magazine researcher in the 90's near Park Avenue, "because any other place I would be afraid. It's quiet and it's well lit. On the West Side I'd be afraid of a couple of crosstown blocks." But she takes a cab home when she works late, and she notices gratefully when a cabbie waits outside until she has her door open.

"I'm less afraid in New York in the Village than I am anywhere else," said a freelance book designer who lives just off Greenwich Avenue. "But you still don't walk down dark streets all by yourself—you're not stupid."

#### SAFER THAN THOU

Outside Manhattan, in parts of the city that are still semisuburban, this safer-than-thou attitude is likely to be even more clear cut. Here is one man's description of the Belle Harbor section of Queens, on the Rockaway Peninsula:

"These streets are immaculate. If you littered here there'd be five phone calls to the local constabulary before the paper was dropped."

But this man's business is in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, and rather than keep it there he threatened to move it out of the city entirely. Robbers got \$15,000 from his plant a year and a half ago, he said; now it is broken into on an average of once every 3 weeks.

"You can't run a business in New York," he declared. Law and order have broken down because judges "have lost perspective in terms of what works in a society." Niceties in the language of the law hamstring police attempts to obtain evidence or make arrests.

"The civil rights movement has as its objective the emasculation of the police," said this factory owner, who now carries his own gun. And the process is abetted, he went on, because "the concern of the courts is primarily with the isolated wrong that the cops

do. Overwhelmingly, guilty people are not punished."

#### TOOLS FOR POLICEMEN

The police themselves are concerned, of course, about judicial decisions that restrict their power to search suspects, for example, unless they have actually seen a crime committed. "You have to give the policeman some tools to work with," said one precinct captain.

Whether the policeman's hands are tied or not, however, nearly everyone agrees that his very presence is a deterrent to crime. Nearly everyone, therefore, thinks the expansion of the city's police force—by more than a third in the last 10 years—is a good thing.

The force is supposed to get bigger yet. Although the police department has yet to be brought to its authorized strength, which is 26,728, Mayor Wagner announced last month that the quota will be increased by 1,000 more men in July.

Right now, though, the department is about 500 below its quota. And New Yorkers who are frightened by the city's rising crime rate—it has gone up even faster in most categories than the police rosters—have exerted what pressure they could to get the available men assigned where they will do the most good.

On Morningside Heights, for instance, neighborhood pressure on the borough president's office led to the creation of a unique patrol post around the Bryn Mawr Hotel, which has been described repeatedly as a hangout for drug addicts, prostitutes, and assorted other undesirables.

#### A DIFFERENT BLOCK

Until last December, the established pattern of foot-patrol posts in the 26th precinct was up and down the avenues, with each patrolman responsible for half a block down the cross streets as well. But the Bryn Mawr block is different.

The man on duty there walks a rectangle with the Bryn Mawr at its northwest corner. And according to the precinct commander, Capt. Paul F. DeLise, there was a slight falling-off in the crime rate on the block during the first 6 weeks the new system was in effect.

But Captain DeLise carefully pointed out that a decline of about 3 percent over such a short period was not necessarily significant. The mere fact that the Bryn Mawr has been widely publicized, he suggested, may have driven some of the drifters who have given it a bad name to move on to more anonymous quarters.

Changing the patrol pattern "undoubtedly helped to drive away some of the worst of the troublemakers," said the Reverend Dwight C. Smith, who lives around the corner from the Bryn Mawr. "But we had some awfully cold weather then and that may have been as much as anything else responsible."

On Morningside Heights, of course, the police are not the only uniformed patrolmen. Such institutions as Columbia University, St. Luke's Hospital and Riverside Church, collectively organized as Morningside Heights, Inc., budget \$100,000 annually for their own street patrol, which assisted in making about 40 arrests last year.

#### LIMITED AVAILABILITY

Captain DeLise is glad to have the patrol's help. "I appreciate any assistance I can get from any source," he said. His precinct has also just completed a recruiting campaign that increased its roster of auxiliary policemen from half a dozen men to about 45.

"We use them when they are available," Captain DeLise said. "But their availability is limited."

So is their usefulness. Auxiliary police are part-timers, unarmed except for a nightstick, who normally can make arrests only when they see a crime actually being committed—citizens' arrests, in other words, which they

would be able to make whether they were wearing a uniform or not.

The fact is that the city has made no great effort to enroll auxiliary policemen on a wide scale. And when citizens take the initiative themselves, they are more likely to form the kind of quasi-vigilante groups that have recently been patrolling the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, a stretch of Clay Avenue in the Bronx, and the Delano Village development in Manhattan.

The Crown Heights group is perhaps the best known; it was organized after a number of women were attacked and some were actually raped in their own homes. Orthodox Rabbi Samuel Shrage mustered a force he called the Maccabees, who began patrolling the streets at night in cars equipped with two-way radios.

They are still patrolling, and so are the Bronx storekeepers and householders who set up the Clay Avenue patrol. Their spokesman, Irving Cohen, said there has been no crime in the patrolled area since the group began putting two or three carloads of watchful men on the streets between 8 p.m. and midnight.

#### SIMPLE DETERRENT

The Clay Avenue group has expanded from a handful of people to about 60. The patrol area, originally centered on the avenue between 169th and 171st Streets, has been stretched two long blocks farther south, to 167th Street. Requests to extend the patrols still farther have been turned down.

"Not that the area was crime-ridden or anything like that," said Mr. Cohen. "But so far we have succeeded."

By and large, the vigilante groups have succeeded, if only in making people feel safer in the areas they patrol. Even Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy has suggested that they may have some value, provided they don't overstep their function, which is primarily to deter crime by their mere existence.

The commissioner made it quite clear, however, that catching criminals, as opposed to preventing crimes, is a job for the police, not for amateurs. The patrol groups evidently agree; there is no evidence that their members regard themselves as unpaid detectives or criminologists.

There is evidence, on the other hand, that if people feel safer on the streets they actually become safer—because there are more of them. "A feeling of fear on the part of the public," said Captain DeLise, "keeps them indoors, and this only adds to the problem. The more people on the streets the better."

That rule is not just a bit of police lore. Again and again, people who live in Greenwich Village—to take the most conspicuous example—say they feel safe there because there are always people on the streets. Peculiar people, sometimes, but people.

The rule has been elevated almost to a dogma by Jane Jacobs, who happens to live on the western edge of the Village, in her polemic against orthodox city planning. "The Death and Life of Great American Cities." She writes:

"It does not take many incidents of violence on a city street, or in a city district, to make people fear the streets. And as they fear them, they use them less, which makes the streets still more unsafe."

Today's planners, according to Mrs. Jacobs, "build city districts that are custom made for easy crime." She continues:

"The first thing to understand is that the public peace—the sidewalk and street peace—is not kept primarily by the police, necessary as police are. It is kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious, network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves."

#### Hired Street Watchers

Mrs. Jacobs said zoning laws in general, and high-rise apartments in particular, dis-

courage the kind of neighborhood where the sidewalks are always being watched, either because people are on them or because somebody is looking out the window of a store, a restaurant or an apartment.

To find examples, Mrs. Jacobs' readers need look no further than Manhattan. "In some rich city neighborhoods," she writes, "where there is little do-it-yourself surveillance, such as residential Park Avenue or upper Fifth Avenue in New York, street watchers are hired."

Park Avenue, she goes on, "is so blank of built-in eyes \* \* \* that if rents were to slip below the point where they could support a plentiful hired neighborhood of doormen and elevator men, it would undoubtedly become a woefully dangerous street."

What might happen on the East Side has already happened on the other side of Central Park, according to people who live there. And ever since a 63-year-old lawyer named Leonard Simpson was shot to death in a self-service elevator at 203 West 90th Street, those people have been trying to do something about it.

First it was the tenants in Mr. Simpson's building. They started keeping watch themselves to see that nobody got in the front door who didn't belong there. They started pressing their landlord to keep the doors locked, fix the intercom system, install brighter outside lights—and hire a doorman or an elevator attendant.

After paying a uniformed guard themselves for a while, they are under no illusions about the necessity of a rent increase if a man is hired full time. It would come to something more than \$13 a month for each of the 45 families in the building. But most of them seem willing to pay at least part of that if it will make them safer.

#### FULL-TIME ATTENDANT

Their city councilman, Democrat Theodore S. Weiss, is cosponsor of a bill that would require any apartment building with a self-service elevator to supply an attendant at all times. The cost should be shared between landlord and tenants, he said, "on a sliding scale depending on the landlord's profit."

But the response to Mr. Weiss' bill has been cool: "The only support we've gotten has been from the police department." Even tenants recognize that the burden in a small building would be almost insupportable by either landlord or tenants, no matter how it was apportioned.

The tenants' association at 203 West 90th Street still hasn't decided just how it wants to divide its nightwatchman chores between tenant volunteers and professional guards, but it has definitely jumped into the wider arena of the upper West Side as a whole.

"We're interested in doing more than just making one building or two buildings safer," said Herbert Bromberg, a leader of the tenants. "We'd like to help make the whole city safer."

They are helping through what may be the city's most cumbrously named civic organization: the West 88th to 91st Street Neighborhood Improvement Association, which is trying to get every landlord in its area, from Amsterdam Avenue to Riverside Drive, to tighten up on building security as the landlord already has at 203 West 90th Street.

"In making one particular building a little more tightened up," explained Robert Schur, who is active in both the larger and the smaller organization, "you're not really solving anything. You're just pushing it off on your neighbors."

Mr. Schur's neighbors, instead of having things pushed off on them, are being urged to support bills that would make a landlord hire a doorman or elevator attendant if 75 percent of the tenants in a building wanted one, would require adequate exterior lighting (none at all is required now) and would

mandate an intercom system in apartment elevators without attendants.

#### THIRTY BLOCKS, 30,000

Closed-circuit television has been suggested, too, but the executive director of the Hudson Neighborhood Conservation District, Bernard A. Veney, pointed out, "Unfortunately, there has to be somebody to watch it." And hiring a round-the-clock somebody—three shifts plus a relief man, costs about \$16,000 a year.

The conservation program covers 30 blocks and about 30,000 people between 86th and 96th Streets, from Amsterdam Avenue to Riverside Drive. Basically, its job is to keep the neighborhood from deteriorating—on a city budget of about \$35,000 and a few private contributions.

"We want to get people over the delusion that all they have to do is make a demand and a doorman will be forthcoming," said Mr. Veney. The conservation people are working closely with Mr. Schur and his group to get tenants busy helping themselves.

Similarly, the Bloomingdale Neighborhood Conservation District, directly to the north, is cooperating with the West Side Tenants Coordinating Council. David Lavene, the council's leader, hopes soon to have the nucleus of a tenants' organization in every apartment building west of Broadway from 96th Street to 106th.

In the long run, it seems clear, some kind of community action will be necessary if New Yorkers are ever to feel safe on their streets. And for effective community action, according to Percival Goodman, an architect and member of the Columbia University faculty, there must be a sense of community.

#### AN IMMEDIATE EFFECT

"You can't belong to a community of 8 million people," said Mr. Goodman. "In a community, if you do something, the effect is immediately felt."

One way to help establish the sense of community, he went on, would be to redraw the city's wildly scrambled boundaries for school districts, police precincts, election districts and so on, to make them coincide wherever possible. Let people belong to a community, he advised: "Once you belong, you don't bust it up."

In other words, according to Mr. Goodman, all the talk of doormen and street lighting, tear-gas lipsticks and more police gets nowhere near the heart of the problem, which is to give people a sense of where they are in society.

"When you lose contact with the society," he said, "you begin to get destructive \* \* \*. We don't try to prevent violence at its source. What we continue to do is expect the violence and then build barriers against it."

That doesn't work, obviously. The question is, what will?

#### NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—PART XLVII

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article concerns the fate of a New York City Planning Commission report on the development of a tract in southern Staten Island as an urban renewal area.

The article appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 4, 1965, and is

part of the New York City in Crisis series.

The article follows:

**NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—CITY BURIES ITS "BOLD PLAN" FOR STATEN ISLAND AREA**  
(By Jerome Zukosky, of the Herald Tribune staff)

When the city planning commission, on April 17, 1963, formally reported on the reasons it was designating 1,080 primarily vacant acres in southern Staten Island as an urban renewal area, it said:

"We are confronted with a great and almost unique opportunity to help insure that this area is wisely planned and developed. If we let this opportunity slip through our fingers we will be falling in our trust as planners and responsible citizens to the future welfare of our children and the generations to come."

The plan, called the Annadale-Huguenot urban renewal area, was the biggest and boldest of its type ever attempted in New York City; the planners had hoped to lay out a modern suburban community unlike any other built here as part of the mapping program for the remaining one-third of Staten Island that was still undeveloped woodland and plain before the Narrows Bridge was completed. "The Annadale-Huguenot proposal is one of the initial steps in this program," the commission report said.

The planners' report was as far as their dream ever got, last May, Mayor Wagner, under pressure from Richmond Borough President Albert V. Maniscalco, ordered the commission to drop the renewal scheme and instead lay out the land as best they could without renewal. The commission yesterday disclosed the product of Mayor Wagner's order, which in effect buries once and for all the last remains of the attempt to salvage some of Staten Island from conventional suburban home development.

The commission mapped about one-half of the rectangular tract using a conventional gridiron pattern of streets, reserving three large blocks for schools and about six blocks for three shopping centers. At the heart of the original plan was the attempt to rid the land of this gridiron and instead use cul-de-sac streets that would permit homes, parks, schools and stores to mingle together in a layout similar to those used in "new towns," such as Reston, Va., now being built outside major cities in the Nation.

Existing zoning will be retained for the most part, permitting single-family homes, most of which can be built on plots of 40 feet by 100 feet. The remaining one-half of the land, the commission, said yesterday, will be mapped later.

Approval of the maps will permit the sale at public auction by the department of real estate of about 130 acres in the first half of the tract to be mapped the commission said. About 600 acres of the 1,080 acres in the tract are owned by the city and pressures from real estate investors, builders, and city officials anxious to sell this land as quickly as possible, played a role in killing the renewal scheme.

The commission set March 16 for public hearings on the mapping proposals, some minor zoning changes and a resolution to rescind its April 1963, designation of the tract as a renewal area. Only twice before has the commission formally revoked such a designation, according to a spokesman; in January 1962, for the West Village renewal area in Manhattan after a bitter battle against residents led by Jane Jacobs and in January 1963, for an area near Brooklyn Heights called Cobble Hill.

A Staten Island citizens' group last month brought suit in supreme court in Manhattan to force the city to continue its renewal plan, but Justice Irving H. Saypol took their petition under advisement. The commission

said yesterday its March 16 hearing will be held unless the court rules otherwise.

Planning commission officials have made no secret of their belief that only by the renewal procedure could the Annadale tract, and all other similar undeveloped lands in southern Staten Island, be rescued from the kind of home development that is spreading along the south shore of the island now. This conventional development has been called the best example in the city of monotonous expensive, uninspired community building that uses nothing learned in the past 40 years by planners and large-scale suburban builders in the creation of model communities.

The commission summarized its original reasons for attempting to use renewal at Annadale as part of a 9-page statement, accompanied by 6 pages of maps, that was issued yesterday. The only way to replan Annadale, the commission said, was to have the city acquire all the land it did not already own and start from scratch. This was necessary because some 600 homes, some of them seashore bungalows, were scattered over the rolling and wooded land; more important, over the last 40 years or more, streets had been laid out—but for the most part never built—and were part of official city maps. These maps straitjacketed the land as it was proposed for building before the depression; after the depression much of the land reverted to the city for nonpayment of taxes. But these holdings, too, were scattered.

Through renewal, the city would acquire all the land, remap it into a modern community, then sell off the land to private builders; city planning technicians figured that not only would the city get back all the money it spent to buy noncity land, but well over \$20 million from Federal renewal funds to pay for streets and utilities and public facilities such as schools and parks.

In addition, the planners stated in their original designation report, more than 100 acres could be reclaimed (they proposed using them as parks) because the gridiron street system was extraordinarily wasteful of land; modern suburban streets would require only about one-third of the 357 acres in the tract mapped as streets and which, for the most part, now will be used as such.

When some citizens' groups and major business and real estate groups on Staten Island forced Mr. Maniscalco to ask Mayor Wagner to kill the Annadale plan, Francis J. Bloustein, then acting chairman of the planning commission, told Mr. Maniscalco in a letter that "failure to take advantage of this great opportunity will prove a mistake that will haunt not only Annadale, but the entire borough, for generations to come."

The cancellation of the renewal designation, the mapping of the land in the conventional grid and sale of city land (which is expected to begin this spring) will open Annadale to private development of rows of houses, back-to-back, side-by-side, in huge rectangular blocks that were the typical shape of neighborhoods built in Queens and Brooklyn during the 1920's. And the planners have given up any further hope of preventing this pattern for the remaining open areas of southern Staten Island.

All that William F. R. Ballard, present chairman of the planning commission, would say yesterday about the forthcoming Annadale hearing was: "Under difficult circumstances for planning, we believe we were able to set down some sound guidelines for good development. We hope that the future developers of this area will recognize its fine potential and respond to the growing civic concern for better development standards by providing the residents of this community with tasteful and well-designed homes, shops, and community facilities."

## SAFETY AND LABELING REGULATIONS FOR TIRES

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have just introduced a bill to provide that tires sold or shipped in interstate commerce for use on motor vehicles shall comply with certain safety and labeling regulations. The bill provides that the Secretary of Commerce shall prescribe regulations calling for minimum safety and performance standards and a grading and labeling system for motor vehicle tires.

The problem we are facing at the present time will multiply in the years ahead in view of the fact that more high speed highways are being built and the automotive industry is making every effort every year to surpass its previous year's production of motor vehicles. Therefore, highways will be carrying a heavier burden of traffic at high speeds in the foreseeable future. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us, Mr. Speaker, to take such precautionary measures at this time to provide definite specifications for motor vehicle tires so that they may withstand the high speed and high temperatures when being used on fast, nonaccess highways.

We do not have accurate information on tire safety and the consumer has no way of appraising existing standards and specifications for tires. The Federal Trade Commission has held hearings on this matter and evidence presented to the Commission indicated that many new cars come equipped with tires which are not adequate even for normal traffic use. Six-passenger sedans were tested for tire purposes with only three passengers and no luggage in the big trunks now provided for by every auto manufacturer. Compact station wagons which normally would require eight-ply tires, were equipped by some manufacturers with four-ply and even two-ply tires and the sizes stamped on many tires did not tell the actual size and, in many cases, were not intended to do so.

This bill, if enacted into law, would assure the consumer that the car he buys is equipped with sound, safe tires by prescribing normal safety and performance standards.

In reading your daily newspapers, you come across full page advertisements announcing a spectacular tire sale at ridiculously low prices and a person of average intelligence can readily see that the prices advertised for some of these tires cannot warrant a well-built and sturdy tire.

We know for a fact that many lives are lost on our American highways because of the failure of a tire and if we have adequate safety standards the saving of only one life will be a step in the right direction.

It is my hope that the committee to which this bill is referred will take speedy action to call for hearings on this proposed legislation so that we can enact this bill into law at the earliest possible date.

#### INVESTIGATION OF KU KLUX KLAN

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, after years of inaction in the face of murder, church burnings, and school bombings, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been prodded into investigating the Ku Klux Klan. What can we expect from this inquiry? Will this investigation abate the endemic racism that is the real cause of the recent appalling events and provide a legislative end?

Mr. Henry Leichter, of Dumont, N.J., in a recent letter to the editor of the Bergen Record, said:

The violation of constitutional guarantees by southern authorities in the field of voting and human rights shows that the problem goes beyond the hooded hoodlums so rightly denounced by our President. The juries which refused to convict or indict, the police and State officials who looked the other way, and the southern clergy and business leaders who remained silent could not have been entirely controlled by the Klan.

The action of the Klansmen is the logical outcome of propaganda being preached by such rightwing extremists as the John Birch Society, the Nazis, and the Minutemen. Apologists for these groups portray them as conservatives on guard against a Communist takeover, but the latest bulletin of the Birch Society claimed that the United States is 70 percent controlled by international Reds and the official John Birch publications denounced the late President Kennedy as a Communist.

We may laugh off their drivel as a product of an unbalanced mind, but it is just the kind of inflammatory material which will turn a hate-filled segregationist into a church bomber and murderer who defends the action as a patriotic gesture.

As long as there are ignorant individuals who will believe anything they find in print, on the naive assumption that the victim of a falsehood has easy recourse to the law, we shall have wolves in sheeps' clothing spreading their poison and appealing to man's basest nature. The Committee on Un-American Activities could stop looking for Reds under every bed long enough to expose the bigots and the rights.

The basic problem is still racism and the local Klan incidental to it. Mr. Speaker, I concur in the views of my distinguished colleagues who also oppose the appropriations for the House Un-American Activities Committee, not on the basis of whether the KKK should or should not be investigated, but that it is more properly a function of the House Committee on the Judiciary, with a legislative end.

Seven weeks ago less 1 day the Members of this honorable body debated

House Resolution 188 to provide \$370,000 for the expenses of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. At that time much was said about the usefulness or lack of usefulness of this committee. In its many years of existence it has been an investigative body that has produced only a drop in the legislative mills to provide corrective legislation on matters which were undertaken for investigation by this committee.

It has been and still is my belief that the House Un-American Activities Committee serves no useful purpose with regard to providing legislation; consequently, its activities would better be conducted by the House Judiciary Committee which has legislative powers and an adequate investigative force to conduct the matters now being undertaken by the House Un-American Activities Committee. It has been shown in the past that the House Un-American Activities Committee has been very active in branding many persons as purveyors of falsehood when many of us in fact believe otherwise. Its whole approach is its obsession with the conspiracy theory in the history.

I believe that any individual's being represents a sacred entity which must be protected. The House Un-American Activities Committee, as I stated before, has fulfilled no useful legislative function. It has tarnished the reputation of many innocent people by having them called before this committee without due cause and accusing them of being Communists without the right of facing their accusers. In this request for additional appropriations, we are dealing with the same basic principle—does this committee serve a useful legislative function. It is of no concern whether there is a desire to investigate the left or the right, but rather should this committee be the vehicle. May I respectfully point out that this House did approve the appropriation of \$370,000 by this committee. They are now requesting an additional \$50,000 to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. The laws we seek are for the Federal protection of civil rights and the proper committee to formulate these laws is the House Committee on the Judiciary. It is this committee which has conducted all hearings both previous and pending on civil rights legislation. In conjunction with the hearings on voting rights, it would, therefore, be within the proper function of the Judiciary Committee to take testimony from members of the Ku Klux Klan or any other group, or from individuals who could provide information or present views on the corrective measures which need to be taken. Such hearings and investigations would be undertaken for the purpose of preparing legislation, not for the purpose of exposure. Exposure for exposure's sake violates the first amendment and serves no legitimate end, tempting as it may be to vent our anger.

I continue to stand in opposition to the authorization of this additional money, and it is not because I believe communism, fascism, nazism, or the fight on the left, and so forth, should or should not be investigated, but because I believe that the functions of this com-

mittee should be, as I stated before, turned over to the House Judiciary Committee. I believe that the only "ism" which we in this country should be concerned with is Americanism, and if this current request for additional funds was made by the House Judiciary Committee, I would like to see that it be quickly granted and I would support any such resolution. However, in this case I do not believe that the House Committee on Un-American Activities will serve a useful purpose in protecting the civil rights of any person summoned to appear before the committee to present testimony or other information on subversive activities of any right or left wing groups.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to your attention the following statement of Rev. Martin Luther King's group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is opposed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigating Klan-like groups. We call upon the President of the United States to form a Presidential Commission, comparable to the Warren Commission, to fully investigate the present crisis in law enforcement and the Nation's patterns of violence. Such a Commission should be assisted by a select committee of the Congress.

In urging this course, we wish to make it absolutely clear that such investigation should be concerned only with overt acts and not thought processes. We further urge the Department of Justice to prosecute those guilty of acts of violence, terror, and intimidation. Be it resolved that we call upon all sections of the civil rights movement as well as all civic, fraternal, and religious organizations to join with us in recommending this course of action to the President and the Congress.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I hope that this resolution for the additional appropriation will be defeated.

#### TIMELESS ARCHITECTURE

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks several Members of the Congress have expressed concern over the appearance of several new Federal buildings which are being planned for construction in Washington. The public buildings in question are, I am told, to have exterior walls of exposed concrete. A story has apparently been making the rounds that the Fine Arts Commission is encouraging architects to specify this particular kind of construction. While the Commission has vigorously denied this, some Members of both bodies of the Congress are dismayed at the prospect that some sort of effort is being exerted to create a new "official" style of Federal architecture in the Capital City.

Since I spent many years in the building industry and have many constituents

who are building craftsmen, I am naturally very interested in this matter and would like to try to place it in a clearer perspective.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the first thing we must do in this matter is to separate the issue of architectural design from the selection of building materials. Though they are related, they are not, in this case, the same thing.

I do not believe that anyone—Government administrator, Fine Arts Commission, or the Congress itself—should attempt to dictate the forms of our new architecture. Architectural design is a matter of creating spaces that meet very specific human demands. It changes as human needs change. Design is also a matter of art, and I am happy to say that many of my constituents are working fruitfully with our architects to create great new masonry buildings of striking modernity. These buildings illustrate that the great architecture of today has turned away from the cold and sterile "international style" of yesterday and is utilizing skilled young craftsmen to create new beauty in mass, color, pattern, and texture.

Architecture should no more be warped or frozen into an official style than a computer or a space rocket. It does not really matter who favors the style or what his intentions are. Our friends can sometimes do us as much harm as our enemies.

It is also true, of course, that the selection of building materials is important in creating lasting beauty or lasting ugliness. The noted architect, Edward Durrell Stone, used marble to striking advantage in the new headquarters of the National Geographic Society. Many people believe it is Washington's most beautiful new building. Mr. Stone also has said that he plans to use marble to clothe the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. It is worth mentioning here that, when a lady asked Mr. Stone whether the design of this great center would be "traditional" or "modern," he answered that he would prefer to think of it as "timeless." He had the wisdom to renounce the use of any style as a determining factor in form and appearance.

From Mr. Stone's work, it is apparent that he thinks highly of marble. Recently, I am told, architect Philip Johnson said on a New York radio program that he thought marble was the most beautiful of all building materials. The immortal Frank Lloyd Wright thought very highly of brick. It is obvious that many of our finest architects have favored the use of limestone and granite in our Federal buildings.

All preferences aside, I submit that no one has any serious question as to how well any of these fine masonry materials will stand up under the test of time. A construction bulletin which recently crossed my desk described the recent cleaning and tuck pointing of the Washington Monument. This great stone obelisk is perhaps the most dramatic and beautiful of our manmade monuments. If anything has a "timeless" design, the monument has. It stands 555 feet high and takes a buffeting from the elements which few structures are called upon to

endure. It was cleaned up and pointed in 1964 for the first time in 30 years. Here is real proof of endurance, real evidence of low maintenance cost.

This brings me to what I think is the essential point: While neither we nor any other body should dictate or influence architectural form or design, the Congress does have the clear duty to insure as best it can that public buildings are built to last with the least possible repair and expense to the taxpayers. We are trustees of public funds. I believe we should also heed the timely request of our President to make our Capital City a model of beauty for the Nation.

On these grounds, I think we have a legitimate concern in the quality and performance of Federal buildings. As someone who is conversant with the building industry, I most certainly have no quarrel with the cement industry. We depend upon concrete for our highways and bridges and, often, for concrete structural supports and concrete blocks which are used in buildings. Concrete is a splendid building material. It was used in the time of the Romans. They generally sheathed it in brick or marble.

But no material, regardless of its capacities, is suitable for every purpose. Stone cannot do the work of glass and exposed concrete cannot do the work of stone. Justifiable criticism has been directed at the appearance of the concrete in the District of Columbia stadium. The design of the stadium is exciting, but the concrete in many places is cracked and spalling. Unfortunately, the brilliant design of the Dulles International Airport is marred by this same condition. The General Services Administration Building at Seventh and D Streets in Southwest Washington is only 30 years old, but it is disgracefully shabby. So is the National Airport Building, which was built even later.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that the Capital City deserves better. The taxpayers who provide the money to build these buildings certainly deserve better. Let us have the finest of contemporary architecture from the hands and minds of today's architects. Let us tell them that we reject all styles and decrees which serve to limit and handicap the process of design, and that we will not countenance such limitations by any public agency, commission, or special interest. Let us, instead, merely exercise the normal concern and discretion of any intelligent building owner and ask that the use of building materials be consistent with permanence, dignity, economy, and lasting beauty. If we do this, we and the people we represent will be well served.

#### THE HORROR OF DRUG ADDICTION

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, along with poverty, unemployment, and racial

discrimination, one of the most critical social pathologies in our society is narcotics addiction. To satiate a never-ending urge for drugs, addicts are driven to crimes to obtain money with which to buy drugs. Recently, Life magazine did a two-part series on two drug addicts and how they live. The series which brilliantly explored the world of the "junkie" was the result of unusual original research by the Life associate editor, James Mills, and photographer Bill Eppridge—they actually lived with the two addicts, a man and a woman, for several weeks. The written story alone cannot do justice to this remarkable example of public service because the searing pictures of addicts groping for survival in a sea of addiction also tell the horror of their hungry cancer. I am pleased to offer the two-part series into the Record:

#### JOHN AND KAREN, TWO LIVES LOST TO HEROIN

Four times a day, this is John and Karen, holed up with heroin. Faces desperate and intent, teeth pulling tight the tourniquet, grimy fingers squeezing fluid into the bloodstream, and then—peace. This is everything they live for—this is what heroin is all about. With this shot their problems vanish, and the world they cannot handle fades to leave them in solitary bliss.

No "square"—the addict's word for anyone who does not use drugs—can imagine the strength of heroin's hold. The addict will beg for it, walk miles for it, wait hours for it, con for it, stay up days and nights on end to pursue it, steal from those he has loved for it, risk death for it. Heroin, more than any other drug, leads the greatest number of addicts to squalor and desperation.

The frightening power heroin holds over John and Karen is the subject of this essay and the article that follows. To outsiders, they sometimes seem to stroll, but always they are driven by the drug—he to thievery, she to prostitution, and both to "pushing" heroin to pay for their own supply. The drug urges them, as the story shows, to murky streets and ill-lit corners, through shabby rooms and in and out of hospitals and jails. It is their jealous lover, and their wrathful god.

Every day heroin wins a few new converts to its ranks, and now there are more addicts in America than authorities can successfully count. The Federal Narcotics Bureau estimates that the United States has 60,000 heroin addicts, but other less official counts climb into the hundreds of thousands. Half of the country's addicts live in New York City, and almost all the others are in the slums of Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Half are Negro. Only 20 percent are women. They commit an enormous number of crimes—more than 15 percent of New York City's burglaries (but less than 2 percent of its felonious assaults). Few are violent. Contrary to popular belief, it is not heroin that may lead to violence, but the excessive use of other drugs: amphetamines, barbiturates, cocaine, Dordiden, marijuana.

The heroin addict is a very busy man. For those who would separate him from his heroin he has no use and no time. When he awakes in the morning he reaches instantly for his "works"—eyedropper, needle ("spike," he calls it), and bottle top ("cooker"). He dissolves heroin in water in the cooker and injects the mixture. This is his "wake-up," a morning shot to hold off the anxiety and sickness of withdrawal and get him "straight" enough to start the day. If his habit is costing him \$20 a day, and that is not a large habit by any means, he must now start out to steal at least \$100 worth of goods,

knowing that a fence will give him only one-fifth the true value of his loot. When he has stolen something, he must haggle with his fence over the price. The argument seems interminable to him, for it has now been hours since his wake-up and he is getting nervous again, his eyes are watering and he is beginning to feel like a man coming down with a bad case of flu.

Finally he gets the money and begins his search for a "connection"—someone with heroin for sale. Not just any connection, but a connection who deals good quality stuff—"dynamite," not "garbage." Once the addict has bought his fix (has "copped" or "scored") he is faced with the risky business of getting it to his cooker and into his arm without getting caught and "busted" (arrested). When he has finally injected the heroin—he calls it "shooting up," "taking off," "getting off"—he may or may not go on a "nod"—his eyelids heavy, his mind wandering pleasantly—depending on how much heroin his body has become accustomed to and how much actual heroin was in the powder he injected.

He hopes that the shot will be at least strong enough to make him straight for a few hours. He can judge immediately the quality of the shot. If it is strong enough, he calms down, the flu feeling leaves, and he instantly begins looking for money for the next shot.

What haunts the addict are anxieties, which only heroin can relieve. In the shaky families and oppressive environment of big-city slums, anxieties pile up fast—and it is in the teeming slums that heroin is handy. From friend to friend the drug spreads inexorably among the emotionally weak and unstable.

John and Karen have much in common with other big-city junkies. Karen is 26, John 24. Both had broken the law before they started on heroin—she as a prostitute in the Midwest, he as a thief in New York. Karen is the first in her family to use illegal drugs; but John has two addicted brothers, and a third died of an overdose.

Both John and Karen have used many drugs, but they prefer heroin to all the rest just as a gourmet prefers wine to beer. Both have been to jail (he 10 times, she twice) and to hospitals (he 4 times, she twice)—and have emerged each time to start their habits fresh.

John and Karen have been together—sleeping wherever they can find a place to lie down—for 3 years. They use the same last name, but never got around to formal marriage. ("We did get a blood test once," says Karen.) Karen's earnings as a prostitute also support John's habit, and he occasionally contributes a little money by breaking into parked cabs, in which drivers may have left coin changers.

Both John and Karen are at all times all but overcome by revulsion for their habit and for the horrifying, unseen world it forces them into. "We are animals," says Karen. "We are all animals in a world no one knows."

#### THE WORLD OF NEEDLE PARK

(By James Mills)

From legal poppy fields in Turkey, by camel across the sands of Syria to the not-so-legal laboratories in Lebanon, then by ship to southern France for final refining, back to Italy and, courtesy of the Mafia, to New York's docks and airports—heroin comes to Harlem. And from Harlem the drug moves swiftly through the city of New York, as efficiently and regularly as milk from New Jersey or fish from Fulton Street. As it moves, the illicit stream swells into pools from which addicts in various parts of the city draw their daily needs. Addicts—and the police—are as aware of the selling locations as the housewife is of her neighborhood shopping center.

In the rush and confusion at 96th Street and Broadway, addicts gather on the corner to meet the pushers and buy their drugs—ignored by crowds of New Yorkers on their way to work. On the southwest corner of 82d Street and Columbus Avenue, two blocks from Manhattan's Museum of Natural History and the expensive Central Park West apartments nearby, addicts spend thousands of dollars a day for heroin. In front of a drugstore at 47th Street and Broadway, within the chaotic glow of Times Square, unknown tourists brush shoulder to shoulder with barbiturate addicts waiting stiff and zombie-like for their connections. It's the same just two blocks south, among the honky-tonk bars and nightclubs, or down in Greenwich Village, where heroin and marihuana pass from hand to hand on the benches of Washington Square.

Of these hundreds of locations outside Harlem, one of the most typical is located at the corner of 71st Street where Broadway pushes through Amsterdam Avenue on its diagonal slice across Manhattan. To subway riders who use the stop there, the intersection is Sherman Square. To the drug addicts it is "Needle Park."

Needle Park, like the rest of the world of the big-city narcotics addict, is peopled by a conglomeration of individuals who come from different backgrounds, have different ways of getting the money they need, and who prefer different combinations of drugs. Simply by hanging around Needle Park for a while with John and Karen and John's older brother "Bro," you can meet a whole spectrum of addiction: Irene, a slight, wispy lesbian addicted to "goofballs," barbiturates. Goofballs usually produce a quiet drowsiness, but also at times a tense aggressiveness that can be frighteningly unpredictable. Irene's behavior when she is high on GB's, which is most of the time, has created such havoc in the neighborhood restaurants that they no longer let her in. So sometimes she stands outside on the sidewalk and tries to shout at her friends through the window. After a while, she laughs uproariously and goes running on down the street with another girl.

There is Billy, who never stays around for long because he is trying desperately to stay clean. He just finished 3 years in Leavenworth for smuggling drugs from Mexico. Now he has had enough and wants to be square. He is trying to get a job, "but how can you explain 3 years out of your life? And no one in his right mind is going to hire a junkie."

Hank is a regular habitué. He is on bombitas—Spanish for "little bombs." In Harlem they cost a dollar; in Needle Park the price is \$1.50 or \$2. Hank has the customary symptoms of a bombita user. Because they are amphetamines, stimulants, he talks constantly, cannot sit still, and his arms and face are covered with sores where he has picked at the skin, sometimes with the illusion that bugs are crawling underneath.

And always lurking in the shadows, haunting Needle Park, stands Mike, a tall, trench-coated Negro. Mike is a "take-off artist," and a man to keep away from. He supports his habit by taking off (robbing) connections, and almost anyone else in the junkie world who appears to have money.

When junkies meet, they talk incessantly about drugs. Which is better, heroin mixed with a bombita or with cocaine? Both cocaine and bombitas are stimulants, and either one combined with heroin, which is a depressant, produces a more pleasurable high than heroin alone. The mixture is called a "speedball." But cocaine is very expensive, so addicts agree that for the money a bombita-and-heroin cannot be topped.

During one of these interminable conversations, someone said he had a friend who liked to shoot model airplane glue. No one

else had heard of that. Sniffing glue, yes; but not shooting it. They had heard of people doing something to paregoric and shoe polish and then shooting it, but the high was reported to be no good. Heroin, of course, was the best. Heroin and a bombita. It gave the best high, completely relaxed, not a problem in the world.

But that's not really the best high, one addict said. Do you know what the best high really is? The voice was serious. Everyone turned and stayed very quiet to hear, maybe, of a new kind of high that was better than heroin, better than anything else. The best high—the voice was low and somber—is death. Silence. Man, that's outta sight, that's somethin' else. Yeah, no feelin' at all. Everyone agreed. The best high of all was death.

Junkies hang around Needle Park because it is surrounded by cheap hotels, needed by addict prostitutes; because three blocks away, a short walk for a sick junkie, are respectable neighborhoods which are good for burglary and "cracking shorts"—breaking into cars; and because, probably, a long time ago someone started selling dope there and the area just got to be known as a good place to make a connection—to "score."

Today much of the heroin in Needle Park comes from a man who lives in a very nice apartment on a pleasant East Side street. He buys heroin in "pieces" (ounces), cuts it and bags it, and hands it over on consignment to a handful of pushers—junkies themselves—who sell it for him. The pushers do not really have to push. It is a seller's market with heroin, and the junkies fight their way to any connection who has good stuff. The image of the sly pusher enticing non-users into trying a free bag of heroin is pure myth.

The amount of payment the junkie pusher gets is the same anywhere in the city. Fifteen \$3 bags are wrapped together with a rubber band (the package is called a half load). The pusher buys the package for \$25, sells enough bags to recoup his investment, and uses the rest himself. Often the junkie pusher will deal "nickel bags" at \$5 each, as well as \$3 "Tres." These come in "bundles" similar to half loads, except that the package costs \$75 and consists of 25 \$5 bags. Sometimes a junkie pusher can get half loads or bundles on consignment. But if he decides to shoot up all the bags himself and beat the supplier for the money, his friends will soon be remarking that they haven't seen him around for a while. He usually keeps pushing until he is "busted" (arrested) or until he gets scared and decides to stop pressing his luck with the police, and return to less serious crimes to finance his habit.

#### JUNKIES TURN A HOTEL ROOM INTO A "SHOOTING GALLERY"

From time to time the addict may voluntarily interrupt his life on the street to enter a hospital. (Several New York hospitals reserve beds for addicts.) His body has achieved such a high tolerance to heroin that he must shoot a huge number of bags—not just to get high, but to keep from getting sick. In the case of a prostitute, she may be getting so thin and sick-looking—so "strung out"—that she has been forced to reduce her price. In both cases the addict goes into a hospital to withdraw from the drug and get back to the point where just a bag or two will make him high.

The male junkie, when he isn't pushing, almost invariably turns to theft and burglary to support his habit. One of the most expert burglars among Needle Park junkies is John's brother, Bro. Bro is 28, with thick black hair and an intent, quiet face. He was first arrested—for purse snatching—when he was 9 years old. He maintained his first heroin shot when he was 13 and has now done 20 "bits" in jail for a total of 9 years, plus 2 years in the Federal narcotics hospital at Lexington, Ky.

"I'm the best burglar on the West Side," he told me proudly one night. I believe him. Once I was standing with him outside the door of a hotel room I had rented near Needle Park, fumbling in my pocket for the key. "Man, you don't need that," he said, and quickly slipped a celluloid card into the doorjamb. In an instant the door was open and Bro was in the room.

He has skill and daring—what junkies call "heart." "Burglary is my job," he explained soberly. "It's what I'm good at." In addition, he has an indispensable talent for talking his way out of tight spots. "You see," he said, "when I go into an apartment I jam the lock—stick some toothpicks in the keyhole and break them off—so if the people come back I can hear them trying to get their key in and I can make it out the fire escape. But once in a while I get careless and don't jam the lock and then—well, like once this guy come back and got in the apartment and saw me.

"It was real tight, man. He was standing there with his wife and his little kid, and I grabbed the kid and said, 'Man, I don't want to do nothin' to the kid, but I'm a dope fiend and I'm real sick and I got to get out of here.' And I guess the guy thought I was really gonna hurt the kid or something—I mean, you couldn't blame him—and he let me go."

Bro is married, but his wife does not use drugs, and so he spends as little time with her as he can get away with, preferring to stick with John and Karen and the other junkies. Often none of them has a hotel room, and then they lounge around on the benches in Needle Park or in a nearby luncheonette, or just walk the streets. When Karen is working—and by that she means hustling, on the telephone with old customers when possible, on the street if necessary—she may end up with a room for the night and a little sleep.

That doesn't happen to Johnny. If he cannot find a friend with a room, he walks around all night looking for cars to break into or for a place to lie down. Often he finds a public bathroom in one of the hotels around the park and sleeps there. Bro jokes about the time Johnny actually moved into a fourth-floor bathroom in a hotel on Sherman Square. "I went looking for him there," Bro said, "and he even had laundry strung up in the place. A couple of more nights and the hotel would have put in a phone."

At one point John and Karen had a room in a tiny, seedy hotel sandwiched between more respectable hotels on West 72d Street across from a row of high-rent apartment houses. The hotel does a fast business with prostitutes and junkies, possibly because it has a night desk man who will send heroin to the room faster than you could get a ham on rye from room service at the Hilton. When a junkie has a hotel room, the word spreads fast. All his friends and their friends stream in, and the place turns into a "shooting gallery."

I knocked on the door one night, and Johnny let me in. It was in the midst of a panic—a citywide drug shortage—and the desk man was out of stuff. Drugs were so scarce addicts were kicking their habits in the street, and many had been forced to switch to barbiturates. The room was littered with the debris of addiction—bits of toilet paper and clothing that had been used to wipe blood from arms; glasses half-filled with water tinted red from the cleaning of many needles; scraps of electric light cord chopped up and separated into thin strands with which to unclog needles; charred metal bottle tops used for cookers. Everywhere on the floor, strewn so thick you could not see the carpet, were clothing, old comic books, and cigarette butts. Sheets and blankets, cigarette holes burned in them by nodding addicts, had fallen from the bed and lay kicked into corners. Stuffing oozed from a

waffle-sized burn in the mattress. The smell was of sweat and smoke and heroin.

Karen looked worse than I had ever seen her. Her eyes were widely dilated, partly from heroin withdrawal, partly from enormous doses of barbiturates. She had a \$50 date with a "John" in New Jersey and Johnny and his friends were trying desperately to get her into shape for the trip. She was nearly unconscious. Two men held her up, and another whose name was Ronnie brushed her hair for her. Her face looked as if make-up had been laid on with a trowel. "Come on, Karen," Ronnie pleaded, "you got to make that train. You got to get out there, baby. You can't miss this trick, Karen, you got to make it." She mumbled and slouched in her supporters' arms, and Ronnie kept brushing.

Johnny walked over to a corner of the room that was stacked high with cases of coffee and cellophane packages of women's hair curlers. He and a friend had spotted a truck unloading supplies onto a sidewalk in front of a grocery store. They had grabbed everything they could carry and ran with it in their arms to the hotel. Now they were going to try to sell the haul.

The men who had been holding up Karen sat her down on the bed. She fell back, anesthetized by the barbiturates. Someone knocked on the door and Johnny yelled at the men, "There's too much noise in here. Can't you guys shut up? That's probably the cops now. You make so much racket they could hear you inside the station house." He walked to the door and whispered, "Who is it?"

"It's the FBI." It was Bro's voice. Johnny opened the door. "Funny," he said as Bro slipped past him and sat down on the edge of the bed. He glanced at Karen and shook his head in mock distaste. He had a bag of heroin and dumped the powder into a bottle top. "Where'd you get that?" Johnny demanded.

Bro gave the name of a connection. "It's probably garbage." He produced a bombita, broke off the glass top and poured the fluid in with the heroin. Bro held a match under the cooker until the white powder dissolved. Then he put the tip of the needle—the same one Ronnie and Karen and the other men had used—into a pea-sized wad of cotton (used to filter out large impurities that might clog the needle) and drew up the liquid from the bottom of the cooker. Borrowing Ronnie's belt, he wrapped it around his arm, held the end in his teeth, stuck the needle into a vein and waited for the blood to start backing up into the eyedropper. Instead of shooting the fluid in immediately he squeezed in a few drops, let it back up into the eyedropper again, squeezed in a little more, let it back up, squeezed in more, and continued the in-and-out process until the fluid in the dropper was dark red with blood.

The technique, known as "booting," is believed to prolong the drug's initial effect. He continued booting until there was so much blood in the dropper he was afraid it would coagulate and clog the needle. Then he shot it all in and withdrew the needle. Had the needle clogged, he would have dumped the mixture of blood and drugs back into the cooker, heated it until the blood dissolved, and started over. Addicts call this "shooting gravy"; "because that's what it is—right? Cooked blood?"

"IT'S GARBAGE," BRO SAID, "ALL I FEEL'S THE BOMBITA"

Bro put the dropper and needle into a glass of water. "How is it?" one of the men asked. "Garbage," Bro said. "All I feel's the bombita."

Ronnie had Karen sitting up on the edge of the bed and was brushing her hair again and begging her to stay awake, but it was hopeless. She was too far gone to make her New Jersey date until the next afternoon. The phone rang and Johnny talked on it for a minute and then announced he was

leaving to sell some of the stolen coffee to a grocer. Around Needle Park it is not uncommon for addicts to steal from one grocer and sell to another, or to steal meat from a supermarket and sell it to a restaurant. "At one point," Johnny once told me, "Karen and I were robbing every candy store in the area, mostly for cigarettes. We told one candy store guy that if he bought all our cigarettes, we'd leave him alone. We did quite a business for a while."

Johnny loaded three coffee cases into the elevator and I rode down with him. He put them out next to the desk in the lobby and we sat and talked while he waited for someone to pick them up.

Stringent search and seizure laws make it tough for detectives to produce much unshakable evidence against addicts and addict pushers. Merely being an addict is not a crime in New York; he must have drugs or a hypodermic needle in his possession. Many addicts—especially pushers—wear a rubber band on their wrists (a "dealer's band," some call it) which, if hooked properly around a deke of heroin, will send it flying if an approaching detective is spotted.

But when police are in a drug neighborhood they have no difficulty spotting addicts on the street. An experienced narcotics cop, or a longtime addict, can with surprising reliability spot a user in a group of 20 people, state with authority what kind of drug he is on, approximately how long it has been since his last fix, and whether or not he is at that moment "dirty," carrying drugs. Because heroin subdues appetite, the addict is almost always thin. He has a craving for sweets, and often carries a bottle of soda pop (although he may know that, to a detective, it is a badge of addiction). The backs of his hands are chronically puffed and swollen, from shooting in the veins there.

The addict is habitually dirty, his clothes filthy, and he stands slackerly as if his body were without muscles. Waiting for a connection, he is nervous and intent, staring for minutes at a time in the direction from which he expects the pusher to come. Detectives know that when a group of addicts is standing around, talking, waiting, none of them is carrying heroin. But if you watch the group long enough suddenly it explodes, all the addicts walking off in different directions. The pusher has appeared and soon, one by one, they will make their round-about way to him to "cop."

Once the addict has drugs on him, he keeps moving. He is about to achieve the one thing for which he lives, and he is not slow about it. His shoulders are hunched, his head is down, and he strikes out with what some detectives call a "leaving-the-set walk," as if he had just learned where a million dollars was hidden. When the heroin addict is high, his pupils are "pinned," constricted, and if the shot was sufficiently powerful he goes on a "nod"—his head drooping, eyelids heavy.

But though he appears terribly sleepy, he speaks coherently. His mind wanders, he daydreams, and everything he does, he does with maddening slowness. He can take 30 minutes to tie his shoelaces. But he always resists admitting that he is on a nod. He is very sleepy, he says, and if he stops talking in midsentence, he argues that he is not nodding, only trying to phrase the sentence properly. Once the addict has had his shot and is "straight," he may become admirably, though briefly, industrious, suddenly deciding to shine his shoes, brush his coat, comb his hair—all the while scolding himself bitterly for having slipped so far.

Even the seasons conspire to identify addicts. In winter, waiting to cop, they alone stand around in the snow and slush, apparently aimlessly. In summer, they alone wear long sleeves (to cover their "tracks"—needle marks). Because heroin users almost always feel cold, they wear piles of sweaters, even in hot weather.

When male and female addicts gather together, in a hotel room or public bathroom, the narcotics detective knows better than to suspect sexual activity. Heroin depresses sexual desire—men may become impotent, women often do not menstruate. (If a woman gives birth while she is addicted to heroin the infant also will be physically addicted and must live his first 3 days withdrawing from the drug.) For most heroin addicts a sex crime would be impossible, and they are all contemptuous of stories about the "raging, dope-fiend, sex maniac."

Almost all heroin addicts are childishly immature; full of demands, empty of offerings. When they want something, they want it yesterday and they want it effortlessly. Nothing is their fault—their addiction, their degradation, their desperation. All are insecure, most dislike people, and—though the mechanics of obtaining and injecting drugs forces them into relationships with other people—most would prefer to be alone.

None can tolerate "changes." If the junkie goes looking for a connection and does not find him on the right corner at the right time, he grumbles about all the changes. Almost everything he is forced to do involves too many changes. He must go through changes to steal, to find a fence, to get a shot, to avoid police, but the addict is rarely violent. He wants heroin to get his fix with as few complications, as few changes, as possible, and be left in peace to shoot it. He prefers simple, nonviolent crimes—thief, burglary, prostitution.

When they are off heroin, addicts tend to be morose and restless. On heroin, when they are straight, they are pleasant, gentle, likable. Psychiatrists who have studied them over long periods know that most of them are extremely narcissistic, that their intense preoccupation with heroin is a surface manifestation of a more profound emotional preoccupation with themselves.

In pursuit of the drug they can bring to bear extraordinary cunning, nerve, and acting ability. But once they have the fix in hand and the problem shifts from how to get drugs to how to avoid arrest, these qualities vanish. An addict who is arrested because a detective discovered heroin hidden in his pants cuff may, once he is released, immediately buy a deck of heroin and hide it in his pants cuff.

Perhaps the dominant emotional characteristic of the addict is his enormous compulsion to abdicate all responsibility for his own life. He craves to be told what to do. If he is encouraged to go to a hospital by someone he trusts, he will go; but soon, when he finds the hospital not to his liking, he will leave, and then blame the failure not on himself but on the person who urged him to go. An addict will walk along a street openly displaying a container of drugs, all but asking to be arrested. If a detective does spot the drug and arrest him, the addict will blame it on bad luck. He thus purges himself of the responsibility of choosing between jail and abstinence, or continued addiction on the street. He feels he has left the choice to fate.

Female addict prostitutes may, for the same reason, solicit men who are almost certainly detectives. One psychiatrist reported that when one of his addict patients saw another patient in an artificial lung, she became enraged and demanded the lung for herself, unconsciously demonstrating her wish to relinquish to the lung her ultimate responsibility—breathing.

After I had known John and Karen for a couple of months I sat down with them individually and we talked of familiar events and ideas, and about some subjects that had never before been mentioned. Because most drug addicts, particularly those in big cities, live similar lives and display common symptoms, these tape-recorded conversations reveal much about the lives and personalities

not only of John and Karen, but of the many thousands of other young people who suffer from drug addiction. They should be read with the thought in mind that just as the paralytic's every step is twisted by his affliction, so every word an addict speaks is colored by the symptoms of his disease—self-deception, immaturity, insecurity, guilt.

The morning the conversation with Karen occurred, she was lying on a dirty, bare hotel mattress, relaxing under the effects of a shot taken 30 minutes earlier. She had just discovered lice crawling on her and had placed one of them on a table by the bed. She stared at it while I connected the recorder.

KAREN EXPLAINS IT: "I LIKE THE FEELING OF NOT FEELING"

"I can't stand these terrible things," she almost shouted. "The filthy little things. Johnny must have brought them home from jail. I put it on the table there so I can see how tiny it is and then it doesn't scare me so much."

"Karen, when did you first use illegal drugs?"

"I got this awful toothache and Johnny gave me a shot, and it took the pain away, and it also took my fear of drugs away. So I started doing it myself, while Johnny'd be in the bedroom sleeping. I was scared to death of Johnny catching me. And I had a habit before I knew it. We were living right in the same house and for a long time he didn't know I was using it. I liked it. It made me very relaxed, very high. I grooved with it. I dig junk. I won't kid anybody. I dig the high, the whole bit. I like the feeling. I like the feeling of not feeling."

"What is it the Spanish say? No siento nada—I feel nothing. That's just the way you get to feel—nothing. Nothing fazes you. You could hear about your mother dying an excruciating death and you wouldn't even shed a tear. And I was still hooking then—\$100 dates, making maybe \$2,200 a week. Meanwhile, Johnny was just sitting home doing nothing. Shooting up, sleeping, watching TV, reading comic books, having his buddies over, turning them on. He had a real ball."

"What do you think of other junkies, junkies in general?"

"They're pigs. I can't stand them."

"Why not?"

"I'm probably looking in a mirror and I can't stand it. They're animals. We're all animals. We'll step on one another for a shot if there's no dope. I've seen it. I can't even trust Johnny. I had my wake-up shot 3 days ago right here on the table. When I got up, it was gone and Johnny was the only one that was straight that morning. Everyone was sick but Johnny. And I know Johnny didn't have a wake-up of his own."

"And I'm just as bad. I don't live from day to day or paycheck to paycheck. I live from fix to fix. Yesterday morning, as sick as I was, Johnny insisted that I go with this John. Johnny brought him up here and I turned the trick. I gave the money to Johnny, but I never saw any junk for it."

"I'm no different from any of the others. I'll beat somebody for their money just as fast as look at them. That's why I say we're animals. One time when I was sick myself, a girl came up here and she had \$30. She said, 'Karen, can you cop?' I said, 'Yes.' I took the money and I never came back. I didn't intend to come back from the very beginning. She waited 10 hours for me, and I never came back."

"Karen, have you ever used a knife on anybody?"

"No. But I could, and I know how. I'm capable. And I'll cut anybody who threatens me. Like I said, that's what I mean about being an animal. Three years ago I couldn't have hurt a fly. But when you don't care about your own life—that much—then you know what you care about someone else's life. And when someone threatens the little

bit of care that you do have for your own life, then you know what you're going to do to them. If they're gonna hurt me, I could kill somebody and it wouldn't faze me. Just like Freddy—you know Freddy—said he ripped somebody's stomach wide open and when he found out his guts weren't falling out, he put his hand in and pulled them out. He made sure that guy died. And I could do the same thing."

"Has Johnny ever cut you?"

"Yes. He went crazy behind bombitas. He didn't cut me badly. I broke the blade of the knife off. But when you can't get stuff and you get sick, you get desperate. Like, let me tell you what you go through sometimes just trying to cop. When you cop, you don't know whether you're going to get caught with that bag on you or whether you're going to get it home. Let me tell you what goes on in your mind."

"All right, let's say it costs me \$10 to get a fix—two nickel bags. OK. Well, I have my \$10. Now, if I can't locate a connection around Needle Park, what I have to do is go uptown. Last night I went up to 112th Street in Harlem, where the better junk is. Once I'm there, I walk with a knife opened, like this. That's the way you have to walk up there. They see a white in Harlem and they're ready to jump all over you. So you walk up there with a knife out—or like Julio did the other day. He carries a .45 right out in the open. OK. I have my \$10. I want to get two \$5 bags. So I go and ask someone, 'Who's got the best stuff around here?' 'Chico has.' OK. Chico has. Then someone says, 'Emanuel has.' So I have to find out who's who and who has the better stuff, Emanuel or Chico."

"Meanwhile you're walking on this street, you know darn well The Man (any cop) is watching you. You know it. You feel it. But you don't care because you're sick. So you're going to take that chance anyway. Now, you don't want to jeopardize the connection either. So all right, you're gonna cop off Chico. You walk by Chico and say, 'I want two, and keep walking. Then you turn around and you come back and you give him the money and at the same time you say you want two. Then you come back and he gives you the two.'

"Now if Chico decides to beat you, Chico's just gonna turn around and walk away. And you're dead. Your \$10 is gone with the wind. Or maybe you're gonna get the stuff home and find it's baking soda. The fellow you met steered you wrong because he's getting a piece of it. This doesn't often happen when it's not panic time."

"Now, after you cop, most of the time you have to walk home because you don't have that much money for a cab. Buses takes too long, and you're standing on that corner with stuff on you. So all the time you're walking, you're praying too. You're saying to yourself, 'Is there a narco (narcotics detective) around that knows my face and is going to call me over just for the hell of it?' Which they do. Meanwhile, you've got stuff on you, and you're sick. You never know—you're never relaxed until you feel the stuff in you, and even then you know that within 4 hours you've got to get some more money, and get more stuff again. This is gonna go on and on. And you know that before you go to bed that night you not only have to have your bedtime fix but you have to have your wake-up. So that's \$20 right there that you must have, you absolutely must have. And you have to cop before you go to bed because when you wake up you might be too sick to be able to go out and cop."

"I IMAGINE I'VE BEEN SORRY EVERY DAY I'VE HAD THE HABIT"

"Karen, I know you can think up a very glib story and with your acting ability deliver it to a doctor and get a prescription. Can you do this with other people as well?"

"I can do this with anyone. Anybody I want to do something for me, I can make them do it. Just by talking. I've been able to do that since I was a little girl, since I first told a lie to my father. My father was very strict. I had to think up reasons to get out of the house to do the things I wanted to do. So that was what I did. I started on my father. It worked on him, it worked on my mother, it worked on my teachers, and it worked on everybody else. The only thing you really need is a sincere approach. If someone thinks you're sincere, they'll do anything in the world for you.

"If ever I was going to get a licking—not a licking, but a punishment, rather—that I didn't want, I used to cry and say, 'Gee, I'm sorry.' They felt so bad about my feeling sorry that they wouldn't do anything. I was a cute little girl—until they started telling me what to do and my father started to be a tyrant. My father started to use military tactics on me. Never hit me. But he messed my mind up. I had to sit on a straight-backed chair for 3 and 4 hours at a time with my hands folded without talking. Three years old. Or he made me stand at attention 3 and 4 hours till my back felt like it was breaking. I never cried to my father, or to my mother—she was an angel—but I cried to my aunts and uncles. I got what I wanted."

"Karen, have you ever been sorry that you went on the stuff 3 years ago?"

"I imagine that I've been sorry every day that I've had a habit."

"Why don't you kick and get clean and be square?"

"That's probably what will happen eventually."

"Why don't you do it now? Why didn't you do it a year ago?"

"Johnny didn't want to do it then."

"All right then, why don't you do it now?"

"I might. I just might do that. I don't want to start right into a job. I want to go on a vacation first somewhere. I want to go to Puerto Rico."

"How long ago did you have your last shot?"

"Half hour ago."

"Do you ever look at a square girl on the street?"

"And envy her? Yes. Every day. Because she doesn't know what I know. I could never be a square like that. I was once, but once I took that first shot, that shattered the whole bit—because then I knew. I knew what it was to be high. I knew what it was to groove with junk. Even the first habit that I kicked, which was the worst that I ever kicked, I kicked cold turkey of my own volition—and I still went back to junk. Right in this very hotel. I bought my first fix right here. Why? Oh, I don't know. I found some excuse or another to do it. I'll tell you right now. I wouldn't care if I died. I just hope it isn't painful, that's all."

"What do you think is going to become of you eventually, Karen?"

"I don't know. I'll probably die—early. It won't be from junk, but it'll be from something connected with junk. Hepatitis or something. I don't care anymore. I really don't. Because there's nothing for me. I don't have any reason to quit using."

"Isn't it enough of a reason that you wouldn't be living the kind of life you live now?"

"That means nothing to me. I don't give a good damn."

The conversation with John was recorded in the same hotel room his brother Bro had entered so effortlessly with a celluloid card. John had just injected a bombita, and began to talk long and easily about his addiction, his career as a pusher and his relationship with Karen.

"Johnny, how old were you the first time you used any drugs?"

"About 13. I smoked some pot [marijuana]. And I've seen drugs practically all my life. My brother was already hooked, not just starting but already hooked, at 13 when he was still going to school. I was going with this girl, and like I used to walk the straight and narrow line. And then I think I had an argument with her, and instead of going drinking to get drunk, I went and bought a stick of pot. I was started. Ever since then, boy, I've been going real strong."

"How did you meet Karen?"

"My brother and his girl were living in Karen's apartment. And one day I went to visit them and my brother brought me into the bedroom and says, 'Karen, this is Johnny, the brother I was telling you about.' And like the first words out of her mouth made me turn like blood red. She said, 'Oh, yeah, but he's cuter than what you said he was.'"

"Now I wasn't used to talk like that, because I'd been away at jail for 3 years and hadn't so much as kissed a girl. And I've always been kind of shy of girls when I first meet them. Usually when I first meet people I'm quiet. I sit and find out what kind of people they are before I even commit myself. So like right away when I blushed she thought it was cute. She started teasing me. So we got along right away."

"I wanted to get high. So I told my brother, I says, 'I want to get high.' So he says no. Now, Karen's listening to this—like she was death on drugs. She was death. Karen says, 'No, don't give him any.' So I said, 'The hell with you. I got money, I know where to score. I'll see you later.' So I started going out the door and my brother said, 'Look, Karen, one of my other brothers went with somebody else to get high and they left him, and he died. I don't want it to happen to Johnny.' So after she thought about it, she said, 'All right.'"

"So I got high. I got high and then I left and when I was leaving I turned around to Karen and I told her, 'Karen, I like you. You're real people.' Because, like, every hooker I've ever met, I'd never made it with a hooker before. Like, when you walk into the house and they first meet you, they start talking \$100 bills, \$500 bills, I don't know, they're phonies. And she was regular people—like, for real."

"And the second day I come downtown from the Bronx and I walk into this restaurant and they were sitting in the back. She had black slacks on and a black jacket and a black scarf. And I hadn't seen her before with any makeup on. It was raining out and I had an umbrella in my hand and I looked at my brother and I says, 'You told me she was pretty.' And like I could see that she was starting to get insulted, probably thinking like I was going to say she was ugly. But then I said, 'She's not pretty, she's beautiful.' And she didn't know how to act behind that."

"And neither did I after I said it. I was hung up for words. I started to turn red again. We went out and started running through the rain. We wound up in a drug-store and there was an iron Karen liked, a clothes iron, and they wanted \$7 for it. So my brother said, 'Karen, for a couple more dollars you could get a big steam iron.' She says, 'Yeah, but it's nice, I want it.' And like, I like that, too. She says, 'This is nice. I like it. I want it. I'm going to get it.' So, I like that. I went for the way she came on with it. So it stuck in my mind. I like people that if they want something, they'll get it. I'm like that myself. If I can't buy it, I'll steal it. If I can't steal it, I'll get it some way. Anyway, she bought the iron."

"So the next night I went over and my brother and his girl left and now my hand accidentally bumped against Karen's arm and her skin was so smooth, like I was fascinated by it. It was like silk. And then all these other people came over and Karen says,

'Everybody has to go, I'm going to sleep.' So I started to put my coat on. I figured she meant me too, and I was on parole anyway. I had to be home at certain times. And my brother says, 'Take your coat off. Karen says she wants you to stay.' And I says to my brother, 'I'm on parole. And if the parole officer comes over to the house, it's going to be all over.' So anyway, all he had to do was say it one more time. 'Karen wants you to stay.' That was it. I took my coat off. Ever since then, we've been together."

"SHE USED TO HAVE MY FIX READY, LIKE BREAKFAST IN BED"

"She wasn't using drugs then?"

"No. And she was some beautiful girl. We used to go out for a walk and people used to look at her—twice. Boy, she was a doll. And then once we were in the bedroom, and we were lying down talking. And out of nowhere she says, 'Johnny, I'm on stuff.' I looked at her and says, 'What do you mean, you're on stuff?' She says, 'I've been using behind your back the past 6 months.' I don't know how I felt. But I felt so empty. Like, I wanted to get up and bash her brains against the wall. And then I felt sorry for her."

"She's been using stuff ever since then. But even before she was using, she had this problem with her own mind—not sure whether she wanted to go with girls or with boys. So, like she was very unsure of herself, very insecure. And I started going with her and eventually, as the time went on, she found out, like, she wasn't gay. And like she was always afraid, and then, I don't know, as time went on, she realized like she loved me. Like it was me and only me—first, last, and always. Since then like everything was like real sweet."

"So anyway, she was hooking when I met her. So I didn't go for that at all, because I had never made it with a hooker before. So one night she had a date and she told me to come back later, in an hour or something like that. I came back later, I rang the bell and walked through the front door and was going to the apartment, and the door opened and she had the chain on it and she stuck her hand out. And I stopped dead right in the hallway. I don't know if I wanted to cry, run, kick the door in. I didn't know what to do, I was so hurt."

"Ever since that time, every time she'd go out with a trick, I'd get an attitude. Or, if the trick would come over, I'd just be sulky, nasty with the trick. Even today I don't like her hustling. I'd rather have her stay home and I got to go out and steal. I don't think you or anybody else can understand the way I felt standing in the hallway—like, the only person I really loved in there with someone else. And, like, stopping me from coming in. Even today when we get to talking, like, that always comes up. I never liked her to hook. Like a lot of times I tell her, 'Don't go out. Stop hooking, get a job.'"

"She's very timid in a lot of ways. She has to have me to lean on. With little problems she'd come to me. She'd cry in her sleep. She'd wake up crying. If somebody would wake her up too hard, she'd cry. It's hard to explain. I just never liked her to hook. She used to make like at least \$1,500 a week, maybe more. Even with that money coming in—and most of it going on clothes and me, nothing but the best she used to get me—and even with that, I would have rather given that up than have her go out with other guys. Even today, like she's got two habits to support."

"I don't do anything. I don't contribute anything. Except another problem, another habit to support. And my love for her, that's all."

"Johnny, do you and Karen ever fight?"

"Do we fight? Boy! Like yesterday she woke up real sick. She had given somebody \$25. She wanted to surprise me by coming

home with the stuff instead of coming home and giving me the money and having me go out and get it. She wanted to surprise me by waking me up and saying, 'Here, Johnny,' and I could just get off in bed. That's what she used to do—wake me up and have my fix ready, like breakfast in bed.

"Well, she gave the guy \$25. He went up-town. This was 9 o'clock in the morning. At 9 at night we finally find out where he lives and we go up there and he says, 'Look, I don't know how to tell you, but I got beat.' Now that's 12 hours we're waiting for him. He could have called and we could have went out and got some money. We didn't get straight until about 3 o'clock this morning. And my last shot before that was close to maybe 18, 20 hours, something like that. It was a long time.

"When she woke up, she was very sick. She had a bombita and a \$3 bag. And she started putting it on the cooker. I told her, 'Leave half of it in the cooker for me.' Now, we'd be lucky if two \$3 bags would straighten either one of us out—the way stuff is out there now—never mind one, never mind half of one. She looked at me like I was crazy.

"She said, 'Johnny, it's only a \$3 bag.' I says, 'I know what it is, leave half of it for me.' She says, 'Johnny'—she started crying—'Johnny, I'm sick. Please let me do it and I'll go out and get some money, fast. I'll turn a trick or something. I can get money faster if I'm straight,' which is true. I would probably have got straight in an hour.

"But I was like cold-blooded. I told her, 'I don't want to hear no stories. Leave half in the cooker, or I'm going to take it all.'

"It's not like me to do something like that. That's just vengeance, some kind of vengeance. I'm very spiteful. Like if I have an argument with somebody and they bite me on my big toe, you know eventually I'm going to get to their big toe and bite it back. I don't like myself like that. It scares me. Maybe it wouldn't even bother me with someone else. But with her, who's supposed to mean so much to me, that I could do something like that and threaten to take the whole thing, knowing that neither one of us are going to get straight, maybe just get the edges taken off. If I'm going to keep that up, she can get somebody a whole lot better than me.

"Last night we had an argument and she got scared and started running up these stairs. And her being afraid of me like that, that got me mad. She ran up to the sixth floor—as sick as she was—and ran into a bathroom and locked the door and tried to hide from me. You do something like that with an animal. You hide from an animal. She wouldn't open the door. I threatened to kick the panel out and she finally opened it. And she was in the shower stall, crouched down like a real refugee. You see them picture posters of refugees crouched down, and the fear that she had on her face, and the shaking. She was actually, really shaking. Afterwards, she couldn't hold the cooker steady. I tell you I'll leave her for good before I keep putting her through that. I don't want her to be afraid."

"When you were pushing, Johnny, what's the largest amount you ever bought—to put into bags and resell?"

"Three pieces, 3 ounces."

"How many bags will that make?"

"That depends how many times you cut it. Some connections used to cut it four to one, maybe five to one. But I only cut mine 3½ times. That way it would be very strong. And I put the rest of the connections in my neighborhood out of business.

"I used to get very good stuff. I went up to this guy's house and he cut it for me. You stretch a nylon stocking over a wire hanger, put the stuff on it and run over it with a spoon. And it flows through the nylon and gets fluffed up. And after that

you cut it with quinine and milk sugar. And after it's mixed you have these stamp-collectors' bags, little glassine envelopes, and you have these baby measuring spoons, like a mother uses with her kids. You put the stuff in one of the small spoons and run a razor over the top to flatten it out. Then you put it into the bag, wrap it up, put tape on it and you've got yourself a bag. And then you go out and sell it."

"How much does your habit cost you a day?"

"I'll tell you, when people tell you, like they're using \$50 a day, they can't tell you that. They don't really know how much heroin they're using. Like I might find old Joe Schmo today and buy three bags from him and find that one bag straightens me out. Now, okay, so I'll time my shots and get away with \$15 today. Tomorrow I can't find Joe Schmo so I go find Larry the Jerk, and I buy three off him and one don't straighten me out, and maybe three won't straighten me out. So, actually how much you use depends on the quality of the stuff.

"Like right now the stuff is so weak that to find somebody on the streets that you can really say has a real bad habit would be doing something. I mean, it's not like it used to be. I've seen guys come into jail and, like the expression goes, they kicked their habit on the elevator. In 2 or 3 days they're eating, sleeping, doing pushups.

"So it depends on the quality. I can't say I use this much or that much. I used to use a lot. Even today, if I have 10 bags in the morning, I won't have anything left that night, or maybe not even that afternoon. I just can't hold onto stuff without shooting it. I won't actually get greedy and shoot it all at once but like, whenever it enters my mind to get off, I just get off. I can't hold on to it."

"Johnny, when you go to a hospital or to jail and you get clean, why do you always go back on drugs?"

"Well, the longest I ever stayed clean on the street on my own was when one of my older brothers died of an overdose. I didn't want to use drugs. I think it was like 2 weeks, 3 weeks. I thought I would really do it—stay clean—because of my brother. And then, one day I was with one of my other brothers and I saw this kid I knew standing on the corner. He was sick. I was doing good, staying dressed nice, leading a good life. I was happy. He was sick. So I said to him, 'What are you shooting, what's your fix?' And he says, 'Two bags.' So I gave him \$6. And I know where he's going and what he's going to do, and I know the feeling he's going to get.

"It must have hit my mind all the way in the back. I looked at my brother. He knew what was on my mind and he like shrugged his shoulders, like to say, 'I don't care.' So I said to the kid, 'Look, here's another \$6. Get two more.' So we got up to the bathroom in some hotel and the kid got off first because he was sick, and my brother got off and then I drew up the stuff and I just kept sitting around with it in my hand. And I kept thinking about my dead brother. And I didn't want to use because of what happened to him. Then I says to myself, only it was like to him, 'I hope you'll understand. You know what it's like.' And I got off. After almost squirting it on the floor for maybe four or five times. But finally I shot it. And ever since then \* \* \*"

"What do you think of junkies in general, Johnny?"

"Well, I wouldn't put my money in another junkie's hand unless I really, really trusted him. I've been beat by my own brother, and if my brother's going to run around and beat me, who can I trust? I can't trust nobody out there. Even Karen has gotten off behind my back. Like all the times I've stayed 16, 17, 18 hours without a fix and she

disappeared someplace, and I know she's not going to go that long without a fix. She can tell me anything she wants, but I know Karen. And she'll come back and tell me she hasn't gotten off, but she's high. A couple of times she's been gone all day and all night and I didn't see her until the next day, and if I didn't do anything, I'd be sick when she came back. But when she came back, she'd have a bag of stuff to get me straight and I'd get off first before I even started arguing with her. And then I'd be happy I was straight and I'd only give her like half an argument.

"You can't trust junkies. But after using drugs for so long, they're, like, my people. That's what I call them, my people. I can't get along with square people. If I'm walking in the streets, anywhere, I walk pretty fast and, if somebody's in front of me, I get very, very aggravated with them. I'll shoot around them and I might say something under my breath or I might say, 'Move it the hell out of the way.' I don't like people. Maybe if I got back off drugs and got a job, I might try to force it from myself. Maybe in a week or two it'll just come back."

"What do you think is going to become of you, Johnny?"

"I don't know what's going to happen. But I've had it with drugs. I'm going to stop. I've had enough of it. If I want to go back to it 10 years from now, it will still be out there. I can always get it. And if I can't make the square life, if I find it too rough—which I doubt—the stuff will always be on the corners, the connections will always be there. It's been there for hundreds of years, and it'll be there for another hundred years."

"Well, Johnny, what is it that keeps you around Needle Park?"

"Nothing, I just don't have any place else to go. That's the whole thing in a nutshell. I could go to my parents upstate. Like, Monday I'm going home. I want to clean up. I want to get a job. I want to be square again. I'm tired of this life. I've had it. I'm ready to stop. And I'm ready to take on responsibilities of all kinds that I should be able to—as a man. Instead of using escapes, all kinds of escapes."

"How long has it been, Johnny, since you've had a fix?"

"Two or three hours."

"How long do you think it will be before you get off again?"

"Maybe right after I leave here."

"Well, then, why do you say that you've had it with drugs?"

"Well, after Monday, anyway."

#### I TOLD THEM NOT TO GO HOME—DRUG ADDICTS, PART II

(NOTE.—In the barred, echoing hallway of a Federal narcotics hospital, a doctor tries desperately to reason with two young sisters, both drug addicts. "Did you write our mother?" one sister asks. "We got another nasty letter from her. She says we're cured physically but not mentally. Did you tell her that?" The girls, sent to the hospital in Lexington, Ky., at their mother's insistence, write her every day begging her to get them out. But the doctor writes too, urging the mother to leave them in. The girls finally wear down their mother. A week later they are back in New York, back on heroin, back in the sordid addict world where a man in a beret, prowling for prostitutes, walks up and asks, "You girls want to make some money?" "I told them not to go home," says the doctor. "Addicts need help. They get it—but not nearly enough." Here the second of Life's two articles on drug addicts shows what help they do get. And it tells what could be done—what must be done—to give them the help they really need.)

The world's largest, oldest, most prestigious center for treating drug addicts sits atop a hill near Lexington on a thousand acres of

Kentucky's finest blue-grass meadowland. It opened 30 years ago as the U.S. Narcotics Farm, but when addicts started writing in to order narcotics, the name was hastily changed to the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital. It has been an off-and-on home for countless addicts, who refer to it simply as "K.Y." Until recently, when a few big cities started putting aside hospital beds for addicts, Lexington and a smaller Public Health Service hospital in Fort Worth, Tex., were just about the only spots in the United States where a junkie could hole up, get off heroin, catch his breath and have a crack at permanently overcoming his addiction.

The scores of addict treatment centers that spread across the country—there are 40 in New York City alone—range from the well-known, multichaptered Synanon (Life, Mar. 9, 1962) to the offices of a few individual physicians with an honest sympathy for addicts. But Lexington still bears the brunt of addiction treatment, taking in 1,900 voluntary patients and 432 Federal prisoners last year (at any one time prisoners, who stay longer, outnumber volunteers).

Anyone who has never been a voluntary patient before and uses any drug included in a long—but outdated—list set by Federal law may get in simply by showing up at the main gate. Former voluntary patients who seek readmittance must file an application. Unfortunately, some of the more hazardous addicting drugs, like barbiturates and amphetamines, are excluded from the list, and users of them are admitted only if they also use a listed drug. While a once-in-a-while marijuana smoker can get in, a dangerously addicted barbiturate user is turned away.

Checking into Lexington, an addict finds himself swept up by a system designed to take him off drugs and keep him off. Getting him off is not much of a problem. Because of the high price of heroin on the street, few addicts today can afford enough to give them a severe habit. When they kick the habit, even without assisting medication, they ordinarily experience intense nervousness, runny nose, goose flesh, diarrhea, mild stomach cramps—symptoms familiar to anyone who has fought off a bad case of flu. To relieve discomfort during the first few days of withdrawal, heroin addicts get a periodic swallow of methadone, a synthetic narcotic. Barbiturate addicts get pentobarbital. After a few days, the addict's body has lost its dependence on heroin and needs not drugs but rest and food.

The real battle at K.Y. is not with the addict's body but with his mind. He must be weaned from his emotional craving for drugs. Once off drugs, he is moved to "orientation," where for 3 weeks he is tested and talked to by psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and job trainers. Finally assigned a room in "population," he finds himself with a 30-hour-a-week job or a school program teaching him to be almost anything from a printer or pants-presser to a dental assistant.

From here on in, Lexington stops looking like a hospital. The staple medicine is other people. The addict is forced to cope with the staff and other patients, and now he has no drugs to help him escape—as he always has before—the problem of dealing with other people and with himself. Group therapy sessions help him along and, if he needs it, he may get individual therapy from one of the hospital's 14 staff psychiatrists.

Treatment does not always go so smoothly. Most patients are big-city heroin addicts who, though they come voluntarily to the hospital, may not be really sure they want to make the break. Sometimes they try to smuggle drugs in with them. They show a resourcefulness and ingenuity picked up in years of street living. Addicts have hidden heroin under their toenails, taped to the bottom of their feet, stuffed behind dental plates, sprinkled through their hair. To inject

drugs smuggled into the hospital, patients have fashioned syringes from plastic bottles and needles from ballpoint pens. Some years ago, the entire hospital system appeared outsmarted when patients suddenly started showing up high on heroin. Security men sitting in the admitting rooms could not detect the flaw, and the heroin kept coming in. Finally a helpful addict sent a hospital official a copy of a leaflet he had bought on a Harlem street corner for \$1. It was titled "How to Smuggle Drugs Into Lexington": simply, go in with a couple of bags of heroin in your hand, ask for a paper towel to wipe your nose, crumple the bags into the towel and hold on to it—nobody will suspect the towel because a hospital official gave it to you in the first place. And it worked.

Dr. Frederick B. Glaser, the psychiatrist who appears on the preceding pages, considered the two young sisters to be among his most hopeful patients. "You talk to those girls," he said before they had returned to New York, "and your heart goes out to them. They're ingenuous, not at all hardened. Both girls break a lot of rules, but you hate to punish them because they're so childish and they break them so innocently. One day they don't go to work and you tell them they have to, and they ask innocently, 'Why?' They're so childish that someone suggested that when they do something wrong, we ought to just spank them. If I were in New York and could see these girls as outpatients I think I could help them."

When they did get back to New York, the younger sister moved in with her mother and the older one went back with a 60-year-old bookie who had kept her before she went to Lexington. They live only a few blocks from a corner—96th Street and Broadway—popular with junkies and pushers. "I try to stay out of the neighborhood," the older sister said, looking up toward the drug-infested corner, "but it's tough. The other junkies ride you when you're off stuff. I guess they want to get you back on so they won't feel put down by you. I really want to stop drugs. At K.Y. I saw these junkies with scars and abscesses and all that. That's not for me. I want to stop." But a week after leaving Lexington, she was back on drugs—and so was her sister.

Doctors at Lexington, though disappointed, were hardly surprised. Very few Lexington patients—probably less than 10 percent—stay off drugs when they get home. Dr. Glaser and the other doctors would seem to have ample reason for feeling that they are fighting a losing battle. But they do not. They are bolstered by one intriguing and extraordinary fact: nearly half the country's addicts are in their twenties, and only 11 percent are over 40. What happens to an addict when he begins to age? Evidently, as he grows older, he also grows up. He matures. His compulsion to avoid the desperate, degraded life of addiction overpowers his compulsion to use drugs.

Many psychiatrists believe that the maturing process can be hastened by hospital therapy, that as the addict experiences drug-free life in a hospital—or perhaps even in a jail—a layer of maturity is laid down within him. Each time his addiction is arrested for a few more weeks or months, the layer thickens. Finally, he outgrows his infantile need for the solace of drugs and gives them up. This theory, combined with the obvious humanitarian necessity of providing some kind of hospital treatment to addicts, is what refutes Lexington's high relapse rate—and keeps its doctors plugging. Dr. Glaser scratches his head and listens to suggestions and gripes from some addicts in one of the female dormitories (their faces have been retouched). His toughest job in treating patients is getting them to recognize their problems and to attack them without the help of drugs. Many addicts have for so long used drugs to insulate themselves

from the world and its anxieties that they cannot recognize a problem when they see it. They reject responsibility for their own lives. Some prisoner patients, upset by the relative freedom and the responsibility it implies, ask to be transferred to conventional prisons where every door is locked and every movement regimented. Teaching all patients to accept responsibility, to recognize their faults, and to move ahead into the complicated business of living a drug-free life can take months and years of steady, perceptive, inspired labor.

Almost all the patients' problems have something to do with their families. A young girl received a telegram from her husband telling her that her father had been fighting with him, trying to break up the marriage. He said that if she wasn't home in a week he was going to kill her father or be killed by him. The girl read the telegram and burst into tears.

"Why can't I kick my habit and be happy one time in my life, when I love this man so much. All my father ever did all my life was drink and chase me and make trouble for me. And now I finally find one man worth giving up drugs for and why won't he leave me alone?" Glaser said softly, "I'll arrange for you to make a phone call home. See what you can do to keep from leaving. Maybe your husband sent the telegram in a fit of anger or desperation and things aren't really that bad. Try to stay as long as possible and let us help you."

Another voluntary patient complained that because she had bad teeth no one in her "alley" (dormitory corridor) liked her. She demanded a room in another alley. Glaser explained that rules forbade such a move until she had been in the room a certain number of weeks.

"Well, I can't stand it there," she cried. "I don't like anyone. They don't like me. I'd rather be on the street than living there. If I stay there, I'll have to have something to calm me down. Else I'll have to go back to the street."

"You'll have to decide what you think is best," Glaser said, and left her to think it over. "Sometimes," he explains, "you have to force patients to face their problems. They'll try anything to make you bend and solve their problems for them. But that's what's been happening all their lives. That's why they're sick and on drugs. You can't let yourself do it."

Another patient told Glaser she went on drugs because she felt guilty about having stolen a wallet from her grandfather when she was 14. She stays on drugs, she said, because her husband has just been transferred to Mexico and won't give her air fare to get there.

"But he says he'll give you the fare. He just won't give you round-trip fare," Glaser points out.

"If he wanted me, he'd give me a ticket to there and back home."

"Then it's not really your fault you're on drugs, is it? It's your grandfather's and your husband's fault."

"Yes."

"Well then, if you're just a victim and it's not really your fault at all, why are you here for therapy? Maybe you should send your grandfather and husband here for therapy. It's their problem."

"Well, if it's anything I've done, I don't know what it could be."

"Then I don't think we can help you until you realize that you have something to do with what happens to you, that you have some responsibility, that it's not all just other people and fate."

"I'll think about it," she said. "After a while I might get to think it's partly my fault—maybe."

On a street corner in Harlem, at the center of the drug world, ministers and former addicts preach to a crowd. They are part of a

5-year-old religious organization called Teen Challenge. Its workers penetrate the drug jungles of cities from New York to Los Angeles. Addicts may enter Teen Challenge centers in seven cities in the United States and Canada. "Addiction is not hopeless," Teen Challenge founder David Wilkerson, a minister of the Assemblies of God Church, tells the addicts, "but only one force in the world can rescue you from your habit—God."

An ex-addict's eyes, focused feelingly on the face of a young boy, tell the story of a release from drugs. The man has used heroin for years, then heard a Teen Challenge speaker and decided "to give God a go." At Teen Challenge's 21-room headquarters building in Brooklyn, he was withdrawn from drugs, indoctrinated into the program, then sent to the group's farm in Pennsylvania.

The Rev. David Wilkerson started Teen Challenge to retrieve young toughs from New York street gangs. With the spread of addiction, the emphasis shifted to drugs, and many of the patients are beyond the teens. Money has come from churches, school collections, and wealthy businessmen. Some addicts hear of the program in sidewalk rallies, some from a Teen Challenge booklet "A Positive Cure for Drug Addiction," some from other addicts who have been helped.

When addicts get to a reception center, they kick their habit "cold turkey," without the help of medication. After a few weeks' indoctrination in one of the reception centers, the addicts who appear responsive to the religious approach go to one of the group's large country facilities—men to the farm in Pennsylvania, women to a 100-acre estate near Rhinebeck, N.Y. There they participate in the fervent daily religion services, full of emotional responses and hand clapping. They study the Bible intensively and from a fundamentalist point of view. And those who stay are baptized. Teen Challenge is a worthy, highly successful approach. But, like everything else tried so far, it has hardly dented the huge problem of addiction. The article on the following pages explains what more could be done.

#### REALITIES WE MUST FACE—BUT WON'T (By James Mills)

If you smoke a pack a day, drink too much, weigh more than you should, or have a bad cold—your system is taking a bigger beating than it would from heroin. Even a long-time, hard-core heroin addict, if he stops using the drug (either voluntarily or because he is in a jail or hospital), loses all physical need for it within 3 to 5 days—less time than it takes to shake off a common cold. After that time, his body is clinically unaware that it has ever had a shot. Though the addict may be in miserable condition—emaciated, covered with abscesses, weak with hepatitis—his afflictions are not caused by heroin itself but by unsterile needles, by impurities in the heroin he has used, and by general neglect of his health. If he remains in the hospital for months of treatment and general drug-free routine he emerges strong and healthy, completely cured of his physical addiction.

Why then is there so much concern over addiction? Obviously, because it destroys the life of anyone who becomes ensnared by drugs, and turns each day's struggle to maintain his habit into a degrading hell. Furthermore, drug addiction is an emotional problem, and no matter how often or how painstakingly the addict is physically rehabilitated, his emotional problems have not necessarily been touched. As soon as he is on his own he will almost certainly go looking for another shot. Within a few weeks he will be physically addicted again, sick again, desperate again.

Why does the cycle begin? The addict, as a result of his own deep seated insecurities,

feels that he has been thrown into life's conflicts without the armor and weapons everybody else has. Heroin allows him to escape this uneven battle. It deadens his desire for wealth, strength, success, sex—even for food. With heroin, he needs nothing more. The satisfactions sought so relentlessly by the rest of the world, the addict can have—temporarily—with a \$5 deck of heroin. So he takes a shot.

But in exchange for these brief periods of artificial bliss, he surrenders everything else. Whenever the addict comes out of a high—and he cannot stay euphoric indefinitely—he faces the agonizing truth that family, home, friends, and job are gone, his clothes are dirty, his neglected body is filthy and sick. Shame overwhelms him—and at that moment he wants desperately to stay off drugs. But heroin can handle shame, too. So he takes another shot.

#### THE REASONS FOR NOT LEGALIZING DRUGS FOR ADDICTS

Many who argue that the addict's problems are created not by drugs, but by the attempts to deprive him of them, go on to claim that if every addict could get drugs without resorting to crime, he might straighten up, take the time to sterilize needles, eat occasionally, maybe even work.

The best answer to this argument is to take a backward look: until 50 years ago, narcotics were completely legal in the United States. Opium in its various derivatives—today they include heroin, morphine, Dilaudid and codine—were basic ingredients in countless patent medicines. Many doctors and pharmacists handled narcotic drugs with the cure-all enthusiasm of an Army corpsman passing out aspirin. At the turn of this century one in every 400 Americans was addicted to opium in one form or another. Many of them were unwittingly hooked on such accepted household nostrums as Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup and Dr. Cole's Catarrh Cure.

Then, in 1914, Congress passed the Harrison Narcotics Act, forbidding anyone but licensed doctors to prescribe cocaine or opiates and then only "in the course of his professional practice." Five years later the Supreme Court ruled that professional practice did not include handing out narcotics for the sole purpose of satisfying addiction. All over the country, doctors cut off the flow of drugs, and addicts by the tens of thousands showed up at local boards of health for help. Government narcotics agents suggested drug-dispensing clinics as an answer, and some 44 were set up by local authorities.

On the whole, the clinics appeared to have had no other purpose than to save addicts from exploitation by pushers. But there was a fatal flaw in this seemingly enlightened program. Given an unlimited supply of heroin, few—if any—addicts level off at a stable dose; an addict receiving a prescribed amount from a clinic or doctor soon demands more. To get it, he returns to the illegal pusher—and he is back where he started.

After 3 years of experiment the clinics closed down, largely on the advice of the medical profession. And the AMA today sticks by its opinion, first expressed in clinic days: "Any method of treatment for narcotic drug addiction, whether private, institutional, official or governmental, which permits the addicted person to dose himself with the habit-forming narcotic drugs placed in his hands for self-administration is an unsatisfactory treatment for addiction, begets deceptions, extends the abuse of habit-forming narcotic drugs, and causes an increase in crime."

But why limit the addict's dose at all? Why not give him all he wants? First, it is not done because society—especially the medical profession—feels a responsibility to cure the sick, not just to abandon them to their sickness. And second, it is not done

because if narcotics were legally available to everyone without prescription, addiction would spread. A psychiatrist who has worked closely with addicts for years points out that addiction is "pathological behavior which can be viewed as infectious. The individual who is susceptible to this particular disorder most often decides to try drugs after his curiosity has been stimulated by the presence of an addict in the neighborhood."

A study by doctors at the Federal narcotics hospital at Lexington, Ky., indicates that in his lifetime the average addict introduces four nonusers to heroin. If addicts could get drugs legally, cheaply, and in unlimited quantity, they would hardly be less inclined to share them with nonusers than they are today. People who accepted heroin as a means of escaping their emotional problems would become addicted. The number of these addiction-prone individuals is enormous—perhaps a majority of the millions of people who are emotionally unequipped to tolerate discomfort, or who are directed toward pleasure more than responsibility.

Federal narcotics laws have been refined and tightened—often at the urging of the medical profession—since the Harrison Act, but they still permit much more freedom than most doctors realize, or are willing to exercise. "It is clear," says the Medical Society of the County of New York, "that the majority of physicians do not understand what kind of therapy they can undertake."

The laws do not, for example, forbid that a physician treat an addict or give him narcotics. They state only that he must do so in an effort to cure the addict, not simply to maintain his addiction, and that the doctor must not trust the addict to administer the drugs to himself. The laws require that treatment of an addict, during which drugs are given to reduce withdrawal discomfort, must—except in certain extreme circumstances—be restricted to a hospital. The doctor is permitted to dispense narcotics continuously to patients with painful chronic diseases and also to the "aged and infirm," whose collapse and death might result from withdrawal of the drug. When an addict is awaiting admittance for hospital treatment, a doctor may, for as long as 2 weeks, give him daily doses of a narcotic to hold off withdrawal. Also, restrictions on the use of narcotics may be modified for the benefit of research into addiction. In rare instances, it is even possible to secure Government permission to maintain a young, otherwise healthy addict on drugs.

One reputable east coast doctor, an exception in that he has treated many addicts, encountered a patient he thought could benefit from a steady, easily obtained supply of narcotics. The doctor had good reasons for his belief. Though numerous attempts to cure the patient had failed, he did have—and this was the crucial factor—an understanding and sympathetic family, eager to help him control his habit as much as possible. The doctor called the Federal Narcotics Bureau to explain the situation, and the Bureau agreed. The doctor then informed a pharmacy of the dosage the addict was authorized to receive. The pharmacist confirmed the legality of the procedure with his own call to the Bureau. The patient got his drugs. (The doctor took the precaution of warning the addict that if any of his addict friends showed up at the office, the whole arrangement was off.)

But most doctors, although they publicly may advocate less stringent narcotics laws, privately want nothing to do with treating addicts, even within the framework of existing laws. Addicts make very bad patients. They often steal, lie, refuse to cooperate, and, when it comes to paying for anything except drugs, they're always broke. They can be withdrawn from drugs temporarily, but they almost always relapse. Give drugs to one and he returns the next day at the head of a long line of other hopeful addicts.

Some unscrupulous doctors take advantage of this very weakness. Without checking with the Federal Narcotics Bureau, or with other doctors, or with anyone, they deal with addicts strictly for the money they can make by writing illegal prescriptions. Addicts call such doctors croakers. One New York doctor freely hands out small amounts of cocaine and six Dilaudid tablets (which cost him less than \$2) and charges \$13. Another—and there are many like him—sells Dilaudid prescriptions (not the drugs, just the prescription) for \$10 each. The ease with which croakers do this sooner or later trips up most of them: detectives, who must go through elaborate search-and-seizure procedures to get evidence against pushers, can pinpoint an unscrupulous doctor simply by tracing his blizzard of prescription slips back to the source. On this evidence, a croaker can lose his license to practice and be jailed for up to 5 years.

Doctors—respectable and otherwise—will themselves sometimes turn to drugs. Exhausted by long hours, upset by personal problems, a doctor may be tempted to seek relief with a handy dose of morphine, Demerol or Dilaudid. He unwisely assumes that he is not addiction-prone and that one shot will not necessarily lead to another. But doctors are not that different from other people—some of them do have an emotional susceptibility to addiction, and some of them do become addicted. One study indicated that the proportion of addicted doctors in the Nation's total number of addicts was eight times the proportion of doctors in the general population—a concrete and disturbing example of what can happen when drugs are easily available.

Other examples of the dangers of an unlimited supply of drugs are evident abroad. Israel for 4 years operated drug clinics, but closed them when they failed to control the spread of addiction. The people of Denmark, where drugs are legal, consume 60 percent more drugs per capita than any other country in the world, and that government is now tightening controls.

#### THE MYTH OF THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF DRUG CONTROL

But what of England? Almost everyone has heard of the British system of dispensing drugs to addicts. Over a period of years ill-informed commentators have created the impression that in Britain the addict invariably is treated as a sick person, in America as a criminal; that in British laws radically different from our own require the official registration of addicts, who may obtain their needed drugs simply by visiting a pharmacy and displaying their registration card. This system, some observers have argued, has reduced the British narcotics problem to practically nothing.

British doctors and government officials are the first to deny that they have a system at all. Addicts there are not required to register, do not have registration cards and cannot get drugs from a pharmacy without a doctor's prescription—though prescriptions are more easily obtained than in this country.

England has never had a severe narcotics problem; its procedure for handling addicts appears to be the result of the problem's small size, not the cause of it. The New York County Medical Society supports this conclusion. "There is no evidence," it says, "that the permissive approach in England is responsible for their low addiction rate. Other countries, such as Norway, with a similar approach, have very high addiction rates."

The British narcotics laws differ from our own in only one significant respect. A British doctor is allowed to dispense drugs to an addict if "it has been demonstrated that the patient, while capable of leading a useful and normal life when a certain dose is regularly administered, becomes incapable of this when the drug is entirely discontinued."

An infinitesimal number of addicts falls into this category. British journalists and researchers report that the problem there is far more acute than official statistics indicate, that there are perhaps four times as many addicts as the government admits—almost none of whom fulfill the "useful and normal life" requirement. Many of these addicts get their drugs from illegal pushers, from unscrupulous doctors who make a living writing "scripts" for addicts, or from other addicts who con more drugs from legitimate doctors than they really need.

A British doctor who studied 30 addicts seeking hospital treatment in 1962 reported that the going black-market price for heroin was 30 shillings (\$4.20) per grain, about four times what a New York addict pays for it—an indication that British addicts sometimes find it tougher than Americans to get drugs. Like U.S. addicts, most of the 30 were thin, poorly dressed, dirty and unemployed. On the whole their lives—and the lives of other British addicts investigated more recently—appeared hardly less distressing than the life of the typical American big-city junkie.

Even if the British did have a system that could reduce their drug problem, would it be equally effective everywhere else? Since addiction is an emotional problem, an anti-addiction program that worked well in the British environment might not work so well on a people with a different emotional and cultural makeup. In support of this view, authorities point to the drug problem in Hong Kong. Although it is a British colony, enjoying the benefits of the British system, Hong Kong, with one-third the population of New York City, has more addicts (approximately 150,000—or 1 for every 10 adult males) than the entire United States. It is, in fact, the only city in the world with more heroin addicts than New York.

Even as practiced in England, the British system contains curious inconsistencies. Doctors there often accommodate heroin addicts by prescribing cocaine with their heroin—not because the addict needs cocaine, but only because the two drugs mixed together provide a more pleasurable high than heroin alone. But, because cocaine is a far more dangerous drug than heroin—it may destroy brain cells and body tissues, induce paranoia and sometimes lead to violence—addicts would be better off without it. Marihuana, on the other hand, though far less dangerous, is totally illegal and strictly controlled in England.

Britain is not the only country where these two drugs are misunderstood. Some Americans—mostly members of beatnik groups—have protested that marihuana should be legalized, since it is not addicting. They are correct that it is not addicting (though it is strongly habituating), but they are wrong in assuming that this fact alone makes it safe. Many drugs which are not addicting are nevertheless dangerous, and quite properly controlled by law. (Cocaine, for example, is not physically addicting, but it is extremely dangerous.) Marihuana, in its action on the central nervous system, may produce dangerous and unpredictable effects ranging from distortions of time and space to hyperexcitation and acute depression. Though many marihuana smokers never progress to heroin, a significant number of them do. Rarely is a heroin user found who did not come to the drug by way of marihuana.

Public confusion concerning which drugs are dangerous and which are not extends beyond the better-known narcotics like heroin. Newspaper stories of crimes committed by "drug addicts" rarely mention the specific drug. Because to most laymen "drug addict" means heroin addict, the implication is that the crime was committed by someone on heroin. In the case of assaults or sex crimes this is rarely true, unless the assailant was unusually desperate or had been using the drug in small doses or for a short time. The

drugs that are more likely to produce violence are cocaine; amphetamines like Dexedrine, Benzedrine, Desoxy; barbiturates like Tuinal, Seconal, Nembutal, when taken to great excess; and Doriden (thought to be responsible for much addict violence, it is often taken by heroin addicts when they cannot get heroin).

If opening the narcotics gate completely is not the answer to the problem, what about really locking it shut? Presumably, you cannot have drug addicts if you do not have drugs. The addict, deprived permanently of his supply, would not, according to most doctors, be likely to slip into some worse anti-social pursuit. He would perhaps have more than ordinary trouble keeping up on his rent payments, getting along with coworkers, coping with his family, handling routinely difficult problems of everyday life—the same symptoms displayed by nonaddicts with a personality disorder. But most authorities concede he would be decidedly better off than he is on heroin.

Any disease—including drug addiction—depends for its spread on three necessities: a susceptible individual, an infecting substance and an environment where the two can meet. Removing the environment—big-city slums—is itself a problem broader and thornier than drug addiction. But what about the other two corners of the triangle—the individual and the infecting substance, the drug? A psychiatrist at the Lexington hospital put it this way: "To have a drug addict, you must first have an unstable personality and a drug. It is the scientist's responsibility to reduce the supply of unstable personalities, and the Government's responsibility to reduce the supply of drugs."

#### HOW THE COURTS IMPEDE NARCOTICS LAW ENFORCEMENT

Is the Government doing its part? On the whole, police work aimed at the nonusing pusher—the pusher who is in business only for the high profit—is efficient and productive. But getting a pusher into court is not getting him into jail. If a man walks up to you on the street and hits you in the mouth, you call a policeman, sign a complaint and agree to appear in court to testify against the attacker. You are the complaining witness, not the police. But the drug pusher's victim, the addict, would usually not think of bringing charges against the pusher. The pusher is his savior, the supplier of his fix. So it falls to the police to take the pusher to court. To have a case against a pusher, the police must have evidence; but the laws dictating how evidence may be seized are a basic constitutional protection, framed with great care. In recent years the U.S. Supreme Court has broadened its interpretation of these laws with such zeal that at times seizure has seemed all but impossible to frustrated law enforcement officers.

Every day New York's Police Narcotics Bureau receives letters from slum tenants reporting the names, nicknames, descriptions, and addresses of drug pushers. Obviously, the letter writers assume that such information should be sufficient to produce the pusher's arrest. Actually, narcotics detectives often can do little more than make routine checks of this information. They already may know more pushers than the average addict. Their need is not for information, but for evidence. And to get evidence admissible in court often takes weeks or months of intense investigation, endless patience, and a deep awareness of the subtleties of seizure.

For example: a detective staking out the home of a suspected heroin wholesaler sees him emerge with an attaché case. On the sidewalk, he meets another man, known to be a pusher. They enter a parked car, sit for a moment and, as the detective approaches, he sees the pusher hand the suspected wholesaler a fat manila envelope. The detective opens the car door, flips open the attaché case and finds it filled with a

kilogram of pure heroin—worth at the addict level a quarter of a million dollars. The envelope is filled with cash. He arrests both men. Later, in court, both men are freed. Recent Supreme Court decisions, rules the judge, indicate that the detective's knowledge of the suspects' background and method of operation did not legally justify his opening the attaché case.

Another example: Some time ago police raided a New York apartment and seized six kilograms (13.2 pounds) of heroin—enough, after repeated cuttings, to make 270,000 \$5 bags. The haul indicated a well-financed, highly organized operation. Sophisticated laboratory equipment was seized with the heroin. A man in the apartment was arrested. In court, police produced the warrant on which the raid had been made. But, argued the defense, had the warrant been legally issued? It had been issued on the strength of information from an informant, the police replied. But was the informant known to be reliable? After all, you can't go barging into an apartment because just anyone says it's loaded with heroin. (The fact that the apartment did indeed prove to contain heroin was not considered sufficient indication of the informant's reliability.) Had the informant ever before provided information producing a conviction? Yes, he had—twice.

But had those convictions been handed down at the time the warrant was issued? In other words, was he at that moment known to be reliable? No, at that time the particular cases on which his reliability was based were still in court. In that event, the judge ruled, the warrant had been obtained on information from an informant—not at the time the warrant was issued—known to be reliable. The warrant was therefore ruled illegal. Since the warrant was illegal, the raid was illegal and the evidence illegally seized. Case dismissed.

All this occurred, not during a trial, but at a hearing requested by the defense to suppress the evidence. Had the suppression been denied, the case would have gone to trial. "These people get two cracks at us," says Inspector Ira Bluth, head of the New York Police narcotics bureau. "If the pusher loses out at the suppression hearing, he of course gets another chance to beat the case at the trial—and it's easier for him there because at the hearing he got a good look at the kind of case we have against him."

Often a pusher arrested for selling drugs never even approaches a suppression hearing, much less a trial. New York's courts overflow with unsettled cases, and judges and district attorneys frequently agree to reduce felony charges to misdemeanors to help clear the calendars. Pushers may end up happily pleading guilty to minor charges like mere possession and drawing a 6-month sentence—sometimes less than their addicted customers receive for getting caught with a hypodermic needle.

In New York City, which is to the Nation's heroin supply what Chicago is to beef, a pusher can stand an excellent chance of amassing a considerable fortune without ever seeing the inside of a jail. He buys an ounce of heroin for \$750, then cuts it and bags it into more than 500 \$5 decks. Even as a fledgling street-corner pusher, he can make up to \$1,000 a day. If he is cautious and smart, he can keep at it for years without an arrest. When he is caught—say, after 3 years—he knows that the incredibly flexible legal technicalities involving seizure of evidence give him a good chance of beating the case. If he is unlucky and does not beat the case, he may, if it is his first offense, get away with about 3 years in jail. (Legally he could receive a maximum of 15 years, but usually does not if he pleads guilty.)

During the 3 years he was pushing, he could have cleared close to a million dollars. Spread out over 6 years, to include his 3 years in jail, his earnings average out to

something over \$150,000 a year (untaxed)—a tempting income for a man brought up in the oppressive climate of a slum. The pusher ends up earning more money for his crime than most bank robbers, counterfeiters or kidnapers, whose sentences customarily range from 20 years to the electric chair. Such staggering profits, coupled with the relatively low risk of prison, are a constant frustration to police. "It's not always new laws we need," a Federal Narcotics Bureau official observed recently. "Often we'd just settle for a realistic administration of the laws we've got."

The results of stricter penalties against pushers can be seen in Ohio. In 1955 the percentage of drug addicts in Ohio's big cities was almost as high as New York's. Then the State imposed a mandatory 20- to 40-year sentence for a first offense of selling drugs, and the courts backed the prosecutors with strict interpretation of the law's intent. The number of important violations plummeted 80 percent in 8 years. Evidently the pushers were scared out of business, or at least in setting up shop in more lenient States. The decline was so sharp that the Federal Narcotics Bureau reduced its agents in Ohio from 20 to 3. Unfortunately, Ohio and many other States did not stop with severe penalties for selling drugs. They also passed laws punishing mere users with unfairly harsh sentences ranging from 2 years to life, often with no chance of parole.

Assuming that 50,000 addicts live in New York City (estimates range from a low of 23,000 to a high of 100,000) and each spends about \$20 a day for drugs (a very conservative figure), then \$1 million in drug money changes hands illegally in New York City every day, not counting money paid for drugs eventually shipped westward across the country. Considering that New York City's political machinery periodically shows itself to be mildly clogged by corruption, it is possible to believe that some of this \$1 million a day in untaxed cash must find its way in bribes to city officials. Some Government officials in New York and Washington argue that such must be the case, although they concede that both the local and Federal narcotics police are completely untainted. One official, who perhaps knows more about the existence of corruption than most other sources, admitted: "Unquestionably there is [corruption] among politicians. But often the politicians don't know that narcotics are mixed into the total package gangsters pay them for. They may think it's only bookmaking or loan sharking. If they knew narcotics were involved, they would not touch it." Another source thought for a moment, leaned back in his chair, and said, "Well, you do see certain jail sentences that surprise you. I can't say there is no corruption." Another just said simply, "I can't prove it."

#### A MAJOR STEP: CUTTING OFF THE SOURCE OF SUPPLY

If, because of legal technicalities, impossible court conditions, corruption, the torrent of heroin into New York and, through it, to the rest of the country, cannot now be dammed, why not attack the source of the flood? During World War II, when war conditions made smuggling difficult, drug addiction in the United States dropped to an alltime low, less than half its present level. Heroin's high value and easy concealment makes its movement virtually impossible to control. But what about the poppy fields where the original opium from which heroin is refined, is grown? Poppy fields are not easy to hide.

Actually, there is no need to hide them. More than 80 percent of the heroin reaching New York City comes from opium grown legally in Turkey. Turkish peasants are allowed to grow it as long as they sell all of it to the government, which then sells it to legal pharmaceutical factories. A Turkish

farmer must tell the government how much land he is using for opium production, and must estimate the amount of opium he expects his land to yield. But Turkish police guess that half of their country's 200,000 opium farmers manage quite easily to underestimate their crops and sell the few extra pounds to black marketeers—for about \$32 a pound, or double what the government pays. If the farmer is caught, the penalty is usually no more than a fine.

The U.S. Federal Narcotics Bureau reports that "Turk peasant producers, and even the wholesalers who buy up quantities from groups of producers, are often dealt with leniently when they are apprehended," often receiving in cases of serious violations "minor prison sentences of up to 6 months." The bureau says that 6 percent to 8 percent of Turkey's 340-ton yearly opium output enters illegal channels, most of it ending up in the veins of U.S. heroin addicts.

Black marketeers who collect opium from the Turkish farmers move it to Syria in armed caravans of camels, mules or—less frequently—trucks. As many as 30 gunmen, armed with rifles or machine guns, guard these convoys, often fighting pitched battles with Turkish and Syrian patrols. U.S. narcotics agents, in Turkey to help halt the America-bound flow of drugs, join in the fights. Turkish authorities have resorted to planting land mines along frequently used routes, but smuggler armies overcome this tactic by driving sheep ahead of them. Turkish authorities say an average of 11 police and smugglers are killed each month in skirmishes along the Syrian border.

Once it has passed through Syria and into Lebanon, the smuggled opium is easily converted to less bulky morphine base and shipped through France (where clandestine laboratories convert it to heroin) to the United States.

In recent years the Turks have tried to improve control of opium production in their country. Our Federal narcotics agents, working with police in Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, France, Italy and in United States cities have assisted in seizures of enormous quantities of opiates. But the seizures hardly dent the total traffic. Stopping the flow at the source remains, in the words of the U.S. Public Health Service, "the most readily available means of preventing narcotic drug addiction." But our own State Department argues that encouraging producing countries to stop the flow is not its job. "The State Department is not the proper agency to push controls," says a spokesman. "The problem is being handled in the U.N. and is their baby at the moment. If the public puts up enough of a clamor, changes will be made."

What about the U.N.? "The remedy," says the U.N., "lies in strengthening the system of control." But the U.N. has no means of enforcing control. It admits that worldwide illicit opium traffic is "appalling high," as much as 25 percent of the world's total legal crop—or up to 200 tons a year. Turkey is not the only source. Southeast Asian countries contribute to the illicit traffic, but the heaviest opium source in that part of the world is Red China. Chinese opium pours into Hong Kong. From there heroin moves on to Japan—the principal victim country—and then, in limited amounts, to Mexico and California.

"Clandestine manufacturers," says the U.N., "still have access to ample supplies of opium for the production of morphine and heroin, and this has been the most serious aspect of the opium problem throughout the last three decades."

What does the U.N. think can reduce the drug traffic? It echoes the State Department: "Public opinion."

All right. Opium production is not sufficiently controlled. Heroin pushers operate under the umbrella of the courts. Legalizing drugs won't help matters. Then what

is being done to cope with the victims of these shortcomings and impossibilities—the addicts themselves?

In New York City, home of half of the Nation's heroin users, an addict arrested on almost any charge can usually elect to swap a trial and possible jail sentence for treatment in a hospital. If he has committed only a misdemeanor and takes advantage of this option, he spends about 3 months in a hospital, followed by 9 months of regular visits with a social-worker or psychiatrist at an after-care center. If the charge against him is a felony, the total length of treatment and follow-up care may extend to 3 years. If the addict does not respond to treatment—if he fails to show up at the center or repeatedly goes back on drugs—he may be returned to the court for trial on the original charge.

#### THE CHANGES THAT MUST BE MADE—STARTING NOW

Most drug users when arrested never take advantage of this opportunity for treatment. Most do not want to. An addict brought into court on a misdemeanor charge—possessing drugs, petty larceny—reasons: "Why serve 3 months in a hospital and then endure 9 more months of staying off drugs during follow-up care when I can get a 6-month sentence—maybe less—on the charge, serve only 4 (2 months off for good behavior) and come out totally free to take all the drugs I want?" "Also," he reasons, knowing that the option cannot be invoked repeatedly, "why waste this privilege on a mere misdemeanor? I'd better wait till I get hit with a felony and need the treatment option to avoid a really long jail term."

If an addict in court elects to go to jail briefly rather than to a hospital, society is, of course, better off than if he remained on the street. In jail the addict is not stealing—a saving to society of perhaps \$1,000 a week, the value of property that must be stolen and fenced to support a \$20-\$30 day habit. The addict himself also may be better off. He is at least eating, exercising, regaining strength and—perhaps to his emotional advantage—rediscovering what it takes to face social situations without the aid of drugs. And he is not introducing young nonusers to drugs.

Most authorities agree that, if the drug addict is to be successfully treated, long-term care must be forced on him. They argue that a typhoid fever victim who does not want to go to a hospital is required to go—for his own sake and for the sake of the community. Why not the addict? Dr. Warren Jurgensen, a top psychiatrist at the Lexington hospital and one of the leading authorities in the field, has written that drug addiction "is an illness of comfort. In other diseases, the discomfort of the patient provides real motivation to seek help. The addict, however, knows that successful treatment means loss of a source of great comfort: the drug."

The addict who sincerely wants to kick needs more than hospital treatment. He needs close, intensive assistance when he gets out. Few, if any, knowledgeable authorities in the area of drug addiction suggest that after-care as it exists today is anything but inadequate. The addict emerging from a hospital or jail still carries with him his basically infantile personality—and his child's need for training, support and encouragement. Unassisted, he is no more capable than a 3-year-old of finding a place to live, respectable friends, a means of support.

For 10 years, Dr. Jurgensen has watched many Lexington patients stay off drugs for very long periods while hospitalized only to return to them within hours after they hit the street. He puts it this way: "Post hospital treatment and supervision have, to say the least, been meager. Probation and pa-

role officers have been the most active group providing the followup supervision. We find ourselves professionally frustrated when our discharged patients have so few resources for help. There cannot be good treatment without good followup care in the community. In the treatment of addiction, followup care after discharge is perhaps the greatest unmet need."

The problem of addiction abounds with unmet needs. The public, the Government and the medical profession—with shamefully few exceptions—have not begun to grasp the broad realities of drug addiction—let alone tackle them. Ill-informed observers have obscured the truth, while authorities in the know—doctors and officials experienced in treatment and control—have remained silent or unheard.

What strong, specific steps could be taken to control addiction? Our State Department, without passing the buck to the United Nations, could pressure Turkey to police its peasant farmers closely and force them to stop diverting opium to black marketers. In New York, the principal port of entry and principal victim city, the courts could stop bending over backward to protect the legal rights of drug traffickers, and act on the realization that the addict needs protection too—that only stiff jail sentences will force drug dealers to abandon their lucrative crime. Legislators could face up to the need for new laws that will force addicts to undergo treatment. The Government could set up adequate after-care facilities to help addicts stay off drugs when they emerge from jails or hospitals. Research into addiction—into both its social and organic aspects—could be increased and accelerated. And doctors could accept their responsibility to treat the addict instead of using the law as an excuse to ignore him.

All these things could be done. But they are not.

#### MIGRANT LABORERS MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced two bills which I hope will become two more girders in the structure Congress has been building to raise the quality of life for America's migrant agricultural laborers. I have been concerned about the abominable condition of migrant laborers, whether in my own State of New York or 3,000 miles across this continent; in the 88th Congress I introduced six bills to create better working and living conditions for migrant workers. I am pleased to say that three of those bills were incorporated into the antipoverty law enacted in August of last year. And a fourth bill was enacted as the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act—Public Law 88-582.

The three bills provided the States with financial assistance to improve the educational opportunities of migrant workers and their children; established day-care services for children of migrant workers; and provided funds to appropriate authorities to assist in the construction and renovation of sanitation facilities used by migrant farm families. The Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act established a registration system for those who recruit migrant workers.

The legislation that has passed will, no doubt, ameliorate the conditions of

migrant laborers. However, anyone who has examined their plight realizes that a great deal more remains to be done if migrant farm laborers are to enjoy even a part of the opportunities available to most Americans. The two bills I have reintroduced today will increase our knowledge of the problem and reduce the hazards of migrant farm life.

One bill would create a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor consisting of 15 members appointed by the President from among State officials, private citizens, farmers and—most importantly—from the migrant laborers. The Council would be responsible for investigating in an organized and thorough manner the problems of migrant farm labor and for proposing creative solutions to those problems. The need for a complete study is obvious, if we intend to come up with solutions that will not merely be stopgap measures. An educated concern about the conditions of migrant farm life will lead to comprehensive measures designed to bring migrant laborers into the mainstream of American life.

The second bill regulates the employment of children in agriculture. It extends the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to include the children of migrant laborers. The Secretary of Labor is given the power to issue regulations barring children below the age of 18 from working on particularly hazardous farm operations. It should be apparent that any long-range solution to the ills of migrant farm life must include provisions for the protection of children of migrant laborers. The antipoverty act will improve living conditions for these children by improving their educational opportunities and creating day-care services for them. We should complement those provisions with legislation to prevent the exploitation of migrant farm children.

Mr. Speaker, the continuous, intense, and impassioned affirmation on the part of Congress and the President of the goal of eliminating the evils of poverty has been evidenced in almost every part of America. Education, job opportunities, health care—the House has already passed legislation to extend programs in these areas. From the time that John Steinbeck wrote his classic, "The Grapes of Wrath," until today, migrant laborers have suffocated from all the evils which choke the poor. We must make a continuous commitment to improve the standard of living for America's migrant farm laborers. They must not remain America's forgotten people.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. GRIDER (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for April 15 through April 25, 1965, on account of official business in the Ninth District of Tennessee.

Mr. HAMILTON (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, April 14, 1965, on account of official business.

Mr. BOW (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business as a member of the Presidential party inspecting flood and storm damaged areas.

Mr. ADAIR (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business as a member of the Presidential party inspecting flood and storm damaged areas.

Mr. BRAY (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business as a member of the Presidential party inspecting flood and storm damaged areas.

Mr. CAREY (at the request of Mrs. KELLY), for today, on account of illness in the family.

**SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED**

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

Mr. CONTE (at the request of Mr. WYDLER), for 30 minutes, today, and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. RYAN (at the request of Mr. HANSEN of Iowa), for 5 minutes, today, and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

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

Mr. McCARTHY.

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

Mr. MAILLIARD.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin.

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

Mrs. KELLY.  
Mr. FARBSTEN in two instances.

**SENATE BILLS REFERRED**

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 664. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds of the Klamath and Modoc Tribes and Yahoskin Band of Snake Indians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 893. An act to amend the act of June 13, 1935 (49 Stat. 388), as amended, relating to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 908. An act to authorize the Department of Commerce to adopt improved accounting procedures; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 1129. An act to amend the Textile Fiber Products Identification Act to permit the listing on labels of certain fibers constituting less than 5 percent of a textile fiber product; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 1229. An act to provide uniform policies with respect to recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs of Federal multiple-purpose water resource projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

**ENROLLED BILL SIGNED**

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 2594. An act to clarify the application of certain annuity increase legislation.

**SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED**

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 974. An act to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and for other purposes.

**BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT**

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on April 13, 1965, present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 4778. An act to increase the amounts authorized for Indian adult vocational education; and

H.R. 5721. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco, to amend the tobacco price support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes.

**ADJOURNMENT**

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 14 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 15, 1965, at 12 o'clock noon.

**REPORTS OF EXPENSES IN CONNECTION WITH FOREIGN TRAVEL**

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, submitted herewith are reports of expenses in connection with foreign travel authorized by House Resolution 687, 88th Congress, 2d session:

*Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds, travel authorized by H. Res. 687, 2d sess., 88th Cong., Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1964*

Name and country	Name of currency	Date			Per diem rate		Total amount per diem		Transportation		Total	
		Arrival	Departure	Total days	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Adam C. Powell: Switzerland.....	Swiss francs.....	June 19	June 30	12	120.7	28	1,448.67	336	672	155.84	2,120.67	491.84
Do.....	do.....	July 14	July 22	7	120.7	25	793.41	184	2,923	677.87	3,716.41	861.87
				1	120.7	26						
Total.....				21				520		833.71		1,353.71

MAR. 3, 1965.

ADAM C. POWELL,  
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor.

*Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds, travel authorized by H. Res. 687, 2d sess., 88th Cong., Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1964*

Name and country	Name of currency	Date			Per diem rate		Total amount per diem		Transportation		Total	
		Arrival	Departure	Total days	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
James Roosevelt: Switzerland.....	Swiss franc.....	July 3	July 11	8		28	966.22	224.02			966.22	224.02
France.....	French franc.....								4,091.31	834.95		834.95
Total.....								224.02		834.95		1,058.97

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds, travel authorized by H. Res. 687, 2d sess., 88th Cong., Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1964

Name and country	Name of currency	Date			Per diem rate		Total amount per diem		Transportation		Total	
		Arrival	Departure	Total days	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Albert H. Quie: Switzerland	Franc	June 16	June 24	9	120.7	28	1,086.5	251.45			1,086.5	251.45
Total				9		28		251.45				251.45

ALBERT H. QUIE,  
Committee on Education and Labor.

MAY 22, 1965.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

932. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of unnecessary procurement of Nike mobility equipment, Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

933. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated June 2, 1964, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of the reports on the channel to Newport News and Norfolk Harbor, Va., requested by two resolutions of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, adopted July 31, 1957 (H. Doc. No. 143); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with five illustrations.

934. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize transportation at Government expense for dependents, accompanying members of the uniformed services at their posts of duty outside the United States, who require medical care not locally available; to the Committee on Armed Services.

935. A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to utilize volunteers for active police duty; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

936. A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

937. A letter from the Deputy Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the temporary transfer to a single district for coordinated or consolidated pretrial proceedings of civil actions pending in different districts which involve one or more common questions of fact, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

938. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated March 9, 1965, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a survey of Prospect Harbor, Maine, authorized by the River and Harbor act approved July 14, 1960; to the Committee on Public Works.

939. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated February 17, 1965, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an

illustration, on a letter report on Myrtle Beach, S.C., authorized by the River and Harbor act approved July 24, 1946; to the Committee on Public Works.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

Mr. SELDEN: Committee on Foreign Affairs. Report on Communism in Latin America; without amendment (Rept. No. 237). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 908. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to designate the Nez Perce National Historical Park in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 238). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PHILBIN: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 3045. A bill to authorize certain members of the Armed Forces to accept and wear decorations of certain foreign nations; without amendment (Rept. No. 239). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PHILBIN: Committee on Armed Services. House Concurrent Resolution 100. Concurrent resolution expressing the approval of Congress for the disposal of raw silk and silk nolls from the national stockpile; without amendment (Rept. No. 240). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FRIEDEL: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 246. Resolution to provide funds for the expenses of the investigations and studies authorized by House Resolution 245; without amendment (Rept. No. 241). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. FRIEDEL: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 310. Resolution authorizing the expenditure of certain funds for the additional expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities; without amendment (Rept. No. 242). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. PHILBIN: Committee on Armed Services. House Joint Resolution 330. Joint resolution to authorize the disposal of chromium metal, acid grade fluor spar, and silicon carbide from the supplemental stockpile; without amendment (Rept. No. 243). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BOLLING: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 317. Resolution authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to conduct studies and investigations relating to certain matters within its jurisdiction; without amendment (Rept. No. 244). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BOLLING: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 338. Resolution for the consideration of H.R. 6497, a bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreement Act to authorize an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 245). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MADDEN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 339. Resolution providing for the consideration of S. 4, an act to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to establish the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, to provide grants for research and development, to increase grants for construction of municipal sewage treatment works, to authorize the establishment of standards of water quality to aid in preventing, controlling, and abating pollution of interstate waters, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 246). Referred to the House Calendar.

### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BERRY:

H.R. 7459. A bill to amend section 107 of the Agricultural Act of 1949; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 7460. A bill to restore to the Custis-Lee Mansion located in the Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va., its original historical name, followed by the explanatory memorial phrase, so that it shall be known as Arlington House—The Robert E. Lee National Memorial; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. CARTER:

H.R. 7461. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to increase the rates of pension payable to Spanish-American War veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 7462. A bill to provide for the appointment of two additional judges for the U.S. Court of Claims, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 7463. A bill to amend title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide for the continuation of the long-established duty-free reciprocity with Canada in the case of parts for farm equipment; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 7464. A bill to establish a national policy and program with respect to wild predatory mammals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. DANIELS:

H.R. 7465. A bill creating a Commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and

Obscene Matters and Materials; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. EDMONDSON:

H.R. 7466. A bill to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Miami Indians of Indiana and Oklahoma, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.R. 7467. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Army to establish a national cemetery in Ohio; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 7468. A bill to amend section 5155 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the establishment and operation of branches of national banks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7469. A bill to provide coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system (subject to an election in the case of those currently serving) for all officers and employees of the United States and its instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 7470. A bill to extend to volunteer fire companies and volunteer ambulance and rescue companies the rates of postage on second- and third-class bulk mailings applicable to certain nonprofit organizations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7471. A bill relating to the status of volunteer fire companies for purposes of liability for Federal income taxes and for certain Federal excise taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KING of California:

H.R. 7472. A bill to amend the Federal Firearms Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 7473. A bill to require the establishment of certain regional offices for the Bureau of Customs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATHIAS:

H.R. 7474. A bill to promote economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MILLS:

H.R. 7475. A bill to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 7476. A bill to establish the limits and conditions under which the United States will make grants to the States in assisting in defraying the cost of unemployment compensation benefits paid by the States, and to that end to increase the rate of the Federal unemployment tax and to establish the recession unemployment compensation account; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin:

H.R. 7477. A bill to establish the limits and conditions under which the United States will make grants to the States in assisting in defraying the cost of unemployment compensation benefits paid by the States, and to that end to increase the rate of the Federal unemployment tax and to establish the recession unemployment compensation account; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MIZE:

H.R. 7478. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a credit against the Federal stamp tax on the conveyance of realty for amounts paid under

equivalent State sales, stamp or transfer tax laws; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OLSEN of Montana:

H.R. 7479. A bill to provide for approval by the Committees on Post Office and Civil Service of the Senate and House of Representatives of commemorative stamps proposed for issuance by the Postmaster General; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RACE:

H.R. 7480. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a survivor beneficiary shall not lose his or her entitlement to benefits by reason of a marriage or remarriage which occurs after he or she attains age 62; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RESNICK:

H.R. 7481. A bill providing a nationwide marketing order for table eggs; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RHODES of Arizona:

H.R. 7482. A bill to guarantee the right to vote under the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIVERS of Alaska:

H.R. 7483. A bill to conserve and protect Pacific salmon of North American origin; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina:

H.R. 7484. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for the rank of lieutenant general or vice admiral of officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force while serving as Surgeons General; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 7485. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions thereof to certain children employed in agriculture, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 7486. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Council to be known as the National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 7487. A bill to prohibit vessels operating on certain interstate waters within New York City and the State of New Jersey from carrying certain outdoor advertising; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H.R. 7488. A bill to authorize the use of certain real property in the District of Columbia for chancery purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN:

H.R. 7489. A bill designating the Luther Burbank Shasta daisy as the national flower of the United States; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 7490. A bill to provide for family winter recreational use of a portion of the San Geronio Wilderness Area, San Bernardino National Forest, Calif., without reducing the area set aside for wilderness preservation within such forest, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 7491. A bill to provide for the licensing and certificating of officers on certain vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HAGEN of California:

H.R. 7492. A bill to provide for an appropriation of a sum not to exceed \$75,000 with which to make a survey of a proposed Sierra Way in the State of California; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 7493. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by preventing the use of

unfair or deceptive methods of packaging or labeling of certain consumer commodities distributed in such commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 7494. A bill to provide that tires sold or shipped in interstate commerce for use on motor vehicles shall comply with certain safety and labeling regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

H.R. 7495. A bill to provide for an appropriation of a sum not to exceed \$75,000 with which to make a survey of a proposed Sierra Way in the State of California; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 7496. A bill to amend section 5155 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the establishment and operation of branches of national banks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 7497. A bill to authorize assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 7498. A bill to promote economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 7499. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to provide financial assistance for construction of certain outfalls; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. POAGE:

H.R. 7500. A bill to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of the U.S. Agricultural Land Development Corporation and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER:

H.R. 7501. A bill to promote economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 7502. A bill relating to the income tax treatment of certain casualty losses attributable to major disasters; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.J. Res. 428. Joint resolution to authorize the Architect of the Capitol to construct the third Library of Congress building in square 732 in the District of Columbia, to be named the James Madison Memorial Building and to contain a Madison Memorial Hall, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ERLBORN:

H. Con. Res. 397. Concurrent resolution to insure equal rights and self-determination for the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H. Res. 334. Resolution establishing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H. Res. 335. Resolution establishing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WALKER of Mississippi:

H. Res. 336. Resolution authorizing the expenditure of certain funds for the additional expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. SMITH of New York:

H. Res. 337. Resolution establishing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations; to the Committee on Rules.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

199. By Mr. MORRIS: Joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Mexico, requesting the President of the United States to use all resources at his disposal to insure peaceful enjoyment of equal protection of the laws by all citizens of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

200. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to establishing Bunker Hill Monument in the Charlestown district of the city of Boston as a national historic site; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

201. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to establishing a special commission for the purpose of conducting a study of existing international fishing treaties and recommending such treaty modifications as it may deem necessary to the protection of the fishing industry; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

202. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to reducing the age of eligibility for persons under the Federal Social Security Act from age 65 to age 62; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 7503. A bill for the relief of Lidia Di Bartolomeo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. AYRES:

H.R. 7504. A bill for the relief of Renzo Grassini; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 7505. A bill for the relief of Romeo O. Jackson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 7506. A bill for the relief of Jean Garabet Meledonian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 7507. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Gertrude F. Moorhead; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 7508. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Bossio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 7509. A bill for the relief of Andrzej Podbielski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 7510. A bill for the relief of Anna Maria Taibi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 7511. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Paz L. Ocampo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORGAN:

H.R. 7512. A bill for the relief of Carina Barthow; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 7513. A bill for the relief of Antonio Sacca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

H.R. 7514. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Chake Kazazian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 7515. A bill for the relief of Dr. All Kiani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 7516. A bill for the relief of Fat Neu Chan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 7517. A bill for the relief of Italia Botticelli and her children, Teresa and Giuseppa Botticelli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YATES:

H.R. 7518. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Markala P. Vorrias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## Greek Independence Day

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, as a Nation which fought bitterly for its own independence, we are always happy to join with other countries to celebrate their similar battle for political freedom. But we must feel a special kind of satisfaction on the anniversary of the independence of Greece.

For Greece and its cultural heritage stand at the base of everything we revere in western civilization. Certainly the culture of our own United States owes more to this tiny country than we could ever repay.

The story of Greece's fight for liberation is a stirring tale of courage and resolve. From the day when they raised the banner of revolt against the Turks on March 25, 1821, until the famous battle of Navarino in October of 1827, they faced their more powerful and ruthless foes almost alone, and at times it looked like these courageous descendants of ancient Greece were doomed. The whole civilized world watched the Greek war of independence with keenness and anxiety. But they could not remain in the spectator's role for long. In the fall of 1821, when the Greek position seemed desperate and their foes more ruthless, then European governments stepped in, restrained the Turks, and thus insured Greek independence. In their finest hours the Greeks fought gallantly for their freedom, and the European gov-

ernments rendered a great service to humanity by helping the Greeks in their desperate struggle.

It is with great pride that we join with our 1½ million fellow Americans of Greek origin to celebrate this 144th anniversary of Greek Independence Day.

## Green Bay, Wis.: All America City

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1965

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, some cities can boast of an All America athletic team. Some athletic teams can boast an All America City. In Green Bay, Wis., we have both.

Green Bay has long been famed for its Packers—often the football champions of the world and always All America in the highest tradition of this All America sport. And the city's hometown pride in the Packers has known no bounds.

Today it is the city that moves into the spotlight, and while my hometown has always been All America to me, now Green Bay has achieved that distinction nationally and officially. The National Municipal League and Look magazine, cosponsors of the All America Cities Awards, have awarded the title of "All America City" to Green Bay. The honor was won because of the vigorous action of Green Bay's citizens in bringing about major improvements in the city, and thus setting a good example to all America.

I particularly want to congratulate Mayor Roman P. Denissen of Green Bay and his Committee for a Cleaner Green Bay:

Leslie Andrews, chairman; Mrs. Ralph Curtis Smith, secretary; Mrs. Elaine Griffin, treasurer; Peter Dorschel, chairman of river project; F. J. Euclide, director of public works; Arthur Lundquist, air pollution inspector; Ralph Bergman, city planner.

Robert Adams, James Cordry, Robert Blaney, Paul Buehler, Robert Detry, Sgt. Harold Compton, Dr. Jerome Gandt, K. W. Haubenschild, Mrs. Walter Lambert, Mrs. Alvis Kasberg, Mrs. Larry Medd, Chester Miller, George Murray, Bernard Murray, Walter Singleton, A. E. Swanson.

Hugh Sargent, James E. Shepeck, Charles Williams, Walter Zahn, Dewey Decker, Fire Chief David Zuidmulder, Mrs. Robert Brandenburg, John Sainsbury, Cletus Weber, Robert Heaslett, Fred Luisier, Kenneth Larson, Jerome Gille, Frank Vandersteen, and Miss Wilma Bancroft.

The All America Cities Awards go each year to 11 U.S. communities. The winning cities are selected by a jury of prominent citizens and experts on government impaneled by the National Municipal League. The 12-member jury is comprised of:

Dr. George H. Gallup, foreman, chairman of the council, National Municipal League, and director, American Institute of Public Opinion; William E. Dauer, president, American Chamber of Commerce Executives; Miss Lois V. Edinger, president, National Education Association; Mrs. Dorothy M. Ford, president, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; George W. Jones, secretary, San Francisco Labor