United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1967

(Legislative day of Monday, June 12, 1967)

The Senate met at 10 o'clock a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

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

Our Father God, Thou hast ordained that in the leadership of the nations the care of the many must ever rest upon the shoulders of the few. We beseech Thee, give understanding, humility, and charity to them who, in Thy name and for the Nation's sake, are entrusted here in this Chamber with the power of governance.

In this troubled and uncertain day when the seamless robe of a common humanity is rent by inner strife and outward fears, teach us to be anxious for nothing but to do our best. And when, day by day, we have done faithfully the work Thou givest us to do, in quietness and in confidence may we leave the result to Thy unerring judgment: in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1432) to amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 16) to provide additional readjustment assistance to veterans who served in the Armed Forces during the Vietnam era, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. DORN, Mr. HALEY, Mr. BARING, Mr. ADAIR, and Mr. AYRES were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 66) for the relief of Dr. Alfredo Roboredo-Newhall, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

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

H.R. 1619. An act for the relief of Rene Hugo Heimann;

H.R. 1724. An act for the relief of Hwang Duk Hwa;

H.R. 1818. An act for the relief of Marina Panagiotis Restos;

H.R. 3007. An act for the relief of Mrs. Aranka Mlinko;

H.R. 3471. An act for the relief of Francesco Corigliano;

H.R. 4952. An act for the relief of Annunziata Di Carluccio;

H.R. 7043. An act to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Department under which the U.S. Coast Guard is operating to cause the vessel *Northwind*, owned by Wallace P. Smith, Jr., of Centreville, Md., to be documented as a vessel of the United States with coastwise privileges; and

H.R. 10480. An act to prohibit desecration of the flag, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 617. An act to authorize the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington to use the income from certain lands for the construction of facilities for State charitable, educational, penal, and reformatory institutions;

S. 1649. An act authorizing the change in name of certain water resource projects under jurisdiction of the Department of the Army;

H.R. 5424. An act to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard; and

H.J. Res. 601. Joint resolution extending for 4 months the emergency provisions of the urban mass transportation program.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 1619. An act for the relief of Rene Hugo Heimann;

H.R. 1724. An act for the relief of Hwang Duk Hwa;

H.R. 1818. An act for the relief of Marina Panagiotis Restos;

H.R. 3007. An act for the relief of Mrs. Aranka Mlinko;

H.R. 3471. An act for the relief of Francesco Corigliano;

H.R. 4952. An act for the relief of Annunziata Di Carluccio; and

H.R. 10480. An act to prohibit desecration of the flag, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7043. An act to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Department under which the U.S. Coast Guard is operating to cause the vessel *Northwind*, owned by Wallace P. Smith, Jr., of Centreville, Md., to be documented as a vessel of the United States with coastwise privileges; to the Committee on Commerce.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, June 20, 1967, was approved.

CALL OF THE ROLL

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 151 Leg.]

Aiken	Fulbright	McGovern
Allott	Gore	McIntyre
Anderson	Griffin	Metcalf
Baker	Gruening	Miller
Bartlett	Hansen	Mondale
Bennett	Harris	Monroney
Bible	Hart	Montoya
Boggs	Hartke	Morse
Brewster	Hatfield	Morton
Brooke	Hayden	Moss
Burdick	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Byrd, Va.	Hill	Murphy
Byrd, W. Va.	Holland	Muskie
Cannon	Hollings	Nelson
Carlson	Hruska	Pearson
Case	Jackson	Pell
Church	Javits	Percy
Clark	Jordan, Idaho	Prouty
Cooper	Kennedy, Mass.	Proxmire
Cotton	Kennedy, N.Y.	Randolph
Curtis	Kuchel	Ribicoff
Dirksen	Lausche	Scott
Dodd	Long, Mo.	Smathers
Dominick	Long, La.	Smith
Eastland	Magnuson	Sparkman
Ellender	Mansfield	Spong
Ervin	McCarthy	Stennis
Fannin	McClellan	Symington
Fong	McGee	Talmadge

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

Thurmond	Williams, N.J.	Young, N. Dak.
Tower	Williams, Del.	Young, Ohio
Tydings	Yarborough	

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], are absent because of illness.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], is absent because of the death of his mother.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). A quorum is present.

THE DODD CENSURE RESOLUTION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution (S. Res. 112) relative to censure of Senator THOMAS J. DODD.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the problem of proceeding to a vote on the pending resolution contains the following aspects:

First. Senator DODD would prefer to vote on section (b), the so-called double billing, before voting on section (a), having to do with campaign finances.

Second. The Committee on Standards and Conduct does not, apparently, want to change the order of voting, although its mind is open, unless it has assurances of disposing of the entire resolution.

It has been said on the floor of the Senate that if the order of the sections is reversed and double billing is voted upon, and if that section is eliminated, then there might be a temptation to stretch out the proceedings on the consideration of section (a)—campaign financing—in the hope of watering it down by wearing down the Senate.

Third. Some Senators may not want any specific time limitation that would require a vote at a time certain.

Fourth. Some Senators do not want a time limitation on amendments unless they know what the amendments are.

Under these circumstances, after discussing this matter with the distinguished minority leader, it appears that a possible accommodation would be to proceed immediately with the consideration of any amendments to section (a), campaign financing. The leadership will ask for no limitation on amendments, but would appreciate their being offered as expeditiously as possible.

When no further amendments are to be offered, the leadership then may offer a unanimous-consent request to reverse the order of section (a) and section (b), and include in that unanimous-consent request the condition that no further amendments are to be in order upon the reversal of the sections. Agreement with this proposal would effect the same result as third reading of a bill. In other words, a vote on section (a) would immediately follow section (b), if such a proposal were agreed to.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. May I say to the distinguished majority leader that I applaud him for his efforts to try to accommodate all people and bring this matter to a vote.

Senator DODD and those who agree with him would like to do that just as soon as the issues are understood. We do not want to prejudice the Senator's case by making any agreement that might be regretted later.

We know what our parliamentary rights are, and we are not here to complain. I think we should get on with section (a) and we will discuss that and, in due course, when it is appropriate, we will start offering amendments.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is aware of the fact that the joint leadership was not making a unanimous-consent request but was laying before the Senate for its consideration a possible proposal by means of which the impasse could be broken and this matter brought to a head, at the same time considering very seriously the request of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] that section (b) be considered before section (a). The suggestion contemplates the consideration and disposition of amendments to section (a) at this time and then to give serious consideration to a one-two vote on section (b) and section (a), in that order, with, of course, the consent of the Senate.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Let me say to the distinguished majority leader that I appreciate his problem. I have acted in his place on occasion and I understand what his problem is. Any majority leader or any bill manager usually wants to get the matter to a vote as soon as he thinks the issues have been discussed. That is what is being sought here and so far as we are concerned, we want to cooperate.

I do not think we are wasting time except insofar as we have spent a great deal of time speaking on agreements we could not get. We know what our rights are, and we will proceed accordingly. The issues have to be discussed anyway. They have been discussed at length on part (b). We will go on and discuss part (a) and, in due course, we will vote on it.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. Has the leadership given any thought to a cloture motion?

Mr. MANSFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. ANDERSON. It is about time, I would think. I am not criticizing here.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. ANDERSON. I think that something should be done quickly. This could go on for another 2 weeks, and no useful result would be accomplished.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If it goes on for another 2 weeks, both the Senator from Connecticut and the Senate as a whole will, I think, suffer considerably.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Let me say, with all deference to my beloved colleague from New Mexico that section (b) has been adequately discussed. I am satisfied that it has. We are ready to vote. With regard to the charge involved in section (a), those for censure have adequately explained their side. They have attempted to document and support it. Those of us who are opposed to the conclusions of the committee, however, do not believe that we have done justice to our position yet and we will do it within a day or so, I promise the Senator.

Mr. ANDERSON. I realize it has been stated that we are going to make some headway shortly, but the Senator from Connecticut has been asking for a vote. I think he is the master of his own fate. If he wants a vote, he should be given it, I believe.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes. I think the Senator from Connecticut, of all Members of this body, should be given first and prior consideration as to what is appropriate and orderly.

May I ask the Senator from Connecticut what he would wish to do?

Mr. DODD. I wanted to vote yesterday. I would like the vote to come as rapidly as possible.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would hope that the Senate as a whole, and Senators individually, would keep in mind the request of the Senator from Connecticut, who is most affected by the pending resolution.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. May I have the attention of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG]? I think I clearly and fully understood the Senator from Louisiana, but I just want to preclude any chance of not understanding him.

The Senator just said that in his opinion, on the pending matter, the thing to do was to continue debate on it and present the side in favor of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD].

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Yes.

Mr. STENNIS. I heartily concur with that. The committee itself feels, except for summing up as a whole, that it has presented this matter.

But, of course, we are free to answer points, as are other Senators.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. May I say that, in my judgment, the case in chief for censure on part (a) has been adequately presented, as the Senator has indicated. The cases for censure and against censure on part (b) have been adequately presented. However, on part (a) the case for the defense and against censure has not been adequately presented, and we propose now to present it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the first part of the resolution.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is the Senator from Connecticut ready to go ahead?

Mr. DODD. My speech has not arrived. It is on the way over.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut was going to go ahead with his speech. It will be here in a moment. I will briefly outline the case.

Mr. DODD. It will be here in a minute.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. While the Senator's speech is on its way, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 152 Leg.]

Aiken	Gruening	Montoya
Allott	Hansen	Morse
Anderson	Harris	Morton
Baker	Hart	Moss
Bartlett	Hartke	Mundt
Bennett	Hatfield	Murphy
Bible	Hayden	Muskie
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Nelson
Brewster	Hill	Pearson
Brooke	Holland	Pell
Burdick	Hollings	Percy
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Prouty
Byrd, W. Va.	Jackson	Proxmire
Cannon	Javits	Randolph
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Case	Kennedy, Mass.	Scott
Church	Kennedy, N.Y.	Smathers
Clark	Kuchel	Smith
Cooper	Lausche	Sparkman
Cotton	Long, Mo.	Spong
Curtis	Long, La.	Stennis
Dirksen	Magnuson	Symington
Dodd	Mansfield	Talmadge
Dominick	McCarthy	Thurmond
Eastland	McClellan	Tower
Ellender	McGee	Tydings
Ervin	McGovern	Williams, N.J.
Fannin	McIntyre	Williams, Del.
Fong	Metcalf	Yarborough
Fulbright	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Gore	Mondale	Young, Ohio
Griffin	Monroney	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the first part of the pending resolution.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Has the resolution been officially divided?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution has previously been ordered divided. The question is on the adoption of part 1, or the first part of the resolution.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. STENNIS. If I understood the Chair correctly, he said that the resolution has been divided. The Chair means by that, does he not, that for the purpose of voting on paragraph (a) and paragraph (b), there has been a division ordered?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The first question is on the adoption of lines 1 through 10 down to and including the word "campaign," on page 1, and lines 3 through 6, inclusive, on page 2.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. STENNIS. If the Senator will permit me to finish, as I understand the Chair, it happens that the resolution is written in such a way that there can be a division without having it rewritten?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I am not sure I understand the technical situation. When the Chair announced that the question was on part (a), did he mean that the resolution had been divided into part (a) and part (b)?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is incorrect. The Chair did not state that the question is on part (a), but on the first part of the resolution. The Chair was alluding to the question as just stated.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. What is part (a), then? Is that the second part of the resolution?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The first part of the resolution to be voted upon would be on those lines which the Chair has stated. The remainder of the resolution would be the second question to be voted upon.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, am I correct in understanding that, in dividing the resolution, it is as if there were two separate and distinct resolutions, one containing paragraph (a) and omitting paragraph (b), and the other containing paragraph (b) and omitting paragraph (a), so that in effect we will be voting on two separate resolutions?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In effect, the Senator is correct. The question is on agreeing to the first part of the resolution.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The Senate will be in order.

Will the Senate suspend momentarily until we have order in the Chamber? The Senate will be in order.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it had been my wish and preference to remain silent during the course of the presentation of the report adopted unanimously by members of the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. It had been my wish and hope to remain silent but attentive in the Senate Chamber throughout the entire period of the discussion of the evidence given before the Senate committee and of the conclusions unanimously adopted by the six committee members.

Frankly, however, I resented receiving a communication yesterday from a fellow who termed himself general counsel of some so-called committee. No doubt all Senators have received a similar communication.

The communication to which I particularly refer makes unfair and untruthful comments assailing two members of the Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct.

I repudiate the outlandish allegations contained in the communication. I do not like, frankly, some of the other messages that I have received and that undoubtedly other Senators have received. I am certain that they carry no weight with Senators.

It is here in this forum that we Senators should and will reach our conclusions based on the evidence and the arguments.

The members of the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct are six of the most eminent Senators of the United States. Each is highly respected for his integrity. Every Senator in the Chamber knows, without exception, that the six members of the committee were carefully selected.

Their total years of service in the U.S. Senate is impressive. Each of the committee members has proved himself over the years to be a fine, dedicated public servant with a background of distinguished service to his State and to the Nation.

No bias or prejudice can possibly be suggested, and should not be suggested. The three distinguished members of the majority party and the three distinguished members of the minority party deserve the gratitude of all Senators and of the country for devoting many hours and, in fact, many days to the performance of a necessary but highly distasteful duty.

Without a doubt, every one of these great and eminent Senators entered into his committee duties some 14 months ago with an open mind and without any prejudice whatsoever. Then, following months of careful study and the devotion of hours and days to their duties, all six of them came to the conclusion that there was clear and convincing proof that there had been some misconduct on the part of our colleague, the senior Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. President, appreciation dinners have been adverted to in the course of these proceedings, and sometimes in a rather snide manner.

I digress for a moment to express my view that the holding of such fundraising affairs is just about the best method and, in fact, perhaps the only method for a U.S. Senator who is a candidate for reelection in the party of which I am a member to raise a campaign fund to help him defray the expense of renomination and reelection.

In 1958, when I was a candidate for election against Senator John W. Bricker, it never occurred to me to have a fundraising dinner. Since my election in 1958, one fundraising dinner, and only one, was held for me. In fact, in 1956 when I was defeated in Ohio as Democratic nominee for attorney general, and in 1958 when I was fortunate to be the Democratic nominee for U.S. Senator, I never even thought of or knew about appreciation dinners, so called.

On September 14, 1963, an appreciation dinner was held for my benefit in Cleveland. This was the only money-raising affair held for me anywhere at any time. Frankly, I participated with members of my campaign committee in making arrangements for the dinner and the speaking program. Former President Harry S. Truman very generously came from Independence, Mo., and was the featured speaker. I remember President Truman was asked:

Does Senator Young expect to be a candidate for Senator next year?

President Truman replied:

Of course I expect so. I would not be here otherwise.

Approximately $78,000 was raised from this dinner. It was difficult to find in

Cleveland the president of a bank who also was a Democrat, but we found one. George Hertzog, chairman of the board of the Union Commerce Bank of Cleveland, became treasurer of this fund. The entire proceeds of the dinner, $78,000, were deposited in a checking account in his bank. All checks later issued required the signatures of George Hertzog and two others. I was not to be a cosigner and was not a cosigner of any of these checks. Not 1 cent of this was received by me or to pay any of my personal obligations. The entire amount was spent in 1964 for legitimate campaign purposes. All expenditures were in time duly and properly accounted for.

I never even considered using any of this money for personal debts, and I had some then just as I have now.

It seemed to me then, and it seems to me now, that this is the logical and proper way to conduct a fundraising affair for a political candidate. I knew I had no right whatever to appropriate any of that money for my own uses and purposes. Frankly, if I regarded such a substantial fund or one-third of it or one-tenth of it as a personal gift to me, I would have been dishonest had I not reported it as income and paid the taxes on such money.

There is another portion of this report of the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct that I now desire to advert to.

This portion, however, really has little relevance to the question before us, which is whether the Senate should censure the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] for his conduct or misconduct.

I refer to the statement that the "unauthorized removal of papers from a Senator's office by employees and former employees is reprehensible" and "is a threat to the orderly conduct of business of a public office."

In this connection, it is interesting to note some similarity between this case and certain aspects of another case involving an official of the State Department, about which all of us have read some reference from time to time. I refer to Otto Otepka. It is alleged that this employee in the State Department rifled the desk of a superior officer and removed confidential documents in violation of a Presidential order and gave these documents to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. It is alleged that he mutilated these documents by clipping off classified labels before turning them over to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In addition, it is alleged he gave to Senators on this subcommittee a list of questions on security procedures to ask his State Department superiors. For allegedly doing these things, Otepka was dismissed. Whether these allegations against Otepka are true or untrue is something about which I do not know.

However, in 1963 the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] praised Otto Otepka for removing from State Department files of a superior officer, for purposes of public scrutiny, classified or confidential documents concerning the actions and views of his superiors. In the Senate on November 5, 1963, the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], referring to legislative inquiry concerning alleged irregularities in the State Department action regarding Otepka, stated, and I refer to volume 109, part 16, page 21094 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the first session of the 88th Congress:

> If the legislative branch cannot inquire about irregularities or illegalities in Government departments, who will inquire?
>
> If any Government employees is barred from giving vital information to a congressional committee, Senate or House, how will we ever learn of malfeasance or wrongdoing in the Government?
>
> If the reward for coming forward and honestly telling Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of wrongdoing is dismissal, something terrible has happened in our country, and we had better move before it is too late.

It is interesting and worthy of mention that in connection with criticisms of actions of certain witnesses who appeared before the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD discloses the fact that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] praised and commended similar actions by a Federal employee. It would seem to me that no Senator of the United States would wish to establish a double standard of ethical conduct—one for employees of the executive branch of the Government and another for Congress.

Much has been mentioned regarding the fact that standards of conduct of a Senator have never been defined, that no standards or guidelines or specific rules of conduct for a Senator have been laid down, and that this entire inquiry has been wrong, and this is an ex post facto operation.

In my considered judgment, honesty is easy to define. Surely, it is not difficult to define. Neither is dishonesty difficult to define. Thousands of years ago, the Almighty gave Moses the Ten Commandments, establishing for all time proper and adequate rules of conduct.

Mr. President, I am certain that no group of 100 men and women in the United States, whether in industry or serving as directors of great institutions or members of boards of trustees, or in any field of endeavor, or serving in any capacity in our Nation, is more trustworthy or has greater honesty and a higher sense of responsibility and duty than have Members of the U.S. Senate.

I have carefully read and studied the two-volume record of the hearings and the unanimous report of this select committee in connection with the charges brought against the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. I have been present in this Chamber throughout these proceedings and have listened attentively to all the arguments and statements made by my colleagues, including those that were merely repetitions of statements made on previous occasions by the same Senator.

As Senators, we are now approaching the hour of judgment. It is certain that each of the 99 Senators called on, as we are, to pass judgment on a colleague are in a most unhappy situation. Yet, we have a grievous duty and a heavy responsibility that we cannot evade.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], assistant majority leader, recently stated, according to newspaper reports, he would present "dramatic new evidence which hasn't been hinted at," "evidence which the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] said, "would blow the roof off the Dodd case." Therefore, the junior Senator from Ohio will withhold making any decision at this time. I shall reach no final judgment until all of the arguments have been made and the clerk commences to call the roll. Then, of course, I will do my duty and vote according to my judgment and conscience as to whether the report of the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct has been sustained by clear and convincing proof.

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

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. Did I correctly hear the Senator from Ohio say that in the case of Otto Otepka, Otto Otepka rifled the desk of his superior to get certain records that were classified in nature?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I made no assertion that this was a fact.

I referred to "alleged" irregularities in the State Department regarding Otepka, and I stand by that statement. I said that he allegedly took papers from the desk of a superior officer. I do not know him, and I was very careful to say "allegedly" because I do not know the facts.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator's record as a lawyer would indicate that he would always approach such a matter with caution when he said it was alleged that there were three documents which Otepka was charged with taking. It is my recollection as a member of the subcommittee which held hearings that two documents were taken to the subcommittee and disclosed to the Senate by Otepka. Two were of his own origination. He did not have to rifle anything or anybody's desk to get them. The third document was one addressed to Mr. Otepka and it was not necessary to rifle the files of anybody's desk to get that. The two documents he originated had attachments on them which rendered them classified. When he made them available to the subcommittee he did not make the attachments available to the subcommittee.

I thought in fairness to Mr. Otepka, who had been kicked about quite a little, this should appear in the RECORD, notwithstanding the care with which the Senator related the matter.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The junior Senator from Ohio is not a member of the Committee on the Judiciary or the subcommittee, so I tried to make it clear that I know nothing of the facts. Furthermore, from what I have read in the newspapers, after Otto Otepka was dismissed he appealed to the Civil Service Commission, as was his right. There then followed some six postponements, requested by his counsel, and granted; and recently there has been a hearing held, about which I know nothing.

Therefore, it would be highly improper for me to state as a fact something I do not know regarding a matter that is now pending in a department of the Government.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. HOLLINGS in the chair). The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I wish to address myself in my remarks today to part (a) of the resolution of censure.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, may we have order? It is difficult to hear the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The Senator from Connecticut will suspend momentarily until there is order in the Chamber.

The Senator from Connecticut may proceed.

RESPONSES TO SOME QUESTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN RAISED IN THE COURSE OF THE CENSURE DEBATE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I wish to address myself in my remarks today to part (a) of the resolution of censure, which charges that I used certain funds raised through political testimonials and a political campaign, for personal purposes. The question is a complicated one, and I know it has been disturbing to many of my colleagues. I hope that I will be able to clarify some of the issues for them in the course of my remarks.

Now that the debate is approaching a close, may I say how gratified I have been by the openminded attitude displayed by most of the Senators who have thus far taken the floor. I have been pleased to note, too, that one or two members of the Ethics Committee have indicated that they now think that perhaps the double billings were not intentional after all.

The openminded attitude displayed by the Senate and the apparent willingness of at least certain members of the Committee to reconsider their findings on the matter of double billings, encourages me to hope that I may be able to persuade my colleagues, including the members of the Ethics Committee, of other things in the course of this debate.

I want to repeat again what I said in my opening statement: I have the greatest respect for the Senators who compose the Ethics Committee, and in challenging their judgment in my case, I do not for a minute challenge their basic fairness and integrity.

I make my challenge to their findings, rather, in the spirit of Senator Watkins' historic statement of November 10, 1954, in reporting to the Senate on the McCarthy investigation.

The Committee claims no infinite wisdom—

He said.

All human individual judgments are, at best, fallible. We, therefore, make no pretense that our collective decision is infallible.

In dealing with part (a) of the Ethics Committee resolution, I wish, first of all, to correct a number of misunderstandings of fact which I have noted during the course of the present debate; and, second, I wish to attempt to define more clearly the issue which remains before the Senate.

THE FALSE FIGURES AND THE REAL FIGURES

The report of the Ethics Committee lumps together the gross intake from my 1964 campaign with the gross intake of my testimonial affairs, to come up with a finding that between 1961 and 1965 I received a grand total of $450,273; and that, of this sum, I spent $116,083 for personal purposes.

But it seems to me that this approach is both confusing and misleading. The Senators, I am certain, will understand my position better if they consider the question of my campaign funds in isolation from my testimonial funds.

The combination of my campaign funds and testimonial funds in this manner is misleading in the first place because, as I pointed out in my opening statement, we actually spent more on my 1964 campaign than was taken in. I admitted frankly that a few thousand dollars in campaign funds had inadvertently been used for the payment of personal bills, but 98 percent of the committee's charge had to do with testimonial funds rather than campaign funds. It is to the question of testimonial funds, therefore, that I intend to address myself.

If one looks closely at the stipulation, it becomes apparent that the net amount raised at my testimonials was approximately $170,000. This, essentially, is the money at issue and not the meaningless grand total of $450,000 to which the committee refers in its conclusion.

Essentially, what the Senate is being asked to decide is whether these funds were properly raised and properly spent.

I would like to correct the impression that my defense is limited to the argument that the funds raised at these testimonial affairs were personal gifts to me.

It is true that I said this.

But if the Senators reexamine my remarks, they will find that I also said that I would not consider it proper for a man in political office to use testimonial funds for the purpose of enriching himself or for the purpose of living lavishly; that I myself have not done so; and that, if one examines the picture whole, then I have spent no testimonial funds or campaign funds for personal purposes.

I refer you again to the chart in the back of the room which presents the basic arithmetic of my position. It shows that I have put out of pocket for political purposes some $50,000 more than I received from the testimonials.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It shows that the Senator from Connecticut put out $55,000 more than he received in testimonials and campaign contributions.

Mr. DODD. Yes, that is true. I said $50,000; I suppose it is about $55,000.

WHAT IS A TESTIMONIAL?

It seems to me that a lot of confusion has been generated by the failure to establish at the outset what is meant by the word testimonial.

The Webster's New International Dictionary, Unabridged, Second Edition, on page 1886, definies testimonials in these words:

A gift raised by subscription in acknowledgment of an individual's services or as a token of respect for his worth, presented to him in the form of a sum of money, piece of plate, his portrait, or the like.

Let me submit for the consideration of my colleagues the proposition that, within the meaning of this definition, there can be different types of testimonials.

If a testimonial were described as a campaign testimonial—and I have heard of a number of such affairs—the meaning would be clear that its purpose was to raise funds to be presented to the candidate who is being honored, "as a token of respect for his worth," for the express purpose of helping him in his campaign. If a testimonial is held in the midst of a campaign, I think its meaning is similarly clear.

But if nothing is said about "campaigns," if an affair is simply described as a "testimonial," and if it takes place either after a campaign or long before a campaign gets underway, then I think the meaning is equally clear that its purpose has nothing to do with campaigns, but is, rather, to raise funds to be presented to the object of the testimonial "as a token of respect for his worth." In short, its purpose is to turn over funds to him as a gift for use at his discretion.

The committee, if I understand its position, is apparently arguing that, where an elected official is concerned, a testimonial, in order to qualify as a personal testimonial must be completely bipartisan. According to its reasoning, if a Senator is honored by a testimonial where the attendance is partisan or largely partisan, the testimonial ceases to be a personal testimonial and becomes, instead, a political testimonial, the proceeds of which can only be used for political purposes.

Now, with the exception of the 1965 testimonial, the testimonials which were organized in my behalf were explicitly and overwhelmingly nonpartisan in nature. None of them took place during the campaign period. In the case of the 1965 testimonial, it is true that the invitation letter spoke of the dinner as a "victory dinner." But the fact is, nevertheless, that there were a substantial number of Republicans in attendance, many of whom had supported me in my campaign and who were willing to join in celebrating my victory.

However, even if there had not been a single Republican present, would this necessarily mean that the affair was a political testimonial as opposed to a personal testimonial?

If testimonials are permissible, should it not be possible for Democrats and Republicans to come together to honor and assist a party leader whom they esteem by giving him a gift of a purse to be used at his personal discretion?

If there is any definition of the word testimonial that prohibits this interpretation, I do not know of it. And believe me I have searched for it.

Nor am I aware of any law or rule which says that if the audience in attendance at a testimonial is partisan in nature, then the proceeds cannot be used for personal purposes but only for political purposes.

In short, I think the committee has established a meaningless criterion for which no justification can be found—in the dictionary or in the laws of this country, or in the rules of the Senate,

or in the traditional semantics of politics.

May I say before going further that I have always been uneasy at testimonial affairs organized in my honor. It is a source of embarrassment to be obliged to sit and listen to good men praise me in front of several hundred people. It has been an even greater source of embarrassment to feel that I was in the position of a mendicant accepting the support of my friends.

I consoled myself with the thought, however, that this was the only possible way in which I could meet the costs I had incurred in obtaining office and the additional cost of maintaining office.

I agreed to the testimonials, and I accepted their proceeds. But I am not prepared to accept the deception of the public for any purpose. Despite the statements that have been made by my critics, it is my firm conviction that the public was not deceived.

I come back to the charge that the testimonials organized in my behalf were somehow not legitimate because the letters of invitation failed to spell out that the proceeds were gifts to be used at my discretion. Since this charge has been repeated over and over again, I want to repeat what I said in my speech last Wednesday.

I have seen a lot of invitations to testimonial dinners in my time, and I cannot remember a single one which said anything more than that there was going to be a testimonial to honor Mr. Jones or Mr. Smith. That is all they said. There is no rule and no law requiring that they say more. And I do not see how a man can be found guilty of violating a nonexistent rule. This runs counter to every concept of civilized justice.

Why do testimonial invitations not spell out in more detail the purpose of the function? I think the explanation has been stated in a brutally frank manner by a national columnist who said, I quote:

> It is in the nature of most testimonial dinners that you do not rub into the nose of the beneficiary the mendicancy of his presence there.

In any event, in my entire experience, I have never seen one that said any more than those in which I was involved. Nevertheless, there are those who appear to argue that in failing to specify the precise nature of the testimonials I was departing from some accepted political norm. Here again I believe the burden of proof should be on those who say that. From my own experience, I am convinced that the letters of invitation to the affairs held in my behalf were in line with the accepted norms.

I do not know how one determines what the accepted norm is with respect to anything, particularly a matter of this kind, except by making an inquiry. How do we know it otherwise?

The committee appears to argue that, in failing to specify the precise nature of the testimonials, I was departing from accepted political norms. Here, again, I believe the burden of proof should be on the committee—because, from my own experience, I am convinced that the letters of invitation to the testimonial functions were in line with accepted norms.

Nowhere in the committee's report is it indicated that the committee conducted a survey of all testimonial affairs organized in behalf of present or past Members of the Senate; that they examined the invitations to these functions; and that they were thus able to determine what the accepted norms were.

The wording of the invitation to the reception and dinner in Connecticut in 1963 were—as I have frankly stated—open to challenge. But this was the only letter of its kind—although it was sent out without my knowledge, I accept responsibility for it.

But I come back to the point that I cannot be judged on the basis of one letter or one function. The Senators must look at the picture whole. In the absence of any proof of any kind—I repeat, any proof of any kind that the letters of invitation to the five other testimonials organized in my behalf were in conflict with the accepted norms, in the absence of any significant evidence that the participants in these testimonials were misled, I submit that the committee has failed to provide even a semblance of the kind of proof that would be required to sustain such a charge in a court of law.

Let me present the facts about the other testimonials.

THE 1961 DINNER

The testimonial affair to which I gave the greatest personal attention, was quite understandably the first one, the 1961 testimonial dinner.

I am familiar with the solicitation letter which was written in connection with that affair and I approve of it. I was familiar, too, with the major publicity put out in connection with this affair and I also approve of this.

The 1961 dinner was organized by a group of my friends, two of whom testified before the committee, Mr. Matthew Moriarty and Mr. Arthur Powers.

Regarding the purposes of the 1961 dinner, Mr. Moriarty testified as follows:

> Senator MONRONEY. But as far as you were concerned this was not necessarily to raise money to take up any deficit.
>
> Mr. MORIARTY. No, Sir.
>
> Senator MONRONEY. That was unmanageable.
>
> Mr. MORIARTY. No Sir, I felt all the time it was for Tom Dodd's own use. Gentlemen, I want to reiterate that we can't conceivably have the type of men in office that we want, unless they are assisted. A man can't come here, and maintain a home in his State, and maintain a home in Washington and put several children through college, if that is the type of man we want, and do it on the salary that a Senator gets. Now, the only way that we can operate is to assist these men through testimonials and get monies through masses of people and leave them unfettered and without obligations to any individual. Now if we don't do that, then we are going to expose those men to a few individuals who will support them and own them. We can't afford that in our democracy. Or we can have wealthy men who can afford to come here and be on order as Senators, and I question whether all of those men will have a feeling of the needs of the average citizen. If he has never suffered any need himself or never been deprived of anything, how is he going to have a complete understanding of the average individual who has to struggle through life to make a livelihood for family? Under our present society I firmly believe this is the only answer to our problem. (Hgs. p. 631)

Similarly, Mr. Powers stated:

> Mr. FERN. What was your understanding of the purpose of the dinner at the time you sent this letter out?
>
> Mr. POWERS. Well, it was my understanding in that it was 3 years after he had been elected, and certainly about 3 years before he would have to run again, that it was a dinner in his honor, the funds of which could be given to Senator Dodd for his use as he saw fit. (Hgs. p. 635)

The solicitation letter left no doubt as to the nonpolitical quality of the 1961 testimonial dinner. It read as follows:

> DEAR FRIEND: On November 4th, 1958, the people of Connecticut elected Tom Dodd to the Senate of the United States.
>
> The wisdom of their choice is apparent as evidenced by his outstanding record.
>
> Senator Dodd has served his State and his Nation courageously and with great ability.
>
> His stature in the Senate is acclaimed by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.
>
> Senator Dodd's friends have appropriately decided to honor him in the middle of his term. Their recognition will be in the form of a testimonial dinner to be held on Monday, November 20th, 1961, at the Statler Hotel in Hartford.
>
> The testimonial will be a non-partisan tribute. The Vice President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and Senator Styles Bridges, the senior Republican in the Senate, have already signified their intentions of being with us, and we would like very much to have you come.
>
> A table may be reserved in the name of the person sponsoring a group of ten or more. Please list the names of your guests for the program and seating arrangements.
>
> Your participation will be appreciated.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> ARTHUR B. POWERS,
> *Treasurer.*
>
> HARTFORD, CONN.

And so on. Well, Senator Bridges was coming. He told me himself that he wanted to come, and that he would be there. I was, of course grateful to him for that generous attitude. I think I told the Senate I had attended a testimonial dinner for Senator Bridges in New Hampshire, because I liked him. I had been asked by the people up there arranging the dinner to do so, and I did. But in any event, that is the letter for the 1961 dinner.

I think any fair reading of that letter will clearly show that it was a testimonial dinner, that it was not in a campaign year, or even near one, and it was described, in part, as "a nonpartisan tribute." So it was intended, and many persons of both political parties attended it.

Before this letter was sent out, before any plans were finalized for that affair, I did what I thought was the prudent thing to do, when I asked a lawyer, who I believed then and I believe now is one of the best we have. Certainly, in our State, and perhaps far beyond its boundaries, he is one of the best for his advice as to whether or not I should participate in this affair, whether it was all right. His advice was, "Certainly it is all right."

THE 1965 DINNER

I would like to take up the 1965 affair next and will take up the 1963 dinner later.

The committee's conclusions totally

exclude all of the favorable evidence. The committee's report can only point to the newspaper articles in an effort to sustain the proposition that the 1961 testimonial dinner was a political campaign fundraising affair.

Let us look at these newspaper articles. They will be found at pages 888 through 892 of the record. The three newspaper articles at page 888 each describe the affair as "nonpartisan." The extended article at page 889 states in part that the principal speaker, then Vice President Lyndon Johnson, "also stood for more than half an hour with Mr. and Mrs. Dodd to shake hands with the Democrats, Republicans, and independents who attended the nonpartisan dinner."

The same article also identifies some of the prominent Republicans who were present at the affair.

The article on page 890 identifies the dinner a "nonpartisan testimonial dinner."

The article on page 891 identifies the dinner as a "testimonial," identifies the prominent Republicans who were present, but notes that most of the participants were Democrats. It also states that it had been reported that "some of the money raised at the dinner would be used to clear up a deficit outstanding since Senator DODD's 1958 campaign."

The final newspaper article from the New Britain Herald found on page 892 identifies the dinner as a "testimonial" and attributes to Arthur Powers, the treasurer of the dinner, the statement that the proceeds of the dinner would help Senator DODD meet "his campaign deficit." These last two articles contain the only references to a campaign in any of the newspaper articles.

And, incidentally, Mr. Powers testified that—

> I don't recall a statement to the New Britain Herald. I know the man who put that in there, Mr. Covini from the New Britain Herald, and I think he was just filling in space. I don't recall ever saying that it was to be used for a campaign deficit. (635–636)

Furthermore, the report at page 14 states that neither the solicitation letter nor the return envelope "disclosed the intended use of the dinner proceeds." However, an examination of the solicitation letter and the return envelope discloses the following facts:

First. The letter uses the word "testimonial" twice in the text.

Second. It was written on a printed letterhead captioned "Testimonial Dinner for Hon. THOMAS J. DODD."

Third. The letter nowhere referred either to past or future campaigns.

Fourth. The letter did contain a statement of purpose: "to honor him in the middle of his term."

Fifth. The letter referred to the dinner as a nonpartisan tribute.

Sixth. The letter specifically refers to the fact that "Senator Styles Bridges, the senior Republican in the Senate" had already accepted.

Mr. President, I submit that the facts establish beyond a reasonable doubt that the proceeds of this dinner were not restricted in any sense and that no donor was or, indeed, could have been deceived as to the purpose of the affair.

In the case of the 1965 testimonial, the committee has argued that it could not have been a personal testimonial for two reasons: first, because one of the three letters of invitation referred to a campaign deficit; and second, because the letter of invitation referred to a partisan connotation and because, in their judgment, the attendance was partisan.

The committee has also argued that the amount received was far in excess of the $6,000 deficit listed in the report I filed with the secretary of state of Connecticut.

I have already explained why the second argument—that is the argument that the affair was partisan in nature—would have absolutely no significance, even if it were true, in determining whether or not the testimonial was personal or political in nature.

As for the first argument, I offer these observations:

First. Only one of the three invitation form letters referred to a campaign deficit. The other two simply described the affair as a testimonial.

Second. At the time this report was filed on November 30, 1964, the Dodd for Senator Committee and the Dollars for Dodd Committee had between them received $175,000. The bookkeeping, however, was far from complete. Both contributions and bills came in for some time after November 30. Delayed contributions ultimately brought total receipts for the two committees up to $220,000—a difference of $45,000. But the bills which came in after November 30 were more than adequate to consume the additional income. In general, the bills came in before the delayed contributions—so that there may very well have been a time when it looked as though I might wind up with a net deficit of $25,000 or $30,000 or more. The final deficit turned out to be about $7,000.

Third. At the time the dinner was organized, I was still burdened by substantial debts which had their origins in my nonstop campaigns of 1956 through 1958. Indeed, after the dinner I paid some $80,000 remaining from this period, so that for the first time since I entered the Senate I had my nose above water financially. I do not see how any fault can be found with using any money that remained after retiring my campaign deficit for the purpose of liquidating the balance of the political debts which I had contracted between 1956 and 1958.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RECEPTION

In the case of the District of Columbia reception in September 1963, the word "campaign" did not appear anywhere, while the ticket for the reception clearly spelled out that it was a "testimonial reception." Moreover, the committee could point to no publicity which might have been considered misleading.

THE DODD DAY 1963 AFFAIR

The only serious questions that have been raised about the testimonials organized in my behalf have to do with the so-called Dodd Day affairs in Connecticut in October 1963.

There were four affairs on this occasion: a breakfast, a luncheon, a dinner, and a reception, the income from which was combined.

A good deal had been said about some of the newspaper articles that appeared dealing with Dodd Day.

As my colleagues know, newspaper articles are notoriously unreliable, and, for this reason, they are not accepted as evidence in a court of law.

By themselves, the articles in question, despite the fact that they talk about the Dodd campaign, certainly do not establish beyond a reasonable doubt that those who came to the dinners were misled. Actually, those who attend testimonials for political figures almost invariably do so in response to invitations that are sent to them.

When I was asked at the hearing whether John Doe might not have been misled by some of the publicity, I replied that John Doe did not attend these affairs—that, by and large, the people who came to them were friends and acquaintances who knew me in one degree or another, and knew something of my circumstances, and wanted to help me. I think it is far more important to look at the literature put out in connection with these affairs, because this is something for which the sponsors have a demonstrable responsibility, and because it played an infinitely larger role than did the newspaper articles in promoting the events.

The pattern of the literature and publicity was far from uniform.

The breakfast, for example, was clearly labeled a testimonial breakfast in the invitations that were sent out. The invitation read—I quote from page 910 of the hearing record:

> DEAR FRIEND: On November 4th, 1958, the people of Connecticut elected Tom Dodd to the Senate of the United States.
>
> The wisdom of their choice is apparent as evidenced by his outstanding record.
>
> Senator Dodd has served his State and his Nation courageously and with great ability.
>
> His stature in the Senate is acclaimed by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.
>
> Vice President and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson would like very much to have you join them and other friends of Senator Dodd at a testimonial breakfast to be held on Saturday, October 26, 1963, at the Hartford Club in Hartford, at 9:00 a.m.
>
> A table may be reserved in the name of the person sponsoring a group of ten or more. Please list the names of your guests for the program and seating arrangements.
>
> Your participation will be appreciated.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> MATT MORIARTY,
> *Treasurer.*
>
> POST OFFICE BOX 843
> *Hartford, Conn.*

The reply cards addressed to Matthew M. Moriarty, treasurer, Dodd Testimonial Breakfast, reads as follows:

> MATT: As a friend of Tom's I want to contribute to the success of the testimonial breakfast for him. I enclose a check for —— dollars. Please send —— admission ticket(s).

It is true that Mr. Paul V. McNamara, in a letter of invitation written to one person, an acquaintance of McNamara's, asked him to contribute to my campaign. In the nature of things, I could not pos-

sibly have seen such a letter, and I would not have approved it if I had seen it. But I accept responsibility for it. Mr. McNamara's friend, Howard Siegrist, incidentally, did not come to the dinner and did not contribute.

In connection with this affair, I was asked about a letter to then Vice President Johnson, the text of which was printed in the New York Times on May 28, 1967, 6 weeks after it was printed in Drew Pearson's column. Let me read this text to you and give you my commentary on it:

AUGUST 5, 1963.

DEAR LYNDON: First of all allow me to thank you again for your generous offer to come to Connecticut to assist me in my forthcoming campaign. Since receiving definite word from your office that you will be available on October 26 for the entire day, I have scheduled a variety of activities that will cover the principal centers of the State.

I wish I could convey to you how enthusiastic everyone is about your visit and how much it will assist us in getting my campaign drive underway.

Our schedule of activities for October 26 is as follows: 9 a.m. breakfast in Hartford. Noon-luncheon in New Haven, 4 or 5 p.m.—dedication of the new Municipal Stadium in Bridgeport, 7 p.m. dinner in Bridgeport.

Your visit will come a week before the municipal elections in most of the large cities of Connecticut. There are some hotly contested elections and while, of course, no one expects you to become involved in any of them, your presence in the State at that time will be a great boost to the Democratic cause.

Everywhere I go to make arrangements for your visit, people express the hope that your gracious wife, Lady Bird, will be with you when you come to Connecticut. We are counting on her, too, and are planning some entertainment for her.

Your visit means more to me than I can say, Lyndon, and I shall never forget it.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. DODD.

I want to call the Senators' attention particularly to the first sentence of this letter. Let me read it again:

First of all allow me to thank you again for your generous offer to come to Connecticut to assist me in my forthcoming campaign.

It is demonstrably faulty logic to conclude that just because I referred to my "forthcoming campaign" in this letter, I, therefore, considered the testimonial dinner at which the Vice President would speak as a campaign fundraising dinner.

What I was saying in my letter was nothing more than that the Vice President's coming into the State in my behalf would help me tremendously. The prestige gained by his visit would help me. The mere fact that he was in the State and I was seen with him was bound to help me. If the Vice President came to my house for dinner, it would help me politically, and it would help me in any future campaign.

Look closely at the letter, and you will see that I was emphasizing his mere presence in the State as being helpful in a number of ways. For example, I referred in the letter to the forthcoming municipal elections, and I said that his "presence in the State will be a great boost to the Democratic cause."

The letter was written more than a year before the campaign. It was written, in short, at a time when, according to my understanding, it would have been a violation of the law for me to raise funds for my reelection in 1964. Indeed, I have in my files several letters returning to people campaign contributions they sent in to me only a few days after I wrote to the President—I returned a proffered campaign contribution to a Mr. John Pepping of Los Angeles in a letter that closed with these words:

However, since my campaign will not get under way for some time yet, I think it would be better for you to hold your check until a later date.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this letter be printed at this point in the RECORD.

And in 1962 I remember I was trying to help two rabbis in connection with their concern over Soviet persecution of the Jews. Each of them sent me campaign contributions—and I returned their contribution because, as I told them, my campaign did not get underway until 1964.

I ask for unanimous consent that these letters be inserted at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

(See exhibits 1 and 2.)

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in attempting to prove that President Johnson was deceived about the Dodd Day affairs, the committee report at two points said the following:

President Johnson recently stated publicly that he never knew that any dinner he attended was to raise funds for anyone's personal use (p. 893, Hgs).

This paraphrase is excerpted from the President's statement at his press conference of April 22, 1966, in a manner which, I feel, does not truthfully convey the President's full position.

The report refers the reader to page 893 of the record. But how many readers have the time to turn to page 893 of the record? If you do, however, and I ask you to, you will find the following paragraph which the committee's report paraphrased:

The PRESIDENT. I have had no information about any dinners held for anyone to obtain funds for personal use, none that I have ever attended that I knew were being held for that purpose.

The report, regrettably, made no reference of any kind to the succeeding paragraph in which the President made the following statement:

I always understood that they were having an appreciation dinner or testimonial dinner but I didn't know that it was for personal, or political, or local campaign or national.

I think it is clear from this last paragraph that the President was saying, not that he was deceived by me, but that he was apparently unaware of the precise nature of many of the functions he has attended.

This half quotation from President Johnson is in the nature of a half-truth—a prejudicial and damaging half-truth, to boot. It is so patently unfair that I fail to understand how six eminently fair-minded Senators could have approved the excerpt which appeared in the report as an accurate representation of what President Johnson actually said.

LACK OF EVIDENCE THAT DONORS WERE DECEIVED

The committee has argued that the donors who contributed money to my testimonials were deceived. It is my conviction that they were not deceived and that they could not possibly have been misled by the invitations and literature attendant on the 1961 testimonial, the District of Columbia reception for DODD, the Dodd Day breakfast in Connecticut, and the 1965 testimonial.

The only affairs where the attendant invitations and literature might conceivably have been misleading are the Dodd Day reception in Fairfield and the dinner in Bridgeport.

On the luncheon, there is not enough information in my files and there is certainly not enough information in the committee's record to permit any judgment about the language used in the invitation and luncheon documents.

But if the committee is to sustain the burden of proof, it is not enough to argue that some of the donors at the 1963 dinner and reception might have been misled by the invitation and literature and publicity attendant on these two affairs.

The question that has to be decided is: does the evidence indicate that the donors were in fact misled?

The Internal Revenue Service has said repeatedly that it is the intent of the donor that determines the nature of a contribution. In short, if the donor considers his contribution to be a gift, it is a gift; while, if he considers it to be a political contribution, it is a political contribution.

We have presented overwhelming evidence that the people who organized these dinners and the people who came to them regarded the contributions as gifts.

There is both positive evidence and negative evidence.

The positive evidence consists of the fact that almost 435 people who bought tickets to these several testimonials have submitted sworn statements stating that they considered their contributions to be gifts, to be used at my discretion. A substantial number of these people attended two dinners. Some of them attended two dinners. Some of them attended three dinners. Many of them, moreover, bought two tickets, while some bought tables. In terms of total attendance at all the testimonial functions, the 435 affidavits, therefore, represent a majority of those who came to the affairs and who could be reached in the brief time available.

In terms of total attendance at all these testimonial affairs, the 435 affidavits represent a majority of those who came to the affairs and who could be reached in the brief time available—and it was brief.

Let me say about this that I felt there was perhaps some implied criticism because my lawyers had had a form made up and printed. I do not know how else affidavits could be obtained in a State as small, geographically, as my State. I think I explained that the other day on the floor of the Senate. It is quite a task to get around the State. These peo-

ple come from all over the State. They are busy people. They are at work. They have many things to do. Before they could sign an affidavit, they had to get a notary public to witness it. That is not easy to do. The fact that they were prepared to do so does not, to me as a human being and as a lawyer, detract one whit from their value. I do not see how anything that was said here was intended to convey that impression, but I think perhaps it did. I think it is unfair to the people of Connecticut who executed these affidavits. Our people are as good as the people anywhere else in this land. They do not sign fraudulent affidavits or fake affidavits. I have one in my hand. It reads:

State of Connecticut, County of Hartford. I, Frederick W. Beach—

Freddie Beach, by the way, has been one of the most active Republicans in the State of Connecticut. There is no finer human being who lives in Connecticut or anywhere else. I am fortunate to have him for my friend. He has been one for a good many years. Since we are talking about the bipartisan atmosphere of these affairs, he made an affidavit and said:

Between 1961 and 1965, I was a participant in testimonial affairs honoring Senator Thomas J. Dodd in the year 1965. In this connection, I donated funds to Senator Dodd. These funds were intended by me as a personal gift to Senator Dodd and were motivated by my admiration and respect for him. It was my intention that Senator Dodd use these funds in any way he saw fit. They were not intended as a political contribution, because I am a life-long Republican.

The affidavit is signed "Frederick W. Beach." Mr. Beach is one of the most prominent lawyers in our State. So one of the most active members in his own party happens to be my friend. I am glad he is. I am proud of his friendship.

I neglected to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the affidavit from Fred Beach is identical with the affidavit that my counsel drew up, except for the words that Mr. Beach added: "because I am a lifelong Republican." Other than that, the affidavit is the same as the one that everybody else got. Mr. Beach typed those words in himself, or had them typed in.

This was not the only one. There were others, and I think the Senate ought to hear about it. One was from George Lamb, whom I have known 20 years or more. He also happens to be a Republican. He says:

I, George P. Lamb, being duly sworn, depose and say that I have been a personal friend of Senator Thomas Dodd since 1934. I was acquainted with him at the time he was an FBI agent, when he was in the private practice of the law in Hartford, Connecticut, when he was a member of the House of Representatives, and as a Senator. I have always admired his humanitarianism, his interest in difficult issues which face the country and his forthrightness in dealing with them.

I have made contributions to Senator Dodd on several occasions. Being a member of the Republican Party of the District of Columbia, in making my contribution I did it primarily with the idea that he could use the funds in whatever manner would best assist him in his service to the country.

It is signed. By the way, this is not a form affidavit. He made up his own and sent it in.

Here is one from Judge Gwiazda, in my State of Connecticut, in which he says:

I, Henry J. Gwiazda, being duly sworn, depose and state that in the years 1961, 1963 and 1965 I was proud to be a participant in testimonial affairs given in honor of Senator Thomas J. Dodd which were given during these years. In this connection the contributions that I made to Thomas J. Dodd were individually as a gift and in no way had anything to do as a political contribution. From my own experience I know the difficulties encountered by a candidate and for that reason I made no reservations upon my contributions. Whatever Senator Dodd wished to do with my contribution, whether it be to buy a fur coat for his wife or in any other manner use this money as he saw fit was perfectly all right with me because it was with this intention that I presented him with these funds. My contributions were not intended in any way as a political contribution. Political contributions are made to a political committee.

I shall be happy to assist in any other manner that I may be called upon to clarify the attempted character assassination of the Senator by a treasonable former employee.

This obviously is not a form. There is another one from a friend in Bridgeport, Morton Weiss, which reads:

I, Morton Weiss, being duly sworn do depose and say:

I reside in the City of Bridgeport, County of Fairfield and State of Connecticut, and am an Attorney at Law with an office at 955 Main Street, Bridgeport, Conn.

I attended a dinner in honor of Senator Thomas J. Dodd in October of 1963 at which dinner the then Lyndon B. Johnson as Vice-President, was in attendance.

I do not recall who sold me the ticket nor who was present at my table, but I recall distinctly that I was told when I purchased the ticket and also in a general discussion at the table that Senator Dodd was in poor financial circumstances and was on the verge of bankruptcy, and that his friends were trying to help him out. My attendance at the dinner was motivated by my respect for him having had the occasion to meet him several times, and because of my desire to be of some help to him. I had assumed at the dinner that he would be given a purse from the proceeds, which apparently was not done, but it was my intention that any contribution I made would be used for his own purposes.

It was done.

That again is not a form affidavit.

I have one from Frank Fitzpatrick, of Ansonia. He says:

I, Frank P. Fitzpatrick, make the following statement in affidavit form.

As a citizen of the State of Connecticut and also one of the thousands of Senator Dodd's admirers, I have had the opportunity on several occasions to make a financial contribution when a party or testimonial was being held in his honor.

As a former mayor of the City of Ansonia, I know of the many financial burdens placed on our public servants and consider myself fortunate to be able, in a small way, to make personal gifts from time to time to be used to lighten the burden in any manner of those who are making a financial sacrifice to serve us.

It is signed by him. That is not a form.

The negative evidence lies in the fact of the negative response to my announcement—which was carried prominently over every Connecticut radio and TV station and in page 1 headlines in every Connecticut newspaper—that, if anyone who contributed to a testimonial function on my behalf had been misled into thinking they were contributing to my campaign, I would return his money immediately.

It has now been 3 months since I made that offer. I have repeated it several times. I have seen to it that it got the widest possible publicity in Connecticut. It has also received wide publicity in Washington. And, as I informed you previously, to date there has been only one request from a man with a motel address in Connecticut who asserted he had contributed $25 to my 1961 testimonial dinner because he personally understood that this was a campaign contribution. I mailed him my personal check in the amount of $25.

This is the evidence on my side.

On the other hand, despite their claim that I deceived the hundreds of friends and acquaintances who came to these dinners, the committee has not presented a single item of evidence—I repeat, not a single item of evidence—from those who came to these testimonial affairs that they regarded their contributions as political contributions.

I am charged not with defrauding the Government, but with deceiving those who came to my dinners. But I must ask: Who has come forward to complain that he was deceived in the manner implied by the committee? And the answer is: one minor contributor—and it was my offer and not the committee's efforts that brought him to light.

I believe the committee has failed completely in meeting the burden of proof in the case of this charge.

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

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. How much more does the Senator have to read, other than the letter which is now on his stand, and other letters?

Mr. DODD. Does the majority leader mean the affidavits?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, the letter-type affidavits.

Mr. DODD. I do not wish to bore the Senate by reading any great number of them. I think I can cut those down, and put some of them in the RECORD. I think they all cover the same subject matter.

Mr. MANSFIELD. What I was trying to do is find a reasonable breaking point for the Senator; and if the Senator will do that, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 2 o'clock p.m. I understand that the Senator wants these other letters put in the RECORD at this time.

Mr. DODD. I have not gone through all of them. Could I put them in immediately when the Senate reconvenes?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

ERRONEOUS NEWS ACCOUNTS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, two newspapers in my State have published stories stating that I have already decided to vote against the resolution to censure the senior Senator from Connecticut.

I simply want the RECORD of this pro-

ceeding to show that I had not decided how I am going to vote on the resolution at the time the stories were published and, in fact, I have not yet decided how I will vote.

The judgment can only be made after a complete hearing of the entire case. I would not, and I could not, judge this case before hearing all the evidence and all the arguments.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I repeat my unanimous-consent request that the Senate stand in recess until 2 o'clock p.m.

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

RECESS

At 12 o'clock and 50 minutes p.m., the Senate took a recess until 2 o'clock p.m. the same day.

At 2 o'clock p.m., the Senate reassembled, when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. KENNEDY of New York in the chair).

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, but before I do, I understand that the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] has the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And I suggest the absence of a quorum without his losing his right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 153 Leg.]

Aiken	Gruening	Montoya
Allott	Hansen	Morse
Anderson	Harris	Morton
Baker	Hart	Moss
Bartlett	Hartke	Mundt
Bennett	Hatfield	Murphy
Bible	Hayden	Muskie
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Nelson
Brewster	Hill	Pearson
Brooke	Holland	Pell
Burdick	Hollings	Percy
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Prouty
Byrd, W. Va.	Jackson	Proxmire
Cannon	Javits	Randolph
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Case	Kennedy, Mass.	Scott
Church	Kennedy, N.Y.	Smathers
Clark	Kuchel	Smith
Cooper	Lausche	Sparkman
Cotton	Long, Mo.	Spong
Curtis	Long, La.	Stennis
Dirksen	Magnuson	Symington
Dodd	Mansfield	Talmadge
Dominick	McCarthy	Thurmond
Eastland	McClellan	Tower
Ellender	McGee	Tydings
Ervin	McGovern	Williams, N.J.
Fannin	McIntyre	Williams, Del.
Fong	Metcalf	Yarborough
Fulbright	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Gore	Mondale	Young, Ohio
Griffin	Monroney	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, would the Senator from Connecticut yield to me without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. DODD. I yield to the majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the speech which the distinguished senior Senator from Connecticut is giving will be completed within one-half hour to an hour. It is the further understanding of the joint leadership, after talking the matter over with the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], that it is his intention at that time, upon the completion of the speech of the Senator from Connecticut, to offer a substitute motion. It is my further understanding, insofar as can be ascertained, that that will be the only motion he intends to offer.

Therefore, we would request Senators to be on hand all afternoon, if they possibly could, and to be in their seats or as close to them as possible. We know that they will be called out from time to time to meet with constituents and accomplish other matters.

I would say, and I look to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] for corroboration, that there is a possibility for the Senate to come to a final vote tonight.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I say to the distinguished majority leader, just feeling the parliamentary situation, as I try to feel it, and not being able to guarantee anything, and without asking anyone to prejudice his rights, or the rights of the Senator from Connecticut to prejudice his rights, the way I feel the pulse is that there is no reason why we should not come to a vote on subsection (a) and, for that matter, it seems to me that the chances are extremely good that we could come to a vote on subsection (b) and finish the entire matter today.

I cannot guarantee that because no one can tell what others might do or how the Senate is going to vote, or things of that nature. But I think there is a chance that we might finally dispose of the entire matter today. At least, I would hope we would dispose of subsection (a).

I have one amendment in mind. It is an amendment in the nature of a substitute which does contain considerable of the language that is in the committee proposal, but amends it in a number of respects. It is being drafted. I will present it as soon as it is available.

It contains most of the points I showed the Senator from Mississippi, in somewhat different language, but it has different points. I thought I would offer it as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the first part of the censure resolution. As far as I am concerned we would be ready to vote on it as soon as it is offered.

If it is not agreed to, perhaps those of us who are for Senator DODD might want to take another look. I cannot state precisely what our position will be at that time, but we will know pretty much where we stand after we vote on it. That might be the decisive vote. The amendment is now being drafted and I will make it available as soon as I have it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senate, I wish to express our appreciation to the Senator from Louisiana for the encouraging statement he has just made.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I do not anticipate speaking any more than 15 minutes at the most, after the Senator from Connecticut has spoken. I would hope that Senators would listen to the Senator from Connecticut, because he is presenting his case, a case which I believe the Senate certainly should hear before it votes, and much of which has not been heard.

Mr. MANSFIELD. We ask the membership to remain on the floor as much as possible to hear what the distinguished Senators have to say, and to be prepared for the possibility that this matter might be concluded this evening, even if it takes a little time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

The Senate will please be in order.

Mr. DODD. I thank you, Mr. President. I believe that when we recessed for the luncheon period, I had been reading some affidavits. I do not want to delay the Senate unnecessarily by reading any great number of them. They are all of the same content, and all of the same intent, so I ask unanimous consent to have these affidavits—I believe there are a half a dozen, something like that—printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 3.)

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. DODD. Will the Senator indulge me for another unanimous consent request?

Mr. THURMOND. Indeed so.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks a list of names of over 435 persons who have submitted affidavits.

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

(See exhibit 4.)

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield to me at that point?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I know the parliamentary problem, but a considerable portion of what the Senator from Connecticut has to say has not yet been heard. Senators will not have the opportunity to read it in the RECORD. I observe that we have a bare quorum present in the Chamber at the present moment. Therefore, I would like to urge the leadership, on both sides of the aisles, to cooperate with us in trying to get Senators to stay in their seats at least to hear the Senator from Connecticut for the next hour.

I do not suggest the absence of a quorum but simply urge that everything possible be done to ask Senators to come into the Chamber at least to hear the defendant.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator from Louisiana raises a most valid point. I agree with him. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield for that purpose?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 154 Leg.]

Aiken	Gruening	Montoya
Allott	Hansen	Morse
Anderson	Harris	Morton
Baker	Hart	Moss
Bartlett	Hartke	Mundt
Bennett	Hatfield	Murphy
Bible	Hayden	Muskie
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Nelson
Brewster	Hill	Pearson
Brooke	Holland	Pell
Burdick	Hollings	Percy
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Prouty
Byrd, W. Va.	Jackson	Proxmire
Cannon	Javits	Randolph
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Case	Kennedy, Mass.	Scott
Church	Kennedy, N.Y.	Smathers
Clark	Kuchel	Smith
Cooper	Lausche	Sparkman
Cotton	Long, Mo.	Spong
Curtis	Long, La.	Stennis
Dirksen	Magnuson	Symington
Dodd	Mansfield	Talmadge
Dominick	McCarthy	Thurmond
Eastland	McClellan	Tower
Ellender	McGee	Tydings
Ervin	McGovern	Williams, N.J.
Fannin	McIntyre	Williams, Del.
Fong	Metcalf	Yarborough
Fulbright	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Gore	Mondale	Young, Ohio
Griffin	Monroney	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment in the nature of a substitute, which I propose to offer——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield for that purpose?

Mr. DODD. Will the Senator repeat his purpose?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Will the Senator yield to me so that I may make a brief statement?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, in due course I have in mind offering an amendment in the nature of a substitute. While I would prefer that nothing be voted at all, if it be the will of the Senate that something be voted in regard to the charge in section (a), it would appear to me that the substitute would be more appropriate, particularly in view of the fact that the original resolution charges the Senator with two courses of conduct, as a result of which censure is recommended. It is my contention that the first charge is neither malum prohibitum—that is, against the law—nor malum in se—that is, evil as such. In that case, censure would be a harsh punishment with reference to subsection (a), particularly in view of the defense the Senator from Connecticut has made.

This is how my motion reads:

Beginning with the word "That" in line 1, page 1, strike out all to and including "campaign," in line 10, page 1;

Beginning with line 3, page 2, strike out all to and including line 6, page 2; and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That it is the judgment of the Senate that the Senator from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, has engaged in a course of conduct over a period of five years from 1961 to 1965 of exercising the influence and power of his office as a United States Senator to obtain, and use for his personal benefit, funds from the public through testimonial functions and campaign fund raising events, in order to retire indebtedness which had its beginning when Senator Thomas J. Dodd sought election to the United States Senate in 1956 and 1958.

"SEC. 2. The Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is highly commended for its diligent efforts, in its investigation into the conduct of Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, to promote higher standards of ethics on the part of Members of the Senate.

"SEC. 3. In order further to promote high standards of ethics for Members of the United States Senate, the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is urged to prepare a Code of Ethics of the Senate of the United States to govern the conduct of the Members of the Senate, and to submit such Code to the Senate for its approval prior to the end of the first sessions of the Ninetieth Congress.

"SEC. 4. Pending the adoption of a Code of Ethics of the Senate of the United States, the Senator from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, is admonished to avoid any and all conduct which might be construed in any way as being in derogation of the high standards of ethics by which a Member of the Senate of the United States should be governed."

This is the only amendment I have in mind offering at this time. I would hope it would be agreed to. If it is, I will not offer any more.

I believe we had better Xerox this amendment rather than print it, so we can have it available for Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, for the benefit of Senators who were not here a few minutes ago, I had said that I believed that at the lunch hour I had read and later this afternoon asked unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD copies of certain affidavits and a list of some 435 affiants in Connecticut who submitted the affidavits.

Now I would like to complete, as quickly as I can, what I have to say about subsection (a). I had said, before the recess for lunch, that there was both positive and negative evidence, and I have dealt as well as I thought I could with some of that.

I now turn to the negative evidence. The negative evidence lies in the fact of the negative response to the announcement which I told the Senate I made some 3 months ago, in which I offered to refund his money to anyone who had bought a ticket to any of these affairs if he felt he had been misled.

As I told the Senate, this announcement by me was carried prominently over every Connecticut radio and television station and was published in front-page headlines in, I believe, almost every Connecticut newspaper. About 3 months have passed since I made that offer, and I have repeated it several times, at almost every opportunity that was presented to me. I tried to give it the widest publicity in Connecticut. I have continued to try. It has received, I think, some wide publicity across the country. I reiterate that to this hour I have received only one request for a return of money, and that was from a man who said he contributed $25 in 1961. So I sent him my own check, as I told the Senate. I consider it evidence on my side.

On the other hand, despite the claim that I deceived the hundreds of friends and acquaintances who came to these affairs, I do not know of a single item of evidence—I repeat, not a single item of evidence—from those who attended these affairs that they regarded their contributions as political contributions.

I am aware that under this count, as I would call it, I am not charged with defrauding the Government, but with deceiving those who attended these affairs. So it seems to me that I must ask, Who has come forward to complain that he was deceived in the manner implied in the committee report? To my knowledge, the answer is: one—one minor contributor. In that case, it was my offer that brought him to light.

I do not charge the committee with any dereliction of duty, or anything of that sort; but on this point, I would be interested to know whether the committee has in its possession any sworn statement from any donor which bears on this intention, that has not been made a part of the record. If there is such, I should like to know about it. I have never heard of any. I think that in all fairness I should know, and I think the Senate should know, whether, after all this time, one person has come forward, when about 450, I guess the number now is, have come forward on the other side. Does anybody know of anyone else who says he was misled or deceived? I do not know what more I could have done. If the committee has any such statement available, I think it only fair that it be presented to the Senate.

Senators will recall that the RECORD now contains, at page 15689, the statement of William H. Mortensen, a former Republican mayor of Hartford.

On this point, I would be interested in knowing whether the committee has in its possession any sworn statement from any donor which bears on his intention that has not yet been made a part of the RECORD.

SUPPRESSION OF EVIDENCE

The RECORD now contains at page 15689 the statement of Mr. William H. Mortensen, the former Republican mayor of Hartford.

Bill Mortensen is a Republican and he is a friend of mine. He attended several of these testimonial affairs and in his statement, which is now a part of the RECORD, he made it clear that the funds he donated were intended as an unrestricted gift to me and were not intended as a political contribution. The committee's report contains no reference to either Mr. Mortensen or his statement, although, in fact, the statement was submitted to them by Mr. Mortensen. I received a copy of the statement from Mr. Mortensen, or I would never have known of it.

Last Friday, the chairman of the committee explained to the junior Senator from Louisiana why it was this statement had not been referred to by the committee. As I read his remarks on page 16129 of the RECORD, the basic response is that the committee had not solicited this affidavit; it was voluntarily given.

I find this answer baffling.

Is a statement less reliable because voluntarily given? Is it not entitled to weight because the committee did not seek it?

Actually, my information is that the statement in question was submitted at the committee's request after Mayor Mortensen was interviewed by the committee staff.

The failure to use Mayor Mortensen's affidavit is significant in another way. It indicates to me that the committee erroneously focused attention on what was described as the "atmosphere" rather than attempting to determine the specific intention of the donor.

Because of its pertinence to my present remarks, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mayor Mortensen which Senator LONG put into the RECORD previously be inserted into the RECORD again at this point.

I think it should be placed in the RECORD again at this point. Nobody will be harmed by it, and I think it will make more clear the point I am trying to make.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mayor Mortensen be printed again in the RECORD at this point.

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

STATEMENT

I, William H. Mortensen, 22 Wampanoag Drive, West Hartford, Connecticut, do voluntarily make the following statement to the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct of the United States Senate. I realize that I am not required to make this statement and do so willingly without duress or promise of reward.

I attended a dinner in Hartford, Connecticut in November, 1961 for the purpose of honoring Senator Thomas J. Dodd. The dinner was held in the Statler Hotel. I received an invitation to the dinner in the form of a letter I think was signed by Matthew Moriarty or a Mr. Powers of Berlin but I no longer have a copy of that letter. I don't believe that the letter mentioned the purpose for which the funds were being raised, but I personally did not regard the dinner as a political gathering and I did not care what use was made of my $100 contribution. As far as I know all tickets were sold for $100 per person. I recall that there were approximately 900 to 1,000 persons present at the dinner. Most of the persons in attendance were Democrats but there were also some well-known Republicans present—for instance Edward N. Allen, former Lieutenant Governor, as I recall.

I had no discussions concerning the proceeds of the dinner with Senator Dodd or any of his staff. It is my opinion that the dinner was intended to be a personal testimonial for Senator Dodd. Testimonial dinners have been fairly common in Connecticut and I believe they are generally held as personal tributes rather than political or campaign purposes. As a Republican I would have felt out of place at a dinner which was solely a Democratic fund raising affair.

I also attended a $100 a plate dinner for Senator Dodd in March, 1965 at the Statler Hotel in Hartford. I was given a ticket to the dinner by someone, whom I honestly do not recall and so did not contribute $100 myself. I recall receiving a letter from Matthew Moriarty, Treasurer or perhaps Arthur Barbieri of New Haven, inviting me to the dinner in 1965 and I believe that the letter emphasized the testimonial aspect of the dinner and did not mention any fund raising aspects, as I recall. The letter did not specify any particular use for the proceeds of the dinner to my recollection. I would estimate that the proceeds from the 1965 dinner would have reached $80,000 based on the number of persons present.

In particular, I recall seeing Henry Nielsen, office—122 Washington Street, Hartford, home—Ridge Road, Wethersfield; Herman Wolfe, office and home: 20 Turkey Hill Circle, Greens Farms, Connecticut; Mervyn Lenz and Samuel Lenz (Brescomb Distributors) 230 Locust Street, Hartford, at the 1965 dinner, the latter three at my table.

I do not have any letters, programs, correspondence or other documents relating to either the 1961 or the 1965 dinner in my possession.

WILLIAM H. MORTENSEN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this —— day of ——, 1966.

——— ———,
Notary Public.

Mr. DODD. And I respectfully ask the chairman of the committee, when he has time, to let us know if there were any other statements sent in, and if there were, to let us have a chance to see them, and have them put before the Senate.

Mr. President, I followed the chart presentation last week of the very distinguished Senator from Mississippi as intently as I could, and I have studied it since; but I must confess that I am still confused as to the purpose of it. I do not blame this confusion on the Senator from Mississippi. Perhaps I am to blame for my failure to keep these funds separated, or see that they were separated, a matter about which I spoke, I thought, as frankly as I could last week. I did not deny that certain personal expenses had been paid out of testimonial funds, although I did take issue with what I considered the arbitrary manner in which the committee had tried to break down my expenditures. But I have pointed out, on the other hand, that it is a fact that I paid out of my personal pocket $101,000 over a period of 8 years for unreimbursed costs of office, and I am confident that I may not be the only Member of the Senate who is confused by that chart the committee has presented.

I raised some question about what I considered the arbitrary manner in which the committee had tried to break down my expenditures. I guess I had gotten beyond this. I pointed out that I had paid out $101,000 over a period of 8 years, and I said it seemed to me that others may have been confused by that chart, also.

I particularly take exception to certain items in the chart—for example, the final line leading left from "1964 political campaign contributions $240,290." It says that I deposited $85,818 in campaign funds to my testimonial account. This would clearly create the impression that in the confusion resulting from the temporary commingling of those two accounts there was a net diversion of almost $86,000 for personal uses. But, that is not so.

In addition to depositing campaign funds in the testimonial bank account, Mr. Sullivan was paying campaign bills out of this account. I remember talking to him about it afterward, and he said, "Well, we didn't have any money, and I thought it would be all right to use those funds which were given to you until contributions for the campaign came in." After I discovered this commingling on October 14, I said, "Stop that." He did the arithmetic, computing both what had been received in campaign funds and what had been spent.

So I say again, when the net figures are considered, there was no diversion of campaign funds to the testimonial account. In fact, the contrary is the case. If there was any diversion, it was of testimonial funds to the campaign account; and I think it is regrettable that the chart—to me, anyway—was misleading on this point.

The facts I have presented, it seems to me, are blurred and concealed by the statement which appears in the column headed on the chart "1965 dinner gross receipts," that I paid out of this account $127,925 for "political purposes." But it does not make clear that most of this amount was for campaign purposes and that what was paid out for campaign purposes was at least as much as what was deposited to the testimonial account from the campaign account.

But even if I were to concede the accuracy of every figure given in the chart, I still say that it is confusing and proves nothing.

I also wish to comment on the calculation made by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] which appears on page 16019 of the RECORD for June 15. As I read it, the Senator said:

> I simply point out that the $116,000 considered to be personal expenditures . . . added to the $211,000, or $150,000, which indebtedness was incurred before 1960; that $211,000 or $150,000 plus the cost of the 1964 campaign—would still be within the scope of, and could be paid from the $450,000 which the committee found, without question, was the net proceeds of the seven fund-raising events, and the 1964 campaign fund reported.

Here, again, I find myself confused about the essential figures involved. The Senator from Kentucky, as I read it, states that if the $116,000, which the committee considered to be personal, is added to either the $211,000 or the $150,000 of debt mentioned in paragraph 1 of the stipulation, and this sum is then added to the cost of the 1964 campaign, the total sum could still be paid from the $450,000 which is the result of all the testimonials and the campaign. Well, this is a mistake. As I understand the figures, in the first place, it seems to me that the Senator is adding minus figures and plus figures, which should in the normal scheme of things cancel each other out.

Beyond that, it seems impossible to follow this—I say this without rancor—novel calculus which involves the addition and subtraction of unrelated numbers. To add an amount of alleged personal expenditures of $116,000 to a portion of the plainly political expenses of $211,000, or $150,000, or even $120,000 which I claim to be the pre-1960 politically connected campaign expenses, is plainly as meaningless as—how shall I say it—adding apples to oranges.

It seems to me the resulting figure cannot be compared to anything. These calculations are mentioned for the purpose of illustrating—and I think they do graphically—that not all members of the committee fully understood the situation.

I want to answer questions, but I wish I could complete what I have to say, and

then I shall be glad to answer them and encourage them, because I am getting into some of the arithmetic here and I would like to finish.

One central fact that I think deserves the attention of Senators, putting aside the entire 1963 affair, even putting that aside I am charged with a diversion of $116,000 for personal use. I say this is untrue and I say even if it were true, the proceeds of the 1961 and the 1965 testimonial affairs—and I think it is clear that they were testimonials—everything one could take into account, amounted to $118,000.

How can you fault me with $116,000? The net income from the testimonials, I think, was about $170,000 over these several years. It is true that I paid $120,000 to liquidate political debts, that I incurred between 1956 and 1958. I did pay out $101,000 for reimbursed costs of office, a figure which works out to an average of $12,500 a year.

So against the $170,000 received from all of these affairs which my friends held to help me, I paid out $221,000 for political purposes. This leaves me with a net deficit of about $50,000.

What is the point? The point is that all of this adds up to the fact that in order to liquidate the political debts which I had with me when I came into office, and in order to cover my unreimbursed costs in seeking to enter the Senate, I have had to pay out of my pocket $50,000. That is the fact of the matter. How all of this got so confused, I do not know.

The second fact of the matter which no one can deny—it just is not deniable—is that I have not enriched myself from public office. I think conclusively demonstrated that fact in my statement of net worth which I have given the Senate on the first day in March, but I cannot give it often enough because I think it has great bearing on your judgment of me in my situation.

What does this amount to? Is this a Senator lining his pockets with money out of testimonials or campaign funds, or is he not? There has been talk about all of this atmosphere, newspaper articles, and all of these extraneous matters, but when you come right down home, what is important? Have I got the dough?

Have I got the "dough" or not? I do not have it. I should think that would be the principal basis for making a judgment about me. If I had it, I would get out. My total net worth, when I made the statement in March, according to the accountants, was about $54,000. It is shameful that I have to do all this in public. That included the cash value of all my insurance and retirement, some of which I have had for 30 years.

I said then, and I say now, that I have no interest in any business or concern. I have no hidden assets, nor has any member of my family. I do not own stocks or any bonds or any securities of any kind anywhere in the world. The only real estate I own is the home I have had in Connecticut before I came here, and the one I have in Washington because I came here. Both of them have sizable mortgages. If I were out "trimming," or lining my pockets, I would have paid off those mortgages in one fashion or another and gotten rid of that, with all its burdensome interest. But I have not been able to do that.

I come back and plead with you to consider that this is the basis for any judgment you should make about me.

Now, Mr. President, I want particularly to say in regard to a question which was raised about the chart on my left, that everything on that chart is based upon the stipulation, except the $101,353 figure covering the unreimbursed costs. That comes from a firm of certified public accountants, and from a letter which I believe I have inserted in the RECORD, telling me that after having gone over all my books and having audited them, that is what the accountants found. That is their finding and I believe it is accurate.

What I am asking you to do is take a look at the whole picture of me and my affairs in order to understand my position.

I say again, there is no question that certain of the testimonial funds were spent for personal purposes. On the other hand, there is also no question that I covered many of my political expenses out of my own pocket over an 8-year period. The testimonial funds were used on personal expenses. That they were used that way is true only in the narrowest sense of the term—that is, one could trace directly the disposition of testimonial funds to the payment of personal loans and other personal expenditures.

But, in the substantive sense, it is my position—and I know I am right about it—that no testimonial funds or campaign funds, except in the few instances where obviously a mistake was made, were spent on what I would call a truly personal item.

Thus, while the committee was able to formally assert that some of the testimonial funds were spent on personal items, I say that such a charge is not well founded. It is baseless. It is baseless since it is based on form and not on substance. Undoubtedly my personal position would have been better understood. I said before, and I say again, that if there had not been for that commingling up there in Hartford, if that had been kept in separate accounts, I think it would have been better understood. As a matter of fact, I have been told that had that been so handled, then no one could have found fault. But, so far as I know, regrettable as the commingling is—and it is regrettable—there is no law, no rule against it, provided there is no fraud involved.

What would the net effect or result have been on me? Just trouble. No one got cheated out of anything. I wound up in the hole. I have not gained a cent from that commingling, as it is called. Indeed, I am exactly where I would have been financially had my personal funds and testimonial funds been kept carefully separated.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. DODD. I yield, just briefly.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. May I say that all the Senator is really guilty of, in my judgment, on both counts, is not having had a good bookkeeper to handle that money for him; otherwise, he would not be in any trouble at all.

Mr. DODD. We have been over that a good many times. It is obviously so. If I had had better people to take care of these accounts, I am sure that would have been so. However, I have paid a very heavy price for it.

Nevertheless, it made my position so much more difficult to explain and for others to understand.

Mr. President, I keep coming back to the point, because it is a valid and a truthful one, that you cannot understand this unless you look at the whole thing, that it is necessary to weigh the net figure rather than excerpts from bookkeeping records, and that it is necessary, above all, for Senators to ask themselves whether I have enriched myself.

I think that is what the American people are concerned about. I do not think they are greatly concerned about the fact that a man made a mistake in Hartford, or down here, and mixed the accounts.

What really counts is: Was this man on the level? Did he get money out of it, or did he not? I did not get it. There are no sets of figures in the world that can establish that I did. I think that is the point. I wish you would consider it so. I think it is the only valid basis upon which your judgment can be based.

Let me repeat, even if you accept the contention of the committee—which I want you to know I do not—that every single penny contributed to the testimonial affairs was a political contribution, I say, even if you accept that, which is not so, it is still demonstrable from the basic arithmetic, from the figures themselves, that I am "out" myself $50,000 and somewhat more for political purposes than I received from the testimonials.

To put it more simply, for every dollar I received from testimonial funds, I spent more than $1 for political purposes; and that is how it comes out. I have gone over it and over it. I have had accountants go over it. And that is how they come out.

In the course of this discussion some Senators have pointed out that there are no rules or regulations governing the solicitation of funds for testimonial affairs. I have said it time and time again. I think it is true that I have never heard it challenged. The point has been made, however, by some Senators that the report of the committee has some of the qualities of what has been described as ex post facto proceedings, of an attempt to judge me in the absence of rules or regulations. I know that has been challenged. The very able and distinguished Senator from Kansas last week challenged the argument that there were no rules or regulations. I believe he did. He said that if the Senate were wrong now, it had been wrong on five previous censure cases, spread over the past century, because none of these cases, as he saw the matter, referred back to any known standard of rule or regulation.

I went and looked it up myself, as Senators would expect me to do. I say the

five previous cases are completely different from the one now before the Senate. I am well aware that article I of the Constitution authorizes each House to punish its Members for disorderly conduct. And the fact is, and I think I read this correctly, that in each of the five cases there was involved misconduct by a Senator in the course of the performance of his duties which went against the orderly disposition of Senate business.

There was, in short, a standard established in the Constitution against which these five cases were judged; and everybody was on notice about it. Certainly, every Senator who sat in the Senate knew what the Constitution said.

There is no such standard in this case, nor can I conceive of anyone arguing that the fact that I received funds through certain testimonials in my behalf has in any way gone against the orderly disposition of Senate business.

It seems to me that few people would question the right of the Senate to censure in the five cases cited by the distinguished Senator from Kansas. Each one of these cases related directly to the performance of Senate duties or to the orderly disposition of the Senate's business.

Those cases speak for themselves, as I read about them.

The first one involved the release of confidential information to a newspaper in violation of an express Senate order.

How can it be more related to Senate business?

The second and third involved a fist fight on the floor of the Senate during a Senate debate.

How could anything be more directly and intimately related to Senate business?

The fourth one involved the use of a lobbyist as a tax advisor in secret committee meetings. Again, directly related to Senate business.

The last one involved an abusive and contemptuous attitude of a Senate committee in the course of its conduct in a Senate investigation.

I think that was directly related to Senate business.

It seems to me, as I tried to use whatever power of reason I have, that those five previous cases have absolutely no relevance to the case before the Senate today.

Far more relevant to this proceeding, I think, is the language of the 1950 Senate report in the case of Senator Butler, I was not here then, but I have read about it. The allegations against Senator Butler charged him with unfair election practices and violations of Federal and State election laws. In declining to recommend any action, the Senate report said:

> No specific standards or improper campaign conduct or acts have been set up as guideposts. Only the provisions of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act exist and these deal principally with the financial phase of campaigning. Since no standards exist it would be grossly unfair now to formulate those standards after the fact for retroactive application and unseat Senator Butler on the basis of those "after the fact" formulated standards.

I believe that this finding by a previous Senate committee is applicable on every single point to the case now before the Senate.

No one that I have heard has suggested that there are any rules governing the holding of testimonials. Indeed, spokesmen for the committee have been quite frank in admitting there are no such rules.

In the absence of such rules, I guess the Senate can find against me under article I, but I say it can only do so if it finds that the holding of testimonials derogated from the performance of my duties as a Senator, or if it establishes that testimonials per se are injurious to the orderly disposition of Senate business and amount to disorderly conduct.

How could that be so? How could one reason so?

On the very day the report was issued the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, according to the press, said:

> Since no formal or official code of ethics for the Senate has yet been established, it was difficult to move in the area of ethical and moral standards. The Committee did attempt to pass a fair judgment on the basis of what it considered to be the generally accepted standards and also on the basis of the rules and standards which it anticipated may be recommended and eventually accepted by the Senate.

It has been suggested that possibly I should be censured simply because funds were raised for my personal use at testimonial affairs. But in the debate last week the great and distinguished Senator from Kentucky said that, although this was not the charge, he found that such fundraising affairs reflect adversely on the Senate. I think that is in the RECORD.

Until now it certainly has never been understood in the Senate that testimonials per se were wrong; and if I understood the Senator from Minnesota properly, he for one was willing to concede that, under certain circumstances, he considered certain testimonials to be proper.

It seems to me if the Senate now wishes to adopt a rule prohibiting personal testimonials for Senators, well, all right, that is one thing. But in good reason, it seems to me, it is an altogether different thing to punish a Member for being the beneficiary of a testimonial or testimonials prior to the adoption of such a rule. This does seem to be an ex post facto judgment.

I have tried to think this out as clearly as my limited capacity allows. It occurred to me that if the charge involved moral turpitude, if, for example, it was charged that I had intentionally deceived the people who contributed to these affairs, I would not be arguing that the committee's finding represented an ex post facto judgment, because anyone understands it is wrong to willfully deceive people.

But, as the chairman of the committee said last Friday in his colloquy with the Senator from Iowa, the charges does not involve malice or willfulness or maliciousness in the sense of an intent to do wrong.

I am grateful to him for that statement, and I hope it will help everybody else to better understand, because if moral turpitude and willful deceit are both ruled out, what is left is a clear after the fact ruling involving the propriety of testimonials and the wording of testimonial invitations.

If the committee does not consider it—and I thank God if they do not, because I did not willfully deceive—then that is the situation, and I do not know how it could be considered otherwise.

Again I say, look at the whole picture; because focusing on any one of the vast number of little details in this situation, Senators will find themselves in the position of the man who could not see the forest for the trees.

Try as best I can, it seems to me that my situation can be reduced to a series of simple questions. I asked them of myself last night.

First, I asked myself, is there any law or rule of the Senate which prohibits the holding of testimonials for personal purposes?

If there is, I do not know of it. It seems to me that the answer to that first question has to be "No."

Is there any law or rule of the Senate which requires that the invitations from such testimonials must not only bear the word "testimonial" but must carry and explicit statement that the proceeds are intended as a gift to the person being honored?

I never heard of it if there is such a rule, in the Senate or without it. Again, the answer, in good sense and good judgment and in sheer logic, it seems to me, has to be "No."

Then I asked myself, is there anything to indicate that those who came to the testimonials were misled, as the committee alleges? My answer to that is that the committee has not presented or even attempted to present any evidence to prove that this was so. I do not know of any witness who appeared before the committee, in person or by affidavit, who said so. If such there be, he never appeared at the hearings; I was at every one of them. I believe that had such an affidavit been submitted, it would have been presented. So there is nobody complaining that he was misled. On the other hand, there is a mountain of available evidence to indicate that those who came to my testimonial affairs in Connecticut did understand their nature and intended their contribution as gifts.

Some effort, I have felt, was made to minimize the fact that there are only some 435 affidavits. This is a sizable number of all those who attended. Six years have passed since the first one. People have died, they have moved away; I do not know what has happened to some of them. But this figure represents a high proportion, a high percentage of those who could be located.

Then we come to the ultimate question that I asked myself: Have I used the testimonials to enrich myself or to live lavishly?

Well, I know the answer to that, and everybody who knows me knows it, too. The answer to that question is an emphatic "No." There are men now present on the floor of the Senate who know very well how the Dodds live. We would have

entertained more of you in our home if we could have afforded to do so. We have entertained very little, because we just did not have the means to do so. But those few who have been there know very well the circumstances in which we have lived. They know that my family have not lived lavishly; and, as the chart at the back of the room here demonstrates, after paying off all of the political debts and those costs of office which I had to carry, I am in the hole.

That is where I rest. I do not know how I will get out. It has occurred to me that when we authorized the establishment of this committee, I guess nobody ever thought of the plight of a Senator such as I.

My lawyers have not charged me any legal fees—only their out-of-pocket expenses, which have amounted to thousands of dollars. How will I ever pay for it? If it happened to anybody else in this Chamber—I am not charging anyone with any negligence; I should have thought of it, too. But it is an added burden to the cross, which has been heavy enough.

THE URGENT NEED FOR A CODE OF ETHICS

I wish we had a code of ethics. I think on every occasion when there has been a vote taken in the Senate, I have voted for such. I have voted for disclosure. I have voted down the line, time and again.

The Supreme Court in a recent decision said that no person should be required to speculate or to guess whether a course of action violates a standard of conduct; and it said further that to apply a newly adopted standard to past conduct "is at war with the fundamental concepts of the common law."

I guess for about 200 years there has been recurrent talk in the Senate about the need to formulate a code of ethics for the guidance of Senators. Up to date, we do not have one. I know the committee is working on it. But the debate in which we are now engaged will serve little purpose if it results only in the condemnation—or, I hope, the exoneration—of a single Senator. The time we have spent on this debate will, I fear, have been completely wasted, unless we learn the larger lessons implicit in it, and move as rapidly as possible to the adoption of a carefully defined code of ethics for the first time in the Senate's history.

I have talked about ex post facto justice—but this is no ex post facto wisdom on my part, because, as I have said, every time I have had the chance since I have been here I have voted for the establishment of an ethics committee, or for other measures that I thought would give guidance to Senators, and give us all some guidelines, in the belief, I might say, that it was one of the best things we could do. I was with the minority on the votes for full financial disclosure, on the several occasions when that issue has been raised.

But whatever happens to me, it is certainly my hope that the Senate—this place I love for the years I have been privileged to be among you—will move without further delay to the adoption of a clearly defined standard of conduct. I think it is this that the people want, and I am certain they want it rather than the punishment of a single Senator that leaves the Senate still ungoverned by standards of which the public will approve.

I do not think the public wants my head. If the public understood all of the facts involved in this travail, it would realize that the adoption of the standards the committee is working on would be clearly in the public interest and also in the interest of the Senate as a whole, every one of us.

I think it would remove public doubt where doubt exists and augment confidence where confidence needs to be augmented. It would, among other things, in the future protect Senators from the kind of harrowing ordeal I have gone through over the past 18 months.

I hope it never happens to any one of you, as it happened to me. The best way I know of to make sure of that is to have our code as soon as we can.

My final plea to you on this charge or section is that you do look at the whole picture and ask yourselves that basic question: "Has this man enriched himself? Did he get money out of it? Did he get anything out of it?"

It seems to me that is the basic question that must be asked and that everything else is relatively not so important.

So, on this subject, this is all I have had to say because of the time which I had available to prepare myself to say it to the best of my ability.

I may have overlooked some things in the need for hurry. However, before I close, I noted that the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] referred to a telegram which each Senator received from the so-called National Committee for Justice for DODD.

I just want the RECORD to show that I did not see that wire until later. I did not have anything to do with it. I did not know it was written. I would not have authorized its being sent if I had ever heard of it.

I do not approve of it, and it does not in any sense reflect my position .

I have had an unusual time with friends trying to help me and critics trying to hurt me. It all came out pretty cruelly for me in the end.

I do not question the intent of those who sent such a wire, but how could it do anything else than offend others.

I think I have better sense than to send such a wire to Members of the Senate. I would not have approved it or authorized it or had anything to do with its being written.

I want the Senate to know that I did not even know about it until I received a copy of it. It came to me, by the way, well after it went to all other Members of the Senate.

(The following colloquy occurred during the delivery of Mr. DODD's address, and is printed here at the conclusion of his address by unanimous consent.)

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I hold in my hand the latest issue of Newsweek magazine, date June 26, 1967. It contains an article regarding a Massachusetts dinner for former Governor Peabody, the opponent in last year's Massachusetts Senate contest of EDWARD BROOKE, who is making such a magnificent record here in this body.

Might I just read one paragraph from that story, Senator?

After his unsuccessful Senate race, Chub's—

I guess that is his familiar name—

first accounting showed that he had finished the campaign just $26 in the black. But a later review put his debts at about $150,000, and to defray them he blandly announced a few weeks ago that he was staging a $100 a plate testimonial.

Let me ask the Senator from Connecticut, is that not about the same amount the Senator was in debt after he had made two races for the Senate?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. If this former Governor had not been an honest man, he would never have been $150,000 in debt; but he is an honest man and the son of a minister. I can understand that this fellow was deeply in debt and that the people of his State would want to put on a testimonial to help him get out of debt.

The article then refers to former Senator Paul Douglas, the first chairman of an Ethics Committee here, who went to Massachusetts for the dinner and said that testimonial dinners were still " the most effective and decent device" for raising political funds. This was clearly to get a man out of debt. I would ask the Senator, is that not a parallel to what his problem was?

Mr. DODD. I am not intimately familiar with Peabody's situation. I like and admire him, and know him to some extent. I assume it was, but I cannot categorically state "yes" because I do not know the facts that way.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Were not those debts incurred two ways; one, because of loss of income when a talented and able man assumes a public office that pays a comparatively meager salary and, two, because of the expenses that go beyond what the job pays?

Mr. DODD. Well, that is what it seems like to me, because of my own experience.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Plus the cost of campaigning?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. As the committee so correctly spells out in its report, the court decisions as well as the committee view is that any person on trial for any misconduct before the Senate is entitled to due process; and due process, I submit, as was stated and agreed by the senior Senator from Minnesota, includes the presumption of innocence until he has been found guilty. So, in effect, there is a burden on somebody to prove the Senator guilty of some misconduct. I do not depart from my views in the colloquy of yesterday. I think the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from North Carolina very well spelled it out; but Senators should not

vote to find the Senator guilty of anything unless they have been convinced that this presumption of innocence has been overcome.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator for his observation. I think I touch on that a little further on.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Might I urge upon the Senator that he suggest that Senators turn to page 885 of the record of the hearings to see the letter to which he referred. Sometimes what one sees is more readily believed than what one hears.

Mr. DODD. Yes; I am grateful for the suggestion. I should have pointed that out.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Senators can see it, and they can judge the language.

Mr. DODD. Yes, that is right. It is at page 885.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is it not true that during the brief period when the Republicans held control of the Senate, the late Senator Styles Bridges was its President pro tempore?

Mr. DODD. Yes, I am confident that that is so. I was not here at the time, but I know it is so.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. In view of the committee having twice quoted that one sentence out of context, would the Senator quote a second time, beginning with the words "I always understood"?

Mr. DODD. I do not mind——

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The committee stated the first sentence twice in its report, and I suggest that the Senator read the second sentence a second time.

Mr. DODD. If the Senator wishes me to do so, I shall do it.

I am referring to page 893 of the record: The first quotation is:

> I have had no information about any dinners held for anyone to obtain funds for personal use, none that I have ever attended that I knew were being held for that purpose.

The second part not quoted where the first part is quoted was:

> I always understood that they were having an appreciation dinner or testimonial dinner but I didn't know that it was for personal, or political, or local campaign or national.

I say that when you read that in context with that first paragraph, which was the only one quoted, you get a different impression of what was being said. It seems to me—and I do not think I am laboring it at all or torturing it—that the President was saying not that he was deceived but that he was unaware of the precise nature of many of the functions he attended.

This half quotation, I say, is in the nature of a half truth and it is a damaging half truth, to boot. I think it is unfair to me. I do not understand how that happened. I have had numbers of people ask me about it. I have said: "Read that record and look at that other page and you may get a different impression or you may have a better understanding."

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I have attended all sorts of fundraising functions and I never did know precisely for what use the money raised was put. I have gone to considerable effort with respect to some Louisiana dinners to find out what happened and I have not found out yet.

If the Vice President was in the dark it does not surprise me, for I certainly have been in the dark as to precisely where the money was going. I have sometimes asked the national committee to please find out how much of the money is going to the national committee. They have reported back: "That is a matter of States rights and home rule and there is nothing we can do about it; if we inquire further it might be resented, and we are not going to ask that."

Mr. DODD. That has been my experience. I did not know exactly, or care one way or the other. It may be someone I knew or was interested in, or some affair and that is why I was there. I think that is true of a great many people.

In any event, that matter has distressed me. I do not know why in the world both sentences could not have been quoted together, because I think people would have a better understanding about that portion of the record.

Maybe it was a mistake. I do not charge there is anything sinister about it, but it made it difficult for me. When I say, "maybe," it was a mistake. I am confident it was. I do not want to leave any doubt about that. I am not suggesting it was anyhing more than that.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Here is a case, *Commissioner* v. *Duberstein*, 363 U.S. 278, in which the Supreme Court held that in determining whether or not a particular receipt constituted income or a gift to the recipient, the donative intent of the donor is determinative.

The Tax Court applied the Duberstein rule in construing the taxability of certain amounts raised at a testimonial dinner on behalf of a labor leader. (Max Kralstein, 38 T.C. 810 (1962)).

The Tax Court opinion stated the rule of the Duberstein case as follows:

> Recently in *Commissioner* v. *Duberstein*, 363 U.S. 278, the Supreme Court discussed and restated the applicable principles to be applied in determining whether or not a specific transfer to a taxpayer in fact amounts to a gift to him within the meaning of the statute. Quoting with approval language in the dissenting opinion of the earlier case of *Bogardus* v. *Commissioner*, 302 U.S. 34, 43, the Court indicated that "what controls is the intention with which payment, however voluntary, has been made." *Commissioner* v. *Duberstein, supra at 286*. If the transfer proceeds from a "detached and disinterested generosity," "out of affection, respect, admiration, charity or like impulses," it is a gift in the statutory sense. If, on the other hand, the transfer proceeds primarily from "the constraining force of any moral or legal duty" or from "the incentive of anticipated benefit of an economic nature," it is not a gift. *Commissioner* v. *Duberstein, supra at 285*.

Mr. President, let me say that what the Senator from Connecticut is saying is the law, has been repeatedly declared by the Supreme Court to be the law, and was testified to by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] in the Stratton case in a lower Federal court. It is the law.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator for his statement. He knows much more about it than I do.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The tax law is within the jurisdiction of the committee of which I have the privilege to serve as chairman.

Mr. DODD. I know it. That is what I meant when I said the Senator knows much more about it than I do. But, in any event, it has been my understanding that that was the rule or regulation policy of the Internal Revenue Service. That is why I made the statement I did. I am not so familiar, by any means with the case as is the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I do not know everything there is to know about tax law but I have served as chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, I have served as chairman of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and I have also served on the Democratic senatorial campaign committee, year in and year out.

I am happy to say that that latter burden has now been taken over by the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE]. I welcome him to that job. He is entitled to it. It is an interesting job. One is bound to learn something he did not know before he took the job. While I do not claim to know everything about tax law, the Finance Committee and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation are staffed with experts—lawyers, economists, statisticians, and accountants—who are quite proficient. When they tell us what the law is, we can be sure that that is what it is. So the staff has advised me with regard to the matter of donative intent that I recited.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator for his further observation.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Assuming the people who signed affidavits, particularly those who knew what they were signing and who read them and understood TOM DODD was $150,000 in debt, which he had incurred in seeking office, were available to come to the committee and testify that their contributions could be used to cover so-called personal expenses, as the committee has documented some of them, why does anyone have any basis for complaint?

Mr. DODD. I do not know. I do not know of anyone who was at the dinner who complained.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Assume two persons came to a dinner costing $1,000 apiece. Suppose Mr. A wanted to help TOM DODD. He did not want to help the Democratic Party. He did not even want to help reelect TOM DODD. He knew TOM DODD was in debt and he put up the

$1,000. Then suppose Mr. B was interested only in having his $1,000 meet campaign expenses. If TOM DODD spent the $1,000 that Mr. A put up for essential personal expenses—which were in large measure a case of the butcher stepping into the shoes of the sound truck driver and that sort of thing—would that not be all right since Mr. A had not attached any strings to that $1,000? If TOM DODD had spent Mr. B's $1,000 for personal purposes, Mr. B might have a right to question it and say, "Wait a minute. I did not understand it that way. I wanted my money spent in the campaign."

But if money spent for so-called personal expenses were put up by people who are content to help him with a personal problem and personal debts, why should others complain if their money is spent to cover political expenses?

Mr. DODD. I agree with the Senator. There is only one person I know of who asked for his money back, after I announced that if anyone felt he was deceived I would return the money to him.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Twenty-five dollars, as I understand.

Mr. DODD. Yes. I wish the Senator from California were here. I got my canceled check back the other day, and I saw where it was cashed in Anaheim, Calif.

But in any event, he is the only one I have heard from out of the hundreds of people who attended these affairs.

I remind Senators that when I made that announcement, it was on the front page of every Connecticut newspaper, and on every radio and television station, not once but several times, and he is the only one I have heard from.

I do not wish to belabor this issue, or burden the RECORD, or bore Senators. I am trying to give what I think is an accurate picture of what was in the minds of the people who attended these affairs. I do not know of any better way to do it than to have Senators hear and read into the RECORD what they said themselves, in these affidavits. Obviously I cannot read 435 of them, and I would not try to. Many of them are identical in form. But some of these people are significant people, in the sense that they are not Democrats, and they were not making contributions to me because I was one. They were buying tickets to these affairs for another reason.

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

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. THURMOND. As I construe charge (a), the heart of it is that the funds were raised on the theory of political testimonials and a political campaign, and then used for personal benefit. As I construe the committee's implication—and if I am wrong, I hope the chairman of the committee will correct me on this point—the thought was that these dinners were held on the theory that the money would be used for campaign purposes, when in reality it was diverted for personal use—in other words, in this way the public was deceived.

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. THURMOND. That they were deceived in being led to feel that they were contributing to a political campaign, when the funds were diverted to the Senator's personal use.

I have not understood clearly from the committee whether they consider testimonial dinners per se improper, or not. But as I construe from the responses to the questions I propounded Friday afternoon and, I believe, day before yesterday, no question was raised on that issue as the issue itself was never reached. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], I believe, did go so far as to say that if dinners of that kind were held, there should have been some affirmative statement made that they were for the Senator's personal benefit. But I believe there has been no conflict, or no point raised, about testimonial dinners, if the public understood and were not deceived. So the onus, as I see it, from the charge contained in (a), is that there was deception practiced on the public.

Mr. DODD. That is as I understand it.

Mr. THURMOND. Who were led to believe that they were attending a dinner in the Senator's honor and giving money to him for political purposes, that he then later used for his personal use.

I should like to inquire of the Senator—because I think this is important, to try to get at the real intent, because, as I perceive it, that is the heart of the problem—whether the people who attended the testimonials were deceived. If they were actually deceived, and thereby defrauded, if deception was practiced, then it seems to me that there would be grounds for censure. If the contributing public was not deceived, then that is another story.

Now, will the Senator capsule for us very briefly just a brief résumé of what was done that could have possibly deceived the public? I realize he has presented affidavits here, more than 400 of them, of people who attended these dinners, who indicated that they understood it was for the Senator personally to use the money as he pleased. If people understood that, that is one thing. If they were deceived, that is another.

As I understood, there was a letter written by a gentleman named—is it Mr. Barbieri?

Mr. DODD. Barbieri.

Mr. THURMOND. Whatever his name is, saying that it was a dinner to be held to raise campaign money for the Senator. That would indicate that the purpose of the affair was to raise campaign money.

Did the Senator approve that letter? Did he know about it, or what position does he take on that letter? I would like for him to go over the other bits of evidence—I am not asking him to try to convict himself, but I would like to have a résumé of the evidence strictly against the Senator, and let him very briefly explain it.

Mr. DODD Let me take up the last point, the Barbieri letter, first.

I never saw the letter. Mr. Barbieri testified at the hearings that I had never seen it. I did not know there was such a letter until this year. Yet it is, I feel, being used to demonstrate that I knew, and that this was a deceptive thing worked on other people.

I will say about it what I said about the other two letters: I suppose one could say I should have known. Well, that is an easy thing to say, and a more difficult thing to do. I did not know about it. I did not know about any of the letters except the 1961 letter, which I did see.

Mr. THURMOND. I ask the Senator this question at that point: Did he see that letter before it went out? Did he approve that letter, have knowledge of it?

Mr. DODD. I never laid eyes on it. Mr. Barbieri testified at the hearing that he had never shown it to me. I do not know what his exact words were; I do not have the transcript before me. But I know what the sense of his testimony was, and I tell the Senator from South Carolina that I never saw that letter, and so it was with the others, except the one from 1961.

Mr. THURMOND. Would the Senator have approved that letter if he had seen it?

Mr. DODD. No. I think it was poorly drafted, and it could have confused or misled people. I do not think it did, because of the fact that the people who went to these affairs knew what they were about. They knew me, and they were not misled. But a better letter could have been written.

Mr. THURMOND. So the Senator's answer, then, as to that particular letter, is that he did not see it before it went out, he did not approve it, and he would not have approved it if he had seen it, since it might have been calculated to mislead people into believing they were contributing to a campaign, when some of the funds were diverted to the Senator's personal use?

Mr. DODD. I would say it might have been misunderstood, or could have been, but I do not think it was. I never saw it.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. For the benefit of those who were not here, let me say that I put in the RECORD a memorandum showing that the Supreme Court has decided twice, on that matter, that it is the intention of the donor that controls; and that is consistent with what the distinguished minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN] has testified, when he was asked to discuss the matter under oath and in court.

That is the law. The Supreme Court has so ruled twice, and so has the tax court.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, it just occurred to me that the Senator from South Carolina had asked me to yield, and I failed to do so. If he has a question, I shall be glad to answer it.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, at the time of the beginning of the luncheon hour, I was propounding some questions on charge (a), the use of funds obtained from the public.

If I understood the Senator's position, it was this: That these testimonial dinners were held for his personal benefit, and he did nothing, by word or deed, to indicate otherwise to the public.

The committee charges that these funds, in effect, were obtained from the

public on the theory of campaign expenses, and then used for his personal benefit.

I asked about the Barbieri letter, the type letter he wrote, because he wrote a letter, I believe, and circularized the people, and said the funds were for campaign purposes. I wonder if the Senator would explain that now.

Mr. DODD. The letter?

Mr. THURMOND. That was the Barbieri letter.

Mr. DODD. I told the Senate before the recess this noon that I never saw that letter, and that I knew nothing about it. That is a fact.

That is the truth of the matter. I thought Mr. Barbieri said so at the hearing. However, I certainly did, and I am sure that if he were asked, he would say so himself.

I did not write that letter. I never saw that letter. I would not have approved it if I had seen it, because I would have thought it could be possibly misunderstood, and I would not have wanted that kind of letter to go out.

Mr. THURMOND. As I understand the position of the Senator, then, he would favor testimonial dinners but he went on the theory that the dinners were to raise money for him personally and that the public knew that. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. DODD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. THURMOND. The money was being raised from the public for the Senator's personal use for campaign expenditures or anything else that he saw fit to use for it. Is that the position of the Senator?

Mr. DODD. Yes, it is. And I have tried to explain as best I can that there is nothing unusual about this in the area of the country in which I live. That was all that was ever talked about by the people who organized these affairs.

That is why I took the matter up with an experienced lawyer, when the first affair was planned or talked about. That has been my understanding of it all the time. That is, of course, how I felt about it.

Mr. THURMOND. The committee takes the position that these funds were obtained from the public on the pretext that they would be for campaign or political purposes, but that they were used for the Senator's own benefit.

As I construe the charge by the committee, it in effect states that the Senator from Connecticut received funds from the public for campaign or political purposes and use them for his own personal benefit.

Is that the way the Senator understands it?

Mr. DODD. The Senator is correct. That is how I understand it.

Mr. THURMOND. I questioned members of the committee several days ago. I do not believe they are at odds with that interpretation. If they are, I would be very pleased to hear from them.

If that is so, if the Senator by word or deed obtained money from the public purportedly for campaign or political purposes and used it for his personal benefit, there would be grounds for censure in my judgment.

If, on the other hand, he did not do so himself and had taken part with anyone else in doing so and did not give approval to any such procedure, that would be another question.

I should like to ask the Senator a few questions along this line, and it may appear that I am taking sides against the Senator. I am taking neither side at this time.

Mr. DODD. I understand.

Mr. THURMOND. I have not decided how I am going to vote, in spite of what some newspapers have said. I will vote for what I think is right, regardless of any extraneous considerations.

Mr. DODD. I understand and appreciate that.

Mr. THURMOND. I want to propound some questions concerning the Barbieri letter.

Just why does the Senator think Barbieri wrote such a letter stating that a dinner would be held to raise campaign funds if that was not the case?

I believe later he did testify or make the statement that he knew the funds were for the Senator's use.

Mr. DODD. I think he did. That is my recollection.

Mr. THURMOND. It is my understanding that he did. However, on what theory does the Senator feel that Barbieri wrote such a letter, saying that these funds would be used for the Senator's campaign?

Mr. DODD. I can only tell you what I understand from him. He is a political leader in our State.

I think he probably had in mind—and he did not have all the facts, obviously—the wiping out of any deficit that existed or making it possible for me to wipe out the deficit.

In our community when a campaign is over and debts are unpaid, the only way they can be paid is by having the individual concerned pay them himself.

I am not sure that was what was in his mind. That has happened time and time again, and I think that is probably what caused him to write that kind of letter.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it the opinion of the Senator that Mr. Barbieri knew the Senator owed a lot of political debts and that he possibly wrote the letter on that theory?

Mr. DODD. He probably did.

Mr. THURMOND. However, if the Senator had been writing that letter himself—I believe the Senator said that he did not know of it or see the letter before it had been sent out—would the Senator have approved of such a letter if he was going to use those funds for his own benefit?

Mr. DODD. I would have written a more careful letter, like the 1961 letter. And from what I know now, it would be vastly different from that letter or any other letter. I would make it very clear what this was all about.

So my answer is that I would not have written the letter this way. I think it could have been written better.

I like Mr. Barbieri. He is a friend of mine but he wrote it, and I did not have anything to do with it.

Mr. THURMOND. The question is whether the Senator, by word or deed, either by himself or working with others, approved or conspired to take any steps to take any money from the public on the theory that it was for campaign purposes and then use it for his personal benefit.

I ask a question now concerning the articles that appeared in the newspapers prior to the time these dinners were held, not afterwards, because they would not be relevant to show any possible deception.

Were the people in the Senator's area deceived by articles that came out in the paper, and did they buy tickets on that theory? Did articles which appeared prior to these affairs state that the purpose of them was for campaign or testimonial purposes?

Mr. DODD. Well, if there were any, I never saw them. I do not know of any. The Senator is talking about articles published before?

Mr. THURMOND. Before the dinner, and saying that the dinners were going to be held for political fundraising purposes.

Mr. DODD. If there were any, I did not see them. I never saw them. I do not know about them. I think the articles that appear in the record were published after the affair, but I could be in error on that.

Mr. THURMOND. Are there any articles that would throw light on this subject? Does the chairman of the committee or any of the members of the committee have articles that were published prior to the time the dinners were held which articles would indicate that they were campaign dinners or that the money would be for the Senator's personal benefit?

Mr. DODD. I cannot answer that, because I do not have any, and I do not recall seeing any.

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

Mr. THURMOND. I do not have the floor.

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

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. PERCY. I ask the Senator from Connecticut to give his interpretation of an article which was published in the Hartford Courant on October 26, 1963. It appears on page 919 of the record and is entitled: "For Dodd War Chest—Ham, Eggs With Lyndon Lure for Democrat $$." The article was written by Jack Zaiman.

It seems to me that this is a clear indication to the people who participated in any of these affairs that it is for political purposes.

The first paragraph reads:

> Ham and eggs at the Hartford Club this morning will cost $100, and if you like having a cocktail at the home of State Sen. Gloria Schaffer in Woodbridge about 1 p.m., it'll cost you another $100.

All the way through this article is the implication that one can come to any one of these functions, and if you want to pay only $1.50 you can come to a tea.

The article further states that the Vice President and his entourage would be there and the indication is that this was certainly for campaign purposes.

It states in part of the article that it is to help raise a war chest for his renomination and reelection campaign the next year.

That is the thought I get from every single article I read that were part of the hearings.

Mr. DODD. I think that article appeared on the day of the affair.

Mr. PERCY. Here is an article that was published in the Hartford Times.

Mr. DODD. Let us clear up the first one that the Senator read from.

Was that not the day of the breakfast?

Mr. PERCY. The Senator is correct. The one I just read from was published on the day of the event.

However, this other article is an article which would appear to me to have been put out by a couple of publicity people to attract the people and create a larger crowd so as to bring in as much money and create as much excitement about the affairs as possible.

Mr. DODD. There were no publicity people. I do not believe there was any publicity person or committee or anything of the kind.

I refer the Senator to part 2, page 699. It reads:

Senator PEARSON. Do you know of any statement to the public at any time prior to this dinner which set forth the purposes for which you intended the money to be used?

Mr. BARBIERI. Well, I know that the papers reported it as a campaign deficit dinner.

Senator PEARSON. Where did the papers get their information?

Mr. BARBIERI. I have no idea.

Senator PEARSON. Did you ever have a press conference?

Mr. BARBIERI. No.

Senator PEARSON. Did you have a publicity chairman?

Mr. BARBIERI. No.

Senator PEARSON. Was there any spokesman for your committee at all?

Mr. BARBIERI. With the press?

Senator PEARSON. Yes.

Mr. BARBIERI. No.

Senator PEARSON. So they picked it up as just a matter of general information, that it was a deficit dinner?

Mr. BARBIERI. That is my opinion.

Senator PEARSON. Do you think the public might have gotten the same idea?

Mr. BARBIERI. If they believed what the papers said, I would say so, yes.

Mr. PERCY. I ask the Senator for his comment on how he would interpret an article that appeared 5 days before the dinner—page 891 of volume 2—in the Hartford Times, November 21:

Officials of the dinner said that Senator DODD actually was presented with a blank check. However, they estimated that after expenses are paid the amount he will receive will be $40,000 to $45,000. Some of the money, it was reported—

This is by the officials of the dinner—

will be used to clean up a deficit outstanding since Mr. DODD's 1958 campaign.

On the following page, 892:

First Selectman Arthur B. Powers, treasurer of the committee, said the money will help Sen. DODD meet his campaign deficit.

Mr. DODD. Yes. The Senator from Illinois is aware that Mr. Powers said that he never made any such statement. That is part of the record. I referred to it here this morning.

In any event, I should like to continue, if I may, and I will touch on this matter.

Mr. PERCY. May I just point out one further reference to the question of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] as to whether articles appeared before the affair.

Beginning on page 917 there are "12 newspaper reports of 1963 Connecticut events."

This is from the Hartford Courant, October 20, 1963: "$100-a-Plate Breakfast Will Be First for State."

Here it was clearly labeled as a political breakfast for $100, with Lyndon Johnson as the chief attraction, and so forth. It talks about—well, anyone can read the article. Certainly, the implication to the public is that it is a fundraising affair, clearly for political purposes.

Mr. DODD. This article throws me off with respect to the remarks I have prepared. I will handle it in due course.

I was talking about something else, and I was trying to answer the Senator from South Carolina; and I would have said to him what I have now said to the Senator from Illinois—perhaps if he would wait until I get into that part of my remarks, I may be able to answer it better.

I had started to talk about the chart which was presented, I believe, last week. I said I could not understand it, that I was confused by it. I said I did not blame the confusion on him, but I blame myself, perhaps, for not having known that these funds were unseparated; and I did not deny that personal expenses had been paid out of testimonial funds.

Mr. COOPER. I spoke to the Senate last Thursday for a short time before the Senator from Louisiana, and I based my remarks on the stipulations. I pointed out, that the first stipulation shows that the Senator from Connecticut's personal indebtedness was $150,000 at the end of 1959. We assumed that it all might be for political indebtedness, but during the debate the Senator from Connecticut has said that only $120,000 would be attributable to political indebtedness.

Mr. DODD. Yes, because——

Mr. COOPER. The stipulations also showed that over $450,000 had been collected from all sources.

Mr. DODD. Yes, but a large part of that money was contributed to the political campaign and had nothing to do with these testimonial affairs.

Mr. COOPER. My point on the stipulation is that it showed the indebtedness in 1959 of $150,000; $211,000 was referred to in the stipulation, as the total amount until 1959 that you had borrowed but $150,000 was the amount owed in 1959, according to the stipulation, before the fundraising events occurred.

In my remarks, I pointed to the stipulation showing that from the fundraising events and the campaign of 1964 $450,000, approximately, had been collected.

Mr. DODD. That had not been; that is the important point.

Mr. COOPER. It is shown to be in the stipulation——

Mr. DODD. You put altogether the political contributions that came in for the political campaign and added that to the testimonial. It is not the same at all.

Mr. COOPER. But it is the total amount stipulated, both the collection for campaign expenses in 1964 and the funds derived from the seven testimonial dinners and other events.

I was pointing out that that total amount collected was sufficient to pay the camapign indebtedness of $150,000 at the close of 1959, to pay the cost of the 1964 campaign, and the personal expenses of $116,000 found by the committee.

That was the purpose of my statement.

Mr. DODD. I understand the Senator, but——

Mr. COOPER. I know the Senator from Connecticut differs.

Mr. DODD. It is not an accurate figure. I do not know how they got all mixed up; but what I have said is right.

The Senator will see that from the testimonials there was $167,000 and from the campaign contributions $246,000, and they total $413,000. That is $55,670 less than the political figures.

Mr. COOPER. Those figures did not appear in the stipulation, which I spoke from. We did not have those figures.

Mr. DODD. They are the figures.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator brought them into evidence first during this debate.

Mr. DODD. I do not have that stipulation in front of me but I know they are the right figures. Maybe that is what caused the confusion, but these figures are correct and that leads me to what I consider to be perhaps the most important thing I want to say, the most important argument I would like to make. It is an argument, if I may use that term, which is completely separated from the question of whether the testimonials were political or personal in nature, whether the invitations were properly worded, or the newspaper articles misleading, and whether the donors understood the nature of the function. It is apart from all of that. I think it is an argument that is completely valid, even if I accepted the committee's position, and I do not. We think it is erroneous.

That position is that all of the testimonials were political in nature and the proceeds, therefore, could only be spent for political purposes.

In order to understand my position I contend Senators must look into what I described heretofore as the basic arithmetic of my position which I presented a few days ago and which, I think, is of the greatest importance.

(This marks the end of the colloquy that occurred during the delivery of Mr. DODD's address.)

EXHIBIT 1

AUGUST 9, 1963.

Mr. JOHN PEPPING,
Pepping Realty,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR MR. PEPPING: Thank you for your kind recent letter and the enclosed check for ten dollars which I am returning herewith.

I appreciate your kind words concerning my work in the Senate, and also your consideration in sending along a contribution for my campaign. However, since my cam-

paign will not get underway for some time yet, I think it would be better for you to hold your check until a later date.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. DODD.

EXHIBIT 2

AUGUST 30, 1962.

Mr. MOSES I. FEUERSTEIN,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. FEUERSTEIN: Thank you very much for your kind letter of August 29.

I greatly enjoyed the meeting with you and I look forward to another one soon.

I am returning your very generous check because I am not running for election this year and will not be doing so until 1964. I appreciate the sentiment behind this kind offer and I am sure you will appreciate my reason for returning it.

I talked to Secretary Goldberg this afternoon. I think I should say Justice Goldberg, and he will be very happy to see you. As a matter of fact, he was willing to see you tomorrow but, of course, this is out of the question since you are not in town.

Mr. Foy Kohler, our new Ambassador to the Soviet Union is coming by tomorrow and I intend to talk to him about the situation.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. DODD.

EXHIBIT 3.

WATERBURY, CONN.,
March 8, 1967.

To Whom It May Concern:

I, Joseph F. McNellis, a citizen of Connecticut, do hereby swear that I have contributed to Senator Thomas J. Dodd, and to many candidates for public office, over a period of years.

Having been Mayor of the City of Waterbury, I am aware of the many problems that confront any candidate running for office.

I have never questioned the use for which contributions were made by me, nor have I ever requested that they be used for a specified purpose. They were to be used in any manner Senator Dodd or any other candidate saw fit to use them.

I have known Senator Dodd personally for many years. Any contributions made to him, were because of my admiration and respect for him.

JOSEPH F. MCNELLIS.

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me this 8th day of March, 1967.

HAROLD D. COLEMAN.

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
County of Hartford, ss:

I, Martin J. O'Meara, being duly sworn, make the following statement.

I have been acquainted with Senator Thomas J. Dodd for over 20 years and have always held him in the highest esteem both in the conduct of his public and personal affairs. I have always understood him to be of modest means and have always had complete trust in his integrity.

Upon occasion, it was my pleasure to assist Mr. Dodd by joining with his supporters in testimonial fund raising dinners. It was my impression that the proceeds from these affairs were to be given to Mr. Dodd for use in defraying his personal expenses without qualification.

I was happy to be able to attend these fund raising affairs because I sincerely believe that this is the only way we voters can expect men of modest means to be attracted to serve in the legislature. There should be little doubt that a man of Mr. Dodd's ability if directed to his private practice of law would have resulted in substantial personal rewards.

Forsaking this type of financial support from those who receive the benefit of representation, the service to the public at this level would be the domain of the wealthy who in my opinion may not reflect the attitude or thinking of the typical voter.

MARTIN J. O'MEARA,
East Hartford, Conn.

TORRINGTON, CONN.

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that in 1965, I, Francis W. Hogan, of Torrington, Connecticut, purchased a dinner ticket for a testimonial dinner in honor of United States Senator Thomas J. Dodd, I usually do not attend state wide dinners of a political nature and attended this one only as a tribute to an old friend, the gift to be used by Senator Dodd as he saw fit.

FRANCIS W. HOGAN.

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me, this 8th day of March 1967.

RICHARD J. FUDAY,
Notary Public.

AFFIDAVIT

BRIDGEPORT, *March 9, 1967.*

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
County of Fairfield, ss:

I, Raymond J. Doyle, Jr., being duly sworn hereby make the following statement.

To the best of my recollection the first time I had the honor of meeting Senator Thomas J. Dodd personally was sometime in 1960. To the best of my recollection I was not personally approached with regards to participating in any testimonal affairs honoring Senator Dodd prior to 1963. I was a participant in a testimonal affair honoring Senator Dodd in 1963.

In this connection, I was offered a free ticket to the affair, but my own personal impression of Senator Dodd was such that I held him in very high esteem and still do. As a young attorney who could have easily accepted a free ticket to the affair, I personally wanted the cost of my ticket to be a personal gift to Senator Dodd. This affidavit truly indicates that I was motivated by my admiration and respect for him. However, that same admiration and respect promotes me to disregard the form affidavit and sincerely indicate that it was my intention that Senator Dodd use the money in anyway he saw fit. I certainly do not think that this can be considered as intending that the money be used as a political contribution.

Dated at Bridgeport, Connecticut, this 9th day of March, 1967.

RAYMOND J. DOYLE, Jr.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of March, 1967.

RONALD H. FORD,
Notary Public.

(My Commission expires April 1, 1967).

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
County of Hartford, ss: BRISTOL.

I, Frederick W. Beach, being duly sworn, make the following statement.

Between 1961 and 1965, I was a participant in testimonial affairs honoring Senator Thomas J. Dodd held in the following years: 1965. In this connection, I donated funds to Senator Dodd. These funds were intended by me as a personal gift to Senator Dodd and were motivated by my admiration and respect for him. It was my intention that Senator Dodd use these funds in any way he saw fit. They were not intended as a political contribution, because I am a lifelong Republican.

FREDERICK W. BEACH.

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me this 2nd day of March, 1967.

GAIL P. GREENLEE,
Notary Public.

My Commission Expires 4–1–70.

EXHIBIT 4

NAMES OF PERSONS WHO SUPPLIED SWORN AFFIDAVITS TO SENATOR DODD

Thomas P. Cody, Franco, Richard; O'Hara, Francis; Charrott, Edwin T.; Davey, Patrick J.

Acunzo, Louis F.; Abrams, Joseph; Adams, Raymond K.; Agins, Marvin L.; Albrecht, A. S.; Altschuler, David A.; Ambrogio, William P.; Amenta, Paul; Annunziata, Edward C.; Annunziata, Joseph; Antollino, Thomas; Antinozzi, Daniel; Arganese, Ralph R.; Arcudi, John A.; Arpino, Mariano; Artell, Florence.

Astaire, Theodore G.; Atwood, W. E., Jr.; Banever, Marshall; Banks, Goodman; Barbarito, A. Mark; Barone, Harry G.; Barone, Joseph A.

Barr, Joseph C.; Barrett, Richard A.; Barrett, Walter; Barry, Alfred B.; Beach, Frederick, W.; Beck, Louis; Beckwith, Rose V.; Belard, Ruth.

Bell, Robert C., Jr.; Bellin, Edward; Bender, Jack; Bennett, Carl; Bennett, James V.; Bero, Frank.

Berta, Joseph J.; Billings, Walter; Birbarie, Louis; Boczar, Laura J. (Stopka); Boland, Christopher T.; Borg, Victor R.; Borrelli, Neal; Bove, Anthony E.

Borysewicz, Walter; Bozzuto, Adam; Brannegan, Daniel; Braffman, Gerald H.; Brannegan, Mary; Breithaupt, Harry J., Jr.; Buckly, Mary Jo; Buononno, Josephine A.

Burke, Donald S.; Buononno, Bernard V.; Burke, Olive M.; Caldwell, J. Edward; Calvocoressi, John L.; Capone, John; Carlin, Earl P.; Cavagnaro, Stephen J.

Carocci, Arnold B.; Carroll, William; Carr, George E.; Casico, Peter.; Cass, John F., Jr.; Cassella, Dominic R.; Catapano, Anthony; Cavallaro, James J.; Cespinwall, James H.; Chieppo, Angelo.

Ciarcia, George; Ciarcia, Mrs. George; Ciarcia, John N.; Ciarcia, Mrs. John; Claffey, Robert F.; Clark, Roger; Clarkson, Norman; Coclin, A. D.

Clarkson, Thomas; Cohen, Rubin; Cohn, Lester J.; Cohn, Marcus; Cohn, Robert S.; Coles, Albert L.; Condon, Margaret; Conetta, Louis D.; Cohen, David.

Conklin, George W.; Connole, William R.; Connor, Richard J.; Coonan, Thomas M.; Cosgrove, Dan; Cotrone, Jerry C.; Craig, Elsie F.; Crane, Richard P.

Crimmins, John D.; Cummings, Harold J.; Cummings, John H.; Cummings, Ted; Cuombo, Salvatore; Curry, Beverly M.; Curry, William E.; Cwikla, Walter J.

D'Addario, F. Francis; Daly, James J. A.; Daly, T. F. Gilroy; Dawson, James F.; DeAngelis, Daniel; Dedda, Luca F.; FeFala, Anthony.

Delany, Frank J.; DeLucia, F. Arthur; Del Vecchio, Frank M.; De Matteo, Gene; DeLeo, Samuel; Denehy, Edward J.; Denuzze, Andrew P.; De Tullio, Mrs. William; DeLeo, Eugene.

Di Fazio, Mrs. Edith A.; Di Fazio, Pasquale A.; Di Napoli, S. George; Diorio, Rocco; Di Rienzo, Mary; Dober, Eliot; Doel, Gilbert H.; Dolan, Thomas J.

Donahue, A. J.; Donnell, Hugh; Donohue, F. Joseph; Doolan, Elizabeth B.; Doran, John C.; Dowd, Francis D. (Mr. and Mrs.); Doyle, Joseph A.; Doyle, Raymond J., Jr.; Drakos, Louis; Dubar, Walter.

Duffy, Allen H.; Dugan, Raymond G.; Dugas, Joseph A. Dr.; Dully, Frank E.; Dunbar, David; Durkin, Francis J.; Dwyer, Mrs. Philip M.

Jaser, George J.; Johnson, Ernest L.; Johnson, James R.; Johnson, Louis W.; Johnson, Wilfred X.; Julianelle, William R.; Jame, Jerome R.

Eagan, Thomas E.; Eagan, F. Owen; Eagan, Joan; Elliott, Stephen K.; Eills, Sidney; Elman, Nathan A.; Elston, Harold R.; England, W. Harry; Engeler, Mrs. Robert D.

Farrell, John; Farrington, Dan; Fay, John E.; Federico, Dominic; Feeley, Francis B.;

Ferrara, Dominick H.; Ficca, Anthony A.; Fitch, Ralph H.

Fitzgerald, James M.; Fitzgerald, W. H. G.; Fitzpatrick, Frank P.; Fitzpatrick, John T.; Ford, William F., Jr.; Forst, Mary Ellen; Fortuna, Carl P.; Fosbrink,, Roy L.

Fossi, Louis J.; Franco, Salvatore A.; Frank Rudy; Frascatore, Michael A.; Friedler, Jack R.; Frione, D. V.; Fuoco, Michael.

Gallagher, Walter E.; Garofalo, Ralph; Garrity, Harold W.; Gebauer, Charles; Gelormino, Anthony C.; Gemski, Joseph F.; Genovese, Phil; Genovese, Restituta B.

Giarelli, Andrew F.; Gildea, George; Gill, John; Giorgio, Thomas; Goldstein, Daniel M.; Gollinger, David; Goodin, Alvin R.

Grant, Ralph J.; Grills, Leo J.; Guzzi, Ralph J.; Gwiazda, Henry J.

Hamill, Agnes M.; Hamill, Mary I.; Hamill, Clare; Hammer, Harry; Hannafin, Mrs. Lawrence; Hardwick, Donald; Harris, Eugene H.; Hatheway, Harriet R.

Healy, Jack P.; Hegarty, John F.; Henchel, Charles; Hermanowski, Leo E.; Hess, Victor J.; Hewitt, Norman; Heyman, Lazarus S.; Higgins, Edwin J.

Hine, William L.; Hirth, Emanuel; Hochberg, Benjamin; Hogan, Francis W.; Hogan, Patrick J.; Huerstel, Maurice C.; Hulton, Marion E.; Hyman, George.

Idarola, Robert A.; Iovine, Andrew R.; Isacs, Herman III.

Kane, Joseph E.; Kaplan, Seymour B.; Keating, John G.; Keller, William L.; Kelly, Edward J., Sr.; Kelly, J. Michael; Kelly, Peter R.; Kenny, Kevin B.

Keyes, Thomas F., Jr.; King, Elizabeth L.; Kloss, Walter; Knott, Joseph W.; Koskoff, Theodore I.; Kovacs, E. Paul; Kovacs, Julia B.; Kovacs, Robert G.; Kronheim, Milton.

Lally, Thomas C.; Lansky, Michael J.; Lamb, George P.; Later, A. H.; Lathrop, Cecil, Sr.; Lennon, James H.; Levett, Arthur; Lipman, Morris.

Lippman, Abraham; Lubell, Arthur; Lucertini, Annette; Luckart, John J.; Luria, Sidney; Luzzo, Marie R.

Mainiero, Nicholas; Maloney, Donald M.; Marak, Charles E.; Margoles, Constantine; Markham, James; Marinan, James T., Jr.; Marino, Benjamin A.; Marino, Phyllis.

Marks, Richard J.; Marra, Fred; Martin, Edward; Masnik, David; Matthews, Alwyn F.; Maturo, John C.; Mauro, Edward; Mayo, Glendon R.; Mazza, A. P.

Mazza, Frank E.; McCabe, Eugene L.; McCallum, E. J. Jr.; McCarthy, John F.; McCue, William D.; McDonough, Charles E.

McDonough, E. Merritt; McDonough, Joseph M.; McDonough, Mrs. Joseph M.; McGee, Frank S.; Guinness, John J.; McKane, Edward B.; McKay, James.

McKenna, William F.; McNellis, Joseph F.; McWalter, Anne; Mechlin, Thomas B.; Medvedow, Leon A.; Merrick, Paul R.; Miko, Joseph; Migliaro, John C.; Miner, Francis E.

Minogue, Thomas E.; Monoco, Peter; Mongillo, Albert J.; Montano, Paul C.; Morano, Albert P.; Morgan, Harry E.; Morgan, Mrs. Harry.

Moriarty, Julia S.; Moriarty, Matthew M.; Mulcahy, J. Frank; Mulcahy, John F., Jr.; Murphy, Albert G.; Murphy, Richard B.; Murphy Timothy J., Jr.

Nagle, John F.; Narden, Mrs. John; Neiditz, Moses J.; Nichols, Peter; Noonan, James F.; Northrop, Curtis J.

Northrop, Mrs. Richard (Harriet); Nosal, Charles; Nowitz, James Robert; Nucci, Ella Mae; Nugent, Arthur J.; Nunes, Myron A.

O'Brien, William J.; O'Connell, James J.; O'Connell, William T.; O'Connor, Dennis P.; O'Connor, James D.; O'Keefe, Arthur B.; O'Meara, Martin J.; Opper, Charlotte.

Parseliti, Frank; Pearson, Baldwin; Perlmutter, Irving H.; Perrotti, Frank; Perry, Robin L.; Piccolo, Frank A.; Piscitelli, Clement N.; Pomerantz, Paul J.

Porter, Henry A.; Powell, Norman; Powers, Arthur B.; Powers, W. Sherman; Pozzi, Paul E.; Prevedini, Val; Prezioso, Emil; Purcell, Harry B.

Quinn, Timothy A.; Ramsey, William B.; Randall, Wilbur W.; Rees, William H. H.; Reynolds, Edward M.; Rheame, Alton V.; Riccio, Frank H.;

Roberto, Fred J.; Robinson, John F.; Robinson, Peter C.; Rogers, Alfred R.; Rogers, James; Rosenberg, Abner; Rothstein, Harold; Rothstein, Mrs. Harold.

Rubens, Raymond B.; Rutenberg, Gideon; Salerno, George A.; Saslow, Irving; Schatz, Walter B.; Schroeder, Frank; Serletti, Albert;

Shanley, Francis Shapiro, Harold; Shea, Cornelius D.; Shea, Cornelius J.; Shearer, Frederick F.; Siegel, Jay; Sigal, Jules H.;

Silberman, Samuel H.; Simko, Vincent M.; Smith, Edmund S.; Smith, Ralph; Smith, John F., Jr. (Jack); Sprague, Ralph E.; Stackowitz, Kathryn McG.;

Stambol, Angelo; Starr, S. Leger; Stein, Louis; Sullivan, E. F.; Sullivan, Howard J.; Sullivan, Irene; Sullivan, Mary T.

Talsky, Jack B.; Tamburri, William A.; Taneszio, Anthony T.; Tarca, John W.; Tarpinian, Charles S.; Tenin, Herman B.; Tercyak, Rosemary; Thornton, William B.

Tilney, Bradford S.; Toner, Joseph V.; Tormey, Ronald G.; Tucker, Frank W.; Ursini, John.

Vece, Toby; Velleca, Neil A.; Venus, Richard E.; Venus, Marie B.; Verinis, Constantine P.; Vetti, Manuel W.; Villano, Vincent; Vogel, Robert M.

Wade, Charles G.; Wall, Thomas J.; Waxgiser, Joseph; Weinstein, Daniel; Weiss, Morton; Welch, Maurice; Werner, Charlotte H.; Whelan, Francis.

Wickert, William G.; Winters, John T.; Wilkerson, Mrs. Ogden; Wilson, Ab; Woltch, Samuel H.; Zampano, Anthony N.; Zampano, Dorothy M.; Zimmerman, Louis.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DODD. I yield for a question.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator has told what his net worth is as of now. He said that it was about $50,000, including the house he has had for as long as 30 years.

Mr. DODD. I think it is less now, but I will accept that figure.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Will the Senator tell me what his net worth would have been in 1961, prior to this first testimonial dinner that was held to relieve the Senator of some of the debts he had?

Mr. DODD. It would not have been very much. I do not know how to calculate that quickly, but it would have been pretty low.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Would it have been less than the $50,000 as of today?

Mr. DODD. Obviously.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator mentioned that he does not live lavishly.

He has told about everything else about his life, or had it investigated.

Would the Senator mind telling me who does the cooking in his household?

Mr. DODD. Well, Mrs. Dodd does it. She has for all of our married life.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. All of it?

Mr. DODD. Oh, we have a girl that comes in 2 days a week part time to do some cleaning, but she does not do any cooking. My wife does it.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator has a person come in to help out with the housework twice a week.

Mr. DODD. That is correct; to clean. Maybe that is lavish. I would not think so. It is not anything new with us, either.

It has never been much different. I am embarrassed even to answer the question or have it raised, but I said before that my bones are bare anyway. It does not make much difference any more.

My wife, whom some of you know, has raised six children. She has done her own work, made her own clothes, cooked our food.

Among the darts and arrows, the meanest of all is the charge that we lived lavishly—not so much for me, but as against her.

I yield the floor.

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

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. THURMOND. Did the Senator approve of any publication in the paper or any notices to the public, or did he have any part in approving any notice to the public that would lead the public to believe that these dinners were held for campaign purposes and not as testimonials to him, from which he would receive any personal benefits?

Mr. DODD. No. I did not at any time. I did not even see them until long after they were printed. I do not recall having seen them.

You may ask me: "You didn't see any of them? You didn't see one of them?"

That could very well have been so, and I think the point was raised with me: "What did you do about it?"

Well, I did nothing. I have been in public life for 30 years, and from time to time I see all kinds of things and misstatements and misunderstandings. And they are made honestly, I guess, but I have not made it a practice to challenge everything that I read.

You may ask: "Well, was this not more important than other things you might find fault with?"

It was not to me, because I thought everybody knew. I do not recall anywhere ever seeing those articles, either at the time they were published or thereafter and for some considerable time thereafter.

Mr. THURMOND. I have another question, and possibly the committee might like to answer this question.

It is alleged that the Senator from Connecticut wrote a letter to the President, I believe, thanking him for coming up there.

I understand the Senator to say this morning that he did not write such a letter.

Mr. DODD. The Senator misunderstood me. I am sure I did not say that.

Mr. STENNIS. May we have quiet, Mr. President? I cannot hear the Senator from South Carolina very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Let there be order in the Senate.

Mr. THURMOND. The letter to which I refer began: "Dear Lyndon," and I believe it thanked him for coming up to the dinner.

Mr. DODD. I said I never said I did not write it. What bothered me was the salutation. Maybe there were other letters about that time. But the general principle maybe came to my mind later.

I know I certainly have not in a long time addressed a Vice President or President by his first name. But I did not say that I did not write that letter.

Mr. THURMOND. I wonder if the com-

mittee has such a letter. Does the chairman of the committee care to respond?

Mr. DODD. I think I can help you.

Mr. THURMOND. As I understood, the Senator from Connecticut said he did not remember writing such a letter and that he was not accustomed to addressing the Vice President as "Dear Lyndon." He said that he would write him as "Dear Vice President."

Mr. DODD. What I said is that I had some doubt about the letter because of the salutation.

I did not say this morning, and I am not saying now, that I did not write the letter.

Mr. THURMOND. I wonder if some member of the Senator's staff could have written the letter and signed the Senator's name, as sometimes happens.

I would like to ask the chairman if the committee has such a letter in its possession.

Mr. STENNIS. Yes. We do have the letter. We did not use the letter because it was taken along with other letters that were taken from the file.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, we cannot hear the Senator.

Mr. THURMOND. Did the committee ask the Senator whether he signed a copy of the letter?

Mr. STENNIS. We gave him a copy of it months ago, and he covered it very completely this morning in his speech, I thought.

Mr. DODD. When the Senator asked me about it, he pointed out that it was published in the New York Times. I have not raised any question about its validity. I remarked in passing that it struck me as a little strange at the time.

Mr. STENNIS. If the Senator from Connecticut will yield to me, did the Senator from Florida say that he did not hear me? I was a little hoarse.

Mr. HOLLAND. I could not hear exactly what the Senator's answer was to the question propounded by the Senator from South Carolina. If he would mind restating it——

Mr. STENNIS. The Senator from South Carolina asked me if I had the letter that has been talked about, which was written to Vice President Lyndon Johnson, the letter of thanks. Senator DODD spoke about it this morning. I said yes, the committee has the letter, and has had it all this time. It came out of the papers taken from Senator DODD's office. We did not use it as affirmative evidence. We gave Senator DODD, though, a copy of that letter, together with all those other papers before there was any testimony taken, sometime early in 1966.

Mr. THURMOND. If I can inquire from the Senator from Connecticut as to just how this money was handled—was this money deposited in his personal bank account or campaign bank account or some to both, or was it put in the testimonial account and later divided and distributed?

Mr. DODD. The last part of the Senator's statement was correct. It was put into a testimonial account and afterward distributed, as I believe the Senator put it, to me. Unfortunately, it was mingled with campaign funds—I do not know for how long a period of time.

I do not know whether I covered this, but those moneys were used for campaign purposes during that year; and I said, "Well, all right. You don't have to give it to me right away. If you haven't received any contributions"—and we had not, in the early part of 1964—"go ahead and use it," and they did. I think that is how it came to be commingled.

I pointed out this morning that in 1963 I received contributions which I returned and said, "I am not running until 1964." I received them as early as 1962, and I returned them. I have the letters, and the people are easily identified. I believe they can be readily found. I said, "No, I am not running, and I cannot take any campaign contributions." I returned their money. I never thought that one could take any campaign funds in any year except an election year. Perhaps I was under a gross misapprehension, and I have wondered about it for some time. Perhaps the law is not clear, but that is the way I always understood it—that the only time you could collect campaign contributions was in an election year. I have read and reread that section of the code, and that is the way I understand it.

So I was not collecting campaign funds in 1963. What sense would it make for me to be returning them to some people and taking them from others? It did not happen. These were not campaign fundraising affairs.

Mr. THURMOND. Under the ruling of the Internal Revenue Commissioner, I believe any funds collected for campaign purposes, to pay present campaign expenses or future campaign expenses, are exempt from taxes, and the tax would have to be paid on any funds used for personal purposes. I am wondering whether the Senator had in mind that he would be responsible for any of the funds that he used for personal use and if he is contemplating paying such taxes.

Mr. DODD. If I have misused any, I certainly would. If anything like that happened, of course, I would pay it.

That reminds me—something, I thought, was made of the fact that I paid back the $1,700 only a few days ago. I got the inference, "Why did the fellow wait so long?" Well, there was a first good reason—the money.

Second, I was hoping that I could get together the data necessary for reimbursement for my travel to and from my home State. I had the feeling that whoever was speaking at the time thought it was of some significance that I did not put in for what I was owed. This goes back 6 years. I do not know whether I went by automobile or by train or by airplane, and I am trying to find out, and I have had some people working on it. But it is not an easy thing to do, unless you keep a daily diary of everything you do, and I have not done that. It makes quite a difference in the final account submitted.

Mr. THURMOND. I was not going into that part of it.

Mr. DODD. I know the Senator was not, but he just reminded me and I do not believe I explained it to the Senate.

Mr. THURMOND. It is my understanding that the Senator takes the position that he collected $170,000 from campaign dinners and paid out $221,000, which was $51,000 more than he had taken in. Are those the correct figures?

Mr. DODD. Yes, except for one word. They were not campaign dinners.

Mr. THURMOND. From testimonials, then.

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. THURMOND. Collected $170,000 from testimonials and spent $221,000 on political expenses.

Mr. DODD. Well, we took the figure on that chart of $167,000 of testimonials, because that is taken from the committee report, and from the stipulations.

What was the Senator's question?

Mr. THURMOND. I just wanted to verify that amount. As I understood from the Senator's speech, he took in $170,000 from these testimonials.

Mr. DODD. I would use that round figure.

Mr. THURMOND. And he spent $220,000

Mr. DODD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. THURMOND. Which is $51,000 more than the testimonials brought in.

Mr. DODD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. THURMOND. Which means that he spent $51,000 out of his pocket.

Mr. DODD. Yes, around $50,000, or something more than that.

Mr. THURMOND. For political purposes.

Mr. DODD. Yes, I did.

Mr. THURMOND. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the first part of the resolution.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, if no other Senator desires to respond to the Senator from Connecticut, I should like to make a brief statement, at the conclusion of which I would propose my amendment which is on the desk of the Senators. I will yield to others, if they wish to speak.

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

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. MONRONEY. The distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] is momentarily off the floor. I should like the opportunity to notify him.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I suggest that the Senator send for him. I am not going to suggest the absence of a quorum, because we have such good attendance at this moment, and we will have less by the time the roll is called. I will speak for a few minutes. If the Senator from Mississippi or someone else desires to respond to Senator DODD, I will yield at this time. Otherwise, I would make my speech and hope that I might offer my amendment, and that we might vote on it.

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

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator for his kindness and his thoughtfulness in yielding.

The Senator from Louisiana plans to offer this substitute, and in the event it is not adopted, the plan is to proceed

then on the argument on (a). Is my understanding correct?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I would not foreclose the possibility of offering some other amendment, but if the amendment is agreed to, I would certainly want to go ahead and adopt it. But as it stands now, all that I have in mind is just to offer the amendment.

I want it understood that I do not want to foreclose the opportunity of offering something that might attract a few more votes, in the event that I had a substantial vote for my amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. I am sure I understand the Senator. I thank him. The Senator from Mississippi has in mind making an additional speech on the resolution that we filed, Senate Resolution 112.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I shall yield in a moment if the Senator will pardon me for just a moment.

With all deference, my judgment now is that that speech would best come later in the debate. If the Senator wishes to offer his resolution, I would be delighted.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I shall speak to the subject.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

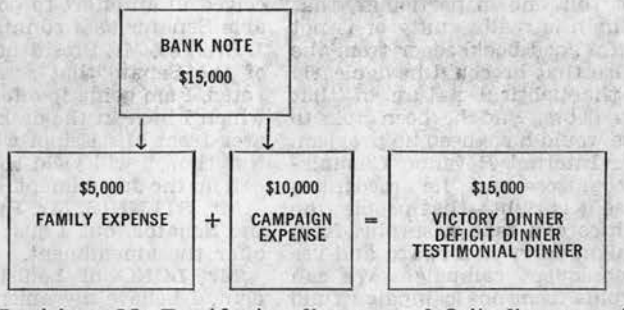
Mr. DODD. I want to make it clear to the Senator and everybody else that I hope we can vote as soon as possible.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I understand.

Mr. President, I have asked that a chart which I prepared be placed on its supports and held high enough for Senators to see it. To me it illustrates clearly the ethical problem we have here. I believe it can be seen across the room.

Mr. President, with that chart before the Senate, I ask that a copy of it, copied as nearly as possible, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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



Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I want to illustrate that there is nothing immoral or unethical about people raising money to pay for personal expenses that are associated with running for office under proper circumstances, nothing whatever; there is no moral or ethical problem involved. I am not talking about the tax problem, I am talking about the moral and ethical problem that some people do not seem to understand.

I am assuming that an ordinary plant worker wants to run for mayor of his hometown. It is not a large town. Perhaps it is about the size of the town where I live, about 200,000 people. In running for office he needs money to pay expenses, so he goes down and borrows $15,000 from the bank. It might be an unsecured loan, it might result from his giving a mortgage on his home, or he might have an endorsement from his friends, but he borrows $15,000. He borrows $15,000 so that he can have a chance to win.

In order to win he has to campaign full time. Therefore, he quits his job at the plant and he is going to need $5,000 for the family to live on while he is making the campaign. The other $10,000 he spends in campaign expenses. He has $5,000 in loss of income which he needs to support the family and he has $10,000 of campaign expenses.

When he is elected, that man holds a victory dinner and all of his friends turn out. They buy tickets to a victory dinner; they hold a celebration for him; and they raise $15,000.

I do not care if you call that a victory dinner, a deficit dinner, a testimonial dinner, or whatever you wish to call it. The fellow could not afford $15,000. Had he lost the election he would have been many years making it up out of his meager income, but by winning he did get to have a victory dinner and get out of the hole so that he would be as well off as when he started running for the job. There is no moral or ethical problem involved in that. That is ordinary, every day, run-of-the-mill politics. That is the case whether the man is running for sheriff, county commissioner, mayor, or whatever he may be running for.

The revenue people will argue with him about that $5,000 personal family expense. They will undertake to contend that that is no more deductible than would that same expense be deductible had he had earned income, which would have been the alternative. If he had not quit at the plant he would have had $5,000 in income with which to feed the family.

I am so familiar with this problem because I have seen it so many times in politics and I am accustomed to it.

A short time ago a friend of mine told me he was called by a young man who wanted to run for Governor in a State where it can cost a million dollars from the time he announces his candidacy, through the primary, and up to the election. The election is about 2 years off, and one needs to start 2 years before if he is running against a strong candidate or an incumbent Governor. He said, "I must have $100,000 right away if you want to support me and see me have a chance to win." They said, "Why do you need that much money now?" He said, "I must eat. I have a wife, I have children, and I have family expenses. If I am going to have any chance to win, I have to close down my law office. I can make $100,000 a year in the law office, but when I close it down and go all around the State on a full-time basis, trying to build support all over the State to have a chance to win, that is going to cost me $100,000. You fellows will have to find that much money or I cannot make the race with a chance to win. Do you want me to run or not? Let's decide that."

Mr. President, I am not quarreling about tax problems. I am saying that if supporters of a candidate want to help him find enough money to run for office it is their privilege to raise enough funds to pay for his living expenses as well as to pay for campaign expenses; and, if, when the campaign is over, he wants to raise money to pay off all of his debts, he can hold a dinner, pay them all off, making no profit, and get back in the same position he was in when he started running.

There is nothing unethical or immoral about that. Some pepole do not seem to understand that. Please do not confuse it with the tax problem. The money that goes to pay for expenses is taxable, in my judgment, although some contend otherwise.

I have before me the speech which former Senator Paul Douglas made the other night. Senator Paul Douglas is loved and admired by all of us, including the Senator who defeated him in the last election for the Senate, and who is a credit to this body. Senator Paul Douglas was one of our great Senators, a man of high moral standards, who wrote a book on ethics. He was the first chairman of our Ethics Committee. The other evening he attended a dinner for former Governor Peabody who ran unsuccessfully in Massachusetts, and who wound up $150,000 in debt.

Governor Peabody's friends were not too much concerned about how deeply he got in debt. But of one thing they were convinced: If Governor Peabody had been a crook, if he had been a thief, if he had been unworthy to serve, he could have stolen enough money so that he would not have needed to have that testimonial dinner to get back the $150,000 for which he was in debt.

So Paul Douglas went up to speak at the testimonial dinner which was held to raise that money. Do Senators believe that the people who went there and put up the money for Peabody were too much concerned about whether he had got $150,000 in debt because he was not receiving income from his chosen profession while he was running for office? Do Senators believe that they were concerned as to how to break down the amount to show how he got in debt? The point is that it was a politically oriented debt. If Peabody had not been in politics, he would not have been $150,000 in debt.

Take the ordinary run-of-mill case that I mentioned. A fellow who decides to run for mayor finds that he is going to have to raise $15,000. He risks the

chance that he will not be elected and will have a $15,000 debt. Multiply that amount by 10, and that is the case of former Governor Peabody, a candidate for the U.S. Senate. Multiply that case by 10, and it is the case of TOM DODD. It is just an everyday political problem.

If Senator DODD had undertaken to urge his friends to have some victory dinners or fundraising dinners when he was first elected to the U.S. Senate, there would be no problem here whatsoever—just none. There would be no moral problem and no political problem. Senator DODD would have something of a tax problem for the reason that some of the proceeds represent part of his lost income. He was making about $60,000 a year as a lawyer. That breaks down to about $200 a day for every working day. So every day he was out of this law office, we might say that he was failing to earn, on the average, $200 that he would have earned had he been in his office. After 2 years of nonstop campaigning for the Senate—more nearly 2½ years—the man finally became a Senator and was $150,000 in debt.

When I studied the facts of this case, I found myself saying, "This man, with these meager resources, must really have wanted to be a U.S. Senator. He must have wanted to serve here so badly that he would make any sacrifice on earth to be a U.S. Senator. He reminds me of me. That is how badly I wanted to be a U.S. Senator."

TOM DODD really wanted to be a Senator. I suppose that there was a time in my life when I would have given one of my arms if someone could have promised me that I would be a U.S. Senator someday. This man really wanted to be a Senator and made any sacrifice necessary. He would have had no problem whatever—never—ever—no problem—if immediately after that campaign was over he had undertaken to have victory dinners, like former Governor Peabody who had a deficit dinner, to raise money to pay for the deficit.

But Senator DODD did not do it in that way. He spent 3 years trying to carry all of this debt out of his meager income and what little came in from his previous law practice, from fees he had earned in previous years, and from what he could earn on his salary of $22,500, while maintaining two homes and paying taxes on them for his wife and six children. He did what he could to manage. But he had a $150,000 debt structure, and when he got around to paying it off, it worked out this way:

He spent his personal income to retire politically oriented debts. I am talking about debts that occur in two ways, both from the expense of running his office and also debts which occurred in order to meet living expenses because of a reduction in income since he was not practicing law or making money to any extent during the 2 years he was running nonstop for the U.S. Senate.

Then some man would complain that he had not been paid for a political debt, and so he would pay this man—with his personal funds. When he did that, he would not then have the money to pay the personal debts that should be paid; so he would borrow some money from a friend to pay some of these debts. When he got around to paying such loans off, it looked in many respects as though he was using political money to pay off personal debts. But there would never have been any problem there if he had been able to pay those debts off in the beginning with political money, but having used personal money to pay political debts, he then found it necessary eventually to use some political money to pay off personal debts.

But the amount of personal money he paid on the political debts greatly exceeded the amount of political money he paid on personal debts. In other words, on balance, he was in the red, as the chart has demonstrated, by at least $55,000. So he put a lot more of his personal money in than he received back out of politics. Under those circumstances, he had a problem which could well have been avoided had he had a better bookkeeper. It seems to me on both counts, but this one in particular, that what this man is really guilty of is not having had a good bookkeeper from the beginning, so that he could have clearly identified the political nature of that $150,000 in debts. Had he been able to do so, there would have been no problem.

Now the Internal Revenue Commissioner recognizes—and he recognizes this because it is right—that people who are in politics can take a surplus from one campaign, carry it forward and use it in a subsequent campaign. We can take a surplus from one campaign fund and use it to pay the expenses over and beyond the reimbursable items toward getting ourselves reelected later on.

I have heard it said many times that sometimes an expenditure a year or two before an election will do 10 times as much good as a similar expenditure during election year. I know what I am talking about on that. Furthermore, one can take a campaign surplus in a subsequent campaign and use it to retire a campaign debt from a previous campaign.

Now no one has discussed here yet the fact that Senator DODD had the moral right, and it was proper, if need be, as he sought to raise money for the 1964 campaign, to pay off obligations which were left over from the 1958 campaign.

Let me give the Senate one good example.

Here is a man who runs a whiskey store—TOM DODD, who is trying to make good and ingratiate himself with people in a community puts on a party—and the man in the whiskey store sells him a case of liquor. After the campaign is over, and the man still has not been paid for the liquor, and he spends 3 years in that community telling everyone that comes into his store that TOM DODD is a "deadbeat" and does not pay his bills.

So, before TOM DODD, in running for office again, can buy liquor somewhere else to entertain a group of his constituents, he had better go back and pay that liquor bill. Because the man in the liquor store is hurting him far worse than any cocktail party could help him.

Such things put people in the position of saying, "If we are going to elect TOM DODD, we are going to have to get him out of the hole. He is in the hole by $150,000. We are going to have to pay some of that off and reduce that indebtedness. If we wait 3 years before election, we are not going to get him out of the hole much less raise money for the next campaign." This is what he is up against. I find nothing wrong with that.

All this talk about bringing the Senate into disrepute is not TOM DODD's doing. Far more disgraceful is the fact that thieves came by night and stole this man's documents in an effort to destroy him. Far more disgraceful is the fact that sensational newspaper columnists took those documents, and distorted, twisted, and misrepresented the facts—and, yes, wrote outright lies for 18 months running. These are the type of things that tend to bring the Senate into disrepute.

If we are to punish TOM DODD for that, then we will be punishing the wrong person. The persons who should be punished are those who stole and lied and deceived in an effort to portray an honorable Senator as a conniving, petty thief.

Even so, Mr. President, if it be the will of the Senate that something must be voted, I am going to offer an amendment which I have at the desk; but if the Senator from Mississippi wants to speak at this time, I will yield the floor and then call up the amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator, but I just yield to him to offer the amendment.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I believe my amendment is at the desk and I call it up to be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. LONG of Louisiana to Senate Resolution 112, a resolution relative to censure of Senator THOMAS J. DODD:

Beginning with the word "That" in line 1, page 1, strike out all to and including "campaign," in line 10, page 1; beginning with line 3, page 2, strike out all to and including line 6, page 2; and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That it is the judgment of the Senate that the Senator from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, has engaged in a course of conduct over a period of five years from 1961 to 1965 of exercising the influence and power of his office as a United States Senator to obtain, and use for his personal benefit, funds from the public through testimonial functions and campaign fund raising events, in order to retire indebtedness which had its beginning when Senator Thomas J. Dodd sought election to the United States Senate in 1956 and 1958.

"SEC. 2. The Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is highly commended for its diligent efforts, in its investigation into the conduct of Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, to promote higher standards of ethics on the part of Members of the Senate.

"SEC. 3. In order further to promote high standards of ethics for Members of the United States Senate, the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is urged to prepare a Code of Ethics of the Senate of the United States to govern the conduct of the Members of the Senate, and to submit such Code to the Senate for its approval prior to the end of the first session of the Ninetieth Congress.

"SEC. 4. Pending the adoption of a Code of Ethics of the Senate of the United States, the Senator from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, is admonished to avoid any and all conduct which might be construed in any way as being in derogation of the high standards of ethics by which a Member of the Senate of the United States should be governed."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG].

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, first, I wish to correct something I said for the RECORD so that we will have it straightened out. I meant to say Senator THOMAS DODD was $55,000 in the red, as far as his expenditures from his personal funds for political and campaign purposes were concerned. I did not mean in the clear, as the statement may have inferred.

Mr. President, it seems to me it is well to ask, what precisely are we finding fault with? Is it that the funds were commingled? If that is the case, they can be separated. The Senator wants to do what is right. Or do we find fault because somebody may not have fully understood? Or do we find fault because a man did not have a good bookkeeper to keep his records straight so he could identify those obligations as being political in their incipiency?

There are all sorts of suggestions of fault the committee could make. Perhaps the way the man did business would be one. But, in any event, we are not finding fault because he violated any law in connection with the (a) charge. No one charges that any law was violated here. So it means that he did not commit an act malum prohibitum; that is, he should not be punished because he violated a law. Nor is charge (a) an act malum in se; that is a bad thing in and of itself. There is no rule in this area. Everybody does the best he can, and sometimes that is not very good.

It would seem to me we should keep in mind also that the censure charge that first came in was a proposal that THOMAS DODD be censured because he doubled billed the Government, as charged in (b), and because of the way he handled his funds as charged in (a). The sum total was that it had brought the Senate into disrepute, and he should be censured.

I want to address a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair, to be on the safe side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Do I understand that what I have here is a substitute for part (a), or censure charge 1, which relates only to the handling of campaign funds and testimonials, and has nothing whatever to do with the double billing charge?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. So we have a substitute for the first of the so-called censure proposals, and this does not in any way affect the second of the so-called censure charges?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I would point out that the first charge involves something that is not against the law. It cannot even be held to be against good moral standards. It is a practice about which we should have some standards. That is what my substitute seeks to obtain, a standard, something to which an honorable man can look for guidance.

It does have this language in it. I am not wedded to this language, but to me that this is as much punishment as deserved. I do not think further punishment is justified. I myself am reluctant to vote even this much, but it does say that the Senator is admonished. It says:

Pending the adoption of a Code of Ethics of the Senate of the United States, the Senator from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, is admonished to avoid any and all conduct which might be construed in any way as being in derogation of the high standards of ethics by which a Member of the Senate of the United States should be governed.

Here is how Webster's Dictionary defines "admonish":

1. To warn or notify of a fault; to reprove gently or kindly, but seriously; to exhort—

I do not mean "exhort" in this connection; I mean the other definitions—

also, to put (one) in mind of something forgotten, disregarded, or neglected, by means of a warning, reproof, or exhortation—

I do not include "exhortation" in my definition—

as, to admonish an offender for tardiness; he was admonished not to go.

2. To urge or enjoin by means of a warning; as, to admonish silence.

We should bear in mind the many things with which we are dealing. For example, we are seeking to punish a man by a means which in some respects is ex post facto in nature. We are talking about something where traditions vary, people in Connecticut doing things one way and people in Louisiana doing them in an entirely different way. I am not sure we should have uniform standards, but that is something for the Committee on Ethics to decide. Furthermore, we are dealing with a situation in which a man is telling people they are entitled to get their money back. In addition, the tax laws recognize that one can exclude such money from income when it is used for political expenses.

Also involved here is the use of the fruit of the poisonous tree; stolen documents while not used directly by the committee nevertheless have furnished the leads by which much of this information was obtained. We also have the question of due process which is involved not only in the fruit-of-the-poisonous tree issue, but also in objective subcommittee hearings where testimony was taken and the Senator from Connecticut was not present to confront or cross examine those who were testifying.

We also have something else that should be considered. This man has already been punished for anything he might have done, in my judgment.

We have the fact that there were over 400 affidavits available to the Senate from 400 witnesses. If I had been pleading that case and the committee did not care to stipulate what the 400 witnesses would have testified, I would have asked for 400 subpenas to bring those 400 witnesses in here.

I admit that my proposal is mild, but I am reluctant to vote for anything. It does seem to me that if something is to be voted, this is as far as the Senate ought to go; and on that basis I submit it.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I have a unanimous-consent request. I am well aware that my presence here if a vote is taken on this amendment may well embarrass my fellow Senators. I do not wish to do that. I think it might be well, if the Senate will agree to permit it, for me to refrain from voting on this amendment; and, secondly, if the Senate will permit me, to absent myself while the vote is taken.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). Is there objection?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I object. Mr. President, I am willing to permit the Senator, if he wishes to do so, to withhold his vote. I am not willing to permit him to absent himself.

Mr. DODD. I have a reason. I think it is a good one, and I wish the Senator would not object.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I withdraw my objection.

Mr. DODD. I know all these gentlemen, and I do not wish to embarrass any of them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I shall be quite brief on this matter, but I have just a word to add, and I hope the Senator from Louisiana will stay here for a few minutes, anyway.

Much has been said about the term "due process of law" or the lack of it, particularly with reference to some preliminary investigative hearings by various subcommittees consisting of two members of our six-man committee. The witnesses were brought in, in executive session, without Senator DODD being present, and identified, their demeanor judged, their credibility judged, and various preliminary questions asked to see if the committee thought they knew enough to put on as witnesses, or were fit to put on as witnesses, and all such related matters.

That is all that was done along that line. I shall state the details of who they were in a few minutes. For those Senators who do not already know, this practice is considered to be in compliance with what is called the rule of responsibility or rule of caution by investigating committees. It is frequently followed on Capitol Hill, by both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and is done over and over.

In our committee, we adopted the practice very reluctantly, but there was so much said about the former staff members of Senator DODD that I told the chief counsel that I wanted to see them, look them over, talk to them, and see what they would say under oath.

So we brought those witnesses in—Senator BENNETT and I were the subcommittee on that matter—but let me doubly assure the Senate again, as perhaps some Senators did not hear me the

first time, that none of the testimony taken under those circumstances was ever used in any way, or considered by the committee. Anything that we learned from them that was not brought out before Senator DODD was ignored. As a matter of fact, they did not tell us anything in these hearings that was not readily brought out otherwise. Such witnesses included the four discharged employees, beginning with Mr. Boyd.

Another was this witness Bomstein, whom we summoned ourselves. He was supposed to be a special friend of Senator DODD. The other was Mr. McNamara, to whom Senators have heard so many references today, also a special friend of Senator DODD, and chairman of one of the fundraising dinners. Of course, those two witnesses both testified later at open hearings. The committee summoned them; they were not testifying for the committee as such, but they were connected with these fundraising events; and they testified in the open hearings, as did all the four discharged employees.

There were four other witnesses who were examined to some degree in the two-man committees: Miss Pinson, Mr. Gildea, Mr. Perkins, and Mr. Gutwellig.

Mr. Gutwellig was a publisher who we thought had some information others did not have, but, as it turned out, that was not the case.

Mr. Gildea was called with reference to loans, but he was an elderly gentleman and his memory was confused. He was never used any further.

Miss Pinson was called, but her information turned out to be very limited, not material, and was passed by. She was never called back, nor thought of again, so far as that is concerned.

There had been some talk about the possible transfer of some money that Mr. Perkins was supposed to have known about, but he did not know anything about it, so he was forgotten.

That is the whole record about all this alleged lack of due process of law with reference to the hearings.

The Senator made reference again a minute ago to the poisonous tree. I will again go over the alleged poisonous tree very briefly. The facts have just come out here today, Mr. President, about the letter Senator DODD says he wrote to the then Vice President, Lyndon Johnson, thanking him for agreeing to come to the testimonial dinners in Connecticut in 1963. The Senator said he wrote that letter, and went on to comment on it, explaining it, this morning.

That letter was among the papers taken from the files of Senator DODD, and we got those papers—we think all of them—and Senator DODD requested us to let him have copies, which we did. That was satisfactory all the way around, and Senator DODD was very much pleased with it.

But the committee ruled, in preparing this matter, that we were not going to base matters primarily upon those documents. As a consequence, I never heard of that letter—Mr. Fern, the chief counsel, had it, together with the other papers—until I saw it in the New York Times one morning while I was flying to Atlanta. No other member of the committee, I think, knew anything about it. That illustrates that our minds were not influenced by material of that kind. We just left it out.

As a part of that very picture, though, as this matter developed and we began going into the financial arrangements along the lines that have been presented here, I told Mr. Fern to go after those loans. We had asked if Senator DODD and his attorney wanted to file any figures with us, and they did not, which was all right.

But I knew the loans and the finances were going to be a major part of this whole case. And when I said to go after them, I meant to go after the facts. In their hard work, these three staff members, in working on the matter and getting information wherever they could, did run across a memorandum or a ledger from which they got some names involved in some loans.

They developed all the evidence ab initio; they sought out the lenders and attempted to find out how much each loan was, when it originated, and when and how it was paid.

Every single one of those items, handled in that way, was agreed to in the stipulation as being correct. No objection was made.

So all of that testimony referred to in the five items in Senator DODDS brief is in the stipulated record.

Some were material, and some were not so important. But they were all agreed to in the stipulation. So, certainly no harm was done in that way.

I speak with great respect to our friend, the friend of all of us and my friend, the Senator from Louisiana, but I think, Members of the Senate, that to adopt the substitute resolution of the Senator from Louisiana would be a ridiculous thing for the Senate to do. We would be running away from the real issue.

The substitute does not say anything. It is just a lot of words. I do not mean in an immoral sense, but it is a lot of double talk. Yes and no, and no and yes.

I appreciate personally the words the Senator expressed concerning the membership of the committee. But officially that statement has no business in the substitute measure.

I think it would be ridiculous for the Senate to adopt a course of commending six of its Members because they had worked on some evidence, instead of meeting the issue head on.

The issue is: TOM DODD is entitled to a verdict on (a) and (b). Yes or no.

If you want to vote down both of them in the high privilege and responsibility that you have as Senators occupying these seats, that is entirely all right with the committee. You do it that way, but do not come dragging in something like this substitute.

The substitute does not meet the issue for Senator DODD. It does not meet the issue for a single one of the 100 Senators. It does not meet the issue for the countless millions of people who are interested in this matter.

I say with great respect and deference for the Senator from Louisiana that this matter cannot be seriously considered, much less agreed to by the Senate.

Every Senator here knows what the issue is. Every Senator knows what issue must be met. And every Senator knows that it must be met directly.

I do not say this in humor. I do not have much humor about me, maybe, but in section 4, Senator, why would you admonish Senator DODD to avoid all conduct that might be construed wrongly? Why not so admonish all of us?

Why pick him out any more than anyone else if this thing is going to be settled here by a mere admonition for everybody to continue to observe a high state of ethics?

Why say that the committee ought to get together some rules when we announced here through the chairman on the 27th day of April at the time the report was filed:

> Speaking for the committee, the next order of business of the committee will be to make recommendations to the Senate after hearings concerning regulations for Senators and staff members, including the question of disclosure.

With all due deference to our friend, the Senator from Louisiana, it is a sheer mockery to be agreeing to a resolution directing the committee to do something that 2 months ago it unanimously reported here that it was going to try to do.

It would brand the entire substitute measure, with great deference to the Senator, as not going to the issue or to any issue.

It is, therefore, entitled, in my humble opinion, to be rejected.

It is not a trial vote. It is no indication of what our lady Senator and the men Senators think the issue is.

I have been here for 7 days looking into the faces of the membership of the Senate. And if I know anything about character and countenance and concern and responsibility, I have read in the faces of every one of you Senators that you consider this to be a grave and serious matter.

No matter how you may vote, I know you will continue to consider it of the utmost importance and gravity for Senator DODD, for us, and for the country, and that you will dispose of it accordingly—either yes or no—no substitute.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I fear that what I may say will be very anticlimatic to what the chairman has said. However, I cannot resist the temptation to read the language of this resolution and let you see what I get out of it

In order to do that, I will start with the second section and then read the third section.

The second section states:

> The Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is highly commended for its diligent efforts . . .

It seems to me that is saying:

> Little man, you have had a busy day. We are glad to see that you have worked so hard. Of course, we are going to reject your findings because, after all, all you have been on is a detour. We told you to write a set of standards and conduct, and you have been out in left field investigating Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut when you should have been working on the other busi-

ness. So, of course, we reject your findings because they have no point.

Section 3 says in part:

In order further to promote high standards of ethics for Members of the United States Senate, the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is urged to prepare a code of ethics—

You instructed us to do that when you appointed us. We promised that we would do it. As the chairman says, we will get back on the job and get it done, if we can.

Section 3 further states:

and to submit such Code to the Senate for its approval prior to the end of the First Session of the 90th Congress.

You have our pledge on that.

This, it seems to me, says: "Get back to your business. Don't bother the Senator from Connecticut. Get back to writing a code of ethics."

Now, looking at the rest of the resolution, beginning with section 1, it reads, in part:

That it is the judgment of the Senate that the Senator from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, has engaged in a course of conduct over a period of 5 years from 1961 to 1965 of exercising the influence and power of his office as a United States Senator to obtain, and use for his personal benefit, funds from the public—

That has been admitted.

It reads further—

through testimonial functions and campaign fund-raising events—

There is no suggestion here that this is wrong. It is evident that he has done it. So, the Senate will resolve that he did these things.

It then reads—

in order to retire indebtedness which had its beginning when Senator Thomas J. Dodd sought election to the United States Senate in 1956 and 1958.

If you accept that, you believe that all he was doing was retiring indebtedness and that none of these funds were spent for current personal living expenses or for any other current thing.

It does not say whether it is right or wrong, but it does tie the Senate down to the assumption that all of this money was raised to retire indebtedness, and that it is right to obtain funds from the public through campaign fundraising events for personal benefit.

That is not the way the words are placed in order, but that is the effect of it.

It then states, and this I think is the climax:

Pending the adoption of a code of ethics of the Senate of the United States, the Senator from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, is admonished to avoid any and all conduct—

That presumably includes the kind of conduct he has been carrying on for 5 years—

which might be construed in any way as being in derogation of the high standards of ethics by which a Member of the Senate of the United States should be governed.

Now, you accuse us of proceeding without a code of ethics, but you admonish Senator DODD: "Now, there still isn't a code of ethics, and until you get one, be careful that you don't do anything that might get the Senate into trouble."

What it does not say is, "After the code is adopted, you are free to do anything you darn please; but just be careful until the code is adopted."

In other words, "You are on probation until the code is adopted, and then you are free to go back and do anything you please."

I cannot believe that the Members of the Senate would adopt this language as a substitute for the work the committee spent 14 to 18 months doing and the very carefully prepared language which expressed its findings and its recommendations.

I think the Senate would be the laughing stock of the people of the United States if it adopted this kind of resolution. I hope that the Senate will vote quickly, clearing the way, and let us get back to the problem we really face.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, it is the intent of this resolution to say that we believe the code of ethics likely to emerge from this committee will preclude in the future what has happened in this case, and on that basis we admonish Senator DODD, which means: "We find fault with you. We warn you that you should be most circumspect in your conduct, particularly in this regard, until you see what this code of ethics says. So conduct yourself accordingly."

This amendment proposes that we should move perspectively, at the same time finding fault—and one can find fault in a number of respects. Was it because the man did not have a good bookkeeper? Was he careless in the way he conducted his business? Did he deliberately do something wrong? You can decide for yourself. We are finding fault. We are saying here that we believe the code of conduct that will emerge from this is very likely to preclude some of the things that have been discussed here. This proposal seeks further to express our high regard for the committee members as being men of the highest honor in this body.

Mr. President, I have sought every step of the way to express my complete admiration for the devotion, the sincerity, and the high conduct of the members of the committee, and I believe they deserve that, since it has been suggested that the committee is on trial. The committee is not on trial.

I wish the approach here had been the same as the approach of former Senator Watkins of Utah, who was the acting chairman of the committee that recommended censure of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

When he addressed the Senate, he said, in effect: "Here is how it would look to me, based on the investigation that has been conducted. If it does not look this way to you, then vote according to your own conscience and your own conviction. I am not asking you to vote censure merely to uphold the honor of my committee."

And I think that is the basis upon which the majority of the committee would probably like it—I certainly hope so: That one would not feel that we voted censure on a man simply because we admire the committee, any more than one would want to feel the jury voted a man guilty simply because it had a high regard for the district attorney or for the presiding judge.

Mr. President, I have heard it said in this Chamber that censure is a mild remedy, inasmuch as a man may continue to serve in the Senate and retain all the rights of a Senator. I do not agree with that.

As far as I am concerned, censure is a terrible thing to inflict upon a man who has performed with honor for an entire lifetime, and who has been willing to make any sacrifice on earth to be a Member of this body, on the basis of wrongdoings which were not intentional, because perhaps of a fault of others, because his documents were stolen, because he was lied about, or because of any series of circumstances.

Blame him or find some fault with him, if you wish. But censure is a very sad thing to do to a man who has been the soul of honor all his life, who has sought to set an example for his children and grandchildren, who has wanted to serve in this body so that he would be known even by his great-grandchildren as one who served his country with honor.

I believe it is too harsh a punishment. For that reason, I would hope that those who differ with me, if they think of something that carries out the spirit of what I seek to do, but perhaps needs some change in the letter, will let me have their thoughts. For I believe this would be a much better answer to the charge that has been made.

If the Senator did commit what is charged in the second censure resolution—if he deliberately cheated, stole, or defrauded—then he violated the law. It is something that everybody agrees is wrong.

I ask Senators to think for one moment. We are not all perfect. I am not. I have not had the same problem that Senator THOMAS J. DODD has had. But I suppose that if I ever reach the Pearly Gates, it will have to be based on the parable in the Bible about Pharisee and the publican. It will have to be based on the old story of the man who went up to the temple and said, in effect, "Lord, I am proud I am so perfect. I do everything right. I say my prayers. I go to church when I should go. I go through all the motions. I am glad I am not as other men or such as that publican over there."

The other man, the publican, said, in effect, "Lord, I know you probably cannot forgive me, because you know me for what I am. But I beg your forgiveness. I do hope that you will understand why I am what I am."

The Bible says that the Lord seemed to think better of the publican. Since I am one of those who is not without sin, I can understand what the Bible means when it says, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

Mr. President, this man has done no grievous wrong, no intentional wrong,

certainly nothing to the extent of what he is being charged with.

For that reason, I hope the resolution will be agreed to.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are necessarily absent. I also announce that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN] are absent because of illness.

I further announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] is absent because of the death of his mother.

I further announce, that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] was excused from voting and permitted to absent himself from the Chamber by leave of the Senate.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 2, nays 92, as follows:

[No. 155 Leg.]

YEAS—2

Long, La.	Ribicoff

NAYS—92

Aiken	Gruening	Montoya
Allott	Hansen	Morse
Anderson	Harris	Morton
Baker	Hart	Moss
Bartlett	Hartke	Mundt
Bennett	Hatfield	Murphy
Bible	Hayden	Muskie
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Nelson
Brewster	Hill	Pearson
Brooke	Holland	Pell
Burdick	Hollings	Percy
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Prouty
Byrd, W. Va.	Jackson	Proxmire
Cannon	Javits	Randolph
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Case	Kennedy, Mass.	Smathers
Church	Kennedy, N.Y.	Smith
Clark	Kuchel	Sparkman
Cooper	Lausche	Spong
Cotton	Long, Mo.	Stennis
Curtis	Magnuson	Symington
Dirksen	Mansfield	Talmadge
Dominick	McCarthy	Thurmond
Eastland	McClellan	Tower
Ellender	McGee	Tydings
Ervin	McGovern	Williams, N.J.
Fannin	McIntyre	Williams, Del.
Fong	Metcalf	Yarborough
Fulbright	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Gore	Mondale	Young, Ohio
Griffin	Monroney	

NOT VOTING—6

Bayh	Inouye	Pastore
Dodd	Jordan, N.C.	Russell

So the amendment of Mr. LONG of Louisiana was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the leadership may have the attention of the Senate, would the distinguished Senator from Louisiana be prepared to state to the Senate the request which he made of the joint leadership?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Yes. Let me say to the distinguished majority leader that I have been advised that Senator DODD has asked that we go over until tomorrow, before we finally dispose of this matter. It is on his behalf that I make that request. I would hope that the leadership would see fit to recess until whatever time he wants tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, of course we will agree to the request of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut.

ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 12 O'CLOCK NOON TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at this time that when the Senate completes its business this afternoon—and let me urge the entire Senate to stay, because the distinguished chairman of the committee, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], has some remarks to make—it stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object——

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. May I ask, Is that not subject to unanimous consent?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I asked unanimous consent.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I mean on voting.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Oh, no, there is no agreement as to how or when we will vote.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Is there an understanding about voting tomorrow?

Mr. MANSFIELD. None at all, but in view of the request of the Senator from Connecticut, the leadership feels that the only courteous thing to do is to accede.

I would hope, if I may get away from this subject matter for a moment, in line with the meeting held with the chairman of committees today, that tomorrow morning would be used to the best possible advantage by committees in considering legislation which may have been delayed.

I thank the Senator for his attention.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I will take only 2 minutes to refer to the remarks that have been made here about the committee having certain affidavits in its file. Members of the committee had to follow up a great deal of information on these loans and many other financial matters that we had to look into. From the beginning a number of affidavits were taken from people, some in Connecticut and elsewhere. Many of the affidavits related to authenticating documents and background information and were never used as evidence. I do not know anything about those affidavits unless they were referred to in briefings that were made to me as to the nature of the hearings coming up. From all of those affidavits, only eight were from people saying that the contributions to the testimonials were intended as personal gifts. These statements of intent were really incidental to the other information being sought and contained in the affidavits. Of those eight affidavits who made some statement regarding intent, four of them were called in to testify at open hearings. They were friends of Senator DODD. The committee called them as witnesses.

That is all there is about the affidavits with respect to the purposes of the dinner and the use of the money.

I thank the Senator for yielding to me in order to make the statement and to be fair about it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana relinquish the floor?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, now that the Senate has concluded its consideration of Senate Resolution 112 for the day, I ask unanimous consent that there be a brief period for the transaction of routine business, under the usual limitation.

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

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

REPORT ON PROJECTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN FOR THE ARMY RESERVE

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), reporting, pursuant to law, on projects to be undertaken for the Army Reserve, at Petaluma, Calif., Lexington, Ky., Louisville, Ky., Pontiac, Mich., Zanesville, Ohio, and Clinton, Okla.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT ON PROJECTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN FOR ARMY NATIONAL GUARD

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), reporting, pursuant to law, on projects to be undertaken for the Army National Guard, at Juncos, Puerto Rico, and Arcadia, Fla.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Commission, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORT OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on need for compliance with the Truth-in-Negotiations Act of 1962 in award of construction contracts, Department of Defense, dated June 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

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

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 1

"(Sponsored by Representative Robert Smith, Senator Cook, Representatives Bedingfield, Ouderkirk, Wilson, Senators Fadeley, Hallock.)

"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

"We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fourth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

"Whereas the economy of this state is heavily dependent upon timber harvests, and employment in the forest industry represents not less than half of all employment in manufacturing in this state; and

"Whereas this state is the leading timber producer in the United States, and a robust forest industry in this state contributes greatly to the economic well-being of the entire nation; and

"Whereas a majority of the timber reserves in this state stand upon lands now under the jurisdiction of the National Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management; and

"Whereas the Oregon Legislative Interim Committee on Public Lands has reported to us that in the course of its studies of policies regarding the harvest of timber on federal lands, reliable specialists stated that the natural mortality rate of old timber on such lands is approximately equal to the rate of harvest allowed on such lands; and

"Whereas the interim committee has concluded that an accelerated program of harvesting old-growth timber not only will reduce loss through natural mortality but also will encourage the developing of reserves of vigorous, youthful timber; and

"Whereas reputable scholars have asserted that the even-flow concept governing timber harvesting practices may in some instances impound vast capital resources; now, therefore,

"Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

"(1) The Congress of the United States is memorialized to cause a study to be made of practices and policies of federal agencies regulating the allowable harvest of timber on federal lands administered by such agencies. It is urged that this study be conducted on a priority basis, in view of the urgency and gravity of the question, and that it consider especially whether the concepts employed in deriving timber-harvest allowances are best suited under contemporary circumstances to produce the highest ultimate sustained yield of timber products, while benefiting to the greatest extent practicable those localities economically dependent upon the forest industry.

"(2) The clerk shall cause copies of this memorial to be sent to the presiding officer of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

"Adopted by House February 3, 1967

"_____,
"Chief Clerk of House.

"F. F. MONTGOMERY,
"Speaker of House.

"Adopted by the Senate April 6, 1967

"E. D. 'DOBBS' POTTS,
"President of Senate."

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Public Works:

"HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 5

"(Sponsored by Representatives Bennett, Bradley.)

"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

"We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fourth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

"Whereas the Columbia and Williamette Rivers are the major waterways in the Northwest open to seagoing commerce; and

"Whereas there is a complex of facilities now under construction, known as the Rivergate Project, and possibly others, that will greatly increase demands made upon these rivers as avenues for marine transportation; and

"Whereas seagoing vessels are being built much larger, with consequently greater demand for deeper and wider channels; and

"Whereas the present channel depth of the Columbia and Williamette Rivers does not accommodate these largest vessels of today; now, therefore,

"Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

"(1) The Congress of the United States is memorialized expeditiously to provide for the deepening and widening of the ship channels in the Columbia and Williamette Rivers to such extent as will accommodate larger vessels, so that the economy of the nation may be benefited and the prosperity of the Northwest and its ports be continued and promoted.

"(2) The Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives shall cause a copy of this memorial to be sent to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each house of Congress and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

"Adopted by House March 21, 1967

"_____,
"Chief Clerk of House.

"F. F. MONTGOMERY,
"Speaker of House.

"Adopted by Senate May 9, 1967

"E. D. 'DOBBS' POTTS,
"President of Senate."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Illinois; to the Committee on Appropriations:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 67

"(Offered by Senators Collins, Ozinga, Arrington, Peterson, Coulson, McGloon and Dixon.)

"Whereas, The tornado is the most violent of all storms; and

"Whereas, In the most recent such storm disaster involving the northeastern section of the State of Illinois, the tornado dipped its death dealing spout over the communities of Belvidere and Oak Lawn killing fifty-nine and causing property damage which mounted in the hundreds of millions of dollars; and

"Whereas, since the Federal government is spending billions of dollars on national defense, space research and development, and a multitude of various welfare programs, it is appalling that so little of the taxpayer's dollar is spent on research and development in the area of weather forecasting; and

"Whereas, The Federal government has pre-empted the area of weather forecasting, and it has failed in discharging its responsibility; and

"Whereas, A relatively small amount is spent for research and development in this vitally important area; and

"Whereas, there was no warning given to the residents of Belvidere and Oak Lawn of the imminent disaster; and

"Whereas, Now after dozens of tornadoes have inflicted grievous loss and destruction on life and property, and thus far we have not found a way to control weather, there is an obvious need for the Federal government to push more vigorously in the research and development of weather forecasting so as to facilitate effective warning systems that will protect the people from disaster; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Senate of the Seventy-Fifth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, the House of Representatives concurring herein, that we respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to expand its efforts in research and development of weather forecasting by substantially increasing the appropriation to the Environmental Science Service Administration, which has charge of the U.S. Weather Bureau so as to discharge fully its fiscal responsibility for the safety and well being of the people; be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this Resolution be immediately transmitted by the Secretary of State of Illinois to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each member of the Congress from this State.

"Adopted by the Senate, May 15, 1967.

"SAMUEL H. SHAPIRO,
"President of the Senate.

"EDWARD E. FERNANDES,
"Secretary of the Senate.

"Concurred in by the House of Representatives, May 26, 1967.

"_____,
"Speaker of House of Representatives.

"FREDERICK B. SELCKI,
"Clerk of House of Representatives."

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. MONRONEY, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service:

Two hundred and seventy postmaster nominations.

BILLS INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 1977. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to give the Federal Communications Commission authority to prescribe regulations for the manufacture, import, sale, shipment, or use of devices which cause harmful interference to radio reception; to the Committee on Commerce.

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

By Mr. HATFIELD (for himself and Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota):

S. 1978. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the States in providing for the prevention and suppression of structural and wild fires in rural areas; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 1979. A bill for the relief of Carlos Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HART:

S. 1980. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Fernande M. Allen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1981. A bill to provide judicial reforms for courts of the District of Columbia, and

for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 1982. A bill to amend sections 332 and 333 of title 28, United States Code, relating to the Judicial Council and the Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia Circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

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

By Mr. HARTKE:

S. 1983. A bill to eliminate the requirement that the Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against Federal Reserve notes; to the Committee on Finance and, when reported by that committee, to be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

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

REGULATIONS FOR DEVICES WHICH CAUSE HARMFUL INTERFERENCE TO RADIO RECEPTION

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I am introducing today a bill that would amend the Communications Act of 1934 by adding a new section that would give the Federal Communications Commission authority to prescribe regulations for the manufacture, sale, or use of devices which cause harmful interference to radio communications or are capable of causing harmful interference to radio reception.

This bill is similar to S. 1015 of the 89th Congress. Hearings were held on this legislation, considered by the Senate Commerce Committee, reported favorably and passed by the Senate on June 2, 1966. Unfortunately, because of the lateness of the session, action was not completed in the House of Representatives.

This legislation is necessary in order to improve the quality and efficiency of communications services in the industrial radio band and most importantly to eliminate serious threat to safe air regulation and control.

I am hopeful that the committee will take early action on this legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1977) to amend the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to give the Federal Communications Commission authority to prescribe regulations for the manufacture, import, sale, shipment, or use of devices which cause harmful interference to radio reception, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

IMPROVED JUDICIAL MACHINERY FOR THE COURTS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, on March 15, 1966, the Judicial Council of the District of Columbia Circuit appointed a Committee on the Administration of Justice to make recommendations designed to enhance the quality of the legal process in this jurisdiction. In the course of its study, the committee, composed of outstanding members of the legal community, was particularly troubled by the mounting backlog both in civil and criminal cases, the lack of adequate supporting services for the courts and the urgent need to develop improved procedures for the day-to-day administration of court business. Drawing upon the knowledge of judges, court personnel, the bar, experience in other jurisdictions, and the practical experience of its members, the committee reached and now has issued its initial recommendations. These initial proposals have been endorsed by the Judicial Council, and they were presented to the public recently with a request for immediate action.

Some of the recommendations can be implemented by the courts on their own initiative. Others would require congressional action. With that in mind, I am introducing today two companion bills embodying those recommendations of the committee that would require changes in the District of Columbia Code.

No doubt hearings will cast light on the details of the proposals, but I am convinced that the recommendations contained in the bills are eminently worthy of our dedicated attention. Let me outline some of the major features.

The bills respond to the needs of the courts both in terms of facilities and personnel. They would direct the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to undertake a preliminary study to plan a new courthouse for the District of Columbia court of general sessions, the District of Columbia court of appeals and the juvenile court. Moreover, they propose five new judges for the court of general sessions and would furnish a law clerk for each judge of that court. They would also authorize the court to appoint a coordinator for matters arising under the Criminal Justice Act of 1964. The bills implement the recommendation, as well, that the salaries of general sessions judges be increased so as to bring them into line with salaries in comparable municipal jurisdictions.

In a similar vein, this legislation would expand the number of judges on the District of Columbia Court of Appeals and raise the salaries of its members. And it would enable that court to dispose of more cases by authorizing it to sit in panels of three.

With respect to the juvenile court, the legislation would require that tribunal to prepare and to periodically revise a manual explaining court policies and procedures. The child's right to retained or appointed counsel at every stage of the proceedings against him, and counsel's right of access to the social records relevant to the case, are also established. Moreover, under this legislation, no child may be detained beyond the next court day without an appropriate hearing, and provision is made to house neglected children separately from children charged or adjudicated as delinquents. Amendments to the District of Columbia Code are also included that would transfer jurisdiction over adult nonsupport and paternity cases from the juvenile court to the domestic relations branch of the court of general sessions.

The bills contain other provisions that command our close scrutiny. I mention only the major provisions, since in my view they are sufficient to sound the call for congressional action now.

One of the most significant of the committee's recommendations is its proposal that a management study of this community's courts be conducted. In the long run, such a scientific analysis of the administrative needs of the courts will enable us to arrive at more refined estimates of what congressional action is called for. I cannot endorse more vigorously the suggestion for a management study of the courts. But that should not lead us to ignore the role that Congress can play in meeting the pressing needs of the courts in this locality now. These areas of need ought not to remain unheeded until the results of a long-range management survey can be obtained. Moreover, these initial recommendations are consistent with the scope and purposes of such a study.

It is my hope that hearings on the committee's proposals can begin without delay. Some of the most distinguished citizens of the District of Columbia have called for our immediate help in evaluating and implementing some concrete recommendations, and we should respond promptly to that plea.

I therefore introduce the bills for appropriate reference, and ask unanimous consent that they be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

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

S. 1981. A bill to provide judicial reforms for courts of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS

SECTION 1. Section 11-902(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended by striking out "twenty" and inserting in lieu thereof "twenty-five".

(b) Section 11-902(d) is amended by striking out "$24,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$28,000", and by striking out "$23,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "$27,500".

(c) Section 15-714(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The fees and travel allowances to be paid any witness attending in a criminal case in the District of Columbia court of general sessions shall be the same as those paid to witnesses who attend before the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.".

(d) Section 11-908 of the District of Columbia Code is amended to read as follows:

"§ 11-908. Clerks for judges—Compensation.

"(a) Each judge of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions may appoint and remove a personal law clerk and shall fix his compensation in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

"(b) The chief judge of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions shall

have the authority to assign each personal law clerk to a judge, other than the appointing judge, whenever such assignment is necessary to expedite the business of the court.

"(e) Subchapter II of chapter 9 of title 11 of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

"(1) by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 11–936. Administration of the Criminal Justice Act of 1964

"(a) The District of Columbia Court of General Sessions may appoint and remove a coordinator to assist the court in matters arising under the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 (18 U.S.C. 3006A). The court shall fix the compensation of the coordinator in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

"(b) Subject to the approval of the chief judge, the coordinator may appoint and remove a deputy coordinator and such other personnel as he deems necessary. The chief judge shall fix the compensation of such personnel in accordance with provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates."

(2) by adding at the end of the analysis of such subchapter the following new item:

"§11–936. Administration of the Criminal Justice Act of 1964."

PATERNITY PROCEEDINGS; DUTIES OF CORPORATION COUNSEL

SEC. 2. (a) Section 11–1141(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended (1) by inserting immediately before the semicolon in clause (3) a comma and the following: "including illegitimate children"; (2) by inserting immediately before the semicolon in clause (5) a comma and the following: "including illegitimate children"; (3) by striking out "and" immediately following the semicolon in clause (10); (4) by striking out the period at the end of clause (11) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "and"; and (5) by adding at the end thereof the following new clause:

"(12) civil actions to determine paternity of any child alleged to have been born out of wedlock and to provide for his support."

(b) Section 11–1141 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(c) The Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia (or any of his assistants) is authorized to bring in the Domestic Relations Branch of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions a civil action on behalf of any wife in necessitous circumstances or any child to enforce support of such wife or child under this section.

"(d) Proceedings under clause (12) of subsection (a) of this section to establish paternity and provide for the support of a child born out of wedlock may be instituted after four months of pregnancy or within two years after the birth of the child, or within one year after the putative father has ceased making contributions for the support of the child. The time during which the respondent is absent from the jurisdiction shall be excluded from the computation of the time within which complaint may be filed."

(c) Section 11–1589 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by deleting the following: "moneys collected for fines and support of legitimate and illegitimate family members,".

(d) Section 16–2314(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended by deleting the following: "11–1555 or 11–1556,".

(e) Section 11–1583(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia or any of his assistants shall:

"(1) assist the Juvenile Court in hearings arising under section 11–1551; and

"(2) prosecute cases arising under section 11–1554 and the sections specified by section 11–1557, in which a person 18 years of age or over is charged with an offense."

(f) Section 16–2316 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by deleting "and (a)(3)" and inserting in lieu thereof "and (a)(2)".

(g) The following provisions of law are hereby repealed;

(1) section 11–1555 of the District of Columbia Code;

(2) section 11–1586(e) of the District of Columbia Code;

(3) sections 16–2341 through 16–2356 of the District of Columbia Code; and

(4) section 16–2381 of the District of Columbia Code.

(h) Subchapter IV of chapter 11 of title 11 of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 11–1162. Confidentiality of Paternity Proceeding Records.

"Except on order of the court, the records or proceedings in a case arising under section 11–1141 (a) (12) may not be open to inspection by anyone other than the defendant or counsel of record. The court, upon proper showing, may authorize the clerk to furnish certified copies of the records or portions thereof to the defendant, the mother, or custodian of the child, a party in interest, or their duly authorized attorneys. The clerk may furnish certified copies of the records or portions thereof, upon request, to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia for use as evidence in nonsupport proceedings as provided by the first section of the Act of March 23, 1906 (34 Stat. 86), as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 22–903), and section 11–523."

(2) by adding at the end of the analysis of such subchapter the following new item:

"11–1162. Confidentiality of Paternity Proceeding Records."

NONSUPPORT OF WIFE OR MINOR CHILD

SEC. 3. (a) The first section of the Act of March 23, 1906 (34 Stat. 86), as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 22–903), is amended to read as follows:

"That (a) any person in the District of Columbia who shall without just cause, desert or willfully neglect or refuse to provide for the support and maintenance of his wife in destitute or necessitous circumstances, or any person who shall without just excuse, desert or willfully neglect or refuse to provide for the support and maintenance of his or her minor child (including an illegitimate child when paternity has been established judicially or when paternity has been directly acknowledged by the putative father under oath, or indirectly acknowledged by voluntarily making contributions to the support of the child) under the age of sixteen years in destitute or necessitous circumstances, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 or by imprisonment in the workhouse of the District of Columbia for not more than twelve months, or by both such fine and imprisonment. Any fine so imposed may be directed by the court to be paid (in whole or in part), in the case of a person who neglects or refuses to provide support and maintenance of his wife, to the wife, and in the case of a person who neglects or refuses to provide for the support and maintenance of his or her minor child, to the other parent or to the guardian or custodian of the minor child; except that before the trial, with the consent of the defendant, or after conviction, instead of imposing the punishment hereinbefore provided, or in addition thereto, the court, in its discretion, having regard to the circumstances and to the financial ability or earning capacity of the defendant, shall have the power to make an order, which shall be subject to change by it from time to time as circumstances may require, directing the defendant, in a case involving his failure to so support and maintain his wife, to pay a certain sum weekly for the space of one year to the wife, or in a case involving the failure of a defendant to provide such support and maintenance to his or her minor child, to pay a certain sum weekly for the space of one year to the other parent or to the guardian or custodian of the minor child. Upon the issuance of such an order, the court is authorized to release the defendant from custody on probation for the period of one year upon such defendant entering into a recognizance, with or without sureties, in such sum as the court may direct. The condition of the recognizance shall be such that if the defendant shall make his or her personal appearance in court whenever ordered to do so within the year, and shall further comply with the terms of the order and of any subsequent modification thereof, when the recognizance shall be void, otherwise of full force and effect.

"(b) If the court be satisfied by information and due proof, under oath, that at any time during the year the defendant has violated the terms of such order, it may forthwith proceed with the trial of the defendant under the original charge, or sentence the defendant under the original conviction, or enforce the original sentence, as the case may be. In case of forfeiture of a recognizance and enforcement thereof by execution, the sum recovered may, in the discretion of the court, be paid (in whole or in part), in a case involving the nonsupport of a wife, to the wife, and in a case involving the nonsupport of a minor child, to the other parent or to the guardian or custodian of such child. The United States District Court for the District of Columbia is hereby given original and exclusive jurisdiction of all cases arising under this Act."

(b) Section 3 of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) It shall be the duty of the superintendent in charge of the workhouse of the District of Columbia in which any person is confined on account of a sentence under this Act to pay, out of any funds available, in any case involving the nonsupport of a wife, over to the wife, or in any case involving the nonsupport of a minor child, over to the other parent or to the guardian or custodian of such child, for the support of any such wife or child, a sum equal to 50 cents for each day of the sentence served by such person so confined.

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, any payments ordered to be made under this Act may be made to an organization or individual approved by the court as trustee."

(c) Section 16–2314(b) of the District of Columbia Code is amended by inserting immediately after "section 11–1551" a comma and the following: "other than clause (E), (F), or (G) of subsection (a)(1) thereof."

(d) Section 11–523 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by deleting the following: ", concurrently with the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia,".

(e) Sections 11–1556 and 16–2308(b) of the District of Columbia Code are hereby repealed.

(f) The proviso contained in the Act of May 18, 1910 (36 Stat. 374, 403; D. C. Code, sec. 22–906), under the heading "COURTS" and the sub-heading "JUVENILE COURT", is hereby repealed.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF APPEALS

SEC. 4. (a) Section 11–702(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "five".

(b) Section 11–702(d) of the District of Columbia Code is amended by striking out "$25,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$29,000", and by striking out "$24,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "$28,500".

(c) Subchapter I of chapter 7 of title II of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by adding between section 11–702 and section 11–703 the following new section:

"§ 11–702a. Assignment of judges-divisions-hearings-quorum.

"(a) Judges of the court shall sit on the court and its divisions in such order and at such times as the court directs.

"(b)(1) Cases and controversies shall be heard and determined by divisions of the court unless a hearing or rehearing before the court in banc is ordered. Each division of the court shall consist of three judges.

"(2) A hearing before the court in banc may be ordered by a majority of the judges of the court in regular active service. The court in banc for a hearing shall consist of the judges of the court in regular active service.

"(3) A rehearing before the court in banc may be ordered by a majority of the judges of the court in regular active service. The court in banc for a rehearing shall consist of the judges of the court in regular active service, except that a retired judge may sit as a judge of the court in banc in the rehearing of a case or controversy if he sat on the court or a division of the court at the original hearing thereof.

"(4) Two judges shall constitute a quorum of a division of the court, and four judges shall constitute a quorum of the court sitting in banc."

(2) by inserting between section 11–702 and section 11–703 of the analysis of such subchapter the following new item:

"11–702a. Assignment of judges—divisions—hearings—quorum."

(3) by striking out subsection (c) of section 11–703.

(4) by amending section 11–703 of the analysis of such subchapter to read as follows:

"11–703. Absence, disability, or disqualification of judges—Vacancies."

(d) Section 17–301(b) of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by striking from the first sentence "the chief judge and the associate judges" and inserting in lieu thereof "three judges".

(2) by striking from the fourth sentence "all the judges are of the opinion that an" and inserting in lieu thereof "the three judges are of the opinion that the".

SERVICE OF RETIRED JUDGES

SEC. 5. Section 11–1701(a)(3) of the District of Columbia Code is amended to read as follows:

"(3) If a judge retires prior to the expiration of his term and receives retirement salary under the provisions of this subsection or under the provisions of this section as it existed immediately prior to its amendment by the District of Columbia Judges Retirement Act of 1964, he may perform such judicial duties as may be requested by the chief judge of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, or the chief judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, or the chief judge of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, in any of such courts. The said retired judge may be requested to perform judicial duties only through the day that his appointment would have expired had he not retired prior to the end of his term. Any such judge so receiving such retirement salary shall be entitled, for any period for which he performs full-time judicial duties under this paragraph, to receive the salary of the office in which he performs such duties, but there shall be deducted from such salary an amount equal to his retirement salary for such period. No deduction shall be withheld for health benefits, Federal employee's life insurance, or retirement purposes from any salary paid to any such judge while performing full-time judicial duties under this paragraph. The performance of such duties shall not operate to create an additional retirement, change a retirement, or create an annuity for or in any manner affect the annuity of any survivor."

SEPARATION OF DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN

SEC. 6. (a) The Act of July 26, 1892 (27 Stat. 269), as amended (D. C. Code, sec. 3–117) is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon in clause (1) a comma and the following: "except that no such child may be placed in an institution primarily for the care and treatment of minors committed under section 11–1551(a)(1)(A)".

(b) The first sentence of section 16–2302 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by inserting immediately after "person" a comma and the following: "including an agency to which a child has been committed,".

(c) The second sentence of section 16–2306 of the District of Columbia Code is amended to read as follows: "If not so released, the child shall be placed in the custody of a probation officer or other person designated by the court, or taken immediately to the court or to a place of detention or shelter specified by the court, and the officer taking him shall notify the court and shall file a petition when directed to do so by the court."

(d) Section 16–2308 (a) (2) of the District of Columbia Code is amended by inserting immediately after "public;" the following: "except that no child committed under clauses (B), (C), (D), (H), or (I) of section 11–1551 (a) (1) shall be placed in an institution primarily for the treatment of minors committed under clause (A) of such section without specific court approval, and no child committed under clause (E), (F), or (G) of such section shall be placed in an institution primarily for the care or treatment of minors committed under clause (A) of such section unless the court has formally adjudicated such child a delinquent under clause (A) of such section;".

(e) Section 16–2309 of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by inserting "(a)" at the beginning of the first paragraph thereof;

(2) by inserting "(b)" at the beginning of the second paragraph thereof; and

(3) by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) Any agency or institution to which a child has been committed under clauses (B) through (I) of section 11–1551 (a)(1) may petition the court for transfer of that child to an institution primarily for the treatment of minors committed under clause (A) of such section, by filing a petition alleging that his or her presence is seriously detrimental to the welfare of the applicant institution or other persons in its care. Upon a showing of such detriment, the court may order such transfer."

JUVENILE COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SEC. 7. (a) Section 11–1586 (b) of the District of Columbia Code is amended by adding immediately after the first sentence the following new sentence: "Upon adjudication that the status of a child is within the jurisdiction of the court, the counsel representing the said child shall be allowed access to the social records in connection with the disposition of the child."

(b) Section 16–2306 of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by adding at the end of subsection (a) the following new sentence: "In no event shall a child be detained beyond the next court day without being brought before the court for either a detention hearing or an initial hearing.";

(2) by striking from subsection (c) the last sentence thereof.

(c) Subchapter I of title 16 of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by inserting between sections 16–2302 and 16–2303 the following new section:

"§ 16–2302a. Right to counsel.

"Immediately upon the filing of a petition under section 16–2302, or preceding the initial appearance of the juvenile in court under section 16–2306, whichever occurs first, the child and his parent, guardian, or custodian shall be advised that the child has a right to be represented by counsel at every stage of the proceedings. Counsel may be retained by the child or his parent, guardian, or custodian. If the child, parent, guardian, or custodian does not retain counsel, the court shall assign counsel to represent the child, and, when the child, parent, guardian, or custodian is financially able, the court shall assess reasonable attorney fees for such counsel."

(2) by inserting between section 2302 and section 2303 of the analysis of such subchapter the following new item:

"16–2302a. Right to counsel."

(d) Subsection (c) of section 16–2313 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In providing such detention facilities, such Board of Commissioners shall provide facilities for those children taken into custody and detained solely under clause (E), (F), or (G) of section 11–1551(a)(1) of the District of Columbia Code separate from facilities used for children otherwise taken into custody."

(e) Subchapter IV of chapter 15 of title 11 of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§11–1590. Court manual.

"(a) The court shall prepare and revise from time to time, so as to keep current, a manual to guide court personnel on policies and procedures.

"(b) The court shall prepare and revise from time to time, so as to keep current, an abridgment of the manual described in subsection (a) of this section. Copies of such abridgment shall be available at the court for the guidance of parents, guardians, custodians, and counsel."

(2) by adding at the end of the analysis of such subchapter the following new item:

"11–1590. Court manual."

SEC. 8. (a) The amendments made by section 2 of this Act shall not affect any proceedings in the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia to determine paternity of any child alleged to have been born out of wedlock or to provide for his support pending in such court on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) The amendments made by section 3 of this Act shall not affect any proceedings in the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia arising out of section 11–1556, 16–2308 (b), or 16–2314 of the District of Columbia Code pending on the date of enactment of this Act, or any order issued by such court prior to such date in connection with any such proceedings.

PRELIMINARY STUDY FOR A NEW COURTHOUSE

SEC. 9. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia are authorized and directed to undertake a preliminary study to plan a new courthouse to provide facilities for the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and the Juvenile Court for the District of Columbia.

S. 1982. A bill to amend sections 332 and 333 of title 28, United States Code, relating to the Judicial Council and the Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia Circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the last paragraph of section 332 of title 28 of the United States Code is amended by adding immediately at the end thereof the following new sentences: "The Judicial Council of the District of Columbia Circuit is also authorized to make such orders for all courts established or continued in the District of Columbia. The judges of such courts in the District of Columbia shall promptly carry into effect all orders of the Judicial Council of the District of Columbia Circuit."

SEC. 2. Section 333 of title 28 of the United States Code is amended by adding immediately at the end of the first paragraph the following new sentence: "The chief judge of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, the chief judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and the chief judge of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia shall be summoned annually to attend the Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia Circuit in order to participate in the business of such Judicial Conference pertaining to their respective courts."

REMOVING THE GOLD COVER FOR FEDERAL RESERVE NOTES

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, among the continuing problems with which this Nation is faced is the growing question of our gold reserves. Our total gold reserves have been diminishing year after year. During the past year, the usage of gold in industrial and ornamental manufacture exceeded the amount of the world's production.

The time has come, Mr. President, to help meet the needs of the situation by abolishing the requirement of a 25-percent gold cover for Federal Reserve notes. I am introducing a bill today for that purpose.

As of June 7, the total U.S. Treasury gold supply had decreased to $13,109,000,000. Of that amount, $9,917,000,000 is, under the present statutes, required to be held as cover for the nearly $40 billion in Federal Reserve notes in circulation. This leaves a free gold amount, available for international balance of payments and other usage, of only $3,192,000,000. Such a level is dangerously low. By freeing the gold cover requirement, we can make available the entire sum of more than $13 billion.

The action I propose is needed to forestall far more serious difficulty in the foreseeable future. As the economy grows, and with it the need for currency, the amount of Federal Reserve notes in circulation necessarily increases. How long will it take by this route alone to tie up another billion in gold? Only a 10-percent rise in the value of the Federal Reserve notes in circulation will do that. In addition, there is the continuing balance-of-payment deficit and the gold conversions which continue to drain the total gold figure and further narrow the gap between the statutory reserve and the dwindling supply. Restrictive measures, such as efforts to decrease U.S. travel abroad and to place voluntary curbs on foreign investment, even at fullest effectiveness are not sufficient.

The soundness of the dollar, Mr. President, does not depend on its backing by gold. As a matter of fact, the 25-percent gold backing for our paper currency is meaningless, since no one can redeem his money for gold anyway. Gold is no more than a shibboleth in this situation. The solidity of our economy, the total overall soundness of our policies, the fully warranted confidence in the dollar by our own people and the other peoples of the world—these are the true backing we need, and this is the true backing which we have. It is no more useful to the needs of the world for gold, and to our own need for greater free gold reserves, to hoard the billions used in backing these notes than it is for the individual to stuff money in a mattress rather than putting it to work in a bank or other investment. The gold backing may give a feeling of security, but it is only a feeling—the real security is another matter.

To continue the policy of gold cover and the guaranteed price for gold will lead inevitably to problems we can only postpone if we fail to deal with them now. For if we continue on our course as at present, as the price of gold on the world market rises in expectation of our increasing monetary difficulty for the United States, we will no longer be able to buy gold at the $35-per-ounce fixed price, thus losing the stabilizing force that policy has so long had in international exchange. We will then face two alternatives. One would be to raise the official $35 price to a level which will bring a supply for Treasury purchase—which would be, in effect, devaluation with its consequent inflationary risk. The other and more desirable would be to do at that late date, after suffering world uncertainties about our crisis response, just what I here propose. To remove the gold cover now will aid in forestalling that process.

Just now, while discussion continues toward the necessary goal of an international monetary exchange unit to take the excessive burden from the dollar and gold as a means of providing international reserves, we need to buy time. Not everyone is convinced that the proposals for a currency reserve unit must be effected—and it takes time to convince them and to work out the details. While we are involved in the expenditures of Vietnam, the urgency is lessened, as our outpouring of dollars continues to shoulder the international exchange burden. But what happens if in the meantime our slender $2.7 billion of free gold shrinks from both international need and Federal-Reserve-backing need until it is wiped out? The time to act is before that happens.

The dollar stands on its own as the strongest and most widespread medium of international exchange. Its strength is not in its convertibility to gold but in the economic strength of the Nation, which is based on our tremendous productive capacity. The repeal of the cover requirement emphasizes that fact. It would emphasize that the dollar stands on its own without need of a metal prop. The release of gold for international use would be an assurance of its availability for such uses as strengthening the economic growth and social progress of other nations. It would still the fears of others that they may be left with dollars which cannot be converted when the free gold reserve, already at such low ebb, melts completely. The demand for convertibility of dollars by persons or governments abroad may be, and I believe it is, as much a shibboleth as our own reservation for currency cover. But while we cannot affect the policies of others, we can do this which is within our own power, demonstrating the fact that the base of the dollar's value has nothing to do with the ancient customs, no longer needed, which still pervade practice after their meaning has ceased.

The benefits this action would secure include—besides the evidence of our faith in the dollar as such—a lessening of the need for restrictive measures to cut off overseas investment; a lessening of our fears over balance-of-payments deficits; and, perhaps the biggest boon of all, a most desirable impact on our efforts to develop reserve assets to supplement gold and the dollar, a measure which must be accepted before the international currency reform we need can be attained.

Mr. President, these are compelling reasons for enacting this bill and for doing so now. Senator SPARKMAN has given leadership in the demonetization of silver, and I congratulate him for it. I hope we may now apply this same wisdom and understanding in taking the first step toward demonetization of gold by enacting this bill.

Mr. President, I now introduce the bill, and ask unanimous consent that it be referred to the Committee on Finance, and that when it is reported by that committee, it be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency. I also ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

The bill (S. 1983) to eliminate the requirement that the Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against Federal Reserve notes, introduced by Mr. HARTKE, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1983

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

SECTION 1. Subsection (c) of section 11 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 248(c)) is amended by striking both provisions, and by striking the last sentence, in such subsection.

SEC. 2. The first sentence of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 391) is amended by striking "and the funds provided in this Act for the redemption of Federal Reserve notes".

SEC. 3. That part of the third paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 413) which precedes the last two sentences of such paragraph is amended to read:

"Federal Reserve notes shall bear upon their faces a distinctive letter and serial number which shall be assigned by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to each Federal Reserve bank."

SEC. 4. (a) The first sentence of the fourth

paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 414) is repealed.

(b) The sentence which, prior to the repeal made by this section, was the second sentence of such paragraph is amended by inserting immediately after "The Board" the following: "of Governors of the Federal Reserve System".

SEC. 5. The sixth paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 415) is repealed.

SEC. 6. The fourth sentence of the paragraph which, prior to the amendments made by this Act, was the seventh paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 416) is repealed.

SEC. 7. The paragraph which, prior to the amendments made by this Act, was the eighteenth paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 467) is repealed.

SEC. 8. Section 6 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934 (31 U.S.C. 408a) is amended by striking ", and the reserve for Federal Reserve notes shall be maintained in gold certificates, or in credits payable in gold certificates maintained with the Treasurer of the United States under section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act, as heretofore and by this Act amended".

SEC. 9. There are hereby repealed the sentences of subsection (a) of section 43 of the Act of May 12, 1933 (48 Stat. 31, 52; 31 U.S.C. 821(a)), which read: "No suspension of reserve requirements of the Federal Reserve banks, under the terms of section 11(c) of the Federal Reserve Act necessitated by reason of operations under this section, shall require the imposition of the graduated tax upon any deficiency in reserves as provided in said section 11(c). Nor shall it require any automatic increase in the rates of interest or discount charged by any Federal Reserve bank, as otherwise specified in that section.".

SEC. 10. The Committee on Finance is directed to make a study and report to the Senate on the effect of the enactment of this Act on international trade relations and the balance of payments.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, S. 1971, a bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize loans to certain cooperatives serving farmers and rural residents, and for other purposes, has been referred to the Banking and Currency Committee.

It is our opinion that it should have been referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

I ask unanimous consent that the Banking and Currency Committee be discharged from further consideration of the bill and that it be rereferred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

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

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1540) to amend chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, to provide for the appellate review of sentences imposed in criminal cases arising in the district courts of the United States.

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

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of the bill which I introduced (S. 1935) to require an act of Congress for public land withdrawals in excess of 5,000 acres in the aggregate for any facility of the Government, the names of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] be added as cosponsors.

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

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 159) 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.

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

NOTICE OF HEARING ON THE NATIONAL COURT ASSISTANCE ACT—S. 1033

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, I wish to announce a hearing for the consideration of S. 1033. This bill would provide for the establishment of an Office of Judicial Assistance.

The hearing will be held at 9:30 a.m., on June 27, 1967, in the Judiciary Committee hearing room, room 6200, New Senate Office Building.

Any person who wishes to testify or submit a statement for inclusion in the record should communicate as soon as possible with the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, room 6306, New Senate Office Building.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON EDUCATION AMENDMENTS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on Friday, June 23, 1967 at 10 a.m., in the committee hearing room, room 4232 of the New Senate Office Building, will take testimony on title V of the Higher Education Amendments of 1967, S. 1126, and part E of title I of S. 1125, the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967.

I regret the very short notice being given both to the administration witnesses and to public witnesses. I have asked the staff of the subcommittee to alert as many organizations who are interested in this area as possible by telephone. We hope to have a hearing record made on Friday which will allow us to consider at a very early date in executive session many of the programs in education whose statutory authorities at present expire as of June 30, 1967.

Therefore, in addition to the major portions of the measures I have already indicated, it would be my hope that witnesses would be prepared to present the subcommittee with their views on programs such as the temporary provisions of Public Law 815, the temporary provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 relating to Indian children and to Department of Defense schools overseas; the School Disaster Act, Public Law 89–313, whose authorities expire on June 30, and other educational programs which may be in the same situation.

We will open our hearing with the administration testimony. We hope to conclude this portion of the hearings that day and for this reason we are requesting that witnesses file with the committee their complete full statements, but we are asking that their oral presentations be limited to 8 to 10 minutes.

Individuals and organizations which desire to file material with the committee are requested to telephone the office of the subcommittee on 225–5375, so that their materials may be entered into our hearings record.

Mr. President, since it is my understanding that the House Committee on Education and Labor has reported a bill, H.R. 10943, which is concerned with both Teacher Corps and the Education Professions Development Act, should witnesses desire to address themselves to the provisions of this bill the subcommittee will be pleased to have their testimony.

Mr. President, in connection with the notice of hearing I have just made, I should like to announce for the benefit of Senators that it is my intention as chairman of the Education Subcommittee to move with dispatch after the July Fourth recess in scheduling hearings on other provisions of S. 1125, the elementary and secondary education amendments, and the House companion measure, H.R. 7819, which is now before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as well as S. 1126, the Higher Education Amendments of 1967, and any companion measures which may then be before the Senate from the House of Representatives.

These hearings will provide an ample opportunity for interested individuals and organizations to be heard on each of the provisions of these measures.

What we are hearing Friday is testimony on provisions of existing legislation which will expire unless further extended by June 30.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATION BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nomination:

Benjamin H. Oehlert, Jr., of Georgia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Pakistan.

In accordance with the committee rule, this pending nomination may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of its receipt in the Senate.

THE SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT AND SONIC BOOM

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, on June 1, Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE made a statement on the floor expressing his

views on the development of a supersonic transport. I would like to make a brief comment on one point raised by Senator PROXMIRE concerning sonic boom and to place in the RECORD a short article from the June 3 edition of the Denver, (Colo.) Post, titled "Proxmire Too Loud on 'Boom'."

I share with Senator PROXMIRE and other thoughtful Senators a very real concern about the problem of sonic boom, and its possible effect on the use of an SST over land. But I believe the article in the Denver Post makes a very cogent point in that the contractor that won the right to move ahead in development and construction of an SST is, and must be, equally concerned with the sonic boom problem. This is a very large undertaking, commercially and scientifically, and the Boeing Co., by necessity will be bending every effort to assure that the SST they develop will have the widest possible market, and we all know that if the sonic boom from supersonic flight of the plane is not at an acceptable level for flights over land, then the markets for this plane will be seriously curtailed and the profit to the Boeing Co. and the paybacks to the Government will be adversely affected. Senator PROXMIRE has criticized the Federal Aviation Agency for allegedly leaving the Boeing Co. free to ignore the sonic boom effects by not setting out sonic boom overpressure limits in their contract with the Boeing Co.

Mr. President, this article, which I now send to the desk, points out that it is just as much in the interests of the Boeing Co., and, I might say, probably more so, than it is in the interests of our Government that an SST be developed that can fly between the principle cities of this country.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial to which I have referred be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, June 3, 1967]

PROXMIRE TOO LOUD ON "BOOM"

We're not certain of all that Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., had in mind when he criticized the Federal Aviation Administration this week for its role in contracting for America's first two supersonic transports, but we think he missed the point when he talked about the sonic boom problem.

It's a problem, all right. The shuddering crack produced by huge transport aircraft flying faster than the speed of sound may well prove eventually to be intolerable to people on the ground. It's a question of nerve strain as well as property damage.

Proxmire charges that the FAA, which once approved sonic boom intensity limits that many experts considered too high, now "has had the audacity to draw up a contract with no sonic boom limits whatsoever."

He says the FAA has "abdicated its responsibility" in its contract with the Boeing Co. by leaving Boeing free to "ignore" the boom effects.

Perhaps the limit specifications should have been left in the contract for one reason or another, but we don't believe the manufacturer, whether it is free to do so or not, is going to ignore one of the most frustrating engineering problems faced by developers of the supersonic transport. The manufacturer can't afford to ignore it.

If the sonic boom problem turns out to be unsolvable—or only partially solvable—the long-awaited SST may be feasible only as a trans-oceanic vehicle, with terminals restricted to opposite coasts. In that case, domestic airlines are reported to be interested in ordering only a limited number of the giant planes—perhaps a maximum of 500.

If the SST can be engineered so that the boom effect is minimized, the airlines are said to be ready to order three times that many over the next decade or so because then the planes can be routed over land areas.

From just the standpoint of simple economics, it seems to us that Boeing is going to put every conceivable effort into licking the sonic boom problem—whether the FAA specifies limits or not. And we hope Boeing is successful, both scientifically and commercially.

The two categories are interdependent, a fact we believe Senator Proxmire overlooked.

THE RAILROAD LABOR DISPUTE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Senate Joint Resolution 81 has been returned with a House amendment, which has not been agreed to, and I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the amendment of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 81) to provide for the settlement of the labor dispute between certain carriers by railroad and certain of their employees which was, to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That there is hereby established a Special Board for the purpose of assisting the parties in the completion of their collective bargaining and the resolution of the remaining issues in dispute. The Special Board shall consist of five members to be named by the President. The National Mediation Board is authorized and directed (1) to compensate the members of the Board at a rate not in excess of $100 per each day together with necessary travel and subsistence expenses, and (2) to provide such services and facilities as may be necessary and appropriate in carrying out the purposes of this resolution. For the purpose of any hearing conducted by the Special Board, it shall have the authority conferred by the provisions of sections 9 and 10 (relating to the attendance and examination of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents) of the Federal Trade Commission Act of September 26, 1914, as amended (15 U.S.C. 49, 50).

SEC. 2. The Special Board shall attempt by mediation to bring about a resolution of this dispute and thereby to complete the collective bargaining process.

SEC. 3. If agreement has not been reached within thirty days after the enactment of this resolution, the Special Board shall hold hearings on the proposal made by the Special Mediation Panel, in its report to the President of April 22, 1967, in implementation of the collective bargaining contemplated in the recommendation of Emergency Board Numbered 169, to determine whether the proposal (1) is in the public interest, (2) is a fair and equitable settlement within the limits of the collective bargaining and mediation efforts in this case, (3) protects the collective bargaining process, and (4) fulfills the purposes of the Railway Labor Act. At such hearings the parties shall be accorded a full opportunity to present their positions concerning the proposal of the Special Mediation Panel.

SEC. 4. The Special Board shall make its determination by vote of the majority of the members on or before the sixtieth day after the enactment of this resolution, and shall incorporate the proposal of the Special Mediation Panel with such modifications, if any, as the Board finds to be necessary to (1) be in the public interest, (2) achieve a fair and equitable settlement within the limits of the collective bargaining and mediation efforts in this case, (3) protect the collective bargaining process, and (4) fulfill the purposes of the Railway Labor Act. The determination shall be promptly transmitted by the Board to the President and to the Congress.

SEC. 5. The provisions of the final paragraph of section 10 of the railway Labor Act (45 U.S.C. 160), as heretofore extended by law, shall be hereby extended until 12:01 o'clock antemeridian of the ninety-first day after enactment of this resolution with respect to the dispute referred to in Executive Order 11324, January 28, 1967.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Senate not having agreed to the House amendment, I move that the Senate disagree to the House amendment and appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to, and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. MORSE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. PELL, Mr. NELSON, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. FANNIN, and Mr. GRIFFIN conferees on the part of the Senate.

MOVING MEMORIAL TRIBUTE BY JUDGE DONALD P. LAY

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, during the Memorial Day recess it was my privilege to participate in the annual memorial services conducted by the Omaha Bar Association. This is always a most solemn and moving experience as the members of the bar gather to honor the memory of their colleagues.

This year's address was one of the most profoundly inspiring it has been my privilege to hear during the many years I have attended these services.

It was prepared by the Honorable Donald P. Lay, circuit judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals, eighth circuit.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of Judge Lay's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

MEMORIAL SERVICES ADDRESS

(Complete text of Judge Donald P. Lay's address given at the Omaha Bar Association's Memorial Services Friday in Court Room No. 1)

"I hope I do not break the Fifth Commandment if I conceive that I may love my friend before the nearest of my blood, even those to whom I owe the principles of life. I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my soul, my God. From whence methinks I do conceive how God loves man—what happiness there is in the love of God."

These immortal words, written many years ago by the 17th Century author and physician Sir Thomas Browne, speak out for each of us today as we observe this fitting memorial to our breathren who have crossed the bar on the downward path to the crown of life itself.

Perhaps after I have absorbed the cloth and breathed the air of judicial wisdom still another day I can achieve mastery of thought and word to express one's innermost feelings on an occasion such as this. Yet I wonder if years from now I will but still feel the tre-

mendous sense of inadequacy of prose to pay honor to those whom we love.

But we err if we substitute condolence for comfort for we know that this is not the end. In their parting is there not a transcendency of joy and hope, rather than sorrow and despair? To deny this postulate is to ignore the true meaning of their lives and the golden heritage of us all this very day. We need not seek to appraise their lives nor ask what has been accomplished for it is self evident. For to them we owe the rich inheritance of the law itself.

But you may respectfully say, so what is this—and not I would answer, but borrowing from a wisdom greater than mine, would repeat: "Without it we cannot live; only with it can we insure the future which by right is ours. The best of mans hopes are enmeshed in its success; when it fails they must fail."

For to these departed brothers we are indebted for our knowledge and the wisdom of the law. As lawyers and judges we have appropriated to ourselves their recorded experience and their faith that we thus may be as wise and as just. No—I am sure they would reply in unison—with their faith that we may be wiser and more just than they before. Because what is man's destiny if it be not a continuing search as a light into the darkest chasm for greater truth and greater justice?

For as the poet writes:

"It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempest, in the vale below; so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, ..."

Was not our Gospel of Justice, though beautifully conceived by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence still based upon philosophies of men of another time, Plato, Locke, Montesquieu, Rosseau and Voltaire. Where is the end now? Where is your sadness and despair?

It is written in Ecclesiasticus, chapter 44:

"Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

"Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies:

"Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions.

"All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

"There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

"And some there be, which have no memorial; who are perished, as though they had never been born; and their children after them. But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.

"The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth their praise."

In modern history it is with refreshing facility to recall famous personnages of the law as: Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, John Marshall or Holmes, Brandeis and Frankfurter to say only a few. Their individual deeds and words are now firmly written in the sands of time, never to be erased. Their rules for the betterment of man through the administration of justice will be read and reread for generations by those who aspire to good government, to dream and guide our destiny by. Their towering personalities now join in history with the mighty lawgiver, Moses, and the greatest of prophets, the aristocratic Isaiah.

But the great many names of men and women in the law will remain unknown. For as Learned Hand once spoke: "Most of a lawyer's time consists of activity which seems to have small value and small bearing on the greater issues of the community in which he lives. True it concerns the individuals whom he touches oftentimes in their deepest interests, but it is hard to believe that the results are important more largely."

Yet is not the very existence of the human race conditioned upon learning to accommodate "conflicting interests of others, to learn to live in a social world?" So it is here as Judge Hand has said that the true scope and meaning of our work as lawyers "raises it out of the duty routine of gaining our living." Truly, "Their righteousness hath not been forgotten."

As the present becomes history we remember cases such as *Marbury* v. *Madsion* and the great Chief Justice who wrote it, declaring for all time in our Republic that our Constitution shall have supremacy over any other conflicting law in our land. And we are not prone to forget *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954 declaring the doctrine of "separate and equal" is of itself inherently unequal. But what of the lawyers who gathered the facts, who wrote the briefs and argued the case? Do you recall their names? Yet it is among these unnamed legions that our departed friends have joined. For although they may not find their names on the cover those we honor today have contributed works which compose the endless pages of a great and continuing volume dealing with man's best effort to live together. For these are men and women who have fought for mercy and goodness and made a continuing plea for truth against prejudice and fate. Their written wisdom and learning in wills, deeds, and other papers have enabled man to protect his individual rights; their eloquence has rendered justice in civil controversy; their skill has fought for the freedom of men accused. As in Plato's dialogue we can ask:

"What is there greater than the word that persuades judges in their courts or the senators in the councils, or the citizens in the assembly, or at any other political meeting?"

"God send us men with heart's ablaze
All truth to love all wrong to hate
These are the patriots nations need
These are the bulwarks of the state."

But what of this *law*, they who have bid farewell have entrusted to us? Do we receive it as a precious gift, with reverence and pride, and with Justice Holmes' faith in its creative possibilities, or as its guardian now, do we too join the cynics of the day and begin to doubt its worth? If their eternal sage could now cry out it would echo this concern. Do we, the keepers of its light, weigh lightly the credulity of the skeptics? Do we see perceptively only as far as we want to see? Do we take refuge in the comment that: "Justice is not a cloistered virtue: she must be allowed to suffer the scrutiny and respectful, even though outspoken comments of ordinary men." Do we turn away from criticism of the courts and the law itself because of vanity and shrug it off as unjustified and of little significance?

Such skepticism, as Justice Holmes once said, should be taken philosophically, but he added: "We should try to see what we can learn from hatred and distrust," for "the attacks upon the court are merely an expression of the unrest that seems to wonder vaguely whether law and order pay."

Have those we loved left behind only that which is to be ephemeral? Are we content to pay verbal homage and then let their lives simply be dust exchanged for dust, "a vapor that appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away"? This now depends upon us. Are we not all students of the legal and juridical personality? Do we not have special training to understand the law and its intricate machinery? Do we not daily profess greater knowledge in it than laymen? Yet, laymen, ordinary men, if you will, cannot give obedience to the law if they do not feel it is revered and loved by those who claim to know its esoteric values. Is it not true that those who are taught to doubt, do so because they do not safely know what to believe? We must publicly renew the faith of our forefathers and departed brothers of the Bar in the law itself and its institutions. Our allegiance and love for it must find a new acceptance and favor in the same way you would want to proudly cherish, fondle and protect a new born son.

Some truly say the people of the world will soon annihilate themselves, others doubt it but say it makes little difference since there is such moral decay and degradation everywhere. I do not share the seeds of these sowers of doom. As each day goes by I rejoice and am assured with greater optimism that the world is a better place in which to live. I know this, for one assurance, all who have gathered here have been affected by the individual and collective goodness that has been left to us by those to whom we pay tribute today. I know this because our lives have been enriched by our pledge that their life work and example will have vibrant meaning in our own. But I also rejoice because of my zealous love and reverence for the glorious country in which I live and for the great and good democratic government which we all enjoy. But I think above all else I rejoice because of our rich heritage which has given me a simple faith for a deep and continuing respect for the law and the courts of this land. For, I know, with the love of God, as our departed-members of the Bar have now done, we will seek and win the ultimate triumph. And I pray that it may be said for us, as we now can say for them:

"Servant of God, well done.
Thy Glorious warfare's past,
The battle's fought, the race is won
And thou are crowned at last."

DONALD P. LAY,
Circuit Judge, United States Court of Appeals Eighth Circuit.

THE QUEST FOR PEACE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 11, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] delivered what I consider to be a powerful commencement speech at Franklin & Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa. The speech was "In Quest of Peace: A Pragmatic Vision."

I wish to pay tribute to the position this great Senator from Pennsylvania has taken in the field of American foreign policy. He has been one of the leaders in our country who has been urging our Government and the American people to recognize, before it is too late, that all the nations of the world must come to an understanding that our only hope for permanent peace is the substitution of the rule of law for the settlement of threats to the peace of the world, instead of resort to the jungle law of military might. It is the same jungle law of military might, whether it is practiced by Russia in the Congo and in the

Middle East or by the United States in the jungles of Vietnam.

This eloquent commencement speech delivered by Senator CLARK does present a clear, pragmatic vision of the all-important issue of our time, which is the need of all nations to engage in a determined quest for permanent peace before mankind bombs itself into a revived stone age.

The idealism of Senator CLARK's commencement speech spells out the practicality of ideals. Time will tell whether the leaders of the nations of the world are going to come to their senses in time to bring about universal and enforceable disarmament, which obviously is essential if a third world war is to be averted.

Senator CLARK's plea for a revision and reorganization of the United Nations Charter should not be ignored, because unless the charter is amended so as to provide for the universal membership of all nations and the elimination of the right of veto by one nation or a minority controlled by a few nations, this international organization brought into being from the dreams of Franklin Roosevelt will vanish from the face of the earth as an instrumentality for promoting permanent peace.

Senator CLARK's plea to the grading class at Franklin & Marshall College should be made to all the young people of the world. If permanent peace is to replace the nationalistic march toward war of so many nations in our time, then Senator CLARK's plea should be heeded by both the young and the old in all the countries of the world to "dream dreams of a warless world and make them come true. For, as has been well said: 'The world is now too small for anything but the truth and too dangerous for anything but brotherhood.'"

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this inspiring commencement speech of Senator JOSEPH CLARK be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

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

IN QUEST OF PEACE: A PRAGMATIC VISION

(Commencement address by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, at Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., June 11, 1967)

Last Sunday, at church, the young people of our congregation took over for youth; they gave their elders something to think about in terms of the so-called much discussed "generation gap".

When they got through I was pretty well convinced that there is no greater gap between the thinking of most people of your generation and most people of mine, than there was between my contemporaries and those of my father's generation back in the 1920's.

When you finish listening to what I have to say today, I would like to know if you agree.

These young people, last Sunday, said what they wanted out of life was love, freedom, peace and joy. Back in the early 20's, when I was in college, that is what I wanted, too, and, what is more, I still do; although it is just possible that your views about love today are slightly less timid than mine were then.

These young people said they did not think their elders were making much progress in achieving these goals—and again I agree. But neither did my mother and father, or their contemporaries, in the days of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, right after World War I. But I came to appreciate that, in their somewhat befuddled way, my parents tried very hard, just as my generation is trying hard now. So, in an effort to think our way through some of the chronic and persistent befuddlement of men and women of every age today, I would like to think aloud with you about the problems of peace in the world.

Why is peace so elusive? Why do we never seem to be able to catch that dove, or at least to protect the doves of peace from the hawks who keep stalking them, whether in Vietnam or in the Middle East?

Is it the inherent cussedness of man, aptly described as the most quarrelsome of the apes? Is it our educational systems which glorify war and make heroes of the admirals, the generals and the airmen, or is it the indifference of people in democratic societies and the belligerence of the leaders in totalitarian societies? Is it a failure to think clearly through the problems? Is it the inadequacy of international institutions or, most likely of all, it is a combination of all these things?

Preliminarily, I wonder if you would agree that there is not much chance of getting peace in the world unless the peoples and those who govern them can be taught to love and not to hate, or, in terms of the current slogan of some of the young, a determination to make love instead of making war.

In more pragmatic terms, don't we have to substitute international cooperation based on mutual trust for international conflict based on fear and suspicion? How to do it is, of course, a larger question.

And I wonder again whether you are enough the sons of your American ancestors—and I suspect you are—to agree that freedom is very important indeed, and to define freedom in two ways: First, as Franklin Roosevelt did, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear; but add to your definition freedom to do whatever you damn please so long as you don't interfere with the similar rights of everybody else.

Finally, would you not agree that there is not much chance for joy in the world until we have first established love, freedom and peace. Of course, I am speaking collectively. Some of us can perhaps shuck off our responsibilities and retire to islands in the sun, giving and sharing love, having all the freedom we need or want, at peace with ourselves and the world as long as we are left alone by the bombs and, indeed, living lives of joy. But there aren't too many of us hedonists left and I suggest the number is shrinking year by year.

Let us contemplate the major obstacles to peace in the world today. Of course there is Vietnam and now the Middle East; different views on the future of Germany still disrupt permanent peace in Central Europe. The growing might of Communist China, now with a nuclear capability of its own, is some think, the worst threat to peace of all. Looming over the horizon is the widening of the gap between the rich nations of the Northern Hemisphere and the poor nations of the Southern Hemisphere, where the revolution of rising expectations is in full swing.

In all of this the United Nations, for which all of us had such high hopes in 1945, seems to have lost its way.

Let me say a word or two about each of these six areas:

First, let us deal with Vietnam. A year ago at Haverford College I said: "The United States should get out of Vietnam as soon as it can with decency. * * * A mature American foreign policy should be above dealing in status symbols. Face saving is an Oriental, not a Western, requirement.

"We should never have gone on to the land mass of Asia with a huge ground army. Neither national security nor national honor required us to do so. The cost in American lives, mounting every day, is too high a price to pay for the dubious check on Chinese and Communist expansion said to be required."

But I also said: "Yet it *is* important now that we are there to make clear to Hanoi and Peking that force is no longer an acceptable method of solving political problems. So we cannot afford to be driven into the sea, or to withdraw unilaterally, surrendering all of South Vietnam to the unquestioned terrorism of the Viet Cong and their Northern Vietnamese allies."

The situation is worse today than it was a year ago; but I have had no reason to change my views. I deplore the escalation, both on the ground and in the air. I am gravely concerned that the ever mounting intensity of the air war in the North is counter productive, tending to heal the breach between Russia and China. I deplore the reliance the President has placed on the military advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Westmoreland, advice which has turned out to be wrong in almost every instance. *It has brought us only stalemate and ever increasing casualties, not the promised military victory.*

I believe that, as the strongest military nation in the world, with ethical standards on which we pride ourselves, we should be walking an extra mile to get the shooting stopped and negotiations begun. And I suggested towards the end of March on the floor of the Senate that we should do several things immediately:

1. Stop the bombing of the North without requiring a quid pro quo from Hanoi.

2. Announce that American troops in South Vietnam would fire only if fired upon.

3. Persuade General Ky and his South Vietnamese Army to do the same.

4. Exercise every possible diplomatic pressure through our allies, through the Russians, through the United Nations, to persuade not only Hanoi but also the Viet Cong to come to the conference table and discuss what modifications, if any, of the Geneva agreements of 1954 are necessary to re-establish peace in Viet Nam.

This proposal was endorsed by U Thant. It was met by silence from the White House and Foggy Bottom. I renewed it ten days before the Buddhist truce of May 23. Again the policy makers ignored it. I say again, as I have said before, that I have measured optimism that if we would take the initiative along the lines just suggested, we would find, in relatively short order, that *the shooting would stop and the talking begin.* And my measured optimism is not based on fantasy. It results from good hard talks with Eastern Europeans, Russians, and the staff of the United Nations. Call it visionary if you will, but I, for one, am satisfied it is a pragmatic vision. And can we not afford to take a calculated risk to gain that peace we all desire?

Second, it would be a rash man who would speak to you today about where the war in the Middle East now happily ended by an agreement to cease fire in accordance with the resolution of the Security Council has taken the world in general and the United States in particular. But two months ago I wrote a report to the Foreign Relations Committee, based on a study mission I made to Greece, the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Israel last December. It is titled "War or Peace in the Middle East". Here are a few of my recommendations:

The overriding necessity in the eastern Mediterranean area is for peace and disarmament.

Peace and disarmament require an agreement between the United States and its allies, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its allies, on the other hand, to stop the

arms race in the Middle East. Peace also requires an internationally enforced guarantee of national boundaries participated in by the United States and the Soviet Union. Some of those boundaries may be changed as a result of the hostilities.

And, finally, of course the United States should continue to uphold the political independence and territorial integrity of the State of Israel.

One section of my report dealt with Egypt. I call it Egypt, rather than the United Arab Republic, because it is neither united with anybody else, nor Arab since the Egyptians are not Arabians, nor a republic, but rather a dictatorship. You will recall from your study of medieval European history the joke to the effect that the Holy Roman Empire was neither holy, Roman, nor an empire. As of the moment it looks like Nasser has met the fate of Nkrumah in Ghana and Sukarno in Indonesia. Now it is crucial that the Middle East be marked off as a region where general and complete disarmament is established and internationally enforced. The Israelis have always favored disarmament. I doubt that Russia will be anxious to pour another $2 billion of armaments into the Arab nations of the Middle East. Disarmament has suddenly become feasible. If there are to be further hostilities in that area let the combatants fight with bows and arrows.

Third on my list comes Germany and indeed all of Europe including Russia. There let us be grateful. The situation seems, for the time being, to be stabilized. As I said a year ago at Haverford: "Germany is, if more than a pawn, yet no more than bishop in the chess game between the Soviet Union and the United States. As that game progresses, it is becoming increasingly clear that stalemate rather than checkmate is the best result either player can expect."

I believe then, and I believe now, that the overriding objective of the foreign policy of the United States should be a wide ranging detente with Russia, arrived at, to be sure, after appropriate consultation by both of the superpowers with their NATO and Warsaw Pact allies. Such a detente clearly requires a settlement of the German question. The broad outlines of such a settlement were set forth in the report of the Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament to the White House Conference on the International Cooperation Year in November of 1965. That report recommended (1) a nonaggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact nations; (2) balanced reductions of U.S. and Soviet troops and weapons in Central Europe; (3) direct arrangements between ourselves and East Germany covering matters such as trade and the movement of persons, which could lead ultimately to some kind of confederation of East and West Germany.

Last October 7 President Johnson made his famous speech advocating the building of bridges between East and West, particularly in the area of trade. I am satisfied that the more we trade with the Soviet bloc, the more tensions will be relaxed. On returning from a study mission to Warsaw, Moscow, Belgrade, and Prague last fall at the request of the Foreign Relations Committee, I wrote in "East of the Elbe," a report to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate of this study mission that "If we are to improve relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, the most important fundamental foreign policy decision we can take is to decide that our relations with West Germany will not have priority over our relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This does not mean that our relations with the East need have priority over our relations with West Germany. The two policies should be pursued hand in hand."

Further, I urged a more aggressive American initiative towards:

1. A nonproliferation of nuclear weapons agreement with the Soviet Union;

2. Further investigation into the suggestion made by many competent scientists, both in our country and abroad, that a comprehensive test ban treaty, including underground testing, can now safely be made without requiring on-site inspection.

3. The President should revitalize our own rather moribund disarmament activities by appointing the Vice President, formerly Chairman of the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as American Disarmament Coordinator to demonstrate the importance with which the Johnson Administration regards disarmament matters.

4. The United States should enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union at the highest possible level, with the aim of reaching agreement on a moratorium on the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems.

While some of these recommendations have been approved in principle by the White House we have few concrete results to show.

The Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am a member, has conducted executive hearings dealing with the matter of an agreement with Russia not to deploy anti-ballistic missile systems. Based on the testimony I heard—the testimony of experts—I have come to the conclusion that President Johnson and Secretary McNamara are right. No possible gain can come to either country from the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems because, quite candidly, the systems are no good. At best they could deter a light attack. There isn't a shadow of a doubt that the Soviet Union's missiles could destroy New York tomorrow and our missiles Moscow before the end of the day, and there is nothing in prospect in the foreseeable future which would result in an anti-ballistic missile system which could protect either our own missile sites or our cities from a devastatingly successful attack by the Soviet Union if it chose to utilize its available force. We in turn have the same capability.

Here, as everywhere else, the war in Vietnam is poisoning the quest for peace. Its termination is the first priority of a successful quest for peace.

Fourth, there is the widening gap between the rich nations of the North and the poor nations of the South. Here the situation is worse today than it was a year ago, for the poor nations are getting poorer while the rich nations become richer. Whether we speak of famine in India or population growth exceeding the potential of the ability to feed it in Latin America, or the problem of skilled manpower and education in Africa, the result is the same. The requirements to bridge the gap between affluence and misery are not being met. We had better increase our pace and see that the other affluent nations of the world do the same if we really want to pursue peace. If we were to devote 1% of our Gross National Product to a sensible plan to assist the underdeveloped nations of the world, and if other affluent nations would do the same, we could really start the lower half of the world on the road to achieving and maintaining freedom and peace. Thus the teeming millions of Latin America, South Asia and Africa would have at least some hope for joy for their children, if not for themselves.

This brings me to China, and here I do not share the pessimism of many. Communist China is close to chaos. Fundamentally, it doesn't, in my judgment, have the capability of vastly expanding its borders. To be sure, if the opportunity afforded itself, as the Chinese erroneously thought it did in a number of African countries, in the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere in Latin America, the Chinese would take what they could get in terms of expanding Mao's peculiar brand of Communism. But China has suffered a series of crushing defeats outside its borders. Indonesia is perhaps the most conspicuous. The Vietnams, North and South alike, are determined to remain independent of the government in Peking.

Chinese military power is largely based on a huge land army with little capability of moving very far outside its own boundaries. Its nuclear potential is still primitive, although it may be expected to grow in the next few years. I would hope that, long before China becomes a major nuclear power, some sensible arrangement will have been entered into by the Russians and ourselves to eliminate nuclear weapons through the disarmament process. China has already committed itself to completely eliminate such weapons if others do the same.

The calculated belligerence of the talk of the Communist Chinese is seldom backed up by belligerent action. One of the wisest of our China watchers, Professor John K. Fairbank of Harvard, recently said, and I agree: Mainland China is in trouble, first, because Mao's fanaticism and impractical idealism have alienated enormous masses of his fellow countrymen. Second, the country is too big and logistically too primitive to be well governed. Decentralization of power to provincial chiefs, whether Communists or warlords makes very little difference, weakens the central government to the point of impotence and historically always has. And, third, the continuous emphasis on politics is ruining any chance of developing a viable economy.

Personally, I would take China into the United Nations if only to subject her to the thinking of the rest of the world, and also because, in my view, if the United Nations is to be meaningful, it would do better if it is universal. I would also recognize China as soon as China is willing to recognize us. And then, I would wait and pray.

So, finally, we come to the problem of how to build viable international institutions which can help keep the peace. And here I turn pessimist. No one has been a stronger supporter of the United Nations than I. But, as Vietnam and the Middle East crisis have made clear, that institution is no better than its quarreling nation-states.

Moreover any significant action by the U.N. in the international politics arena depends on agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is the understatement of the year that this is often hard to come by although it is encouraging to note it was finally achieved last week in the cease-fire resolutions of the Security Council directed to the Arab-Israel War.

The lofty principles of the Charter are little more than a catechism of broken hopes and shattered dreams.

Why have the aspirations of the U.N. Charter been broken, why has the dream of a just and lasting peace been shattered? I think the answer is clear: The original Charter is as hopelessly outmoded as were the Articles of Confederation at the time the Founding Fathers drafted the Constitution of the United States. And the nation-states have been unwilling to yield to the international institution they created that modest amount of national sovereignty which is essential to an effective United Nations.

The United Nations, as presently constituted, is incapable of providing the international guidance and control required to monitor and enforce general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law, which in my judgment is a requirement of any lasting peace. The rule of one nation—one vote in the General Assembly, the veto in the Security Council, inadequate fiscal powers and the absence of a strong executive are its major disabilities. Accordingly either the Charter of the United Nations must be drastically revised or new international institutions must be born out of the Geneva Disarmament Conference or some

other international body where the above disabilities do not apply. It is high time the United States took the initiative along these lines.

I began by speaking of the "generation gap". But the real gap today is not one which lies between the generations, older and younger. It is the gap which separates millions of Americans into one group which believes in a better future and another group which doesn't. In both groups are people of every age, many races, many creeds. Some would say it was a gap between cynics and idealists. Others, a gap between the apathetic and the actionists.

Somehow, some way, that gap must be closed by a triumph of pragmatic vision in the quest for peace. Somehow we must manage to make idealistic realism not only respectable, but predominant in the thinking of America

Many of your elders, frozen in the conventional thinking, have, through the ages, produced an unremitting round of wars and terror. It may be too late for those of us who have "drunk our cup a round or two before" to do much to change this pattern. But for you now starting your journey as adults in the age which opens up before you, there is still time. In the words of George Bernard Shaw "other people see things and say 'why'? But I dream things that never were; and I say 'why not?'" Although some of you may not believe it, there are many people over 30 who share your dreams. You can, and I suggest you must, dream dreams of a warless world and make them come true. For, as has been well said: "The world is now too small for anything but the truth and too dangerous for anything but brotherhood." You have a chance, in your lifetime, to achieve that love, freedom, peace and joy we all so ardently desire. Good luck to you.

PSYCHOLOGICAL HABITUATION TO WAR

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article printed in the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry for April 1967 on the subject of "Psychological Habituation to War: A Sociopsychological Case Study," by Dr. Isidore Ziferstein, research psychiatrist, Psychiatric and Psychosomatic Research Institute, Mount Sinai Hospital, Los Angeles, Calif.

It is a very interesting article because it discusses "the techniques employed by government to reduce opposition to the war in Vietnam, relying heavily on psychological habituation by gradual involvement. Each small new step in the escalation is presented as a logical, unavoidable result of a commitment made by a previous small step. The result is acquiescence by the individual, with no feeling that his right to disagree is being suppressed."

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

PSYCHOLOGICAL HABITUATION TO WAR: A SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CASE STUDY

(By Isidore Ziferstein, M.D., research psychiatrist, Psychiatric and Psychosomatic Research Institute, Mount Sinai Hospital, Los Angeles, Calif.)

In a comprehensive essay on adolescence, George E. Gardner lists as a major and most difficult task confronting the child as he enters adolescence, the giving up of the security that is predicated upon the "all-knowingness" and the "all-powerfulness" of his mother and father. In this connection Gardner emphasizes ". . . the extreme vulnerability of all adolescents (or of adults who are still essentially adolescent) to the cry and to the seductive voice of the false leader or the leader with the false ideology or intent. That adolescents (of whatever chronological age) are appealed to—and respond to—such leaders, is accounted for by the fact that the latter always promise, among other things, an omniscient who can do their thinking and an omnipotent who will be their power.[10]

There is a parallelism between these growing pains of adolescence and the growing pains of a developing democratic society. In both instances, there is the danger of regression to an earlier phase of development, where security is sought by relying on an omniscient and omnipotent authority. The success of the democratic process requires citizens who are psychologically ready and willing to think creatively, to make choices, to make decisions as adults, not only in their family and other interpersonal relations but also in matters affecting their community and the nation. The democratic process, to be successful, also requires elected representatives who are able to resist the occupational hazards of their positions of leadership—the temptation to feel and act omniscient and omnipotent.

Too often there is a polarization, a division of labor, a division of society into two castes: the leaders and the led. Too often the ordinary citizen, beset by the cares and demands of everyday living, is relieved and content to leave the business of governing to the leaders. And too often the professional "governors" are men who are attracted to this profession by their need to wield power, the need to feel and be omnipotent.

One of the situations that bring this division into sharp relief is the state of war. The men who govern in time of war quite openly arrogate to themselves special powers over the governed. The reason given for this arrogation is the need to "maintain unity on the home front in time of crisis." This phrase means simply that the government feels it can not tolerate, in wartime, expressions or actions that may turn public opinion against the war effort.

In past wars, our government, like other governments, has employed forceful means and appeals to jingoism to achieve the required suppression of dissent. For example, in 1917, during World War I, the Congress enacted a Sedition Act under which more than 1,900 persons were convicted for such crimes as ". . . making a movie of the American Revolution showing Britain and America at war; saying that war drove men mad; urging people to vote against Congressmen who had voted for conscription; and writing a pamphlet which said that war is contrary to the teachings of Christ." [12]

In an upsurge of superpatriotism, an interest in anything German was considered unpatriotic. Sauerkraut became liberty cabbage; opera companies stopped performing Wagner; and symphony orchestras eliminated works by German composers from their repertories.

The current war in Vietnam has to date been relatively free of such phenomena. In fact, high government officials, including the President, Vice President, and Secretary of State, have made a point on several occasions of defending the right of dissenters to protest. They have even pointed with pride to these proofs of freedom of speech in an America at war.

It may be that the government is not employing the gross techniques of suppression of former wars because there has not been a declaration of war by Congress. The government might therefore be on precarious legal ground if it attempted to invoke wartime powers of suppression. A more likely explanation, however, is that the gross suppressive techniques of previous wars have been replaced by more subtle methods which are effective without being offensive, methods whose effectiveness is enhanced by the refinements of the new "science" of public relations and by the all-pervasiveness of the mass media.

A major element in the new, "public relations" approach is the very gradual escalation of the war effort. In this process of graduated escalation, each new step toward greater involvement is in itself small and seemingly insignificant. Each step appears to evolve as a logical consequence of a previous small and seemingly insignificant step toward greater involvement. And the new step equally logically prepares the ground for the next small and seemingly insignificant step.

The smallness of each step, and its logical evolution out of previous steps, make it acceptable. The gradualness of the process produces a habituation to the involvement. The end result is that the people find themselves deeply committed to large-scale war, without being able to tell how it came about, when and how it all began.

This point was dramatically illustrated at the hearings on the war in Vietnam of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On February 17, 1966 the following interchange took place:

"Senator HICKENLOOPER. When was the commitment made for us to actively participate in the military operations of the war with American personnel?

"General MAXWELL TAYLOR. Insofar as the use of our combat ground forces are concerned, that took place, of course, only in the spring of 1965. In the air, we had been participating more actively over two or three years." [23]

The fact that General Taylor, who was personal military representative of President Kennedy in 1961–62, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1962–64, Ambassador to South Vietnam in 1964–65, and now Special Consultant to the President, could only say vaguely, "in the air we had been participating more actively over two or three years" is characteristic of the confusion and uncertainty produced by this kind of gradual escalation.

At this juncture, with the nation already deeply involved in actual fighting, other seemingly cogent arguments take over; e.g.: The nation is in danger. Our boys are fighting and dying. Now is not the time for doubting, questioning, hesitating, debating. We must give full support to our boys at the front. Those who refuse full support, or who hesitate, give comfort to the enemy and are directly responsible for unnecessary deaths at the front. All we can do now is to rally 'round the flag, support our Commander-in-Chief, etc.

Under these conditions, there is no longer any need for direct suppressive measures to guarantee a pro-war consensus. Instead one can employ appeals to "maturity," to concern for one's country, to concern for our boys fighting and dying at the front.

A classic example of this technique appears in a *New York Times* report of a speech delivered by President Johnson on May 17, 1966:

"President Johnson, in his most outspoken attacks on the opponents of his Vietnam policy so far, called on all Americans to unite behind him.

"Mr. Johnson, gibing at 'nervous Nellies,' seemed almost to call for an end to criticism of the Administration's action in Vietnam and to question his critics' patriotism.

"Mr. Johnson said, 'I ask you and I ask every American to put our country first if we want to keep it first. . . . Put away all the childish divisive things if you want the maturity and the unity that is the mortar of a nation's greatness. I do not think that those men who are out there fighting for us tonight think we should enjoy the luxury of fighting each other back home.'" [18]

Here the President skillfully appeals to the

See footnotes on page 16600.

regressive wish of his audience to be good little children and surrender their critical faculties, but couches it as an appeal to maturity. He is lecturing his audience as a benevolently despotic father might lecture a naughty child. In the process, the democratic responsibility of the mature citizen to question, to examine, to criticize, is stood on its head and gibed at as the "childish divisive things" indulged in by "nervous Nellies."

These latter-day techniques are far more difficult to counteract psychologically than are techniques of direct suppression. The individual no longer experiences the suppression as coming from outside himself. The suppression seems rather to come from within, as a logical response to the situation that the country is in. The individual citizen himself, in response to the President's appeals for unity and maturity, suppresses any wish he may have to think critically to evaluate objectively, to dissent. The suppressing forces are no longer regarded as ego-alien.

This tendency to self-censorship is reinforced by another factor. Since he does not understand how the country got so deeply involved in the war, and feels quite confused about it, the average citizen concludes that the problems of war and peace in general, and of the Vietnam war in particular, are much too complicated for his average mind to encompass. This self-depreciation facilitates a regressive process, where the confused and helpless infant-citizen finds comfort in leaving all decisions to the father-figures, the all-powerful President and his all-knowing expert advisers.

Once the citizen has accepted the policy of war, psychological processes come into play which induce him to distort reality by ignoring or minimizing those facts which contradict the policy, while giving undue weight to facts which tend to validate the policy. Charles E. Osgood has described these processes under his "congruity hypothesis" as the strain toward consistency.[20] [21] Leon Festinger has described them as "the reduction of cognitive dissonance."[7] [9] These theories submit the proposition that when people know things that are not psychologically consistent with one another, they will try to make them consistent by various means. Osgood points out that the individual is most likely to change that element in the incongruity to which he has the least intense attachment and will maintain that element about which he has the most intense conviction.

To illustrate: When Stephen Decatur made his famous toast "My country right or wrong," he was in fact saying that he was capable of tolerating the cognitive dissonance between the strong positive valence of "my country," and the negative valence of "wrong." The average citizen cannot tolerate the dissonance and must change the positive valence of one of the elements to a negative one, or vice versa. He will find it extremely difficult to go through the emotionally painful reevaluation of values and the enormous intellectual efforts that would be involved in admitting to consciousness the idea that his country is engaged in policies and actions that are basically wrong. He will find it easier to eliminate the dissonance by justifying, for example, the bombing and napalming of enemy civilians on such grounds as: the enemy, even civilians, are cruel, ruthless, cunning, fanatical and none of them can be trusted.

Having achieved this regressive reduction or elimination of dissonance, the citizen experiences a sense of relief from anxiety and from the pressure of having to think about these complex questions. Henceforth, even if it may seem to him at times that his government's policies are palpably wrong, he can fall back on the comforting thought that there must be some top-secret information to which he has no access, and to which he is not entitled to have access, which can explain everything and make everything all right; and that the father-figures surely know what they are doing.

It seems clear to the behavioral scientist that this situation of habituation, confusion, self-devaluation, and regression to an infantile state of helplessness is unhealthy and should be corrected. Some behavioral scientists also feel that their life-long training and professional skills should enable them to make a contribution toward ameliorating or "curing" this state of sociopathological ill health. Unfortunately, the situation becomes much less clear when the specific questions are asked: What can behavioral scientists do? What contribution can they make?

Jules Masserman concludes an essay on "Psychological Medicine and World Affairs" (in which he writes prophetically as early as 1948 about "the dread prodromata of war") with the question: "What, then, can we as scientists, physicians and men of good will do?" After apologizing for the fact that "as is usual in medical treatises, the section on therapy must be regrettably brief," Masserman answers his own question:

"First, let us raise our voices to cry havoc and, since our puny professional and academic 'securities' would in any case become meaningless should catastrophe break, dare to use every means of communication at our command to rouse the world to its danger. (And second,) let us leave our crumbling ivory towers and use every podium and influence we have to secure a voice on policy-making and governing bodies."[16]

The writer agrees with Masserman's two proposals. He would suggest, in addition, a third way that a contribution could be made by behavioral scientists. In the case described in this paper of the public habituation to war, an effort could be made to counteract it by confronting the public with the existence of habituation and helping the average citizen gain insight into its genesis. The gaining of intellectual and emotional insight is an important tool in dynamic psychotherapy. It should be tried in sociotherapy. Perhaps the average citizen can be helped to feel less bewildered, less helpless, if he is helped to understand, step by step, how the present confused situation came about. Perhaps he can gain confidence in his own ability to think and to understand if he can be helped to perceive the subtle techniques by which his ability to think has been undermined. Perhaps, as in individual psychotherapy, a gaining of insight into the processes, external and intrapsychic, which led to the citizen's regression, may be the first step toward developing greater maturity and self-confidence.

What follows is offered as a sample of an attempt at such elucidation—an effort at counteracting the habituation to war by retracing some of the early steps in the gradual escalation by which the habituation was established.

HABITUATION BY GRADUAL INVOLVEMENT—A CASE STUDY

It is not easy to determine just when, how, and why the United States became committed to intervene in Vietnam. The involvement began quite indirectly, and seemingly without premeditation or intent. It began as an indirect consequence of the efforts of the United States government, under the Marshall Plan, to help the countries of Europe recover from the devastation of World War II.

The French became recipients of Marshall Plan aid soon after World War II ended. When, in 1946, the French began their war against the Viet Minh in an effort to re-establish their colonial rule in Indochina, Marshall Plan dollars enabled the French government to release francs for expenditures in that war.[11] This first indirect involvement, and the sympathy of American government officials for the role of the French as "the defenders of the cause of human freedom" in Southeast Asia,[4] led inexorably (although in steps barely visible to the unaided human eye) to the present full-scale involvement with over 400,000 American ground troops and all the latest paraphernalia of war.

The indirect involvement continued from 1946 until 1950. Then it became direct. This next step was taken in May 1950, with the announcement that the U.S. would give direct economic aid and military equipment to the French in Vietnam and to the emperor Bao Dai, who had been appointed by the French to rule Vietnam under their tutelage.[1] This step seemed insignificant at the time (merely a shift from indirect aid to direct aid), and logical (since the French were our NATO allies).

The sending of American military equipment to Indochina led logically to another step—the sending of American experts to teach the French how to use the equipment. This was another fateful step—the first commitment of American manpower. President Eisenhower wrote in his memoirs:

"It is true that certain legislators have expressed uneasiness concerning any use of American maintenance personnel in Indochina. They fear that this may be opening the door to increased and unwise introduction of American troops into that area. [As indeed it proved to be. I. Z.] The administration has given assurances to guard against such development."[5]

By May 1954, when the French suffered their conclusive defeat at Dienbienphu, there were 684 such American experts, maintenance personnel, and advisers. The French left (in April 1956) but the Americans stayed on, to build up the army of Bao Dai, later of Diem, and still later of the succession of military juntas that followed the overthrow and assassination of Diem.

These American advisers not only stayed on but multiplied, although very slowly at first. At the end of the Eisenhower Administration in 1960, there were about 750 American military personnel in South Vietnam.[24] Although they were military men, they wore civilian clothes, because the Geneva Accords of 1954 forbade "the introduction into Vietnam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel."[27]

The next step was also a seemingly unimportant one, but it was perhaps crucial. The American advisers began to appear on the streets of Saigon in American military uniforms. This "surfacing" of the American military in Vietnam was also very gradual. Here, for the first time, was established a palpable, visible American military presence in South Vietnam. Once this was established, all that followed seemed logical and inevitable.

The increase in American troop involvement was considerably accelerated during the Kennedy Administration. By the end of 1961, the newly elected President had more than quadrupled the number of troops to over 3,000. This number tripled in 1962; and by October 1963 there were about 17,000 American "advisers" in South Vietnam. Many of them accompanied their South Vietnamese "advisees" on combat missions, and they were authorized "to fire when fired upon."

In retrospect it is clear that at this stage of the involvement, Americans were engaging in combat—killing and being killed. But this was glossed over by public assurances that there had been "no change in the quality of our support, but only an increase in the quantity of it," and that American military personnel were serving, and would continue to serve, in South Vietnam in a purely advisory and training capacity.[25]

Furthermore, on October 2, 1963 Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and General Maxwell Taylor made the reassuring an-

See footnotes on page 16600.

nouncement that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of training personnel." This was backed up by a statement that 300 American troops would leave Vietnam by December 3, while another 1,000 would depart before the end of the year.[25]

Despite these assurances, American involvement continued to increase, in numbers, in intensity, and in overtness. But by this time, the habituation had taken hold. As late as November 1964, with more than 20,000 American ground troops in South Vietnam and with total American casualties close to 2,000, the American people still believed they were voting for a President who had kept us out of war.

A story in the *Los Angeles Times* in April 1965 described the satisfaction of American airmen that "the wraps have at long last been taken off the Air Force." Previously, every American helicopter pilot had to be accompanied by a South Vietnamese "even if the South Vietnamese was a mail clerk," so that in case the helicopter crashed or was shot down, it could be claimed that the Vietnamese mail clerk was the pilot and the American pilot was only an adviser. All this pretense could now finally be discarded, the report in the *Los Angeles Times* continued with obvious satisfaction.

It took 19 years of very gradual escalation for our involvement to reach the point where "the fight is now predominantly an American war," as Walter Lippmann points out. But it should be noted that in the past two years, since "the wraps have been off" and all pretense finally discarded, the escalation has been accelerated precipitously. By November 1965 there were more than 150,000 American soldiers in South Vietnam. In November 1966 there were 360,000 American fighting men on Vietnamese soil.

One might ask whether the gradual escalation was deliberately planned by government leaders as a subtle and effective public relations technique, or was the haphazard result of historical factors outside the control of our government. Since both history and human motivation are never a matter of black-or-white, the question can be posed more meaningfully as follows: to what extent was the gradual habituation deliberately planned and predetermined, and to what extent did it just happen?

It is doubtful that anyone, including the leaders themselves, could answer these questions categorically. However, the weight of the historical evidence goes to show that the government of the United States was determined, from the very beginning, to do everything it could to keep Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh from coming to power in Vietnam. For example, Chalmers W. Roberts, Chief of the National News Bureau of the *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, reported on March 25, 1954 the National Security Council took a firm position that the United States could not afford the loss of Indochina to the Communists, and that if it were necessary to prevent the loss, the United States would intervene in the war. This decision was approved by President Eisenhower.[22] On April 16, 1954 Vice President Nixon sent up a public trial-balloon in a speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in which he said:

"If to avoid further Communist expansion in Asia and Indochina, we must take the risk now by putting our boys in, I think the Executive has to take the politically unpopular decision and do it."[6]

A few days previously, on April 3, 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had urged upon a secret meeting of eight leaders of the Senate and the House the necessity of a joint resolution by Congress to permit President Eisenhower to use air and naval power in Indochina. Admiral Radford's plan was to relieve the French at Dienbienphu by striking at the Vietminh forces with hundreds of American planes from Navy carriers and from the Philippines. Roberts writes:

"Some of those at the meeting came away with the feeling that if they had agreed that Saturday to the resolution, *planes would have been winging toward Dienbienphu without waiting for a vote of Congress—or without a word in advance to the American people.*" [Italic mine, I.Z.]

Secretary Dulles tried to interest some of America's allies in his plans. "In these talks Dulles ran into one rock of opposition—Britain."[22] The reaction of another ally is described by Roscoe Drummond and Gaston Coblentz in their book about Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, *Duel at the Brink*. They write:

"The main figure with whom he [John Foster Dulles] negotiated in Paris, shortly before the [Geneva] conference and during its early weeks, was [French] Foreign Minister Georges Bidault.

"As the collapse of Dienbienphu approached, Dulles told Bidault that a battle lost was not a war lost. The discouraged Bidault replied that General de Gaulle had said the same thing in 1940, but that it was something one says in the first year of a war, not in the eighth, as in Indochina.

"Bidault's recollection of the talks, as recounted to these reporters, introduces into the Dulles record a new element which, at present, reposes solely on the French statesman's testimony. *Bidault understood Dulles, on two spearate occasions, to have offered him the use of American atomic bombs by French forces in the Indochina war.*

"By Bidault's account both offers were made before the fall of Dienbienphu; prior, that is, to the Geneva Conference. According to Bidault, both offers were made to him personally by Dulles in Paris.

"The first is recalled by Bidault as an offer of one or more atomic bombs to be dropped on Communist Chinese territory near the Indochina border in a countermove against the Chinese supply lines to the Vietminh Communists.

"The second is recalled as an offer of two atomic bombs against the Vietminh forces at Dienbienphu.

"Bidault, by his account, declined both offers. He told Dulles that it would be impossible to predict where the use of nuclear weapons against Red China would end, that it could lead to Russian intervention and a world-wide holocaust. In the case of the second offer, he considered the French and Vietminh forces to be by then too closely engaged at Dienbienphu to permit the use of atomic weapons.

"There is no doubt in Bidault's mind that these offers were made to him by Dulles"[3] [Emphasis mine. *I.Z.*]

These facts point to the conclusion that the Administration would have plunged the United States into the Indochina war much more precipitously if it could have. But it encountered two obstacles: Our Allies, especially Britain and France refused to go along. And Nixon's trial-balloon brought forth an avalanche of negative letters and telegrams to the President, and a great deal of negative reaction in the press. The time was not ripe for total intervention. The American people would have to undergo a prolonged process of habituation before they would be ready for total intervention.

It is, of course, quite likely that, having embarked on a course of gradual escalation, the leaders themselves became conditioned and habituated—they became the victims of their own techniques. The strain toward consistency and elimination of cognitive dissonance described by Osgood, Festinger, and others applies not only to ordinary citizens but also to leaders. The leaders are constrained to find rationalizations which will justify their decisions to themselves, as well as to their followers. Former President Eisenhower recently exemplified one such technique in high places, a technique to justify the killing of civilians in underdeveloped nations. In a televised speech on September 18, 1966, he argued against "the fear of using a weapon [nuclear] that the free world might need in some outlying place where people or life seems to be cheap, and they want to have their way."[26]

It is also probable that the original planners of our Southeast Asia strategy did not anticipate in 1950–54 either the duration or the extent of the ultimate involvement. They grossly underestimated the determination, stamina, and dedication of the guerrillas. The performance of the Viet Minh against the French should have alerted our decisionmakers, but here another factor entered, which is operative to this day. The American leaders felt vastly superior both to the French and to their rag-tag guerrilla opponents. The leaders were the victims of the parochial tendency to feel that "one American is as good as any 10 foreigners," (especially if the foreigners are non-white).

Since then, much habituation has taken place. In June 1954 a Gallup Poll showed that 72% of the American people opposed sending American troops to Indochina. By 1966, 60–70% were going along with the Administration policy. The process of habituation has been eminently successful. It has achieved a 180 degree shift in American public opinion in the space of 12 years.

The habituation has been reinforced by techniques of news management and manipulation of public opinion. The President's televised press conference of July 28, 1965 is a classic example. It furnishes an instructive case study of the psychological preparation and manipulation of the American public:

Several weeks before the press conference took place, Secretary of Defense McNamara made a highly dramatized and thoroughly publicized "fact-finding" tour of South Vietnam. Newspaper dispatches stressed the dangerous nature of this mission. The Viet Cong, it was reported, spared no efforts to "get" McNamara. On one occasion, a mine was discovered in the nick of time under a bridge that McNamara was to cross. (No one asked why such a dangerous mission was given so much advance publicity. Would it not have been safer for Mr. McNamara to slip into Vietnam incognito and with no fanfare?)

Upon his return from Vietnam to Washington, Secretary McNamara and his fact-finding mission continued to capture the headlines. For several days, these front page stories in the news media reported that the President was closeted with Mr. McNamara and several top-level advisers in day-long, continuous top-secret consultations. The purpose of these conferences was to determine, on the basis of Mr. McNamara's findings, the future course of the war. Strangely enough, at the end of each day's "secret" session information was "leaked" to the news media which indicated that there would be a very rapid increase in U.S. combat forces in Vietnam, a marked rise in draft quotas, mobilization of the reserves, and a request that the Congress make a supplemental war appropriation of 12 billion dollars. With each day, as preparations were reported for a Presidential press conference, tension rose and public apprehension mounted that the country would be placed on a total war footing.

So well was the public prepared by the press "leaks" to expect the worst, that there was a general expression of relief when, on July 28, the President asked for "only" 1.7 billion dollars, a draft quota of "only" 35,000 by November, an increase in troop strength to "only" 125,000, and greatest concession of all, did not call out the reserves. However,

See footnotes on page 16600.

the *Wall Street Journal* of August 4, 1965, reported that ". . . the President had announced one plan for public consumption, but was pushing, behind the scenes, for a much larger involvement in the war."

In connection with this concealed program, the *Wall Street Journal* continued, Secretary of Defense McNamara appeared before a closed session of the Senate Armed Services Committee to project a far heavier commitment of manpower and funds.

By January 20, 1966, the *Los Angeles Times* was reporting that the President "appeals to Congress to provide $12 billion more to support expanded Vietnam action." (The precise figure mentioned in the press leaks of July 1965.) By February 12, 1966, the President was stating that the time may come when he will have to summon the reserves. Several months after that, a bill was passed giving the President authority to do so. And, of course, the number of combat troops rapidly rose above the 125,000 figure projected in the July 28 press conference.

It is clear, in retrospect, that the skillfully stage-managed, televised press conference of July 28, 1965 marked a new phase of open, headlong escalation of the war—now that the "wraps were off." But an adverse public reaction to this new development was averted by skillful manipulation of information. The formula is simple, but effective: First step: highly alarming rumors about escalation are "leaked." Second step: the President officially and dramatically sets the anxieties to rest by announcing a much more moderate rate of escalation, and accompanies this announcement with assurances of the government's peaceful intentions. Third step: after the general sigh of relief, the originally rumored escalation is gradually put into effect, after all.

This technique of psychological backing and filling has two effects: (1) By the time the originally leaked figure of, say, $12 billion, is officially presented by the President in January 1966, the citizen has the comfortable feeling of familiarity with it, of being knowledgeable about it. Somewhere, sometime he has seen and heard this figure before, as indeed he had—in July 1965. It has been robbed of its shock effect. The citizen has become habituated to it. (2) The succession of "leaks," denials of leaks, and denials of denials, thoroughly confuses the individual. He is left bewildered, helpless, apathetic.

The habituation is further reinforced by what is politely called "news management," but what some newsmen have referred to more frankly as the withholding of information or the giving out of misinformation by the government. In February 1965, U.N. Secretary General U Thant bluntly stated that the American people were not getting the true facts about the war in Vietnam, particularly about peace feelers from Hanoi.[13] Australian correspondents in Vietnam have charged American military public relations men with misrepresenting casualty figures in order to make them less stark for the American public.[19] American newsmen have similarly complained about misleading news and misinformation. In a front page news article headed "U.S. Command Less Than Candid in Reporting Vietnam Battle Action," Jack Foisie, Bureau Chief in Saigon for the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*, writes:

"Even in a minor defeat, or a minor error in contrast to the bigness of the war, spokesmen try to minimize the setback, distort the fact. They do their best to sweep the dirt under the tent." [14]

Professor Thomas A. Bailey writes in the *New York Times* about President Johnson's "warping, sugar-coating or falsification of the news." [2]

News management is not a new phenomenon. It is probably as old as politics itself. In the United States, as Professor Bailey puts it, "news management dates back to George Washington's Administration." [2] What is new, in our democracy, is the quantity, the degree of news management. What is new is the fact that high government officials openly admit it, and that the large majority of the American people have accepted it as one of the facts of life. William Touhy, the *Los Angeles Times* correspondent in Saigon, writes:

"Sylvester [Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Arthur Sylvester] has said he favors government news management, including lying to the press in times of crisis. On a trip to Vietnam, he declared the press ought to be the handmaiden of the government, as far as reporting the war went.[15]

And *Newsweek* quoted the official spokesman for the United States mission in Saigon as stating: "My directive says that our policy is one of minimum candor." [17]

The open advocacy by governmental leaders of policies of "minimum candor" and lying to the people undermines "the right to know." The restrictions on his right to know the truth mesh neatly with the citizen's regressive wish to remain unknowing, and further facilitate his regression to the preadolescent phase of seeking security in the omniscience and omnipotence of the authority figures.

CONCLUSIONS

The techniques employed by government to reduce opposition to the war in Vietnam rely heavily on psychological habituation by gradual involvement. Each small new step in the escalation is presented as a logical, unavoidable result of a commitment made by a previous small step. The result is acquiescence by the individual, with no feeling that his right to disagree is being suppressed.

The acquiescence resulting from psychological habituation to the war could prepare the ground for eventual acceptance of the use of nuclear weapons, if such use developed as a "logical" next step. Senator Richard B. Russell, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has advocated using small nuclear weapons in Vietnam, increasing the size of the nuclear bombs when necessary. This foreshadows a kind of nuclear escalation similar to the gradual escalation described above.

The gradual habituation, the "management" of news and information, and the manipulation of public opinion produce in the American people a sense of confusion. They undermine the average American's confidence in his own ability to think clearly and cope with important issues. They foster in the average American a feeling of helplessness and passivity. All this bodes ill for the democratic process: an ill-informed and misinformed people may be unable to participate intelligently in decision-making. It bodes ill for the prospects of human survival: a habituated people may be unable to stop the drift toward a third, thermonuclear, world war. It bodes ill for the emotional health of the American people.

And all this is a matter of serious concern to behavioral scientists, as citizens and as specialists.

FOOTNOTES

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THE LATIN AMERICAN ARMAMENT RACE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post carries an editorial entitled "Shakedown in Peru." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, the sentiments of which I heartily endorse, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as the editorial indicates, the Peruvian military forces are seeking the purchase from France of supersonic jet airplanes. The cost will raise the percentage of the Peruvian budget spent on armed forces from 14.7 percent last year to 18.9 percent this year. Not unexpectedly, Peru is asking the United States to come through with economic aid called a "program loan," which amounts to making up the Peruvian deficit with American aid.

Thus, indirectly, the American taxpayers are really asked to underwrite Peru in its armament race, when we all know that the standard of living of its people is exceedingly low, and when we all know that what Peru ought to be spending its money for is the benefit of the

mass of its people, and not to maintain the prestige of a military oligarchy.

I say with some familiarity with the subject that if we surrender to this perversion of American aid, the Alliance for Progress will be as dead as a doornail, insofar as its original purposes are concerned. It is already staggering. It has already lost the inspiration and the vision that brought it into being. It is increasingly becoming a cold mechanism for moving American commodities into Latin America, with no regard for the purposes to be served thereby or the effect upon the lives and futures of the people who live there. Its impact upon the bankbooks of the wealthy in Latin America is looming larger all the time as the chief standard of its success, as they, in turn, follow the common practice of flight of capital, depositing more and more hundreds of thousands of dollars in Swiss banks.

Last year, when the foreign aid bill was before the Foreign Relations committee, I brought up this subject with Secretary McNamara. For the record, I ask that the discussion that took place about the sale of American aircraft to Argentina, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. It was that sale which stimulated the other air forces in Latin America to demand more airplanes until they are getting into the supersonic class.

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

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. MORSE. Secretary McNamara repeated the familiar Pentagon rationale that any arms it makes available to other countries represents a "controlling" of the arms race; whereas when other countries sell or give weapons, that is an arms race.

Our sale of planes to Argentina set off a race among the air forces of Latin America to upgrade their planes. Peru is not the only country that is in it. It is to the credit of the Secretary of Defense that it is not the United States that is giving or selling these planes to Peru. Apparently, the administration has taken at least that part of my advice delivered to the Secretary last year that when these countries threaten to go somewhere else to make their purchases, we wish them Godspeed.

I should have added then, as I do now, that we should not pay the cost of that military hardware bought in France, or Russia, or Britain, through our economic aid program, either.

A few months ago, I said that American support of the military junta in Brazil is turning the Alliance for Progress into an alliance for progressive militarism. The Peruvian aircraft purchase, and its relationship to American aid, will be another turning point for the Alliance.

I promise to do all I can in my capacity as a Senator, and as chairman of the Latin American Subcommittee of the Senate, to oppose and prevent further degeneration of the Alliance into an economic prop for militarism in the hemisphere.

I say to my many friends in Latin America that I can continue to be counted upon to do what I can do to obtain deserved economic aid, but only—and I stress "but only"—after governments of Latin America cut out their attempt for an arms race in country after country in Latin America, entrenching deeper and deeper their military oligarchies which in turn help keep down freedom.

For some years in the Committee on Foreign Relations we have been able to whittle back military aid a little more each year, only to have much of our progress lost over on the House side or in conference. Sometimes after a bill has been passed, we find the administration seeking to arrange for loans of military equipment to Latin American governments. The word "loans" ought to be in quotation marks.

So, from the floor of the Senate this afternoon I declare again that this year I shall fight even harder to cut back on military aid to Latin America, because military aid to Latin America is bespoiling our Alliance for Progress program.

I shall also seek the means of preventing the use of economic aid to underwrite arms bought elsewhere.

I was standing by the birth bed of the Alliance for Progress program when it was born, for it came out of my committee when the then Senator from Massachusetts, Jack Kennedy, was a member of that committee. He and I were the ones that made the motion. I moved the motion that brought into being the very birth of the whole concept of an Alliance for Progress program. Senator Kennedy seconded it.

Let me say on the floor of the Senate again today that was an economic program and not a military program.

The Alliance for Progress program did not contemplate the sending of a single tank, a single military airplane, a single weapon into Latin America as any part of the Alliance for Progress program.

We have had this great economic program developing only to have it thwarted and stifled by a military aid program that has succeeded in building up, one military dictatorship after another, one military junta after another, and entrenching military oligarchies until the people of Latin America are suffering more and more from the standpoint of receiving the satisfaction they should receive in regard to economic aid to them.

And it must stop or we will stand convicted of once again trampling freedom under foot when the cause of freedom is being fought in Latin America.

It is being trampled underfoot because military dictators using American military weapons hold down the advance of freedom in various parts of Latin America.

Mr. President, I am sorry that I feel the situation warrants a speech as emphatic and as strong as I am making this afternoon, but now is the time, may I say from this floor, for the leaders of the governments of Latin America to know that in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this year they are going to see a fight put up in opposition to any increase in military aid to Latin America, a fight against a government which seeks to buy these super military planes from France and then at the same time has the audacity to come forward and ask the American taxpayers for more economic aid, which is only an indirect way of asking the taxpayers to pay for the planes.

That program must stop, and this is the year to start stopping it.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, June 21, 1967]

SHAKEDOWN IN PERU

Last year the military in Peru got $130 million, which was 14.7 percent of the budget and far more than the country's security requires. The salt in this financial wound was the fact that the budgetary deficit was $160 million. Meanwhile Peru's economy, one of the more stable in Latin America, entered on harsh times. The population last year rose more than 3 percent.

So this year the military is getting $196 million, or 18.9 percent of the budget, an appalling, intolerable increase which tells all too much about the armed forces' hunger for hardware and about the political deterioration which permits the military to take a bigger bite. Peru's security needs have not changed a whit in the last year. The military, whose year-long seizure of power in 1962 is in the back of every politician's mind, simply took advantage of the country's distress to grab itself more toys.

Even more distressing is the military's new appetite for supersonic jets. No other Latin air force has them and their acquisition by Peru would quite likely set the continent's other irresponsible airmen to clamoring for them too. The United States and, at American bidding, Britain had refused to sell supersonic aircraft to Peru but France, irresponsibly practicing an independent policy, has reportedly decided to make the sale.

Peru is running a huge budgetary deficit this year and wants Washington to help bail it out with a "program loan," the aid euphemism for a bundle of cash. The United States absolutely should not underwrite the Peruvian military's backmail, or the French armaments industry. To do so would be to damage the aims of the Alliance for Progress and give every tinpot flyboy in Latin America an incentive to shake down his own government.

EXHIBIT 2

IS THE UNITED STATES FOSTERING AN ARMS RACE IN LATIN AMERICA?

Mr. Secretary, the Aviation Secretary of the Argentine is quoted in the press in recent hours as having told a press conference in Argentina that it will soon receive 50 subsonic Vulcan A4–B planes, 2 DC–6B transport planes, and 3 C–130 transport planes under the military aid program from the United States, is this true?

Secretary MCNAMARA. Yes, that is correct. But not under the military grant aid program. Most of it represents sales, some of which were financed initially by funds from the military aid program.

Senator MORSE. Do you think, in fact and in effect, there is any difference as to whether or not a country receives such military equipment from the United States through grant or purchase?

Secretary MCNAMARA. I do, Senator Morse; but I shall put that aside for the minute.

I think the basic question—one in which you have been interested for a long time, and one which I think is very important and well worth asking and I hope I can answer—is this: Is not our military aid program, either grant aid or sales, fostering an arms race in Latin America? I think that is a fundamental question; and if I may take about 3 minutes of your time, I shall like to try to answer it.

Senator MORSE. I will give it to you.

Secretary McNAMARA. I think the answer is "No." In 6 years, 1962 through 1967—the years during which I have been responsible for military assistance—we have supplied about $435 million worth of grant aid to 20 Latin American countries.

During that time, and of that $435 million, $13 million has been for combat aircraft, combat navy ships, and artillery. No tanks. It includes $200,000 worth of artillery, $10 million worth of ships, and $4 million worth of aircraft, which is very, very little. I can go into the individual items if you wish.

In addition to that grant aid we have entered into sales agreements with Latin American countries over that period of time. The most important is the one you mentioned with Argentina for 50 aircraft. Other sales include 3 destroyers in 1962 and 60 M–41 tanks planned in 1966 for Argentina; 3 destroyers to Brazil in 1966; 100 M–41 tanks planned for Brazil in 1966; 6 F–86–F aircraft to Peru in 1962; and an overhaul of a submarine planned for Venezuela. The important point I want to leave with you, Senator Morse, is this: That our small program of military aid to Latin America—$74 or $75 million in grant aid, plus the military sales—has resulted in our being able to help control a potential arms race and dampen it down to the point where there are no other groups of countries in the world comparable to those Latin American countries, with a total population of 200 million, which have gross national products adequate to support military operations and have such small military forces.

Ten of the nineteen countries to which we give aid spend less than 10 percent of their governmental budgets on defense. Eleven of them spend less than 2 percent of their gross national product on defense. None of them, with one exception, has as many men in uniform per unit of population as does any nation in Europe other than Switzerland.

I don't think there is any question but what we have used our bargaining power, if you will, brought about by the military aid program to hold down defense forces, the defense expenditures and foreign exchange expenditures in Latin America. If I could take just 30 seconds more, let me read to you from a memo of conversation that I had with an ambassador from one of those countries within the past 30 days.

"The ambassador used the first 15 minutes to lay out a case for additional military assistance to country E, a Latin American country. His points were that country E has a history of difficulties with her neighbors, although in recent years the difficulties have been limited to border incidents. That all guns in country E are for peace but that the power ratio of country E vis-a-vis her neighbors has gone from bad to worse and country E, being unable to obtain military ships and aircraft from the United States, plans to buy them from Europe. And Latin American countries have a history of buying them from Europe over the years. McNamara responded he was shocked that country E was expending her wealth on a basis such as this. He said he was aware of some of the proposals under consideration, and he said he thoroughly disagreed with them. He said he thought they involved much more than the population of country E desired and the strategic situation required. He added that he so far as he could affect the situation, he would not tolerate an arms race in E or country X."

And I stated they could not depend on our military grant aid from us if they were to misuse their resources as they proposed.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Secretary, you and other administration spokesmen over the years have been pointing out that the military aid that we give to Latin America is necessary and we ought to look at it from the standpoint of its use to maintain internal security.

ARGENTINE PLANE PURCHASES

Will you tell the committee what these planes that the Argentines are seeking have to do with internal security of the Argentine because, as you know, my position has been our military aid ought to be limited to that type of aid necessary to put down threatened Communist coups.

Secretary McNAMARA. The answer is nothing—absolutely nothing.

Senator MORSE. Of course not.

Secretary McNAMARA. But, what was the alternative, Senator Morse? The alternative was that the Argentine would accept the offer of another nation to sell 50 airplanes, at a much higher price which would involve a much greater diversion from her economic resources. We were able to prevent that from happening. These planes didn't bring us any foreign exchange to speak of. They were sold at a very low price because they were used aircraft. But we did achieve the net result of avoiding a large diversion of economic resources from economic development of the Argentine to an unneeded military weapon.

Senator MORSE. You know, Mr. Secretary, that I have rejected that argument for years. It is nothing but an argument of international blackmail on the part of these Latin American countries. When they say "You either do it or we will go to Russia or to France, to someone else," our answer ought to be "Godspeed."

I don't think we have any justification being a party to either granting or selling to these Latin American countries this military equipment when the money ought to be spent to raise the standard of living of the people so they don't engage in Communist coups. That is why I made it clear at the beginning in my rejection of your major premise, that our military assistance program has not been a success.

In my judgment it creates a situation that threatens the freedom in these countries where we use it. It threatens a war between Greece and Turkey and a war between India and Pakistan. In my judgment it has done much to get us into the terrific loss of life that is taking place in Vietnam. And those are the differences between us. That is why it is so important that we get it on the record.

OTHER PROPOSED PURCHASES

I would like to have in the record, Mr. Chairman, if the Secretary would supply it, what the present status is of the request of other Latin American countries for military equipment, either by grant or by purchase. In my judgment, much of it has nothing to do with internal security in their country. That is one of the reasons, not the only reason, but one of the major reasons, why in my judgment we are contributing to a growing turmoil in Latin America and when we get out of South Vietnam we will be down there.

Secretary McNAMARA. Senator Morse, I couldn't agree with you more as to your basic premise that a military assistance program contributing to a diversion of scarce resources from a country's economy and the development of that economy—and it can only be through economic development that developing countries can be strong and stable in the future—that a military assistance program which diverts scarce resources from economic growth to unneeded military force is unwise. If that is what this program is, cancel it.

But the facts won't support that contention and I am very anxious to put into the record all of the pertinent facts on this issue.

(The information referred to follows:)

"STATUS OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA

"The present status of U.S. military assistance to Latin America is shown in the summarization of the proposed fiscal year 1967 programs for grant aid and sales. The proposed grant aid program for fiscal year 1967 totals $71.9 million for individual country programs. Of this amount, the major component is for internal security. Including training, this category amounts to $47.7 million, or 64 percent of the total; $10.3 million, or 14 percent of the total, is for equipment and training associated with civic action. Internal security, civic action, training and supply operations together account for approximately 92 percent of the country programs. The remaining 8 percent of the program is for support of the maritime defense-ASW mission in the larger South American countries including five aircraft but consists primarily of spare parts, maintenance equipment and training munitions. The grant program does not contain tanks, artillery, fighter aircraft, or combat ships. The emphasis is on vehicles, transport aircraft and helicopters for mobility, communications equipment for better control in-country, specialized counterinsurgency, propeller driven aircraft to improve support of antiguerrilla operations, patrol and small craft to improve coastal and river surveillance, and spare parts, tools and equipment for maintenance of existing inventories.

"Sales requests also emphasize internal security items with about two-thirds of the program in this category. Sales requests do not include additional tanks, artillery, or combat ships. About one-third represents expenditures by the larger South American countries for overhaul and repair of ships on hand and equipment for in-country construction of one ship.

"Attached is a classified list of items by category, including both grant aid and sales programs.

"(The list referred to is on file with the committee.)"

Secretary McNAMARA. Let me point out to you gentlemen that after 15 years of military assistance program, the Latin American nations are spending less of their budgets and less of their gross national product on defense, and have fewer of their people in military service, than any other group of nations in the world.

The total number of combat aircraft in Latin America is 547, which is fewer than the combat aircraft of North Korea. The total number of tanks in Latin America is 974. That is 60 percent as many as a single country—Bulgaria—has.

I don't think you can support the argument that our military assistance program has contributed to the unreasonable growth of military forces in Latin America. If it has, I don't want to see it supported in the future.

Senator MORSE. I know you don't want to see it supported in the future but you and I disagree on the facts. You are proposing and proposed last year, too, $75 million; the amount you are proposing this year ought to be halved. If you only had 50 percent of it, you would supply them all they need for internal security. You are using military assistance really for diplomatic relations.

I don't want to see military aid used for that purpose. I don't think we have any right to yield to the blackmail argument: "If you don't sell it to us we will go somewhere else and buy it."

Tell them to go ahead and buy it. They might find themselves in a little difficulty with their people.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator's time is up. Senator Aiken.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOL SYSTEM

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, yesterday a decision was reached in the U.S. district court in the case of Hobson against Hansen, et al. This decision, as I have read it in the press, in

terms of the operation of the schools of our Nation's Capital, is so far reaching that I earnestly hope that the U.S. Court of Appeals and, in turn, the U.S. Supreme Court—in the event that the U.S. Court of Appeals should uphold the decision of Judge Wright—will have the opportunity to pass on this case.

If this opportunity is not afforded, in my judgment, grave and irreparable damage to the school system in the District of Columbia could be the result.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article which appeared in the June 20, 1967, edition of the Washington Evening Star, entitled "Busing Is No Answer in District of Columbia, Passow Says."

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

BUSING IS NO ANSWER IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, PASSOW SAYS—SCHOOLS STUDY CHIEF CITES RACIAL RATIO, ALSO DISPUTES FINDING ON SPENDING

(By Ernest Holsendolph)

To try to integrate the District's schools by busing or any other method when only 10 per cent of the students are white would be token integration at its worst, Dr. A. Harry Passow told a press conference yesterday.

He spoke two hours after Judge J. Skelly Wright released his decision indicting "de facto" segregation in the public schools here.

Reporting his findings in detail for the first time since the $240,000 Columbia Teachers College study began a year ago, Passow also took issue with findings in the Hobson case that the District consistently spends less per pupil to educate Negroes than whites.

Racial integration of schools is important, but quality education can be achieved without it in the District through proper instructional materials, specially trained teachers and cultural enrichment, he said.

BACKS END OF TRACKS

Passow concurred with the court opinion in Hobson v. Hansen that the track system should be abolished, to be replaced by flexible grouping which would make teaching easier and more effective.

"Young children should not be grouped until we have found some substantial basis for it," Passow said. He urged that during the early years stronger efforts be made to identify retarded boys and girls and children with physical defects so they may be provided special education.

Passow urged that a research unit on new buildings be established in an effort to design structures particularly for young children.

He denied the assertion in the Hobson case that there is a pattern of socio-economic discrimination in educational expenditures in District schools.

POORLY EQUIPPED

"We found that schools, some in poor areas and others in middle-class neighborhoods, were poorly equipped," he said.

Passow urged that there be a staff development center for more in-service training for teachers to equip them to serve inner-city schools.

He reiterated recommendations made earlier that the present Headstart program for 650 children be expanded to include 14,000 youngsters aged 3 and 4 as part of the regular school enrollment.

Passow noted Dr. John Fischer, president of Teachers College, heads a special task force which will report on long-range policy on racial integration, presumably on a metropolitan basis as recommended in the Hobson case.

In a paper written for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's report, "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," Fischer discussed a metropolitan school park system, with school parks arranged in a ring around the periphery of the city. The educational parks would draw Negro children from the inner city and white youngsters from adjoining suburbs.

Elsewhere in the report, Fischer wrote that attempts to desegregate schools often end in resegregation, but he concluded:

"The discouraging sense that desegregation won't work leads to the conclusion that the ghetto child's only hope lies in improving his segregated school. For the immediate future this may, indeed, be the only course open in some situations. But for the long run, neither school management nor public policy can be based on any assumption so completely contrary to the principles of an open society."

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an editorial which appeared in this afternoon's Washington Evening Star, entitled "Wright's Wrong Way."

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

WRIGHT'S WRONG WAY

Near the end of his blistering attack on the District school system, Judge J. Skelly Wright observed that the preferable place to seek a better balance of educational opportunities in Washington schools would be in some "political arena" other than the courts. It is a great pity that the judge gave this sensible thought only passing attention.

His decision arrives, ironically, almost on the eve of the completion of the $240,000 Passow study. This year-long investigation, conducted on the basis of educational expertise, not sociolegal theory, is evolving practical new ways to cope with precisely those school conditions, found in the midst of de facto segregation and socio-economic deprivation, which Judge Wright now has ruled to be unconstitutional. The preliminary proposals by the Passow group seem to us thoroughly encouraging. From all accounts, the District school board is delighted. Had Judge Wright exercised more restraint, in his own role. It is possible that he might have abetted the healthy community effort already begun.

Restraint, however, is not Wright's style—on this subject, at least. Having expressed his revolutionary views as to what is legally wrong with the District school system, the judge proceeded to appoint himself the sole arbiter of what is educationally as well as legally right.

Thus, the track system "simply must be abolished"—with no encouragement for any type of alternative ability grouping in our schools, although total abolition would surely lead to total chaos. A "substantial" integration of the District faculty, ordained the judge, is to begin in September—and never mind how many of the 23 percent of District teachers who happen to be white are still left, when that job is finished, to integrate. A further erosion of the sound concept of neighborhood schools, through new means of pupil assignment, is likewise to begin in the fall.

We will be commenting further on the impact of these and other provisions of the decision in the days ahead.

One thing which seems to us perfectly clear at the outset, however, is that Judge Wright's ruling should be speedily appealed. If this unprecedented interpretation of the Constitution is to stand up, its validity should be established, and its impact clarified, as soon as possible, for the sake of school districts not only in Washington, but everywhere. Judge Wright's strictures as to the weight which schools must give "economic segregation" introduces a far-reaching new line of legal thought. As to de facto racial segregation it is conceivable, we suppose, that he may have been looking beyond the District of Columbia. For any effort to attack this problem in meaningful terms through the schools in Washington today is simply farcical. Dr. A. Harry Passow summed it up very well by saying that to try to integrate a school population already 93 percent Negro, by busing or any other method, would amount to token integration at its worst.

Let us restate our own position. We are convinced that the most extraordinary efforts are required to upgrade schools in poor neighborhoods. This means allocating to the worst schools specialized services of all kinds, and spending on them far more money than is spent in affluent neighborhoods. It means attracting to those schools the best possible teachers. But it also means attracting them on the basis of such positive incentives as extra pay—and the assurance of an atmosphere of innovation. It means attacking the problem where it is—not following Wright's will-o-the-wisp theories of educational equality, which could well lead, under conditions existing in the District, to nothing more than an equality of mediocrity.

Judge Wright's decision, in all its interminable, demagogic splendor, comes as no great surprise. The judge had personally dedicated himself, on the record, to the concept of court intervention in situations of de facto school segregation long before he heard this case. This District government should, by all means, seek a judicial review of his remarkable line of reasoning.

A MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND PREMIER KOSYGIN

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I believe a useful purpose would be served if Soviet Premier Alexei N. Kosygin would meet with President Johnson while the Soviet head of state is in the United States. It would be unfortunate, indeed, if Premier Kosygin, having come all the way to New York for the United Nations meeting, left without making some attempt to meet the President.

Both Nations have a stake in bringing about peaceful conditions which are of concern not only to us but to all the people of the world, and neither nation can ignore the new evidence of Chinese possession of a hydrogen weapon.

MUTUAL FUND COMMISSIONS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, as Senators may already know, the Investment Company Amendments Act of 1967, currently pending before the Banking and Currency Committee, is a most controversial piece of legislation. The proposal recommended by the SEC which has caused the most controversy is the one limiting commissions charged on the purchase of mutual fund shares to 5 percent of the purchase price.

An alternative proposal which has been suggested to the committee would, rather than setting a statutory ceiling on mutual fund commissions, give primary jurisdiction in this area to the National Association of Securities Dealers—a self-regulatory body which has had many years of successful experience in similar areas.

The suggested proposal would vest primary jurisdiction in determining

whether mutual fund commissions are reasonable under rules and regulations to be promulgated by the National Association of Securities Dealers, with the SEC having secondary oversight. The concept of self-regulation has in the past been highly successful in the securities industry. I am, therefore, most gratified by the response that this proposal has received from the National Association of Securities Dealers, the New York Stock Exchange, and the American Stock Exchange, all of whom have participated over the years in the established pattern of cooperative self-regulation. I am also looking forward to continued discussions on this matter with the Investment Company Institute and the Investment Bankers Association.

So that all Senators may have the benefit of the suggested proposal and the responses given by the National Association of Securities Dealers, the New York Stock Exchange, the American Stock Exchange, the Investment Company Institute and the Investment Bankers Association, I ask unanimous consent that this correspondence be printed in the RECORD.

There being on objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUNE 6, 1967.

Mr. ROBERT W. HAACK,
President, National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc., Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HAACK: As you know, there is substantial opposition in the securities industry to the provision now contained in S. 1659 to eliminate the existing authority of the National Association of Securities Dealers with respect to sales loads contained in the present Section 22(b) of the Act, and to place a statutory ceiling of 5 percent on sales loads subject to the Security Exchange Commission's authority to grant exemptions in appropriate situations. It has been suggested that as an alternative, your Association might be given statutory responsibilities for the mutual fund sales load structure. The Association, as well as the Commission, has statutory authority in this general field under existing law. However, I am told that the standard for its exercise, the prevention of sales loads which are "unconscionable or grossly excessive" creates difficulties.

The alternative suggestion would replace this by a standard to be implemented in the first instance by rules to the general effect that sales charges shall not be "unreasonable." The alternative would also be consistent with the general pattern of the Securities Exchange Act which gives to the industry self-regulatory bodies initial jurisdiction with respect to commission rates and other sales charges.

Accordingly, I would appreciate receiving the benefit of your views regarding this including particularly an indication of whether this Association would be prepared to assume the major responsibilities which this would entail. I certainly recognize that the task would be a difficult one and that its performance would no doubt require careful study and the exercise of informed judgment in the interest both of the public and of the securities industry. On the other hand if the Association was willing to assume these responsibilities and exercise them with the degree of care and concern which the public importance of the matter calls for, this might well provide an equitable plan to meet the needs both of the public and of the securities industry and to resolve the current controversy with respect to mutual fund sales charges.

As you know, hearings on this legislation before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency are scheduled to commence on June 19, 1967, and I would greatly appreciate it if we could have your reply somewhat in advance of the hearings, perhaps by June 12.

Sincerely,

JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECURITIES DEALERS, INC.,
Washington, D.C., June 16, 1967.

Hon. JOHN J. SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SPARKMAN: This will acknowledge your letter of June 6, 1967 in which you inquire as to the willingness of the National Association of Securities Dealers to accept major responsibility in the field of regulation of the mutual fund sales charge structure. You also ask our views as to the suggestion that the Investment Company Act of 1940 be amended so that the standard for judging sales charges would be "unreasonable" instead of "unconscionable or grossly excessive". The Board of Governors of this Association is aware of the problems that have been presented as a result of the legislative proposals of the Securities and Exchange Commission which are embodied in S. 1659. In addition, it has considered the proposal in your letter that it accept the difficult and complex task of regulating the sales charge structure.

Because it believes that supervision of the levels of sales charges continues to be an appropriate and desirable function of a self-regulatory organization, the Board is willing to undertake the responsibility suggested by you in this area. However, because of the complexity and diverseness of this problem it is believed that careful consideration should be given to the manner in which this is to be accomplished.

The SEC report is seriously lacking in economic data upon which enlightened judgments could be made as to appropriate sales charge levels. Therefore, the Association would, in good faith, initiate the necessary study and develop, in cooperation with all interested parties, effective guidelines for mutual fund sales charges taking into account the needs and interests of the public as well as broker/dealers, bearing in mind that the results of such objective study cannot be predicted in advance.

Prior to such an undertaking, however, it would be both desirable and necessary to effect certain changes in the statutes. Among the more important are the following:

(A) Rather than the standard being specified as "unreasonable" we are of the opinion that is should be "excessive" which could be accomplished simply by deleting "unconscionable or grossly" from Section 22(b).

(B) Section 22(c) of the 1940 Act now provides for SEC authority as to sales loads, which authority, if exercised, would supersede any previously exercised Association authority. We believe that duplicate authority should be eliminated in this area and that Commission oversight can be accomplished, as is the case to other Association rules, by an appropriate amendment to Section 15A(k)(2) of the 1934 Act.

(C) An amendment would be required to Section 15A(b)(8) which prohibits the Association from establishing price schedules since the results of Association activity in fulfilling any responsibility as to the sales load structure could be deemed to be in violation of this Section.

(D) It would be necessary to make clear that Section 15A(b)(n), commonly referred to as the Association's anti-trust exemption, be deemed to apply to the responsibility suggested.

(E) Problems are presented in respect to legislation which would revise Section 27 of the 1940 Act which now prohibits more than a 9% sales load on periodic payment plans, and also prohibits deduction of more than 50% of such load during the first year of a plan since not only mutual funds but also variable annuities are affected.

(F) An additional area of concern as to the 1934 Act relates to Sections 15(b)(8), (9) and (10), enacted in 1964, requiring broker/dealers that are not members of a national securities association to conform to regulation by the SEC which is similar to that exercised by the NASD, and it would appear necessary to consider the relationship of sales charge regulation for such broker/dealers to that which would be provided under the suggestion for NASD members.

The above considerations are among the more important of those which would necessarily have to be resolved and to accomplish that objective we would welcome the opportunity to confer with you relative to them, to visit with you concerning the drafting problems presented, and to discuss certain other questions bearing upon this subject.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT W. HAACK,
President.

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE,
New York, N.Y., June 15, 1967.

Hon. JOHN J. SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SPARKMAN: Many thanks for your letter of June 7. We appreciate the opportunity to comment on the suggestion that the National Association of Securities Dealers be given the statutory responsibilities for the mutual fund sales load structure.

The expansion of self-regulatory authority over sales charges is not only a constructive approach but also is one that is totally in the public interest. We are deeply concerned with the proposal presently included in Section 12 of S. 1659 as we find it difficult to reconcile the imposition of a 5% statutory maximum sales charge and rate-making authority conferred in the SEC with the public interest. No showing is made that self regulation cannot work in this area. No showing is made that investment funds are in truth public utilities and hence must have their rates regulated by a government agency. No showing is made that there has been a detailed analysis of the economic consequences of the 5% maximum.

On the other hand, self regulation has deep roots in the securities industry. It has worked well in other segments of the industry and we know of no reason why it cannot work equally well in the investment company area.

For these reasons, the Exchange strongly endorses the approach of strengthening self regulation in the area of mutual fund sales charges.

Again, thank you for the opportunity to comment on this suggestion.

Sincerely,

G. KEITH FUNSTON.

AMERICAN STOCK EXCHANGE,
New York, N.Y., June 15, 1967.

Hon. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SPARKMAN: Thank you for your letter of June 7 requesting the Exchange's views concerning a possible alternative in connection with certain provisions in S. 1659 relating to sales charges.

In its present form, S. 1659 would eliminate the existing authority under Section 22(b) of the Act of a securities association registered under Section 15A of the Securities Exchange Act with respect to mutual fund sales charges and would impose a stat-

utory maximum of 5% on such charges. Under the alternative proposal you describe, the National Association of Securities Dealers would retain statutory responsibility over the level of sales charges.

We believe that a provision of this nature vesting the initiative and primary responsibility in a securities association registered under Section 15A of the Exchange Act would be consistent with the philosophy of the federal securities laws. It would recognize the practical value to public investors and the securities industry of giving to a self-regulatory association, with its broad experience in the field, the initial jurisdiction with respect to sales charges, while at the same time providing a power of review in the Securities and Exchange Commission.

As you mention in your letter, in discharging its responsibility under such a statutory power, the association would have to make a careful study of all pertinent factors in the interests of both the public and the securities industry. We believe that an association experienced in the field can make the requisite studies and exercise an informed judgment in this area of appropriate sales charges.

Your consideration in advising us of the proposal and in affording us this opportunity to express our views is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

RALPH S. SAUL.

INVESTMENT COMPANY INSTITUTE,
New York, N.Y., June 15, 1967.

Hon. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have your letter of June 7, 1967 referring to the substantial opposition in the securities industry to the proposed 5% sales charge limitation in S. 1659 and asking for our views concerning an alternative which would give the National Association of Securities Dealers statutory responsibility to implement a standard that mutual fund sales charges shall not be "unreasonable".

I have discussed the suggested alternative with the Institute's Executive Committee and this letter reflects their thinking as well as my own.

Our reaction to the suggested alternative is naturally tempered by the strong belief that the SEC has produced no economic data to justify either the proposed 5% limitation or its underlying premise that sales charges are too high. SEC dissatisfaction with sales charges is based, according to its Report, on a comparison of commissions on the sale of mutual fund shares with commissions on listed and over-the-counter securities. This invalid comparison ignores the basic differences between the nature of a mutual fund share (essentially a long-term investment program involving many services) and other securities, and the differences between the time, effort and manner in which they are sold. The costs of participation in mutual funds are determined by sharp competition in the open market place. This competition has brought about improved services and a lower overall rate of sales charges to the investing public and, we believe, will continue to do so.

We, therefore, wonder about the need for seeking an "alternative" to a proposal and premise which, in the view of so many, is so lacking in justification.

We believe that the testimony which will be presented at the forthcoming hearings will persuade your Committee that the current structure and level of sales charges is appropriate in the light of the costs of the distribution system and necessary to bring mutual funds to the investing public. In the event your Committee should feel that it needs further information or further analysis after you have heard all the testimony, we would be glad to explore with you and your staff, together with the SEC, the need for application of the principle of self-regulation to sales charges in the mutual fund industry. This should involve a careful study of costs and compensation at the level of the salesman, the dealer and the underwriter, to determine what changes, if any, are in the public interest. We anticipate that the conclusion from such a study would be that on the facts there is no need to change the existing structure of sales charges. If, however, the study should show that present sales charges are unreasonable in the light of all the facts we would support a form of self-regulation.

Should the need for self-regulation develop, many problems such as SEC jurisdiction in any such new scheme would have to be carefully considered. Review jurisdiction by the SEC over the NASD would bear consideration instead of the concurrent SEC jurisdiction with the NASD such as now exists under Sections 22(b) and 22(c). In addition, there would be the problem of applying the principle of self-regulation to those mutual fund underwriters who are not NASD members. For example, would the NASD or some separate organization composed of people in the mutual fund industry itself be the more appropriate body to carry out any such activity?

We are convinced these problems are complex and difficult, involving many diverse elements in the securities business. We would, of course, be glad to explore them at your convenience.

We appreciate this opportunity to comment in advance on the alternative raised in your letter and look forward to presenting our position at the forthcoming hearings before your committee.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT L. AUGENBLICK,
President.

INVESTMENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
Washington, D.C., June 15, 1967.

Hon. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SPARKMAN: This is in response to your letter of June 7th requesting my views regarding the possibility, as an alternative to the proposal to place a statutory ceiling of 5% on sales loads on mutual funds, of giving the NASD statutory responsibilities for the mutual fund sales load structure to the general effect that such sales charges shall not be "unreasonable".

We frankly believe that the SEC has failed to establish that the present structure of sales charges on mutual funds is unreasonable or excessive, or any valid reason why they should be subject to a 5% ceiling. Accordingly, we believe that the proposal for the 5% ceiling should be rejected and that there is no need to consider any alternative to the present sales charges which are the result of vigorous competition, are fully disclosed in a prospectus delivered to each purchaser and are lower than the *undisclosed* sales charges in most other industries.

Vigorous competition is apparent in over 250 competing mutual funds. Attempts to dismiss that competition by peremptory statements that investors are not aware of competitive alternatives ignore the facts that a large number of knowledgeable investors compel competitive sales charges and that there are broadly distributed compilations showing comparative sales charges.

The S.E.C. has contended that section 22(d) of the Investment Company Act (requiring a dealer to sell a mutual fund share at the current public offering price described in the prospectus) has prevented competition from operating to reduce sales loads. The facts indicate that vigorous competition between different mutual funds has operated to reduce sales charges. An analysis of sales and commissions on fund shares representing about 85% of total industry sales shows that the overall sales charge rate *declined* between 1956 and 1966 from 7.00% to 5.73%, a decline of 18.2%—during a period of sharply rising costs of doing business. The general decline in the overall rate of sales charges is due largely to the progressively more liberal scales of quantity discounts, to the increasing number of purchases which qualify for such discounts, and to the recent development of quantity discounts on purchases over an indefinite period of time.

The IBA strongly supports the concept of self-regulation in our Federal system of securities regulation. If it were demonstrated, after considering (i) the broad consequences for investors, securities markets and small business and (ii) the undisclosed sales charges in other industries, that the present sales charges for mutual funds are unreasonable or excessive, we would support the alternative of self-regulation of sales charges as preferable to any statutory ceiling. However, if it were found necessary to give the NASD additional statutory responsibilities for the mutual fund sales charge structure, we would strongly recommend that (a) the standard for the exercise of such authority be "excessive" rather than "unreasonable"; (b) it be made clear that the S.E.C. does not have authority to establish the rate structure under that standard; and (3) the exact language of such an alternative proposal be worked out carefully by the staff of your committee and technicians from the securities industry and the S.E.C., with the understanding that any such new responsibility by the NASD would be exercised only after a careful study of the effect of a proposed rate structure on investors, securities markets and the securities industry.

We appreciate very much your affording us an opportunity to comment on the suggested alternative and we will welcome the opportunity to present our further views to you at the hearings on June 22nd.

Respectfully,

H. LAWRENCE BOGERT.

FROM ISOLATION TO INTERDEPENDENCE

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, a remarkable American, Milton Stover Eisenhower, will soon retire as president of the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Eisenhower can look back with pride on a career of excellence in Government and education which included service in my Commonwealth as president of the Pennsylvania State University.

In his commencement address last week at the Homewood campus of the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Eisenhower assessed the significance of the scientific and technological revolution which, in little more than a half century, has transformed human relations from isolation to interdependence. He pointed out that scientific and technological development has far outstripped political development with the consequence that men are not mentally prepared to fashion the institutions and attitudes which will enable them to live together harmoniously in an interdependent world. As a first step toward peace in this new world, Dr. Eisenhower calls for expansion of the NATO concept to all free nations as a means of buying the time "so desperately needed by men everywhere,

to do all the multitude of things which must be done to build the *positive* peace that will give peoples everywhere the assurance of a better life with dignity, justice, and equality."

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Eisenhower's thought-provoking address be printed in the RECORD.

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

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT MILTON S. EISENHOWER, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, JUNE 13, 1967

I consider it a singular honor to have been invited by the Class of 1967 to present the commencement address today.

In at least one sense, it is most appropriate that I join you graduates, for I, too, am completing my formal tenure at Johns Hopkins—and mine, too has been an educational experience, I assure you.

I can think of no better way to climax a long and fulfilling career in government and education that to bid God's speed to a new generation.

I must disappoint you at the outset, however. Tradition decrees that the commencement speaker should provide the graduates with a vision of the future. But I must confess that the future has become more obscure to me with each passing year.

The speaker is also expected to impart sage advice on how you graduates should cope with the problems and opportunities that lie ahead. I am afraid that I have more questions than answers. In fact, it perplexes me that I had more solutions to life's problems at my own commencement than I have today at yours.

Part of the reason for this, I suppose, is that more awesome changes have taken place in my lifetime than in any previous period and, I sometimes feel, in all of man's earlier time on this earth. And it is not only change that confounds us, it is the pace of change, the swiftness with which events move. The more we know, the faster we go. The faster we go, the less we know.

How often have you heard someone say, "You're rushing so fast that you are going to meet yourself coming back." Well, that is the way I often think of this age we live in. And with what the physicists now tell us about anti-matter, we may, indeed, meet ourselves coming back.

II

Occasionally when I contemplate this bewildering era, I reflect upon an earlier time and indulge in the luxury of nostalgia. Then I see in the sleepy town of Abilene, Kansas, a cozy white house, surrounded by colorful hollyhocks, a flourishing orchard, and a generous vegetable garden. My brothers and I sit on the front porch in rocking chairs, observing the drift of the seasons and the passing of the small segment of the world we know. There is no war, no domestic turmoil, no protest marches, no complex problems to bother us. We, like others in our town, are isolated. Our community is self-contained economically, physically, socially. We have not heard of world interdependence. All is peaceful and we are quite content.

But the essence of nostalgia is an awareness that what has been will never be again. The streams of history may be likened to the ceaseless flow of a giant river. Man can work with the river, building dams and dikes, seeking to have its enormous energy serve the good of man rather than to destroy. But he cannot stop the waters from reaching the ocean. So it is with the currents of history which in our time have reached flood stage.

Most of my generation have witnessed these raging currents with astonishment, often in confusion and with serious misgivings.

In Abilene, we had rude awakenings as we came to understand the nature and consequences of modern change.

We had supposed that our economic welfare depended solely upon weather conducive to crop growth and upon hard work, but suddenly, despite perfect weather and efficient work, we found our farmers going broke because Italy raised its tariff on wheat and later because Britain devalued the pound. Soon, and not unrelated to our difficulty, the United States suffered its worst depression. Abilene's economic self-containment—and that of the nation, too—was gone forever.

Our physical isolation also disappeared. I was a freshman in high school before I ventured so far away as Kansas City, Missouri, one hundred and sixty miles down the Union Pacific tracks; alone, I had serious misgivings on that strange trip, and when I got off the train, I was sure Kansas City was the largest metropolitan area in the world and quite possibly a den of iniquity. But in a few years thereafter I was traveling to most of the nations of the world, with greater physical comfort, less fear of the unknown, and in not much more time than I experienced on that first trip away from Abilene.

And our social self-containment was viciously destroyed, for we of Abilene found ourselves in one war caused, not seemingly by anything we of my town had done, but by an explosion in the Balkans; in a few more years we were in another conflict, due to an infamy at Pearl Harbor, and the insane ambitions of a corporal in Germany.

We were forced to recognize that the streams of events were toward the unification of our world, a unification which, to succeed, required genuine intercultural understanding, juridicial equality of nations, mutuality in human relations, and a global willingness to forego lesser and more selfish purposes in order to concentrate successfully on the transcendent goal of positive peace and rising levels of well-being for all, wherever they lived, whatever their color, nationality, or basic philosophy.

This was an historical imperative confronting us—as promising as life itself and as inevitable as death. But unhappily, we, as human beings, were not ready for this imperative.

Changes in every circumstance of life have accelerated, but human attitudes have remained generally inflexible. And so, in most of this century the world has lived in chaotic revolution of manifold phases and significance.

III

At the core of revolutionary change are science and technology, in which change is so rapid as to confound all but the most sophisticated. When I was a youngster, there was not a single industrial research laboratory in the United States and fundamental research in our universities was in its infancy. Now we are essentially dominated by scientific and technological developments. Ninety percent of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. Their achievements are monumental. Human knowledge doubles every ten years. Indeed, in a single year, biological and physical scientists alone publish nearly 1,400,000 monographs, technical articles, and books, and the new knowledge is put into use almost instantly. Thus eighty percent of the drugs administered in our hospitals today were unknown a decade ago, and half the products of some of our leading industries have been conceived in industrial research laboratories in the past fifteen years. But the most dramatic example is in the field of national security. For thousands of years a weapons system was valid for five hundred years. In the latter part of the nineteenth century a system was good for fifty years. Now an entire system is essentially obsolete before it is fully operational. Science and technology, penetrating atoms and genes, exploring space, and mechanizing civilizations, are changing how we work, how we organize, how we think, and how we live. They are profoundly affecting our relations with other free nations, dominating our relations with the center of international communism, and insistently posing the critical question of our time: *Will expanding knowledge and powerful new instruments lead us to the Golden Age which has eluded man since creation, or to mutual annihilation?*

Science, with all its wonders, does not supply the answer. Science tells us what is *possible*, not what is *right*. Science tells us what we *can* do, not what we *should* do. The answer lies not with scientific man, but with all of us—with social man.

A significant sub-element in modern technological change involves rapid transportation, buttressed by world-wide instantaneous communication. These have shrunk the earth, brought peoples closer together. They have enhanced economic interdependence, so much so that today the plants in our great industrial empire would cease to belch smoke, and millions would be out of work, if we could not import vital primary commodities from sixty different nations, and in payment, could not ship to them and others vast quantities of food, fibre, and manufactured goods.

And, needless to say, economic interdependence has made essential solid and dependable political and human relations. *But here is the rub!* The imperative has come too soon. It has preceded mental preparation for it. Most of the peoples of the world grossly misunderstand the United States—its social structure, its philosophy, its global purposes. And our conceptions of others are not much more valid than theirs of us. So, too often, decisions, profoundly important decisions, are made by us and by other nations not on the basis of what really is, but on the basis of what, in prejudice and ignorance, people think it is. While understanding would not itself guarantee the peaceful conditions modern life demands, it is surely true that there will not be positive peace without better mutual understanding than now prevails.

Concurrently with these measurable changes, and partly because of them—all, I emphasize within one short lifetime—a human revolution has suddenly arisen to confound and haunt us. We are most familiar with the moral conflict between East and West. But in Latin America, where for centuries a few lived amidst fabulous riches while oceans of illiterates lived in squalor, there is at this moment the certainty of massive revolt. The sole question is whether it will be bloody or characterized by rapid, democratic, social change. Radio and television, modest products of the scientific revolution, have reached the minds of the masses who cannot read but can see and hear. So, overnight, they have come to understand that human degradation is neither universal nor inevitable. After a long sleep, the giants of Latin America, Africa, the Middle and Far East, are awake, angrily shaking the archaic social structures that have oppressed them.

Already they have all but eliminated imperialism in the free world, thus reversing several hundred years of history for European nations, about fifty years for us. Unfortunately, this change in the free world, meriting applause, has been paralleled by the development of a new, more vicious imperialism in Eastern Europe and the Far East, involving a third of the three billion persons who inhabit the earth.

These and manifold other rapidly moving historic forces are carrying us to the very brink of critical decision at a time, as I have said, when the minds of men are not prepared to cast out prejudice and to reason

together in mutual understanding and respect.

As I seek to shape my own views on these issues, I honestly at moments would welcome a return to the isolation, contentment, and certainties of my youth. Of course I know the futility of such passing thoughts. So I try to consider things as they are now and, without implying any criticism of any action now under way or policy now in effect, I must in candor say that I am persuaded that the time is here when we should reappraise our posture and our methods in the world.

Since World War II, four national administrations have adhered to the policy of opposing, by force when necessary, the coercive spread of communism. This is morally right. But I fear the policy is doomed to ultimate failure unless the other free nations of the world join us in every critical situation in the application of this policy. I believe that the achievement of a dependable alliance, confederation, or transnational compact is the most important single obligation upon statesmen at this moment.

I am also persuaded that foreign aid, as we have conceived and practiced it for a quarter of a century, is little more than a palliative, sometimes self-defeating. But given consistent concerted action by all free nations and especially the industrial nations, I can foresee a successful check upon imperialistic communism, and a type of foreign aid, multilaterally financed and administered, that will help the peoples of the less advanced nations gradually improve their well-being in a world of assured security.

Where do we begin? Highest priority, in any reappraisal of our posture and methods, must in my judgment begin with power: Peace, wherever it exists—in Baltimore, in the United States, or in the larger world around us—is partly the product of power. No one nation possesses sufficient power to enforce peace, nor would its exercise by a single power, even if possessed in abundance, be acceptable to others. So we must, I suggest, moderate preconceptions about absolute sovereignty and address ourselves to the methods by which nations, all believing in human dignity, mutuality in human relations, and the free choice of peoples, may pool their power, or create new power, to enforce global peace. This has been achieved to a limited extent by the United Nations and by NATO. The need now is to expand the NATO concept, which is transnational rather than multinational, to all free nations and eventually, to every country of the world.

This *negative* approach—for that is obviously what it is—must yield us the time so desperately needed by men everywhere to foster education and genuine mutual understanding; to improve health and increase productivity; to develop more enlightened trade, aid, and credit relationships; to do all the multitude of things which must be done to build the *positive* peace that will give peoples everywhere the assurance of a better life with dignity, justice, and equality.

This is, as one statesman has said, the century of the common man. The valid aspirations of the oceans of common peoples of all nationalities, colors, religions and circumstances, can be achieved only in a world at peace. The common peoples of East and West, of the advanced and underdeveloped nations, instinctively want to live in a world free of conflict; but governments, influencing the thinking of citizens, stubbornly cling to the outmoded strategy of competitive power, thus dangerously postponing acceptance of the modern imperative.

The awesome task in the years ahead, then, is to preserve the peace until the mind of man is ready to accept the historical imperative.

Can we do it? Or I should ask, "Can *you* do it?" For this is the dubious legacy that my generation makes to yours.

There is a frightening irony at work here. The very scientific revolution that has created the imperative, that has provided mankind with the means to a Golden Age of Peace and Plenty, is at the same time the greatest obstacle to your achieving this objective.

As individual citizens, you will find it increasingly difficult to understand and cope with the incredibly complex problem that this onrushing era is creating. How can you be expected to understand the important facts, circumstances, and complexities of such vital issues as the disarray of the Atlantic Alliance, the conflicts created by divided nations, the population explosion, the dangers of catastrophic war born of sheer religious differences, air pollution, imbalance of international payments, space exploration, urban blight, civil rights and the depersonalization of automation? How, indeed, can you expect your elected representatives to know enough about all of them to act wisely?

These are problems greatly compounded by the knowledge explosion and the population explosion, and we have no precedents for dealing with these unique and profound forces.

This situation can easily lead to apathy and a sense of despair. Not long ago I said: "There is a dangerous myth abroad in this land that an ordinary citizen can do nothing to influence the destiny of his country and the world. I have not decided whether this is a rationalization or an epitaph."

Now I see that there may be some substance to that myth. Perhaps the *ordinary* citizen is an anachronism in this perilous age. Perhaps the hope for the future lies in our ability to produce the *extraordinary* citizen—a new breed of Americans who will devote as much time and energy to being good citizens as they do to being good physicists or good doctors or good engineers.

I like to think that *you* are the New Americans the world so desperately needs. I certainly pray that you are.

I close with an anecdote I have told before, for it is most relevant to the phenomenon of accelerating change and to the concept of the New American.

Destiny came down to an island many centuries ago and summoned three of its inhabitants before him.

"What would you do," Destiny asked, "if I told you that tomorrow this island would be inundated by an immense tidal wave?"

The first man, who was a cynic, said, "why I would eat, drink, and carouse all night long."

The second man, who was a mystic, said, "I would go to the sacred groves with my loved ones and make sacrifices to the gods and pray without ceasing."

And the third man, who loved reason, thought for a while, confused and troubled, and then said, "Why I would assemble our wisest citizens and begin at once to study how to live under water."

This, with poetic license, symbolizes the challenge to you who are receiving a degree today. You must be prepared to cope with change, to deal with problems that have no precedent, to live under a tidal wave of swift moving and bewildering events.

May you go forth from this campus with the courage, the conviction, and the wisdom to meet this challenge. The best wishes of your University and the hopes of mankind go with you.

FOOD FOR THE FUTURE

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, perhaps the greatest threat to continuing peace throughout the world of the future lies in the way population increases are outstripping gains in the methodology of increasing food production. We pour huge sums of money into the exigencies of the moment, putting patch upon patch upon our own defenses and those of our allies, and increasing at a most fearsome rate our offensive capability—for, as everyone knows, "the best defense is a good offense." In the heat of immediate problems we are busily engaged in neglecting the long-term hopes of the world: research into the means of increasing food production.

Such a situation is not new. With a few exceptions man is a practical creature who lives from day to day and can always be counted upon to forgo, when it appears necessary, the painful plodding of research, the hope of the future, in favor of stark immediacy. No field of man's endeavor is immune to such a rationale. History is replete with examples of delays in progress that are the direct result of such thinking. Viewed in a large perspective the results have been, until now, mere inconveniences, momentary pauses in the advance of man and his civilization.

But we stand now at a point high enough for us to see the explosive potential in a world in which many nations can afford the means of total destruction, but in which only relatively few have enough to eat. The responsibility for conducting the basic research that is absolutely necessary if all mankind is to have food 50 or 100 years from now is not an equal responsibility. It falls most heavily on those nations that have the capability—and we, in the United States, most assuredly do have that. We have the scientific know-how and we have the money for programs of our own. We need only to put them together. We have the machinery in our economic aid programs to help those countries who are willing to make the effort to achieve self-sustaining growth. We need only pursue this aspect with intelligent advice, the necessary funds, and insistence that the effort be not diverted.

We may have to make some sacrifices if we spend the money on such research—certainly all the things that all our people want cannot be granted at any one point in time. However, when we neglect for the exigencies of the moment the search for the knowledge without which mankind cannot survive the not-so-far-off future, we practice a form of spending our capital that we cannot afford.

The President's Science Advisory Committee last week released a report that could be the basis for world peace in the future. It could provide the impetus for nations to turn aside from the turmoil of today's militant self-interest and embark on a form of self-interest that has as its goal the uplifting of all mankind rather than the rise of one nation at the expense of another. It proposes that the United States and other advanced non-Communist nations of the free world join in a multibillion dollar economic development program for poor developing countries. It proposes a mobilization of capital and technical resources never before attempted. We in the Congress of the United States will have this proposal before us soon. Believing as I do that such a proposal

presents the best hope we have for the future, I suggest we give it our most serious consideration.

Last year the President's Science Advisory Committee published a report calling for technological studies to expand the yield of food from the sea. The Congress this year has responded with appropriations for pilot plants to produce fish protein concentrate and with funds to get the new program of sea-grant colleges on its way. These are first steps, healthy starts, but the need for research on food from the sea is so great that they can be considered only as scratches on the surface.

To date our work in biological oceanography has been concerned principally with the taking of what is there naturally. Little thought has been given to management—other than by means of regulation or control of harvest—of its vast resources. A few scientists predict that there is great potential in "sea farming," that the plant and animal resources of the sea can be manipulated in such a manner as to increase harvests of desirable species. We need also to investigate the feasibility of utilizing those of the sea's resources that are now considered worthless or of little value. It is in such inventive areas as this that we should invest a small share of our current wealth in order that we may reap a harvest of plenty in the future.

I would like to close by noting that the wealth of the sea, as is also the case with the land, is available only to those who have knowledge of it. The coast and geodetic surveys, the studies of ocean currents and the topography of its floor, the research submarines, the basic biological research that to us today appears to have no usefulness, are all first steps to the plenty of the future. Neglect one of them and it is almost sure to reappear later as the limiting factor, the hurdle to get over before other pieces of the puzzle can be put together with it to form the master design.

I ask unanimous consent that two articles from the New York Times of June 18 and June 19, 1967, and one article from the New York Times magazine of June 18, all dealing with development of marine resources, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

[From the New York Times Magazine, June 18, 1967]

AGRICULTURE

Man, for centuries a random hunter of the sea, is developing ways to farm it. Confronted by the increasingly acute food shortage on land and visualizing much richer harvests than conventional agriculture can produce, pioneers in the new science of agriculture, or mariculture, have plans to raise fish, shellfish and even plants by plowing the sea, warming areas by atomic energy, fertilizing and weeding the ocean, fencing off underwater farms electronically. Only a few years ago such ideas seemed mere "raptures of the deep" but today they are taken seriously.

The President's Science Advisory Committee last year published a report calling for technological studies to expand the yield of food from the sea. The National Academy of Sciences, issuing its own study, also underscored the need for scientific sea farming. And Congress passed the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act, establishing a Cabinet-level Council on Marine Resources, headed by Vice President Humphrey. Racing a deadline for 1968 Federal budget allocations, the council recently turned over an interim report to the President in time for him to ask Congress to finance several high-priority projects.

Leading the list was a program to produce fish protein concentrate—a low cost, odorless substance made from whole fish that can be used as a plentiful substitute for flour. Two pilot production plants will be built in the United States and three more in foreign countries to be selected. Also receiving high priority was the concept of "sea-grant colleges," patterned after the land-grant colleges of the last century which did so much to develop agricultural technology. With new Federal financial aid, sea-grant colleges would train sorely needed oceanographers, create regional marine development centers and forge a partnership between scientists and fishermen to apply the fruits of research, much as agricultural experts helped farmers boost the nation's food output.

Summarizing the urgency of increasing worldwide food production, Earl Butz, dean of the School of Agriculture at Purdue University, recently noted that it took mankind hundreds of centuries to develop the capacity to sustain some 3.5 billion people, many only meagerly. Now we need to develop the capacity to feed almost double that number "in the short term of one-third of a century . . . at a time when nearly all the virgin lands of the world have been brought into production and when we face increasing inroads on arable land by urban sprawl."

While the world food supply has been increasing by 1 per cent a year, world population has been rising 1.8 per cent. The result has been a steady decrease in average individual caloric intake. If present trends continue, by the year 2000 the average number of calories available for a world population of about 7.4 billion will be 1,340 a day—below the absolute starvation level, which is pinpointed by nutritionists at 1,350 calories.

Quite apart from the obvious need for higher gross food production is the particular need for protein and protein components in the diet, those essential basic constituents of body tissue and body fluid. (Protein deficiency, according to various studies, may also permanently damage the learning ability of infants and children.) Yet many authorities agree with Dr. William M. Chapman, research director of the Van Camp Sea Food Company, that "the world ocean is producing more fish and animal protein than a human population of 3.5 billion persons can use and it appears to be capable of producing somewhat more than 30 billion would need."

The trouble is, man is not exploiting the resources of the sea, or else he is exploiting them destructively. The annual worldwide fish catch is now 50 million tons, more than double the 1953 catch of 23 million tons, but still a tiny fraction of the possible haul. At the same time, the hunt for fish has been concentrated in areas known to be lucrative, which has led to the depletion of valued stocks.

Sea farming would eliminate such waste and recklessness. The concept, embracing all waters where tides ebb and flow, shares the goal of land agriculture: to control the growth of organisms in order to increase productivity beyond the level possible in harvesting a wild crop.

In their effort to farm the sea, many marine scientists believe that the best start might lie in inshore waters and the intensive cultivation there of three common forms of aquatic life: algae, mollusks and crustaceans.

Marine algae are plants that range from single-celled forms visible only under a microscope to gigantic growths 100 feet long. For centuries in the Orient, kelp, sea lettuce and seaweed—all algae—have been used in making soups and condiments. The plants are cultivated in shallow estuaries on bamboo poles sunk in muddy bottoms or on ropes strung in bays or inlets. On the California coast, where kelp production is big business, some 160,000 tons are harvested annually. Kelp beds are leased to harvesters for extended periods, providing the incentive to farm and husband the crop.

Such algae cultivation is only a beginning, however. "The bulk of the earth's vegetation grows under water," points out Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the University of Minnesota's Institute of Technology and the man credited with originating the proposal for sea-grant colleges. "Some estimates place ocean vegetation at 4,000 tons per square mile. Ocean plants could be cultivated in much the same way our wild grasses were cultivated to give us wheat, barley and other grains."

Microscopic algae would be nutritious as a human food, or food for cattle and chickens, since the plants often consist of more than 50 per cent protein after they are dried. In the opinion of Jean A. Gross of the Illinois Institute of Technology, "algae could be developed for direct consumption by man and become as normal for human use as potatoes or rice."

Although the taste of algae may not tempt the American palate, the Japanese use one type, Chlorella, whose flavor is similar to lima beans, as an additive to noodles, rice crackers, soups and even jelly beans. Green-colored vanilla ice cream, containing algae powder, is considered a delicacy by many Japanese. In the New World the Aztec inhabitants of Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City) ate large amounts of a blue-green algae with a flavor like cheese which the Spaniards learned to find palatable.

Algae can be grown in large open basins excavated by bull-dozers to about a 3-foot depth or in long tubes of transparent plastic that allows sunlight to penetrate. Fertilizers can be injected into the tubes, as well as chemicals, to prevent contamination by undesirable organisms. The Government's Bureau of Commercial Fisheries laboratory at Milford, Conn., has pioneered in mass-producing algae and studying their use. One promising possibility: food for shellfish, but since 10,000 species of algae are known to exist in sea water, the possibilities are almost endless. The need, says Victor L. Loosanoff of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, is to develop hybrid strains of the best species, "as it is done in agriculture and cattle breeding."

Compared with algae cultivation, the farming of mollusks such as mussels and oysters is well-developed. In the Dutch Waddenzee, for example, the mussel catch rose from 37 million pounds in 1950 to 154 million pounds in 1961—and the system of intensive scientific farming that produced the increase utilized only 30 square miles of the 540-square-mile area.

Each Waddenzee mussel farmer has a plot that ranges from 12 to 25 acres of sea bottom. Mussel seed is transported from "banks" to the plots in autumn or spring when the seed is an inch long, then tended until it is 2½ inches long and ready for market. Natural predators such as starfish are controlled by dredging up both mussels and starfish. The starfish soon die, out of the water, but the mussels are unaffected and can be put back safely to grow.

Oysters, anyone? The Japanese are getting 32,000 pounds an acre, using a "raft" technique in which long ropes, strung with full-size oysters or scallop shells to which the young oysters cling, are suspended in the water. Loss from predators is reduced, growth

rates are increased and harvesting is simplified. The result is a 50-fold increase over ancient methods of oyster production, which produced, at best, 600 pounds an acre.

In this country, biologists in the Government's Milford laboratory and elsewhere have achieved a series of notable successes during the last 20 years. One of the most impressive advances has been their ability to grow laboratory-ripe ready-to-spawn mollusks the year round. The natural spawning season for oysters, clams and most other bivalve mollusks that dwell in Long Island Sound, for example, is during two and a half summer months. Bivalves brought to the Milford lab in midwinter are subjected to gradually increased temperatures and are ready to spawn in three weeks. With ripe spawners available throughout the year, small oysters and clams hatched in winter can be planted outdoors as soon as the water is warn enough for them to grow; the period of extra growth during the first season can shorten the time needed to reach marketable size by as much as a full year. And to suit the taste of different bivalve larvae, scientists have also mass-produced special algae food which can be stored by means of a new freeze-drying process and used by hatchery operators whenever the need arises.

A popular crustacean delicacy—shrimp—may become more easily and cheaply available as the result of new forms of cultivation. Robert Lunz, of Bears Bluff Laboratories in South Carolina, has demonstrated the feasibility of creating shrimp farms in marsh ponds. The ponds can be built for as little as $35, and considering the cost of a modern, ocean-going shrimp trawler the incentive for further research into shrimp ponds is powerful indeed.

The U.S. Public Health Service has identified 10 million acres as suitable for shellfish farming. Even at a production rate of 600 pounds an acre, the output of 6 billion pounds would be equal to our entire fish catch at present. Within the next 25 years, some marine scientists believe, shellfish farms could be commonplace in the U.S. "Atomic reactors for electric power and desalination plants," says David H. Wallace, director of marine fisheries of New York State, "will supply a cheap source of warmed brackish water for these aquaponds, [even] in northern areas, on a 12-month basis."

Pointing toward another aspect of marine research, Wallace predicts that genetic studies leading to selective breeding for fast-growing and maturing stock will stimulate industrialization of shellfish cultures. "Oysters, ready for market in 12 months or less, should be the attainable goal when trained technicians control the systems," Wallace says.

Such genetic juggling is by no means a distant dream. Nor are such experiments restricted to creatures that live in shallow inshore waters.

Almost 20 years ago, Lauren Donaldson of the University of Washington culled the best female Chinook salmon he could find in Soos Creek, near Tacoma. Then he removed their eggs, fertilized them with sperm from choice male Chinooks, and let the eggs mature in laboratory trays. Once hatched in local ponds, the fingerlings were marked (by snipping off a small fin) and dumped into a nearby lake to start their migration through Puget Sound to Alaska. In hopeful expectation of the Chinooks' return, Donaldson dug a ditch from the lake to the ponds, which was promptly labeled "Donaldson's Folly." Four years later, right on schedule, the salmon returned—big, healthy and in large numbers. They were called "Donaldson's Dandies."

Since then, Donaldson has reduced the age at which they reproduce from four years to two years. Moreover, 30 times as many Donaldson Dandies survive the rigors of migration as do ordinary Chinook. Donaldson is now experimenting with another species. By crossing a select breed of rainbow trout with steelhead trout, he is growing fish that are virtually full grown in less than a year.

In addition to selective breeding, more prolific breeding also seems feasible. Two biologists at the Max Planck Horticultural Institute in Hamburg, Reinhold von Sengbusch and Christophe Meske, are experimenting with hormones on special fast-growing carp. Carp normally breed once a year, in the spring. With hormone injections, they are expected to spawn every five months, regardless of the season.

Some mariculturists are confident that within 25 years fish will be raised in offshore pens, tended by divers living for months at a time in undersea houses. Japan—unquestionably the world leader in salt water farming—is already moving in that direction. In 1965 the Government established a sea farm in Okachi Bay, some 200 miles northeast of Tokyo, at a depth of approximately 65 feet. About 4,400 salmon and trout are raised in nylon net cages, fed enriched food pellets and chopped raw sardine through a "chimney" net leading to the surface and inspected once a month by diver-keepers.

The farm has been remarkably successful, in large measure because the deeper water is less polluted than shallower water and circulates more freely. (A shallow farm stocked with salmon and trout, built to compare results with farming at greater depths, had a disastrous mortality rate.) Encouraged by the experiment, the Japanese are preparing to move into depths of 100 feet and more as diving equipment and techniques improve.

Farming at even greater depths may well become possible before long. Says Dr. Milner B. Schaefer, director of the University of California's Institute of Marine Resources: "Already, Yves Cousteau's aquanauts in the Mediterranean and our aquanauts from Sea Lab II, off California, have been able to live and work in depths of 300 feet. It is almost certain that this limit will soon be extended to 1,000 feet. With pressure protection for deeper habitations, men will certainly be able to operate, within the next decade, anywhere on the bottom of the ocean and through the overlying waters."

The new horizons will open vast opportunities. "Once people can work and live at 1,000 feet," predicts Athelstan Spilhaus, "the whole of the continental shelf, an area of 10 million square miles—larger than North America—will be opened up as a new continent for our use. Oil drilling, mining, salvage and even fish farming can be done by people down there and not, as now, on the end of the string from a wobbly surface."

The ocean is a huge sump, a repository for all the nutrient chemicals that have washed off the land from the beginning of time. But chemicals are generally useful for plant production only when they lie within about 300 feet of the surface, where sunlight is adequate for photosynthesis. And as plants grow and are eaten by animals which die or are eaten by other animals, the chemicals continually drift downward.

But nutrient-rich deep waters can be raised toward the surface. Natural winds that plow the ocean already help bring them up. Some scientists suggest that the same results could be achieved artificially by installing a nuclear reactor at the ocean bottom to heat up deeper water layers so they would rise to the top. Economical? Perhaps not, if heating water were the only purpose of a reactor. "But," argues Dean Spilhaus, "the waste heat from nuclear reactors used for other purposes may well be used in this way." Among the cost-spreading other purposes would be oil drilling and mineral mining on the sea floor.

The answer to the problem of fertilizing stretches of ocean lies in what are known as trace elements, or micronutrients—chemicals such as iodine, zinc, boron and cobalt which are found in minute quantities in plant and animal tissue but which are essential to life processes. Parts of the sea, as well as areas of land, may lack the necessary micronutrients, but to correct the deficiency may be easier than many people think. As Harvard's Roger Revelle, one of the nation's most distinguished oceanographers, points out:

"In Australia, for example, there is a deficiency of cobalt, a basic substance of one of the vitamin B compounds. By simply flying over sheep ranges in an airplane and spraying a thin layer of cobalt-containing material, sheep production can be greatly increased. Apparently exactly the same kind of deficiency occurs in the sea. Substances present in very, very small amounts—a few parts per billion—exercise a controlling effect on the productivity of the sea. But it may be possible, by spreading a few thousand tons of micronutrients off the coasts of the world, for us to greatly increase the harvest of the sea."

Mariculturists also visualize two other analogues to land farming: weeding and fencing.

"By using what the marine scientists know about the food chain," Spilhaus told a recent National Conference on Sea-Grant Colleges, "we can eliminate some of the unnecessary and less useful species; that is, intervene in a way that might be called 'weeding the sea.'" Even simpler would be dragging with nets.

Proposals for fences include barriers of air bubbles and electronic impulses. Recently, Paul M. Fye, president of Woods Hole (Mass.) Oceanographic Institution, told of discovering a natural underwater fence during a dive in a tiny research submarine.

"As we went across the coral sandy reef close to New Providence Island," Fye said, "we crossed what might be considered a barren desert in the ocean—no plants, no fish, almost nothing of any kind. Suddenly, we came into an area with a great profusion of fish, the likes of which I hadn't imagined existing in the ocean. Yet just across the width of the submarine—a six-foot sphere—looking out the other window, there wasn't a single fish.

"For two hours I observed an invisible fence in the ocean as sharp as you could possibly draw it. Why was it there? How did nature create such a fence? Is it one we could reproduce for our own convenience?"

Though this and other mysteries suggest that marine research is still in its infancy, enthusiasts are already making plans for the future. Suppose, for example, fishermen decided to farm a 10,000-square-mile section of the sea off Cape Cod. The area could be fenced by means of perforated air hoses on the ocean floor that would send streams of bubbles to the surface, preventing the cultivated fish from wandering. (If necessary, chemicals could be introduced into the bubble curtain to make it more effective.) With the fish fenced in, their growth could be stimulated by raising nutrient-rich water from lower levels and by adding fertilizing trace elements from the top. By periodic dragging with nets, the area could be weeded and trash fish removed so that the cultivated fish would get all the nutrients.

"One of the most fascinating future possibilities," says Frank Hester of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, "is the use of marine animals as 'sheepdogs' to tend fish and run errands." As if to underscore the possibility, Navy scientists recently reported that dolphins have been trained to attach wires to torpedoes and missiles lying on the ocean floor to simplify recovery operations; the dolphins are so domesticated that even though they are swimming freely in the open sea they swim back to their base when their job is done.

Encouraged by some recent successes in training fish, Hester also suggested that killer

whales might be trained to herd schools of blue whales, whose massive bodies of red meat grow bigger and faster than any Black Angus. A blue whale doubles its birth weight in a week; it grows from two tons to 20 tons in six months—about 200 pounds a day. And if the killer whales prove to be poor herdsmen, Gifford Pinchot, a John Hopkins biology professor, offers another plan. He proposes raising mammoth blue whales in lagoons on a diet of enriched plankton (algae and other organisms) for harvesting when the creatures reach their adult weight of 130 tons.

Consumers, of course, may not care for blue whale steak—or seaweed vinaigrette or algae soufflé. Tastes in food are difficult to change, and it may take a while until they reach the status of sought-after delicacies. Yet, educated to the high protein content, even relatively well-fed people may be induced to include more products from the sea in their diet. After all, smoked shark fillets have become a British delicacy. In Russia, whale meat is now blended in beef and pork sausages. Japanese tuna hot dogs taste like the original but cost much less.

The technical and scientific obstacles to large-scale sea farming are more to the point, perhaps. And not the least set of problems will stem from the attempt to change man's natural environment. No one can closely predict the effect on land temperatures of a nuclear reactor that heats part of an ocean, for example, but it might be that a warm-water fish farm in the Bering Sea, say, would change the prevailing weather pattern in the area near Seattle.

Nevertheless, man's instinct for inventive exploration, sharpened by the prospects of a worsening food shortage for a rising world population, promises to make sea farming not only necessary and feasible but inevitable.

[From the New York Times, June 19, 1967]

DEEPSTAR

(By John Noble Wilford)

GRAND ISLE, LA.—Peering through the porthole of a squat little submarine, scientists have seen in recent weeks a world on the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico never before seen by man.

In a series of diving expeditions aboard a pressurized vehicle called Deepstar, the scientists discovered a range of craterlike depressions on the floor of the Gulf, great communities of mud mounds like giant anthills and clues to the existence of previously unidentified marine life.

What they saw was only a brief preview of the unexplored realm awaiting discovery by oceanographers going down to the depths in a new and versatile type of miniature submarine, the so-called deep submergence research vehicles.

About 20 such experimental craft are now in operation in the world. Some are long and streamlined like tiny submarines. Others, spherical like Deepstar or shaped like some metallic sea monster, appear to be right out of science fiction.

Deep submergence vehicles have been called on to patrol underwater telephone cables, chart the meandering Gulf Stream and, in 1965, recover the missing hydrogen bomb off the coast of Spain.

DEEPER DIVES PLANNED

Some are capable of plunging 15,000 feet, far deeper than the range of ordinary submarines and staying for a day or two.

On the drawing boards are plans for nuclear-powered craft for long-duration dives and a vehicle capable of going 20,000 feet—thereby opening up about 98 per cent of the ocean floor to on-the-spot exploration.

Such vehicles, launched by private industry, marine explorers and navies have now logged some 5,000 dives lasting a total of about 10,000 hours. They usually have room for a pilot and one or two passengers.

The three-man Deepstar, built by the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, has just completed more than a dozen test dives on the continental slope off Panama City, Fla., into the abyss of the DeSoto Canyon off Pensacola, Fla., and in the Mississippi Trough off this desolate island community.

"We carried scientists deeper than the Gulf has ever been explored," said Dr. Roy D. Gaul, manager of the Westinghouse Ocean Research Laboratory in San Diego, who directed the operations. The scientists were from several universities and oceanographic research centers.

"One of the things we learned was how misleading have been the samples of sediment from the ocean floor that we have been scooping up in the past from surface ships," Dr. Gaul said. "There's more variety down there than you can imagine."

SPEED OF THREE KNOTS

Deepstar's dives ranged from 600 to 2,500 feet. The 18-foot-long, 8,000-pound Deepstar has plunged 4,000 feet on earlier tests, staying there several hours and moving laterally at speeds up to three knots. The hull is made of steel and the cabin pressurized with oxygen and nitrogen.

Trouble with one of the craft's two maneuvering operations early. The craft was sent ashore for repairs.

"These are experimental vehicles," Dr. Gaul explained. "And we still have lots of work to do on them."

The crafts are drooped off a surface support ship or barge, with which the vehicle mantains constant telephone contact.

Like the other deep submergence vehicles, Deepstar makes a powerless descent because of weights attached to its front and back. Once it is cut loose from the surface ship, Deepstar begins a slow spiraling descent at a speed of about 60 to 100 feet a minute.

One set of weights is dropped to make the craft buoyant and, therefore, able to hover at the desired depth. The two battery-powered motors enable the craft to move about laterally. A 2,500-watt spotlight is switched on so that the passengers can see through their plexiglass portholes into the darkness of the depths.

For the return trip, the pilot jettisons the other ballast and the craft slowly rises to the surface. There are three different ways to release the ballast manually in case the automatic triggering device fails.

Deepstar is a direct descendant of the pioneering deep submergence vehicle, the Soucoupe of Capt. Jacques Yves Cousteau, the French underwater explorer. His saucer made its first dive in 1960, and Captain Cousteau was a technical adviser to Westinghouse in building the Deepstar.

Previously, underwater exploration was confined to the deepdiving balloons such as the Trieste, built in 1958 by the Swiss father-and-son exploring team. Auguste Piccard and his son, Dr. Jacques Piccard. With the bathyscaph Trieste, men have gone as deep as 35,800 feet in the Mariana's Trench in the Pacific.

But oceanographers call them "elevator rides"—little more than a down-and-up operation. The newer craft have the key advantage of maneuverability once they sink to the depths.

Both private industry and the United States Navy are laying plans to expand the nation's fleet of deep submergence vehicles. They were spurred on, in part, by the successful hydrogen-bomb detective work of the Alvin, the 21-foot-long submergence vehicle built by Litton Industries for the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in Woods Hole, Mass.

In a report on the bomb recovery operations, released a month ago, the Navy recommended the development of an ocean bottom search and recovery system, using a fleet of deep-submergence craft with attachments for picking up objects.

The Navy Deep Submergence Systems Project, begun in 1963, has a $100-million program under way to build six larger diving craft to be used primarily for rescue purposes.

Dr. John P. Craven, the project manager, said that the first craft should be ready by mid-1968. It will be a 43-foot, 25-ton vessel; and will be equipped to attach itself to a stricken submarine and rescue the crew. Its range is expected to be about 20,000 feet.

The Electric Boat Company, a division of General Dynamics, is building a nuclear-powered diving craft for the Navy. The company's own smaller vehicle, Star III, is being used by the Navy to conduct underwar sound experiments at depths of 2,000 feet.

Star III has even attracted the attention of Soviet scientists who wrote the company last year that they wanted to buy one. The cost would have been about $900,000. But the State Department vetoed the deal, presumbaly because the craft's sophisticated hull design and navigation system might have given the Russians some of the secrets of American submarine technology.

SOVIET HAS VESSEL

The Russians are known to have at least one research submarine, a converted military boat called the Severyanka. It has been used primarily to study the habits of fish.

In one of the more ambitious diving projects, Dr. Piccard of Switzerland is building a deep submergence vehicle for a drifting underwater voyage next year in the Gulf Stream. The 2,000-mile, five-week trip is expected to extend from Miami to Nova Scotia.

With the help of the Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corporation, Dr. Piccard is building a 100-ton submarine capable of carrying a crew of five at a depth of 1,000 feet. The craft will move without power so that scientists can get a relatively undisturbed view of marine life.

Another builder of deep submergence vehicles, the Lockheed Missiles and Space Company, has a four-man submarine that was built for dives up to 6,000 feet. But a recent test showed that the Deep Quest, the Lockheed craft, could withstand the pressures encountered at 8,500 feet.

Lockheed's entry into ocean engineering is typical of many major aerospace companies. The exploration of the sea, it has been estimated, has already become a multi-billion business.

[From the New York Times, June 18, 1967]

PRESIDENTIAL PANEL URGES WORLD DRIVE TO AVERT STARVATION

(By Felix Belair Jr.)

WASHINGTON, June 17—A Presidential study group proposed today that the United States and other advanced non-Communist nations of the free world join in a multi-billion-dollar economic development program for poor developing countries to avert impending mass starvation and its threat to world peace.

To double food production and curb population growth within a framework of increased economic activity in the underdeveloped two-thirds of the world, the blue ribbon panel proposed a mobilization of capital and technical resources on a scale never attempted in time of peace.

Without fixing any ceiling on the combined capital outlay to do the job, the study estimated that to realize a 4 per cent annual increase in food supply and demand in the developing countries would require an annual investment of $12-billion more than the 1965 "input" level of about $45-billion.

The United States' contribution toward this additional investment requirement would be about $7-billion, assuming a continuation of its 58 per cent share in the total economic development contribution by non-Communist nations in recent years.

Private capital investment would reduce the amount of Federal funds required, but this would indicate an economic foreign aid request to Congress of about $6-billion a year.

These estimates were given at a news briefing on a three-volume report setting forth conclusions from a year-long investigation by more than 100 experts and consultants enlisted by the President's Science Advisory Committee from the universities, industry, foundations and Federal agencies.

The only indication of the Administration's intentions concerning the long list of recommendations by the panel had to be read between the lines of President Johnson's foreword in the first volume of the report.

MUST JOIN WITH OTHERS

"The world food problem is one of the foremost challenges of mankind today. The dimensions of the challenge will define the dimension of our response and the means for that response.

"We must join with others in a massive effort to help the less fortunate of the earth to help themselves. I am making this report public because of its significance for the American people and people all over the world."

Dr. Ivan L. Bennett, Jr., deputy director of the White House Office of Science and Technology, told the briefing session that it had not been possible to brief members of the Senate and House prior to publication. He said it was hoped that this could be done later.

There was no indication that the far-reaching proposals would be brought to bear on the President's pending economic aid request for $2.5-billion in the fiscal year beginning July 1. However, some of them, such as a drastic overhaul of the administrative organization for development aid and the asserted need for a national commitment to such development for the rest of this century, are certain to figure in the floor debates on the request.

Two related concepts ran through the report. One was that the increased food production needed to meet the calorie-protein requirements of developing countries must take place almost entirely within these countries. The other was that the food-population imbalance cannot be solved by successful programs of family planning alone.

It was emphasized, however, that this did not mean that population control measures were defective or in any way secondary in importance to increasing food production.

SOBERING AND ALARMING

The panel pictured economic development prospects in the poor and hungry nations as "both sobering and alarming."

"By the year 2000, if present rates of growth continue, there will be more than four times as many people in the developing countries as are in the developed nations," said the report.

"To avoid a threat to the peace of the world as well as to our own national security," it said, "we cannot afford to be too little and too late with our development assistance. It is to be hoped that some measure of their ambitions can be realized by peaceful means."

The report made no attempt to minimize the task involved in trying to make the poor countries reasonably self-sufficient in food. It mentioned "the necessity of capital investments of almost staggering proportions."

But the panel said that since the main hope for increasing total food production in the poor countries was through increased yield per unit of land, there could be no substitute for this higher investment in improved seed, fertilizers, pesticides, machinery and water for irrigation.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Even more difficult would be the vast educational and training programs required to create, distribute and properly use modern crop production input and the transportation to distribute, process and market the output of farms, the panel concluded.

Stressing the need for the earliest possible beginning of the economic and agricultural development effort, the report observed that "even under the most favorable circumstances, the interval between the inauguration of such programs and their realization in the form of increased production of crops will be at least 5 to 10 years."

"It is by no means certain that this task (modernization of traditional farming) can be accomplished to the extent or at the rate needed to meet food requirements during the next two decades, even with a 'war-like' mobilization of the developed countries," the panel concluded.

A maximum effort would be required from all nations, developing and developed alike, said the report, "if the pangs of hunger are to be alleviated, if the irreparable damages of infant and childhood malnutrition are to be prevented, and if the growing threat of mass starvation is to be turned aside."

The panel experts saw the United States faced with two choices in trying to spur lagging economic development in hungry countries. One was to continue providing capital assistance and private investment to poor countries willing to make the self-help effort to achieve self-sustaining growth.

They said this course might bring about some improvement in the status quo but would not meet the food problem "because, for all its economic resources, the United States cannot possibly accomplish the immense task of alleviating the world food problem alone."

"The other alternative is for the United States to take the lead in mounting a global effort in concert with other developed nations and with international organizations that will bring to bear the technical skills and capital resources needed to reverse the downward trend of the developing countries and to restore the chance of their people for a better life.

"We are unanimous in the belief that the United States must assume leadership of the free world and all its international institutions in a coordinated, long-range development strategy for raising the economic level of the poor nations, thereby meeting the threat of hunger, increasing the volume of world trade and economic activity and contributing to the achievement of the goal of ultimate importance, a lasting peace."

SENATE SHOULD RATIFY CONVENTION ON THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN—XCIII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, since its inception the United Nations has been concerned with the political rights of women. The establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women as a functional commission of the Economic and Social Council, and the preamble of the U.N. Charter which states the prinicple of equal political rights for men and women are examples of this concern.

During the first session of the General Assembly in December 1946, that world forum adopted a resolution which noted that not all countries had granted women equal political rights with men. They recommended that all nations take steps to do so.

At the third session of the Commission on the Status of Women, a resolution was adopted noting the signing of the Inter-American Convention on the Granting of Political Rights of Women at Bogota in May 1948, and requesting the Secretary-General to examine the possibility of proposing a similar convention to assist countries which had not granted women equal political rights. The subsequent report noted that as of 1950, 20 countries still denied women political rights.

As a result of the Secretary-General's report, the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women began to prepare a draft convention on the political rights of women, which was finally adopted by the General Assembly in December of 1952.

This Convention on the Political Rights of Women provides that women shall be entitled to vote in all elections, to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies established by national law, and to hold public office and exercise all public functions established by national law "on equal terms with men and without discrimination."

On July 22, 1963, President John Kennedy transmitted this convention to the Senate, recommending that we advise and consent to ratification. This document was then referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, where it remains today.

There exists no reason in American domestic law or policy for our failure to ratify the Convention on Political Rights of Women. Our own Constitution securely guarantees these same rights. There is no conflict, no logical opposition. Let us reaffirm the wisdom of our own national experience by ratifying the Convention on Political Rights of Women.

SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT: A PERSPECTIVE FOR RESEARCH

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Members of Congress to a research and study forum on "Systems Management: A Perspective for Research," sponsored by and held at the School of Business Administration of Temple University in Philadelphia, Pa., this week. I was greatly honored with an invitation to present the keynote speech at this significant conference.

The Temple University forum, to which key representatives of the business, academic, and government communities were invited, had three objectives: to examine the validity of the assumption that the science of systems management has developed to the point where it can provide at least a partial aid in solving national and community problems in the nondefense sector, to define the strengths and weaknesses of the present "state of the art" to meet these challenges, and to identify areas of research and development which are necessary to cope with the expanding demands for application.

To accomplish these objectives, the forum was divided into the following major topic areas: First, the "Challenge to Systems Management"; second, "Systems Management Methods Today"; third, "Nondefense Management Application"; fourth, "Technology Development Needs"; and, fifth, "The Research Challenge."

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the program of

the Temple University forum and the text of the remarks which I prepared for delivery there.

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

PROGRAM

MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1967

Introduction of theme, 11:00 a.m.

Dr. Seymour L. Wolfbein, Dean, School of Business Administration, Temple University.

Chairman: Dr. Millard E. Gladfelter, President, Temple University.

Speaker: The Honorable Hugh Scott, United States Senator, Pennsylvania.

Topic: "The Challenge to Systems Management" (Bill S #467—Creation of a National Commission on Public Management).

Luncheon, 12:30–1:45.

Forum: Aerospace management technology today, 2:00 p.m.–5:30

Chairman: Mr. Jack Phillips, Manager, Systems Analysis, Customer Requirements & Support Department, the Boeing Company—Vertol Division.

Presentations: "Program Management", Major General Gerald F. Keeling, Deputy Chief of Staff, Procurement and Production, Air Force Systems Command.

"Systems Engineering Methodology," Mr. George F. Viehmeyer, Jr.—Division Engineer, Lockheed Corporation—Georgia Division.

"Administrative Management," Col. Hubert Waldman, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller).

Social hour, 6:00 p.m.

Dinner, 7:00 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Dwight A. Stewart, Coordinator, Business Service Programs, School of Business Administration, Temple University.

Speaker: Mr. John Campbell, Editor, Space Aeronautics.

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 1967

Forum: non-defense management technology today, 9:00 a.m.–12:00 Noon

Opening Remarks

Chairman: Theodore M. Kostos, Esq., Stassen, Kephart, Sarkis & Kostos, and Chairman of the Council on Government Contracts and Industry, Federal Bar Association.

Presentations:

City Government: Dr. Nachman Bench, Consultant & Acting Deputy City Administrator, City of New York.

Non-Defense Industry: Mr. Fred H. Lambrou, Director, Systems and Data Processing, Allis Chalmers Manufacturing Company.

Federal Legislation: Robert L. Chartrand, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress.

Academia: Dr. Adrain McDonough, Professor of Industry, Wharton School of Business, University of Pennsylvania.

Luncheon, 12:15 p.m.

Forum: Technology and systems management, 1:30 p.m.

Chairman: Dr. William C. Stewart, Professor of Statistics, School of Business Administration, Temple University.

Presentations: "Marginal Analysis and Selection of Optimal Designs," Dr. Ingrid Rima, Associate Professor of Economics, School of Business Administration, Temple University.

"Simulation," Dr. David Fox, President, Fox Computor Company.

"Hypothesis for Total Systems Management," Mr. Ernest Hahne, Federal Systems Division, International Business Machine Corporation.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1967, 9:00 A.M.–12:00 NOON

Chairman: Dr. Samuel M. Wilson, Professor of Management, School of Business Administration, Temple University.

Presentations: "The Challenge to Industry," Mr. Arthur Cooper, Vice President, Federal Systems Division, International Business Machines Corporation.

"The Challenge to Government," Dr. John Haldi, Chief, Program Evaluation Staff, U.S. Bureau of Budget.

"The Challenge to Academia," Dr. Seymour L. Wolfbein, Dean, School of Business Administration, Temple University.

Discussion: Led by Dr. Sidney Axinn, Professor of Philosophy, College of Liberal Arts, Temple University.

Luncheon, 12:00 Noon

Chairman: Dr. Seymour L. Wolfbein, Dean, School of Business Administration, Temple University.

Speaker: "The Challenge of Technology and Society," Dr. Emmanuel G. Mesthene, Executive Director, Program on Technology and Society, Harvard University.

THE CHALLENGE TO SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT

(Opening remarks by U.S. Senator HUGH SCOTT, June 19, 1967)

The byword of this generation is progress. For the past 25 years the citizens of this Nation, the most richly endowed of any in the history of man, have been witness to a cascading array of technological achievements. Nuclear power, satellites and space probes, the electronic computer—each of these has left an indelible imprint upon every sector of society.

With these evidences of ingenuity and industry also have come problems. The population of these United States continues to increase in complexity and size. Also, the mobility of its inhabitants has begun to pose difficult problems for all levels of Government responsible for their welfare. One recent survey indicated that 12 million men, women, and children had moved during a two-year period.

The leadership of the Nation—government, industry, commerce, the academic world—must remain highly flexible and innovative if our national goals are to be attained. Not only must national security be assured, but continued emphasis must be placed on an ever-rising standard of living for all Americans. And so we stand today: on the one hand supported by the most impressive technological resources imaginable, and on the other beset by new, perplexing social and economic problems.

Although important advances have been made in such vital areas as pollution control, planned urban development and renewal, public health, housing and education, and the preservation of our national resources, governing bodies at all levels accurately recognize that their work is just beginning. The magnitude of these numerous problems forces us to acknowledge that traditional solutions alone cannot furnish the requisite relief. Each facet of our culture must be challenged to produce new techniques, devices, and procedures to overcome the problems of the 1960 decade and the years ahead. No thinking person doubts that American business acumen, creativity, and teamwork can produce the necessary corrective capabilities.

The membership of the United States Congress, you can be assured, is increasingly aware that dynamic, innovative steps are required to sustain the remarkable progress made by this Nation since its founding. The scientific bent of such founding fathers as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin is reflected many thousand-fold on the contemporary scene, but the need for systematic analysis of existing problems also is commensurately greater.

As the result of research and development by private industry, governmental laboratories, and the universities, an appreciable amount of new, meaningful knowledge and information has been accrued. Furthermore, and of equal importance, an essential appreciation for new equipments and man-machine procedures is developing. We have seen new techniques of management analysis—often termed the "systems approach"—developed, tested, and incorporated into the mainstream of industrial activity. While this work traditionally has been associated with projects under the auspices of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Department of Defense, and the Atomic Energy Commission, attention most recently has commenced to focus on the application of the systems approach to the problems in the public domain which I earlier identified.

All of us have become poignantly aware as the result of widespread debate and analysis that while the United States is a wealthy Nation, its resources are not unlimited. The decision-makers in the highest councils of government must judge how, where, and at what rate these precious assets are to be expended. No longer can we afford to expend 90% of all Federal research and development monies on space, defense, and nuclear energy developmental projects. Furthermore, the responsibility for increasing expenditures in improving ways and means of effecting pollution control, solid waste disposal, and controlled allocation of recreation, parks, and housing areas should reside not only with the Federal authorities, but with State and local groups as well.

The magnitude of the problems facing the Nation forces us to acknowledge that traditional means alone cannot furnish solutions. I believe systems management techniques can help to solve these problems.

Let us face the issue squarely. What realistic, feasible measures can be taken to overcome the specters of disaster now posed by urban sprawl, unclean air and water, and glutted living areas and highways? We in the Congress are studying a proposal introduced both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives which calls for the creation of a National Commission on Public Management.

My bill, S. 467, which I introduced in the 90th Congress with 15 Republican co-sponsors, provides for a study of "the manner in which modern systems analysis and management techniques may be utilized to resolve problems relating to unemployment, public welfare, education, and similar national and community problems in the non-defense sector."[1] Upon the occasion of the bill's introduction in the Senate, I underscored the fact that the mandate of the Commission would be to answer two fundamental questions: "Can the systems approach contribute to the solution of these problems; and, if so, how best can it do the job?"[2]

Six phases[3] would evolve in the Commission's work which bear repeating to this audience:

First. Define a social and economic problem to which the application of the systems approach appears to hold promise.

Second. Examine the many modern management techniques currently being used in the aerospace industry to ascertain which are best suited for application to these problems and what modifications may be required.

Third. Determine the proper relationship between public and private investment in these areas, including the degree of public involvement and the best procedures for governmental support and funding.

Fourth. Decide on the optimum organizational relationships among several levels of governmental authorities.

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[1] Scott, Hugh. National Commission on Public Management. Remarks in the Senate. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 18, 1967, p. 843.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid

Fifth. Explore the roles of small business and organized labor in the application of these new management techniques.

Sixth. Assess the potential contribution of the universities toward resolving public management problems.

Let us examine for a moment the result of the projected two and one-half years of activity of the proposed National Commission on Public Management. Its final report would outline explicit plans, featuring case examples, for applying particular management technology to specific public problems. In addition, recommendations would be set forth calling for "legislative and administrative action at all levels of government to facilitate the application of these techniques." [4]

At this point some of you might well ask whether the national and community problems which we have been discussing can indeed be solved through the use of the often experimental systems and management procedures. I say that we must examine most fully the potential of every known technique, and the application of every proven piece of hardware, in order that an accurate determination can be made as to the tools which are available for use by public and private planners and program managers.

The federal government has taken several important steps to ensure better allocation of tax dollars, manpower, and other national resources. Government learned from industry and the not-for-profit organizations with the appointment of Charles J. Hitch as Comptroller of the Department of Defense in 1961. Systems management on a national scale came into its own with the creation of the "Planning-Programming-Budgeting System" (PPBS) which now has been extended to all Executive Branch agencies and departments.[5] Let me repeat for you the definition of "systems analysis" which Charles Hitch likes to use:

"Systems analysis at the national level . . . involves a continuous cycle of defining military objectives, designing alternative systems to achieve these objectives, evaluating these alternatives in terms of their effectiveness and cost, questioning the objectives and the other assumptions underlying the analysis, opening new alternatives, and establishing new military objectives." [6]

For our purposes, the definition is very useful when the military connotation is removed.

Our national problems are now so great that every element of society must become oriented to the value of the systems approach in the civil sector. The Commission would call upon the experience of leaders from labor, education, business, and government. A full-time staff would be on hand to sharpen objectives, prepare study guidelines, work with outside consultants, and finally present the full Commission with specific alternatives for intensive scrutiny and assessment.

What have we learned so far about the applicability of these tools and techniques, originally conceived and tested (for the most part) in the aerospace field? A few initial endeavors have been undertaken, such as in the State of California where specific subject studies were made by four aerospace firms [7] of such problem areas as crime prevention, transportation, waste management, and data handling. East firm was charged with developing rationale, guidelines, and feasible *modus operandi* wherein systems analysis, operations research, econometrics, simulation and modeling, and automatic data processing might prove useful in addressing the specified task areas.

The State of California took yet another innovative step. It hired the Systems Development Corporation to monitor the efforts of the four aerospace firms, since the State did not have the resident capability to do so. Here was an example of government-business partnership that will have to be repeated many times, on many projects, as government employs the systems approach as an aid to cope with the problems associated with our accelerated urbanization.

Let us consider what was learned from the California experiment. First, the systems approach, if properly used, can be put to use in attacking public problems. Second, modifications of existing techniques and procedures *will* be required more often than not. Third, there is a clear need for a widespread program of education both for government and industrial personnel concerning the role of the systems approach.

Those of us who believe that the proposed National Commission on Public Management will fill a real need in determining how the United States faces its future—and the plethora of public problems reviewed here today—want to communicate the importance of this undertaking.

There is no room for a parochial, "I'll-go-my-own-way" philosophy in the world in which we live. We need to stretch our thinking to include the utilization of equipment and techniques still on the drawing boards. Not only must the scientists and technicians render imaginative concepts, but lawmakers and bureaucrats must be induced to try out the untried. As Petter F. Drucker commented in his "Long-Range Planning: Challenge to Management Science:"

"While it is futile to try to eliminate risk, and questionable to try to minimize it, it is essential that the risks taken be the *right risks.*" [8]

Change will come to many existing organization and societal elements, as the new, imposing problems are faced. Dr. Emmanuel G. Mesthene, Executive Director of the Harvard University Program on Technology and Society, put it this way:

"In government, agencies designed for earlier purposes must devise new mechanisms to deal effectively with such problems as the beauty of the environment and the livability of cities, the use and misuse of water and air, and the management of science for public purposes." [9]

Our national goals will not be achieved—whether we speak in terms of master plans for urban development or the precise planning of transportation networks or natural resources management—without many agonizing reappraisals of current policies and programs, and the development of solutions based on compromise.

I shall say today as I did on the floor of the Senate:

"The requirements of this age—reflected in the broad spectrum of issues facing the Congress—can be coped with only by the utilization of all available human and technological resources." [10]

The importance of this research and study forum cannot be overemphasized. The scientists, administrators, interdisciplinarians, here this week will benefit in ways both tangible and subtle, immediate and long-range, comforting and disturbing. The challenge of the age looms large, and we must respond. The systems approach should not be viewed as a panacea for the problems of society—this must be clearly understood. It does represent, however, a significant mechanism by which the decision-makers may match the needs of society with the resources of the Nation. Good luck in your deliberations.

SHOULD THE VOTING AGE BE LOWERED TO 18?—WINNING ESSAYS IN McGEE INTERNSHIP CONTEST

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, for several years it has been my good fortune to be able to conduct for high school students in my State of Wyoming the McGee Senate Internship Contest, which brings back to Washington one boy and one girl for a week of observing democracy in action—here in the Senate and in Washington.

As a part of the contest each student was required to complete an essay on "Should the Voting Age in the United States Be Lowered to 18?" and each year I am impressed with the depth of understanding and the dedication to our democratic principles displayed by these young people in their essays. This topic is one of vital interest to this age group, and their essays reflect sound reasoning which should be of interest to us all.

Of course, it would be impossible for everyone to read all these essays, but I think some of the most outstanding ones selected by an impartial panel of three judges should receive wider circulation, and I ask unanimous consent that two of these essays, written by Robin Rider of Cheyenne, Wyo., and Douglas L. Jones of Casper, Wyo., which received honorable mention in the McGee Senate Internship Contest, be printed in the RECORD.

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

SHOULD THE VOTING AGE IN THE UNITED STATES BE LOWERED TO 18?

(By Robin Rider, Cheyenne, Wyo.)

Controversies over the proper age for suffrage have arisen throughout American history, and the demand to lower the voting age to 18 has often been voiced. One incident of our past that is emphasized particularly by proponents of this movement occurred during the 1864 presidential election. The votes of common soldiers in the Civil War camps were being collected, yet the vote of one competent regimental commander, 19-year-old Colonel Arthur MacArthur, was rejected.[1] Thus appears the historical basis for one widely-accepted argument for lowering the voting age—if you can fight for your country, you should also be able to vote in it. Another contention often heard today is that modern youth are better educated than the preceding generation, entitling them to vote at an earlier age than

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Executive Office of the President. Bureau of the Budget. Planning-Programming-Budgeting. Bulletin No. 66-3 to the heads of executive departments and establishments. Washington, October 12, 1965. 13 p.

[6] Hitch, Charles J., Plans, Programs and Budgets in the Department of Defense. In Operations Research, Jan.-Feb. 1963. p. 8.

[7] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Special Subcommittee on the Utilization of Scientific Manpower. Scientific manpower utilization, 1965–66. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee (89th Cong., 1st sess., Nov. 18, 1965). p. 6–139.

[8] Drucker, Peter F. Long-range planning: Challenge to Management Science. *In* Management Science, v. 5, April 1959. p. 240.

[9] Mesthene, Emmanuel G. An experiment in Understanding. *In* Technology and Culture, v. 7, n. 4, Fall 1966. p. 486.

[10] Scott, Hugh. Remarks in the Senate during debate on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Feb. 16, 1967, p. 3732.

[1] "Who Should Vote?" *Today's Health*, August 1964, p. 20.

their parents. Yet a careful analysis of these arguments reveals some basic fallacies in reasoning, flaws that significantly weaken the case for lowering the voting age.

Recent youthful casualities in Vietnam seemingly reinforce President Eisenhower's somewhat emotional belief that the voting age of 21 is "sacrifice without representation."[2] However, service in the armed forces does not necessarily provide the important qualities vital for intelligent voting. The maturity and judgment required for logical political decisions are not guaranteed by military training. Rather, excellent physical condition and the ability to obey commands are sometimes the only products of an Army "hitch." However, if this criterion of military service is applied to voting more extensively, somewhat absurd consequencies may be viewed. A man physically incapable of serving his nation in war would be denied franchise. Those citizens beyond the age limit for joining the armed forces would similarly be excluded from the voting public. And conceivably, women could also be denied the right to vote, simply because they are not subject to the draft call. In other words, ". . . the physical qualities that make a man a better soldier at 18 than at 40 do not necessarily imply mature judgment,"[3] and consequently a demand to lower the voting age on this basis should be rejected.

Many individuals feel that the rising quality of education for our young people also warrants changing the voting age. However, here again are two basic fallacies. The first, according to the report of a presidential commission on voting, is that "American education has placed too little emphasis on subject matter that will provide a broad understanding of our system of government."[4]

Thus, even though today's curricula are greatly improved over those of a generation ago, such changes are not sufficient to supply our youth with the judgment and maturity necessary if the right to vote is to be exercised effectively. It is a rare civics or government course in which enough emphasis is placed on the evaluation of current events. More fortunate students, such as those engaged in speech work or debating, perhaps receive a better basis for understanding the important issues facing voters. However, from personal experience in debate, I've found that extensive work is needed for a fairly accurate understanding of a topic. This type of preparation would be unfeasible and nearly impossible for each issue that should be examined. Thus, even if the opportunity to participate in a program such as debate could be given to every student, it would not be sufficient to justify lowering the voting age.

Of course there are those who argue that such extensive knowledge, if it is actually needed, could not be acquired within a three year period: "The years between 18 and 21 are not a magic time during which maturity emerges in full-blown perfection."[5] However, in this interval many young Americans pursue a college degree, and thousands of others join the adult working world for the first time in their lives. These two experiences, more than anything else, provide the basis for intelligent voting. Till the age of 18, most Americans are still in school and are influenced politically in most cases by parents and teachers, who represent the primary link to a mature atmosphere. Yet to use wisely the right to vote requires a broader knowledge of varying ideas about the political scene. This exposure to a variety of beliefs is best and most quickly accomplished by higher education or participation in the adult working force. Hence, ". . . intelligent voting requires more workaday experience than most teenagers have."[6]

It is obvious then that these two arguments of military service and better education are not valid and do not warrant lowering the voting age. Both contain serious flaws in logic and comprehension of the problem, first in the suitable criteria for voting and second in the role of a high school education in developing judgment.

Naturally there are exceptions to any generalization—those under 21 who are qualified to vote and those over 21 who are not. Yet to ensure that our destiny will be wisely shaped, the American electorate must be comprised of men and women who, collectively, will make the most mature decisions. Because more adults are likely to assume this responsibility than minors, the voting age must not be lowered. 18-year-olds should not receive the right to vote!

SHOULD THE VOTING AGE IN THE UNITED STATES BE LOWERED TO 18?

(By Douglas L. Jones, Casper, Wyo.)

Demetrius once said, "Men having often abandoned what was visible for the sake of what was uncertain, have not got what they expected, and have lost what they had." In analyzing any type of situation a person must be familiar with the facts, the arguments, and the logical conclusions. The resolution to lower the voting age should also be confronted in this same manner. With this idea in mind the basic arguments for both viewpoints will be discussed with the hope that the facts can lead us to a valid hypothesis.

There are four fundamental reasons for allowing eighteen-year-olds to vote. The first and undoubtedly the most frequent argument is that if an American is old enough to fight for his country he certainly is old enough to cast a ballot. In a joint resolution to lower the voting age to eighteen in January of 1967 Senator Mike Mansfield, the majority leader, made this statement: "Where is the rationale in considering an American old enough to fight in Vietnam but not old enough to vote in selection of those who determine the basic commitments in Vietnam? . . . There is a single and compelling reason for that arbitrary selection. Eighteen is the age when Americans become liable for compulsory military service. If they are old enough to face a bullet, they are old enough to cast a ballot." The crux of the issue then can be expressed with this statement. If democracy is to demand loyalty, responsibility, and the supreme sacrifice of life from an eighteen-year-old citizen then surely this same democracy should bestow its most valuable privilege, the privilege to vote.

The second major reason for allowing our younger citizens to vote is that the level of their education has greatly increased. The late Adlai Stevenson, delegate to the United Nations, said, "The eighteen-year-old of today is more aware of national and world events than ever before." A brief look at the figures shows that the percentage of students attending schools has more than doubled since 1920. Thus it becomes evident that this age group clearly comprises an intelligent and well informed constituency.

The third reason for lowering the voting age is that this age bracket does have an interest in public affairs. Familiar examples of their personal dedication are characterized in such voluntary programs as VISTA and the Peace Corps. Even in our own state it was the student senate of Sheridan College which was responsible for the introduction of the voting age bill into the last session of the legislature. Certainly many of the students do have an interest in their world and in their right to vote.

The fourth reason for a reduction in the voting age is that a more equitable balance of the electorate would be created. As the life expectancy rises, the number of older voters increases daily. "Government needs the idealism and candor of youth" says Ellis G. Arnall, who was governor of Georgia at the time the voting age of that state was reduced to eighteen. This country needs a blending of old ideas and new ideas to arrive at the right ideas.

These then are the four major arguments in favor of lowering the voting age. The opposing viewpoints are based on the fallacious aspects in these same arguments.

The idea that if one is old enough to fight he is old enough to vote is purely an emotional argument. It overlooks the fact that servicemen are told what to do and that there is very little thinking in military discipline. The voter however is expected to question every candidate and arrive at his own conclusions. It must be apparent that the physical qualities that make a man a better soldier at eighteen than at forty do not necessarily imply mature judgment. While there are many qualifications to determine the basis for franchise, muscular resilience is not among them. Therefore this appears to be a specious argument.

The argument that this age bracket is better educated is undeniably true. These student however are not necessarily ready to apply the knowledge with the wisdom and maturity which one gains in a workaday adult world. It is during this three-year period from 18 to 21 years that many citizens will marry, get a full-time job for the first time, and leave the sheltered environments of their parents' home. The years between 18 and 21 are not a magic time during which maturity emerges in full-bloom perfection. Rather it is an interval during which some of our young people will complete their practical education with experience and maturity.

Many instances have been given to show that the interest of students in public affairs has led to misuse. In the Panama Canal Zone American high school students, believing they were doing a patriotic act, helped to disrupt United States foreign affairs. Many of the revolts which have taken place in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East have been sparked by student activity, either upper high school or college level. Often these students have been goaded into action by the Communists who, under a guise of nationalism, take advantage of the students' genuine concern for political problems as well as their lack of experience. It should be noted that the tyrants of this century—Mao Tse-tung of Red China, Stalin of the U.S.S.R., Hitler of Germany, Mussolini of Italy—all rode to power by capturing the youth of their countries and then misusing them. Congressman Emanuel Celler also pointed out that, "It is significant that Hitler and Mussolini lowered the voting age to help create their dictatorships." Thus it becomes evident that interest in public affairs, unless governed by maturity, becomes chaos.

The idea to lower the voting age in order to create a more equitable balance of the electorate is a specious argument. An electorate should be composed of the most responsible, mature, well-informed voters possible regardless of age. To permit any age bracket to vote without reference to these factors would be to degrade the electorate and to invite trouble. The validity of this argument then must depend on the previous three arguments. The fight-vote argu-

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[2] "Should 18-Year-Olds Vote?" *Senior Scholastic*, February 14, 1964, p. 38.

[3] George Hecht, "Should We Lower the Voting Age?" *Parents' Magazine* (March, 1964), p. 39.

[4] "Who Should Vote?" p. 20.

[5] George Hecht, p. 20.

[6] "Should 18-Year-Olds Vote?" p. 39.

ment appears to be a specious one. This age bracket is better educated but lacks experience and maturity. These citizens often have interest in public affairs but it is easily misused. For these reasons their usefulness in equalizing the electorate appear weak.

The analysis of the facts has now been concluded and a decision must be made. Change depends on facts, logic and the probability of success. Doubt plays too big a roll in this question for me to rationalize the need for a change. The voting age should not be lowered to eighteen.

THE THREATENED RAILROAD STRIKE

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I am appalled by the situation in which this body again finds itself—faced for the third time in recent weeks with the prospect of a nationwide railroad strike. If this experience has taught us anything at all, if this senseless interruption of the legislative process is not to continue habitually, it should have demonstrated the need for permanent legislation to deal with strikes and walkouts that adversely affect the national interest. As I have said before, the practice of having Congress settle each labor dispute as it arises can only weaken the normal process of collective bargaining, much to the disadvantage of labor, management, and the public generally.

A railroad strike would affect the Nation to a degree few men can contemplate. As the President himself has said, the economy would suffer, workers would lose their jobs, the public would be inconvenienced, and the Nation's defense effort in Vietnam would be affected. I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the full remarks of the President concerning the impact of a railroad strike.

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

THE IMPACT OF A STRIKE

The differences which remain in this dispute are important. But they are slight when compared with the price to the country and to these parties from a suspension of rail service.

The purpose of this Message and of this proposal is to impress upon the parties and to make clear to the Nation what is at stake here.

The cost of a nation-wide railroad strike would be incalculable. I urge you to consider these facts:

On the first morning of the strike three-quarters of a million rail commuters in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia alone would be unable to take their trains to work.

Shipments of perishable foodstuffs to many major cities would be halted at once.

Actual food shortages could soon occur in several cities.

Some health hazards would develop. For example, supplies of chlorine used to purify community water supplies would grow short.

The coal mining industry, with 140,000 workers, would cease operations almost at once.

Many other industries which rely heavily on the railroads—such as metal mining, steel, chemicals—would be badly crippled and soon begin to close down.

For a week or more most factories could operate from their inventories. Soon, shortages and bottlenecks would begin to curtail production drastically. A spreading epidemic of lost production and lost jobs would sweep through the Nation.

A one-month strike would reduce the gross national product by 13 percent. That would be nearly four times as great as the total decline that occurred in the Nation's worst post-war recession. It would drive the unemployment rate up to 15%—for the first time since 1940—putting millions of workers out of jobs.

In short, a railroad strike would affect every man, woman and child in this Nation. It would increase the cost of living. Each day the strike continued would bring pyramiding losses in goods, services and income—losses which can never be fully regained. A prolonged strike could well break the back of the Nation's stable prosperity for some period to come.

Beyond this, there remains the impact of a rail strike on defense production, and particularly on our 500,000 brave servicemen in South East Asia.

For example:

Forty percent of the total freight shipped by the Defense Department is moved by the Nation's railroads. A strike would materially disrupt these vital operations.

Shipments of ammunition will be critically affected. During April, 210,000 tons of ammunition are scheduled to move to ports for overseas shipment. About 175,000 tons are going by rail.

Production of ammunition will be hindered. Sulphuric acid, a key ingredient for ammunition, moves only by rail car.

The movement of gasoline and jet fuel for our combat and transport aircraft heavily depends on railroads.

The M–48 tank and other heavy military equipment used in Vietnam, can be shipped only by rail.

Strategic missiles such as Polaris and Minuteman are moved by specially equipped rail cars.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, but there is another important factor involved, and that is the effect of a strike on the railroad industry itself. Within a relatively short period of time one or more of the railroads would have to declare bankruptcy, thereby damaging the public interest in the same manner as did the loss recently of a leading New York City newspaper. The railroad industry simply is not in the position to withstand a costly, prolonged strike. In fact, as illustrated by the chart I would like inserted in the RECORD at this point, the working capital of class I railroads is only $478 million, down from $1.6 billion just 21 years earlier. Even these figures are misleading, however. When taken as a whole, they do not reveal the fact that the majority of railroads are not well off financially, and therefore cannot survive a strike.

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

NET WORKING CAPITAL

Working capital of Class I railroads at the close of 1966 was down to $478 million, equivalent to less than three weeks' cash requirements for operating expenses, taxes and operating rents.

Net working capital, as shown below, is calculated as of December 31 by deducting current liabilities from current assets (exclusive of material inventories). The amounts shown are before deduction of impending maturities of funded debt. At the close of 1966 equipment obligations and other debt due within one year total $527 million.

[In thousands of dollars]

	United States	Eastern district	Southern district	Western district
1945	1,643,114	549,537	247,654	845,923
1946	1,256,674	343,517	193,418	719,739
1947	867,655	188,628	151,093	527,934
1948	754,204	192,189	168,859	393,156
1949	645,097	152,367	134,473	358,257
1950	805,889	197,204	146,812	461,873
1951	530,583	97,009	93,647	339,927
1952	678,698	121,314	117,882	439,502
1953	604,815	106,713	139,472	358,630
1954	809,214	230,437	172,358	406,419
1955	933,751	262,786	190,658	480,307
1956	683,629	170,049	125,218	388,362
1957	555,332	135,052	92,878	337,402
1958	806,537	193,812	151,306	461,419
1959	798,402	211,940	152,963	433,499
1960	577,873	112,202	134,763	330,908
1961	510,927	38,189	125,461	347,277
1962	646,807	37,751	136,424	472,632
1963	827,787	60,110	147,077	620,600
1964	730,771	40,500	113,783	576,489
1965	636,250	113,061	81,710	441,478
1966	478,367	67,792	54,277	356,299

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, also, a strike would cost $12 million a day, $6 million in operating revenue and $6 million in unemployment benefits. It should be pointed out that the railroad industry alone pays unemployment compensation during a strike. Thus, by law the railroads are forced to finance strikes against themselves.

It should be obvious to everyone that some form of compulsory arbitration is the only solution to the labor problem in this industry, as these facts make clear: There is no true collective bargaining in the railroad industry because, as a regulated industry, the scales of justice are weighted heavily in favor of the unions; the railroads must seek rate increases from the Interstate Commerce Commission, which in the past has not been overly sympathetic to the appeals; the railroads cannot prepare for a strike in the manner open to most other industries, which are product—rather than service—oriented. Thus, the impact of the strike is immediate.

Nor are there any compelling arguments in this instance against compulsory arbitration. Labor disputes are one of the few areas where the parties are left to their own devices to settle their disputes. In most other cases courts of law and other agencies are able to determine disputes for the participants. I submit that in view of all the circumstances the national interest requires some form of compulsory arbitration, some type of permanent answer. In fact, in this situation there is no alternative.

In closing, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from today's Wall Street Journal. It is an excellent statement of the problem.

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

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 21, 1967]

NO WAY TO RUN THE RAILROADS

Though railroads in most major nations are state-owned, the U.S. long ago opted for regulated private enterprise—an idea sound in principle but faulty in execution.

Its shortcoming shows up plainly in the industry's sadly messed-up labor relations. At the moment Congress once again is try-

ing to decide what to do about the threat of a crippling national rail strike, and many lawmakers obviously would prefer to do nothing at all.

Things have come to this pass partly through Governmental efforts to build up union power, on the railroads as everywhere else. While other private firms at least have some chance to fight their way to half-way reasonable wage contracts, it's not so on the railroads any more. With pro-union bias widely regarded as good politics, rail labor leaders usually can count on Federal intervention to give them just about all they ask.

Unlike other private companies, moreover, the railroads can't always move to offset excessive wage costs by adopting new and more efficient methods. The Interstate Commerce Commission firmly governs railroad change, and it's so saddled with legislative red tape that change at times can be practically impossible.

The ICC's heavy-handed control made more sense three-quarters of a century ago, when the railroads had a good deal of monopoly power and weren't always reluctant to abuse it. The Commission's rigidity is much less justifiable now, when rail lines must constantly face stiff competition from trucks, airlines and other means of transportation.

In the depressing circumstances, perhaps it is not surprising that rail managers sometimes have hardly seemed to act like private enterprisers, eager to woo the public with better service and lower prices; on occasion, in fact, they have functioned almost like the most lethargic of Federal bureaucrats. The result of all this is that the public has been denied the full benefits that could come from freer competition in rail and other transportation.

One person who came to see that fact was the late President Kennedy, and he pushed unsuccessfully for a thorough overhaul of the antiquated regulatory apparatus. The same realization underlay initial proposals for the new Department of Transportation, but there has proved to be a large gap between the past plan and the present reality.

If the Department were really to be expected to accomplish much, it would have to be able not only to devise a coordinated, even-handed Federal policy toward transportation but also to administer it. But political pressures so stripped the agency of power that Transportation Secretary Boyd can do little more than think about the general subject.

Even those thoughts aren't always especially helpful. The other day, for example, Mr. Boyd urged the ICC (completely outside his control) to consider the possible inflationary impact of proposed rail rate increases. This was of course in line with the Administration's notion that price increases by private enterprises, not Governmental deficits and easy money, are the root of inflation; in that logic, price boosts are the prime cause of price boosts.

The nation's rail system has somehow survived this sort of mishandling for a long time, and perhaps it could struggle on in much the same way for a good many years more. Certainly the system is essential to the nation; even the Congressmen who are trying to head off the strike threat without unduly offending the unions at least see that railroads are vital.

Present Federal methods of control, however, are surely weakening the railroads' long-term outlook. And since this control gives the nation few of the advantages of private enterprise anyway, someone eventually may decide that Washington might as well move to outright nationalization.

That's a prospect that should be unappealing to rail management, unions, Government and the public. Yet the way things are going it's an outcome that could all too easily materialize.

TIMES-INDEPENDENT EDITORIAL SUPPORTS CANYONLANDS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the Times-Independent, the dynamic newspaper published at Moab, Utah, in the heart of the Canyonlands country, is one of the most influential of our weekly journals. It is edited by Sam Taylor, a Republican member of the Utah State Senate.

I was gratified, therefore, when the newspaper recently came out editorially for the bill I am sponsoring to expand the boundaries of the Canyonlands National Park.

Earlier in the session, when I introduced my bill to push back these boundaries, the Times-Independent withheld support. Now, however, after considering carefully the areas which would be added, and their potential for recreation as measured against other possible uses, editor Taylor has decided that three of the four proposed additions should unquestionably be made.

He questions only the fourth—Dead Horse Point State Park. This area was included in the bill at the specific request of the Utah State Park and Recreation Commission which administers it. I am of an open mind on it. I am certainly willing to consider the views of the people in Utah as to whether they want this area incorporated into the park, or would prefer to have it remain under its present administration. The bill can be amended to remove this area, if this is the consensus.

The tenor of the Times-Independent editorial gives me hope that there will be extensive support for expansion of the Canyonlands boundaries when the bill is considered. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, which is entitled "We Think It Is Justified," be printed in the RECORD.

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

WE THINK IT IS JUSTIFIED

Approval this week by the National Parks Advisory Board, of addition of some 102,000 acres to Canyonlands National Park, removes one last roadblock prior to official action on the increase by Congress.

Remaining now is approval by the Secretary of Interior, and then consideration of the proposal by Congress itself, of a bill introduced late last year by Senator Frank E. Moss, the original sponsor of the Canyonlands National Park Bill.

Four major portions of scenic and historically-rich land are involved in the proposal. With the exception of one (the small acreage extension which would take over Dead Horse Point from the State Park Commission—an objection we have fully explained in the past) we favor the proposed addition.

Primary area sought for Canyonlands, and the one involving the most acreage, is the Maze area, west of the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers. The Maze, while similar in nature to the Needles section of Canyonlands, is unique in that it can be viewed all along its length by a parallel promontory, which would be easily accessible to passenger car travel with minimal road building. Now accessible by jeep, horseback or hiking (unless you happen to be a Washington official with access to a helicopter), it will provide limited jeeping and hiking opportunities and a chance to see some very unique Indian pictographs. In addition, it is all wrapped up in the early livestock and outlaw history of Southeastern Utah, being immediately adjacent to the famed Robbers Roost country.

The second largest recommended addition, is the Indian ruin-rich canyon country between Squaw Flat and Indian Creek, including Lavendar and Cottonwood Canyons. This area should definitely have been added to Canyonlands when the bill was first considered, because it contains some of the best Indian ruins in the park, and is in need of the close protection the National Park Service can provide.

A small extension on the northwest corner of the park would include all of Taylor Canyon, west of the Neck. This boundary change makes sense, because presently the line runs down the bottom of the Canyon, and makes supervision difficult.

The final section recommended for addition is in question. That is the Dead Horse Point property, first offered to the Federal government by the State Park Commission, which later withdrew the offer when local opposition developed. We are opposed to this portion of the expansion plan, because the State of Utah has invested considerable money in development; is nearly through with the job; and is managing the park in an excellent manner. The State Park laws also provide for multiple use—which could be important in the Dead Horse area.

Although mineral possibilities in the Canyonlands areas can never be discounted, due to lack of exploration, efforts have been made (at least in the west side extension) to steer clear of mineral potential. The French Seep tar sands areas would not be affected by the enlargement.

Despite the fact that the requested enlargements would amount to about a 50 per cent increase in the size of Canyonlands, for the most part, they make good sense to us. After a long winter of taking issue with plans of Utah's junior U.S. Senator, we commend his plan for Canyonlands as being in the best interests of good park management, and wish him success in passage.

THE ALLOWABLE HARVEST OF TIMBER ON FEDERAL LANDS

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and myself, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD enrolled House Joint Memorial 1 adopted by the 54th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

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

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 1

(Sponsored by Representative Robert Smith, Senator Cook, Representatives Bedingfield, Ouderkirk, Wilson, Senators Fadeley, Hallock.)

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fourth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the economy of this state is heavily dependent upon timber harvests, and employment in the forest industry represents not less than half of all employment in manufacturing in this state; and

Whereas this state is the leading timber producer in the United States, and a robust forest industry in this state contributes

greatly to the economic well-being of the entire nation; and

Whereas a majority of the timber reserves in this state stand upon lands now under the jurisdiction of the National Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management; and

Whereas the Oregon Legislative Interim Committee on Public Lands has reported to us that in the course of its studies of policies regarding the harvest of timber on federal lands, reliable specialists stated that the natural mortality rate of old timber on such lands is approximately equal to the rate of harvest allowed on such lands; and

Whereas the interim committee has concluded that an accelerated program of harvesting old-growth timber not only will reduce loss through natural mortality but also will encourage the developing of reserves of vigorous, youthful timber; and

Whereas reputable scholars have asserted that the even-flow concept governing timber harvesting practices may in some instances impound vast capital resources; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The Congress of the United States is memorialized to cause a study to be made of practices and policies of federal agencies regulating the allowable harvest of timber on federal lands administered by such agencies. It is urged that this study be conducted on a priority basis, in view of the urgency and gravity of the question, and that it consider especially whether the concepts employed in deriving timber-harvest allowances are best suited under contemporary circumstances to produce the highest ultimate sustained yield of timber products, while benefiting to the greatest extent practicable those localities economically dependent upon the forest industry.

(2) The clerk shall cause copies of this memorial to be sent to the presiding officer of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

THE PEACE CORPS—SIX YEARS LATER

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, a week ago Sunday, the Washington Post carried an illuminating article on the Peace Corps and its position now, 6 years after its founding by the late President Kennedy. Staff writer Anthony Astrachan, with the help of Post correspondents abroad, summed up by saying that the Corps, if it has lost some of its early flamboyance, is still exciting and still works. I ask unanimous consent that the report, "The Peace Corps Is 'Rechanneling Its Bubbles'," be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE PEACE CORPS IS "RECHANNELING ITS BUBBLES"

(By Anthony Astrachan)

(NOTE.—*This article by Staff Writer Anthony Astrachan is based on his own reporting in Washington and reports by Washington Post correspondents John M. Goshko in Latin America, Donald H. Louchheim in Africa and Warren Unna in India, and special correspondent Roberta Roth in Thailand.*)

The Peace Corps was one of John F. Kennedy's most sparkling ideas. Rumor has it that six years of reality have made it go flat.

In Washington, you hear that it's no longer an adventure to work for the Peace Corps. Abroad, you hear a man like President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania say that the Volunteers seem to have lost their idealism. Everywhere you hear that the Corps Corps is becoming bureaucratically musclebound.

When you look at the evidence, you get a different picture—one that agrees with the Peace Corps official who says, "We haven't lost our effervescence. We're just rechanneling the bubbles."

Reports from every area in which the Peace Corps operates agree that while much of the flamboyance of the early days is gone, the Peace Corps is still exciting—and it works. The reports say:

The 28,189 Volunteers who have been sent out since 1961 represent America's potentially most effective instrument for social change and economic development.

There have been plenty of failures, but they are outweighed by the successes. In addition, the Peace Corps learns more from its trials and errors than most Government agencies and many private ones.

A host of problems remain, but the Peace Corps makes a continuing effort to recognize and solve them.

A NEW HELMSMAN

The comparative blandness of the Peace Corps today is denied by many PC veterans who insist that their palates are just as sensitive as they were in 1961. So far as blandness does exist in contrast to the early days, it has three discernible causes.

One is the contrast between Jack Hood Vaughn, now director of the Peace Corps, and his more charismatic predecessor, Sargent Shriver, now head of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Vaughn is a quiet-spoken man who has spent more than half his adult life abroad for the Government. To him, the field is the basic reality.

Some Peace Corps veterans simplify to the point of saying that Vaughn is concerned with the substance while Shriver was concerned with the image that he sold to the country and Congress in a whirlwind of activity. One of Vaughn's favorite aphorisms is to say that he wants to make the Peace Corps as good as Shriver said it could be.

Vaughn himself puts today's blander flavor down to the second cause: the Peace Corps' working experience. "It's always more exciting when you don't know what you're doing and plunging into the unknown," he says. "Now we do know what we're doing, how to get from point X to point Y. If I were flying by the seat of the pants, it would be more exciting."

He adds, "When you lose the status of being controversial, you lose some of your zip."

TRYING FOR DIVERSITY

The third reason why the Peace Corps seems less flamboyant is that there is a little less diversity among Volunteers and staff. Most Volunteers have middle-class backgrounds; 85 per cent have college degrees and 96 per cent have attended college. Most come fresh from the campus and there is less age difference than in the early days.

Special efforts are made to recruit from other backgrounds, however—such as Negro colleges. Labor unions are finally being asked to help recruit blue-collar workers in all categories, the selection teams look for what they call "high-risk, high-gain" candidates—the oddballs who, if they make good, will make the Corps better.

The staff here and overseas is a bit less diverse because it has more veterans and is less flamboyant because these veterans' imaginations are constrained by what they have learned. Yet it retains an amateur spirit.

PC staff is recruited from lawyers, doctors, teachers, newspapermen and businessmen. Many would be making more money on the outside. Their common denominator is that they are more adult versions of the Volunteer (and are frequently former Volunteers): restless, idealistic, a bit romantic. They combine qualities of the missionary, the Boy Scout leader, the social worker, the army staff officer, the executive—an unlikely mixture held together by a talent for existing on a shoestring.

A 5-YEAR LIMIT

The Peace Corps has a rule that nobody may work for it in a salaried position for more than five years, which may prevent it from ever becoming fully professional. It is also a rarity among Government agencies in having the power to get rid of misfits who elsewhere are protected by Civil Service.

While the number of Volunteers has increased 150 per cent since 1963, the overseas official staff has increased a bit more than 100 per cent and the Washington staff has actually decreased since 1963. The ratio of overseas staff to Volunteers has always hovered in the neighborhood of one to 30.

More staff usually means more bureaucracy. Vaughn tries to avoid this by such measures as eliminating all his associate directors and maintaining a high degree of decentralization. Peace Corps staffers say they have a lot of autonomy in planning programs.

A career Foreign Service officer on loan to the Peace Corps as a country director says: "I like the Peace Corps better than anything I've done in the Foreign Service. They let me run things the way I want to. I can finally do what nobody ever let me do before: delegate responsibility and tell a man it's up to him to make good or fail."

The Washington guidelines are felt, however. For one thing, the Peace Corps has become cost-conscious. Countries compete in reducing unit costs. Vaughn talks about saving nearly $8 million by such devices as substituting charter flights for commercial flights. The Corps says the cost per Volunteer was cut from $7865 in 1966 to $7400 in 1967 this way.

Washington also makes PC country directors plan programs up to five years in advance, a real change from the seat-of-the-pants days. Like other Government agencies, the Peace Corps must follow the budgetary system ordered by President Johnson: identify what you hope to accomplish, quantify it and estimate its cost.

Estimating the cost isn't too hard, but the field people tend to snicker at "quantification." Arthur Purcell, PC director in Bolivia who is now taking over the Philippines, said, "We reported we had vaccinated so many people in the public health program, our teachers had so many students in English classes. In Bolivia, we said, we had affected 125,000 people. But we don't know how much we've affected them or whether it's a good or bad effect."

The effect depends partly on the people of the "host country" but primarily on the Volunteer. In the Peace Corps, the emphasis is always on the Volunteer.

His continuing idealism has been questioned. But reporters who talk to the Volunteers and see them at work say the dedication, the sense of service, the idealism are still there.

Today's Volunteer may be younger; he may be unused to working for a large organization. But a former PC evaluator who interviewed more than 1000 Volunteers in Africa sums it up for all regions: "The new Volunteer is better qualified, better trained and for the most part gets more satisfaction out of his tour than his predecessor."

A CRITICAL CREW

The Volunteers complain, of course. They gripe about the Peace Corps' defects, about

host country defects, about American policy, about "creeping bureaucracy" and "big brotherism." Most of all, they criticize their own shortcomings. Almost every one you meet feels that his personal performance, has fallen short of what it should have been.

The Peace Corps is apolitical by design, but the Volunteers have opinions. Most tend to join as liberals, "the sort that thought Jack Kennedy was the greatest," as one put it. Some PC officials think that Volunteers become more conservative as a result of their experience, perhaps because they learn that change does not come overnight. A few decide that revolutions against the established order might be a good thing.

Volunteers in Latin America have a reputation for being more outspoken than those elsewhere. They tend to dislike Latin dictatorships and U.S. support for them. Volunteers in the Dominican Republic during the 1965 civil war tended to side with the rebels and condemn the U.S. intervention.

Volunteers tend to be doves about Vietnam, but paradoxically or perversely, those closest to the scene—in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines—seem to have the least to say about the war there and the U.S. role in it. There is no Peace Corps in Vietnam.

But the Volunteers have a lot to say about the American military presence in a country like Thailand. They don't like it. Everything about the military style conflicts with the PC style.

The military believes in materiel; the Peace Corps in people. The military tries to help civilans through counterinsurgency from above; the Peace Corps through community development by self-help from below. The soldiers' PX style of living contrasts with the Volunteers' effort to fit in with the Thai way of life, and girl Volunteers usually refuse to date GIs, provoking charges of snobbery.

AGAINST "GOING NATIVE"

The way the Volunteers live is a key to both image and reality in the Peace Corps. Many do live in mud huts and wear "native" dress. But the prevailing standard is for Volunteers to live in the same style as their "counterparts"—host-country citizens doing the same kind of job. This can mean anything from a dirt-floored house and a distant well to running water in a concrete building.

Gary Brennaman of Oakland, Calif., who works in a poultry project in India, says: "The Indians know I am not an Indian and there is no sense trying to pretend it by going without window screens and so on. I can make my impression in other ways."

The Peace Corps, however, has always wanted Volunteers to show their hosts that there is no loss of status in working with your hands, a real problem among the intellectuals of developing countries. Thomas Quimby, the PC regional director for Africa, says: "We'd like to devalue the elitist attitude. It's not a question of living like counterparts, but of living simply." Window screens, however, are a health measure, not an elitist gimmick.

A decision connected with this idea caused a celebrated incident in Nigeria last year. Jack Vaughn decided to get rid of PC hostels—houses rented by the Corps in 26 large countries where traveling Volunteers could stay overnight at minimum cost. Vaughn had two objections; this was the kind of fringe benefit that the Peace Corps shouldn't provide itself, and it encouraged the Volunteers to seek each other's company and get away from their villages.

THE LAST STRAW

When the decision reached Nigeria, some Volunteers there threatened to strike, and press reports made it seem as though the supposedly idealistic Volunteers were preoccupied with their personal comfort.

There was a lot more to it than that, however. Two bloody army coups had put a severe strain on the Volunteers' relations with the Nigerians. In addition, most Volunteers in Nigeria were teaching and in the throes of a major debate about the relative value of classroom work and community development. Also, the Peace Corps had cut other fringe benefits and basic living allowances.

To many Volunteers, the hostel decision was just one more proof that Washington didn't know what was going on in the field.

The stew had two more ingredients: the PC staff in Nigeria in 1966 was inexperienced and undermanned. It either did not know how the Volunteers felt or did not make Washington understand it. And the hostel directive, PC officials now admit, was one of the most tactless instructions ever sent out. Among other things, it called the Volunteer-run hostels "colonialist."

The outcry from the field was so great that Vaughn flew to Nigeria to explain things and find out how the Volunteers really felt. He succeeded in persuading them to accept the elimination of hostels and prevented the threatened strike. A further proposed cut in living allowances was canceled.

"The Nigerian 'revolt' was probably the most important thing that ever happened to the Peace Corps," says a PC official who was involved in it, because it embodied the problems that will determine the ultimate success or failure of the Peace Corps: host-country expectations and the effect of host-country politics; what kind of programs the Peace Corps should follow in working for development, and how to focus on the Volunteer.

AN OVERRIDING RESULT

The Peace Corps, by law, has three goals: to help underdeveloped countries meet their needs for trained manpower; to help promote better understanding of the American people in those countries; to help promote better understanding of other peoples by the American people.

The third goal is often transmuted into another: to make the Volunteers better people and better citizens. "Better" can mean more mature; better equipped to face human or institutional challenges; better equipped to help solve America's problems.

To many Volunteers, the last goal seems more important, and more often achieved, than the first, David Elliott, PC director in India, says, "At our completion of service conferences, the Volunteers are unanimous in saying, 'We've learned more than we've taught.' "

Vaughn agrees: "The Peace Corps is now confident enough to say that what happens to the Volunteer as a person, as a citizen, as a professional, is the most important goal. He has to be the main winner."

To some Volunteers, this is an admission of defeat. They feel that they haven't done enough to get their village or their country on the road to development. But any significant change takes from two to 50 years to become visible, so most Volunteers are bound to leave before the see the effect, if any, of what they have done.

TWO DIFFERENT GOALS

The Corps has not fully resolved the question of what kind of effect it intends, a physical change or an attitude change. The first is measurable in terms of the number of wells dug, children taught, people vaccinated. The second is hard to measure, but people do develop ideas about changing their environment, their social structure, themselves.

PC directors in Africa see the fundamental role of the Volunteers as ending the colonial-inspired divorce between an instructor and his students, an official and his "clients." They tend to consider the Volunteers' performance off the job as important as his development role in working hours.

In Latin America, Volunteers say that the physical accomplishments, while important, are only the visible part of the much bigger iceberg known as community development. To melt the whole iceberg, they feel that they have to create a new frame of mind and set examples that will be followed long after they are gone.

The same feeling is found elsewhere in the world. It is a big reason for the discernible shift in Peace Corps programs away from classroom teaching, though that is still the major activity in many areas, and toward work in agriculture, public health and community development.

An example is India's shift in priority from education to food production and family planning at the village level. In Peru's urban slums, the trend is away from day nurseries and construction efforts to things like vocational education, to give rural adults who flock to the cities the skills they need to cope with urban life.

A PRISTINE CANVAS

Of course, there are still many areas where the emphasis remains on the physical and institutional.

Most countries, however new, have some kind of institutional base for development and some reasonably qualified officials, but not such a place as the U.S. trust territory of Micronesia, a scattering of Pacific islands. This makes it attractive to Ross Pritchard, the PC regional director for East Asia and the Pacific.

The Volunteers, operating in a near-vacuum, can do more and innovate more than they can elsewhere—not merely to change attitudes, but to create services, institutions and such physical facilities as health centers. in short, they can create an administration.

In Bolivia, a Volunteer came up with an idea for a school to teach construction laborers how to build roads, buildings, electric plants and other needed facilities. He talked AID into financing the equipment and got the Bolivian army, the La Paz municipality and the local community to agree. The Volunteers for it will come from labor union recruiting, the Peace Corps hopes.

Even such a "physical" program has its attitude-changing side. Changing the host individual as well as the host country means understanding how people's minds work, gaining their trust, working on projects they are eager to have, foreseeing the consequences of one's actions in a society whose logic may be different from yours.

In the fertile Casamance region of Senegal, for instance, Volunteers worked with a tribe that grew rice but refused to market it because it had religious significance. The Volunteers tried to break down the religious aspect to help end Senegal's need for imported rice. But they discovered that once they succeeded, the tribesmen stopped growing rice. They no longer had the motivation.

A HANDY SACRIFICE

A different kind of culture-gap problem faced a Volunteer in Kenya. He was present at a village meeting where much resentment against government policies was expressed. Several villagers suggested that the best way to demonstrate discontent would be to kill a white man.

The Volunteer, who spoke a smattering of Luo, looked around the room, discovered he was the only white man there and tried to fade into the mud wall. Cooler heads prevailed, however, and the villagers decided to dramatize the protest in a different way.

The shift to attitude-changing and "rural

transformation" can make it more difficult to work with the officials, who find still more reason for dismay at the intangible nature of PC goals and at what they consider the loss of status from working with one's hands.

At higher levels, host governments may be skeptical of the value of community-involved programs, or unable to finance their share. Some are also skeptical about the Volunteers' technical qualifications for this kind of program. Several countries have asked for higher technical skills in these fields than the Peace Corps feels it can or should provide.

In India, director David Elliott thinks that the Volunteers make good catalysts because of their enthusiasm and dedication. "They don't come over here with 30 years' experience in agriculture" he says. "But our point is that it's not what you know about agriculture or family planning, but what you can impart . . . Getting people with more technical qualifications might be our downfall. Why transform us into another AID when we have done so much better in many ways?"

Generally, the Peace Corps feels that its vaunted "BA generalists" can learn enough in three months training to understand what the technical expert has discovered and then do what the expert cannot: translate it into terms that the peasant—even more of a layman than the Volunteer—can understand.

AN "AID SYNDROME"

As Elliott suggested, the desire for higher technical skills can be part of an "AID syndrome," since many host-country officials are more familiar with foreign aid concepts than with the Peace Corps programs.

Under a presidential directive for all Government agencies overseas to work together, the Peace Corps is trying to have Volunteers use AID equipment or spread knowledge provided by AID experts. The problem is that many Volunteers feel that when AID provides "goodies," it tends to devalue the Volunteer himself in the eyes of the host country.

In Ethiopia, for example, AID provided typewriters for a vocational training school and a Volunteer was sent in to teach typing. The host government did nothing to maintain the machines and within six months they stopped working. The Volunteer feels that his job is pointless. If the government had really been interested in training typists, he says, it would have bought the machines itself and kept them in repair.

Resentment of a program initiated by the donor rather than by the host country is an old bugaboo of foreign aid. The Peace Corps, like AID, officially responds only to host country requests, but such initiatives can be stimulated.

In India, for example, the number of Volunteers shot up from about 750 to 1271 as a result of an announcement by President Johnson during Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to Washington last year. The Peace Corps insists that the President was only responding to a request by Mrs. Gandhi, but the influx came as a surprise in New Delhi, where the PC staff was hard put to handle the growth in terms of both logistics and programs.

Director Elliott insists that the Volunteers work "on ongoing Indian programs. We don't develop our own." But a Peace Corps evaluator told Warren Unna that was not strictly true, certainly not in the case of the programs devised to occupy last year's spate of new people.

A LUXURY PROGRAM

The Corps went into French-speaking Africa with heavy programs for teaching English, a third language that few students needed or wanted, giving the impression that the main desire was to establish a Peace Corps presence. Later, the programs in many of these countries were reconsidered.

In Niger, C. Payne Lucas went in as director and showed the government officials their need for help in agriculture, public health and community development. The Niger program is now considered a roaring success both by Americans and the people of Niger.

In Bolivia, director Arthur Purcell went into tin mining areas that had produced two revolutions and found several needs the Peace Corps could fill to help the Indian miners recover and develop. He stimulated the Bolivian development. The Niger program is now vocational education, athletics (which the people love) and public health, using unions and other community groups as agencies rather than the government mining corporation.

Washington planners objected to this program, which had revolutionary implications since the miners had long left-wing traditions. Vaughn overruled them and approved it. Asked if the military-dominated Bolivian government was not alarmed, Purcell said, "Hell, no. Some officials like it, and the ones that might not don't take the Peace Corps seriously enough to worry about it."

A CIA TAINT

Another kind of taint has attached to the Peace Corps, however—the CIA smear. It has been a serious problem in India, Pakistan, Tanzania, Kenya and a few other countries, through it has never appeared in Latin America.

In India, much of the CIA sensitivity grew out of the recent exposure of the CIA connection with the National Student Association here and with the defection of Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter.

The concern is widespread. An Indian businessman, for example, started a conversation on a plane by asking, "What do you think about the CIA and the Peace Corps?" He then provided his own answer: "I know about 12 Peace Corps people here and I don't think they are CIA. But one of them told me even he thinks there may be CIA in the Peace Corps, not among the Volunteers, but maybe among the staff."

The Indian government says there is no evidence to support the CIA charges. So far as the U.S. Government is concerned, the CIA is forbidden by law to use the Peace Corps in any way. PC officials say they check repeatedly to make sure the CIA is sticking by the rules.

The CIA fear was, however, an explicit element in the decision of the Indian state of Kerala to ask for the withdrawal of 28 Volunteers working in poultry development. Kerala and Pakistan, which has also ended its Peace Corps program, also said they wanted higher skills than the Volunteers have, but the official American community think both cases were political.

Other countries that have asked the Peace Corps to leave for political reasons include Ceylon (where a new government has invited it back); Indonesia under Sukarno, and Mauritania in the current Middle East crisis.

A FAIRER IMAGE

In a way, it is their loss, but in another way, it is America's. What Donald Louchheim said about Africa is true of the world as a whole:

"Where the image of the United States is a composite of scraps of Technicolor celluloid and sleek, usually irritable expatriates, the Peace Corps Volunteer is the only tangible sign that the United States is more than a remote, glittering stage set with big cars, washing machines and broadloom carpets, peopled with cowboys and women with cardboard hair.

"Throughout the continent, there is no concept that the developed world is as frail as the developing world, or any awareness that it ever developed itself. The European and American presence in Africa merely reinforces this ignorance and lack of confidence. The U.S. Information Service and AID are unwittingly the worst offenders.

"The Peace Corps, at least, holds out the possibility of showing another, and perhaps the most important, dimension of the United States."

LAND EXCHANGES IN OREGON

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and myself, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Enrolled House Joint Memorial 2 adopted by the 54th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

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

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 2

(Sponsored by Representative Robert Smith, Senator Cook, Representatives Bedingfield, Ouderkirk, Wilson, Senators Fadeley, Hallock.)

To the Public Land Law Review Commission, created by the Act of September 19, 1964 (43 U.S.C. §§ 1391 to 1400):

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fourth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the vigorous pursuit of a program of exchanging lands in this state owned by the Federal Government for lands owned by this state is essential to full realization of the benefits of modern land-management techniques based upon amalgamation of scattered holdings; and

Whereas the Oregon Legislative Interim Committee on Public Lands has reported to us its finding that federal-state land exchanges are not being consummated at a rate that will permit an early realization of such benefits; and

Whereas the Public Land Law Review Commission was directed by Congress to recommend such modifications in existing laws, regulations, policies and practices as in its judgment will best serve to carry out the policy of Congress that the public lands of the United States shall be retained and managed or disposed of in a manner to provide the maximum benefit for the general public; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The Public Land Law Review Commission is memorialized to give priority to its studies of federal-state land exchanges so that recommendations may be framed by it with regard to this urgent problem at the earliest date. Specifically, the commission is urged to consider the feasibility of:

(a) Using, in each projected transaction, a single appraiser appointed jointly by the Federal Government and by this state to determine for both parties the values of the lands proposed to be exchanged.

(b) Appraising lands on the basis of their fair market value as of the time of such appraisal.

(c) Liberalizing the rules for land exchanges in so far as they now require only that a demonstrable advantage accrue to the Federal Government as a result of each such exchange.

(2) The clerk shall cause copies of this memorial to be sent to the President of the United States of America, the Chairman of the Public Land Law Review Commission, the presiding officer of the Advisory Council to such commission, the Secretary of Agri-

culture, the Secretary of the Interior and each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

DANGERS OF URANIUM MINING

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, the recent deaths of uranium miners because of unnecessary exposure to radon gas and its byproducts is testimony to our failure in this area of occupational health. It is clear now that industry, States, and the Federal Government did not meet their responsibilities to those who were employed in our uranium mines. And as a result of their failure, over a thousand men may die or have their productive years shortened.

This loss is particularly tragic because it did not have to happen. A number of groups and individuals had pointed out the hazards associated with mining radioactive ores and had recommended that certain steps be taken to avoid these hazards. But because no one had died in American uranium mines, these warnings were ignored. The cost of taking preventive measures was cited as a reason for delaying their use. And the uncertainties connected with this new hazard were used to excuse a lack of action.

There is little we can do for those who have already been exposed to these poison gases other than to insure that their families are provided for. But we can insist that no miner is exposed to this danger again. I understanding that the Department of Labor is currently involved in this task.

The actuarial firm of Woodward & Fondiller, Inc. of New York City, recently completed a study of the number of cases of lung cancer that can be expected as a result of the failure of the Government and the uranium mining industry to take the necessary precautions. I ask unanimous consent that this report be published in the RECORD, and I call it to the attention of those who are concerned with problems of environmental and occupational health.

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

WOODWARD & FONDILLER, INC.,
New York, N.Y., February 2, 1967.

Mr. ROBERT S. PALMER,
Executive Director, Mining Industrial Development Board, State of Colorado, Denver, Colo.

DEAR SIR: We are pleased to submit, herewith, our report entitled "Probable Numbers and Costs Through 1985 of Lung Cancer Cases Among Uranium Miners." The report is in five sections, as follows:

I. Introduction.
II. Projected Costs.
III. Financing of Costs.
IV. Conclusion.
V. Exhibits.

We appreciate the cooperation extended to us by members of your Board, by the Bureau of Mines and by the U.S. Public Health Service in making essential data available to us.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS H. ROBERTS,
Vice President and Actuary.

I. INTRODUCTION

The occurrence of lung cancer among uranium miners had been under study for many years before the magnitude of the hazard was recognized in the United States as being sufficient to necessitate precautions adopted on an increasing scale since 1961. (1) Delay in recognizing the hazard may well have been due to the small number of cases (only 40) reported through 1961 among the several thousand miners employed.

The number of cases was too few, considering the average expectation of lung cancer (estimated at 3% in the general population) to demonstrate any special hazard associated with uranium mining. In cases of delayed effects following injurious exposure, a characteristic of all slow poisoning, fewness of cases during the years immediately following large scale exposure is illusory. The cases seen so far are only a sample of those to follow, even without additional exposure.

By the end of 1966, a total of 98 cases among all uranium miners had been recorded by the U.S. Public Health Service. Although this compilation was intended to be complete, there is no certainty in that regard and it seems likely that at least a few cases may have escaped the record. There has been no determination of which cases were caused by mining exposure and which arose from other causes. Indeed, it seems to us that such a determination is not possible, at cept on a probabilistic basis. It has been shown (1) that undifferentiated small cell types of cancer (oat, round and polygonal) least on the basis of present knowledge, exaccounted for 29 out of 51 cases of known cell type, or 57%, for uranium miners vs. 24 out of 158 cases, or 15%, for non-miners. (Exhibit 2.) This, however, proves nothing about the causation of any particular case. The identification of a given cancer as of the oat cell type, therefore, at best implies a degree of likelihood that it was induced by a known exposure to radon and radon daughter products in the course of uranium mining. A corresponding but lesser probability should be inferred for other cell types.

We have found some correlation between Pb_{210} in bone tissue and past exposure to radon in the cases of lung cancer for which Pb_{210} content has been determined, as shown in Exhibit 3. Again, however, no proof of causation is implied. The usefulness of such correlation lies in the possibility of inferring the amount of exposure, where adequate records have not been kept, from Pb_{210} measurements.

According to our calculations, the 89 cases reported to date where uranium mining started in 1937 or later define a curve under which a total of 1,150 cases will have appeared by the end of 1985. On the basis of the 1966 geographical distribution of miners, 37% of these, or 425, would be chargeable to Colorado. This calculation is predicated upon the assumption that all cases reported so far are due to radon exposure *and that there will be no further exposure after 1966.* That is, our present calculations are limited to those cases expected to arise out of operations conducted prior to January 1, 1967.

The first assumption—that all cases are due to radon exposure—is a simplifying approximation based upon so far unpublished U.S. Public Health Service Studies showing only 3% of deaths occurring during the period of observation for a group of nonminers were due to lung cancer. This assumption merits further investigation, particularly in the light of studies relating lung cancer to smoking and considering that at least 94 out of 98 cases were cigarette smokers.

The doctrine of "last injurious exposure" is not sufficiently precise, in our opinion, to provide a useful criterion for the chargeability of a case to an employer. No basis has been found for establishing a limit below which a lesser non-zero degree of exposure is without effect. Hence, some degree of harm theoretically arises from even a single atom of radon or radon daughter product deposited in the lungs. Obviously, such a criterion is of no practical usefulness.

We think it important that sufficient study be given to measurement of the manner in which the probability of lung cancer varies for an individual, on the average, with increasing amounts of exposure. This information would provide the basis for a ruling that exposure below a given level is harmless. Such a ruling, while necessarily arbitrary to some extent, could be based upon some reasonable concept like, for example, the amount of exposure necessary to double one's naturally occurring probability of getting lung cancer.

We believe it important that such studies be undertaken at once before precedents are set leading to the general presumption that all cases of lung cancer among uranium miners are compensable.

II. PROJECTED COSTS

Exhibit 1 shows actual and theoretical numbers of lung cancer cases among uranium miners by five-year periods from 1936 through 1966, also theoretical numbers for 1967 through 1986 and Colorado's estimated share of cases and costs through 1985. The rationale of these calculations will now be explained.

The weighted index of the number of miners surviving each period was calculated from the following reported data:

1. Numbers of miners employed.
2. Rates of turnover in employment.
3. Average working levels of radiation exposure, by year.
4. Distribution of miners by age.

We assumed mortality among the mining population to be satisfactorily approximated for these calculations by the American Men's experience table. While mortality in this table is somewhat higher than current national averages, the same would be true of uranium miners due to not only lung cancer but also, as for miners generally, above-average accident rates.

The weighting employed is based upon exposure to radon. The index, therefore, represents not simply lives but working-level man months of surviving men. Following the hypothesis advanced by Dr. Archer (2), the expected number of lung cancer cases is proportional to this quantity irrespective of how exposure may be distributed among individuals.

For lack of corresponding exposure data, the actual number of lung cancer cases used by us excludes nine miners who began uranium mining before 1937. Hence our calculations pertain only to cases arising among those who started uranium mining in 1937 or later. We have not estimated how much our projections should be increased to include the small additional percentage who started earlier. For whatever it may imply, we note that the 9 excluded cases are 9.2% of the total 98 cases reported.

We derived the theoretical numbers of cases for each five-year period by weighting the exposure measured in working-level man months of miners surviving from each earlier period by the corresponding percentage of cases anticipated, on the basis of experience so far, to arise 0–5, 5–10, 10–15, etc. years after the start of uranium mining. The good correspondence between theoretical numbers and actual numbers of cases lends some authority to the numbers projected through 1986. The latter values were calculated by applying the same formula to index numbers of surviving miners for 1967–1986 as had been applied to these indices in arriving at the theoretical values for 1936–1966.

Inasmuch as it has proved possible to derive these projections objectively from the given data, we consider them to be reasonable and essentially free of subjective bias. This should not be taken to imply, however, that our projections necessarily provide close approximations of future costs. There are several reasons why such costs cannot

be precisely estimated, even in principle, at this time. Most important of these is statistical uncertainty due to the relatively small number of cases so far reported.

Any estimate of the number of future cases unavoidably must depend upon the number and pattern of cases already reported. It is evident that the exact number actually occurring in any given period is subject to chance fluctuation. Chance operates here in the same manner as characterizes other random phenomena such as the number of radioactive distintegrations occurring in a particular time. Thus, for example, if 60 disintegrations (or 60 cases of lung cancer) are theoretically expected in a given length of time, the actual occurrence of 56 or fewer or of 64 or more during any particular observational period would have a probability of about 40%. Because of the "leverage" involved in long-range projections, a small chance fluctuation in the actual number of cases causes a large distortion in the projected number. Thus, for example, if the actual numbers of cases had been as shown below under "Hypothetical Alternative Number," the projection curve would have been altered sufficiently to increase our projection from 1,193 to 1,410, or 217 more. In the foregoing example only the pattern of cases—not the total number—has been varied. Any chance variation in the total number would, of course, have a proportionate effect upon the projected numbers.

Period	Actual number	Hypothetical alternative number
1936–41	0	0
1942–46	1	0
1947–51	3	1
1952–56	6	6
1957–61	23	22
1962–66	56	60
Total	89	89

This problem, of course, is inherent in all attempts to learn much from little. The 98 cases reported so far, or the 89 used in our calculations, are only the tail of the animal, so to speak, and it is difficult to judge the size of an unknown animal from a piece of its tail.

Obviously, more accurate projections will become possible as more cases are reported.

Apart from purely statistical considerations, certain other sources of possible bias must also be recognized:

1. We have been unable to obtain a fully satisfactory estimate of the total number of miners. Although 4,797 miners were reported by the Colorado Bureau of Mines since 1961, the average number employed during the past three years was only between 700 and 800. Rates of turnover and the degree of mobility between states implied by these figures are difficult to believe without further evidence.

2. Radiation levels estimated for the earlier years are of dubious accuracy.

3. All but four cases are reported to have been cigarette smokers. (Smoking habits of one of these four were unknown). Unless a corresponding percentage of all miners smoke, any tendency for smoking to enhance the possibility of cancer would bias our estimate of projected cases upward.

4. For the sake of mathematical convenience, and because comprehensive historical records are unavailable, we found it necessary to assume a simplified mathematical model representative of turnover rates in employment. Fair agreement between this model and reported turnover data suggests that bias due to this source is small. (The only relevance of this factor lies in its effect upon the age distribution and normal mortality of the mining population, under the assumption that the expected number of cases is independent of the distribution of exposure among miners.)

5. The hypothesis that the total number of cases depends only upon the total number of working-level man months, not upon individual exposures except as they contribute to this total, deserves further study. We have adopted this hypothesis as a working assumption partly on Dr. Archer's authority and partly on the basis of our own *a priori* analysis of its reasonableness. We doubt that any probable refinement upon this hypothesis would materially alter expectations.

6. We have counted all cancer cases regardless of cell type. In the event that liability were limited to certain cell types, e.g., oat cell, projected costs would be materially reduced. (See Exhibit 2.)

7. We have included 11 cases in which much or most of the exposure was recorded as not connected with uranium mining.

8. We have not been able to classify miners so as to calculate projections separately by amount of exposure. A small bias results here due to differences depending upon the magnitude of the extra likelihood of death due to lung cancer, in the operation of normal mortality.

9. We have not tried to reflect possible variation in rates of lung cancer by age nor by smoking habits. The effect of smoking may be additive or stronger in conjunction with exposure to radiation, but knowledge of smoking habits among miners who did not develop lung cancer would be needed. Without such knowledge we can only make the subjective observation that proportions of cigarette smokers as high as 94 or 95 out of 98, as observed among the cancer cases, seem unlikely. As previously remarked, to the extent that smoking may enhance susceptibility to lung cancer and if fewer than, say, 96% of the miners smoke cigarettes, then the number of cases to be anticipated will be correspondingly smaller than we have calculated.

10. We have given no consideration to the occurrence of lung cancer in other than full-time underground miners nor for miners exposed to radiation in kinds of mining other than reported to us as uranium.

11. The assumption of $20,000 cost per case is to some degree arbitrary, being substantially higher than the average cost per case settled to date. This is less, however, than the maximum cost awarded in the case of Shirden G. Blood, a Union Carbide employee (I.C. No. 1–905–297, S.F. No. 153654) which amounted to $19,358 plus medical not to exceed $3,500. Considering possible future benefit increases, an assumed value of $20,000 average per case may be too low but we have not attempted to project the cost of future legislation.

12. Colorado's share of the total number of cases, taken here at 37%, is based upon the 1966 distribution of miners by state. The proportion of cases, ultimately chargeable to Colorado employers, under the present system of charging the employer responsible for the "least harmful exposure" will depend upon future geographical distributions and levels of hazard.

III. FINANCING OF COSTS

Obviously, the economic cost of uranium mined to date includes a large element not considered in the setting of prices charged to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for the product. That element, of course, is the subject of calculations made herein.

Its possible magnitude obviously far exceeds the ability of the Colorado State Compensation Insurance Fund to pay out of existing surplus. Hence, if we assume that these claims will be paid, it is evident that the money must be found elsewhere. We think that since the mining of uranium until now has been conducted almost exclusively for purposes of national defense, the full cost of such mining should be borne by the country as a whole. It follows that we believe the Federal government should assume these costs as they arise. This might be accomplished, for example, through the enactment of special legislation authorizing the reimbursement of state insurance funds (perhaps indirectly through their respective state governments) for payments made on lung cancer cases involving uranium miners. We are not attempting, of course, to recommend this or any other particular procedure but merely urge Federal assumption of these costs in principle.

Failing Federal assumption of liabilities, we believe costs should be distributed as widely as otherwise possible, i.e., by the State of Colorado. This might be achieved through an undertaking by the state legislature to reimburse the State Compensation Insurance Fund for the costs of such claims as they are paid. Without such backing or other relief, we must consider the solvency of the Fund to be gravely jeopardized.

If costs of as high as $8,500,000 through 1985 were to be met by assessment as paid, the peak burden upon employers for cases considered here would be felt in about 1979 with approximately 40 cases arising. Alternatively, if reserves to cover anticipated costs were built up in advance, the burden of meeting payments of the peak years would be substantially reduced, not only through averaging over the earlier years, in which payments will be low, but through the earning of investment income on reserves.

We do not consider it reasonable or practicable to finance these costs through insurance payments or other assessments to be levied upon the mining industry alone. We believe that to the extent that the Fund can obtain relief in other ways, customary rate making procedures should be correspondingly amended to avoid charging the full costs of these claims against the employers involved.

Whatever method of financing may be adopted, the immediate problem to be faced lies in the inability of the Fund to reserve now or in the foreseeable future for additional liability of the magnitude seen here as possible.

Although Section 74[81—12–7](4) of the Workmen's Compensation Act provides that "The sums provided for the 'subsequent injury fund' as herein created by this section shall be used to make compensation payments as may be required by the provisions of the Colorado Occupational Disease Disability Act," that fund would be unable to pay any substantial portion of the cases considered here without large additional revenues. Similarly large income would be needed to finance any special fund that might be created specially for this purpose.

IV. CONCLUSION

While not yet possible to estimate closely, it is evident that the cost of lung cancer cases among uranium miners will be very considerable if future cases conform to the pattern so far observed. This is particularly true if all cases that may arise are deemed to be compensable. Unless a substantial percentage of cases are to be denied, costs will seriously jeopardize the solvency of the State Compensation Insurance Fund. Indeed, potential costs of claims that may arise from exposures already incurred through 1966 far exceed the surplus of the Fund.

If all or most of these claims are to be paid—without considering claims that may arise out of future exposures—it is evident that the Fund will need assistance. We think such assistance should be provided by the Federal Government since these costs arise out of a national defense activity. Failing this, we believe relief through legislation by the State of Colorado is necessary, not only as the next most equitable solution to the problem, but to assure the continued sol-

vency of the State Compensation Insurance Fund.

Finally, we believe further study should be given to the question of causation and to the relationship between amount of exposure and the probability of lung cancer. Without such information, rational bases are difficult to find for the determination of compensability and for the allocation of liability between employers.

References

(1) "Lung Cancer of Uranium Miners on the Colorado Plateau," G. Saccomanno, V. E. Archer, R. P. Saunders, L. A. James and P. A. Beckler; Health Physics, Pergamon Press, 1964.

(2) Letter dated January 16, 1967 and Memorandum dated January 13, 1967 reproduced here as Exhibit 4.

Other sources, not mentioned in the text of this report, are:

(3) "Radiation Protection in Uranium Mines and Mills (Concentrators)", American Standards Association, 1960.

(4) "Analysis of Recommended Standards for Workmen's Compensation for Radiation Injury", U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1965.

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(6) "Concentration of Carcinoma or Atypical Cells in Sputum," G. Saccomanno, R. P. Saunders, H. Ellis, V. E. Archer, B. G. Wood and P. A. Beckler. Acta Cytologica, Vol. 7, No. 5, 1963.

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(11) "Digest of Lung Cancer Cases Filed with the State Compensation Insurance Fund," by the same author as (10) and of approximately the same date.

(12) "The Incidence, Nature and Adjudication of Workmen's Compensation Claims Involving Radiation Exposure and Delayed Injury," T. J. O'Toole (Studies in Workmen's Compensation and Radiation Injury, Vol. II, U.S. Dept. of Labor and the Atomic Energy Commission.

V. EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT 1

Actual and theoretical numbers of lung cancer cases among uranium miners, 1936–1986, and projected cost of Colorado's share

Period	Weighted index of the number of miners surviving each period	Number of lung cancer cases diagnosed [1]		
		Actual	Theoretical	
			Rounded	Before rounding
1936–41	25	0	0	0
1942–46	123	1	1	.4
1947–51	240	3	2	2.0
1952–56	474	6	8	7.7
1957–61	888	23	23	23.4
1962–66	1,000	56	55	55.5
Subtotal, 1936–66		89	89	89.0
1967–71	1,000	------	84	------
1972–76	856	------	267	------
1977–81	725	------	527	------
1982–86	616	------	315	------
Subtotal, 1967–86		------	1,193	------
Subtotal, 1967–85		------	[2] 1,150	------
Colorado's share, at 37 percent		------	425	------
Colorado's cost, at $20,000 per case		------	$8,500,000	------

[1] 9 cases, where mining started prior to 1937, have been excluded.
[2] Interpolated from graph.

EXHIBIT 2*

TABLE 1.—*Summary of 276 cases of cancer of the lung among uranium miners and other men, 1948–63*

Cell type	Resident in 15 counties				Nonresident	
	Group 1—Uranium miners		Group 2—Other resident males		Group 3—Nonresident males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Epidermoid [1]	19	37.2	89	73.6	25	67.6
Undifferentiated small cell types: [2]						
Oat	22	43.1	11	9.1	2	5.4
Round	1	2.0	2	1.7	1	2.7
Polygonal	6	11.8	5	4.1	3	8.1
Large cell (undifferentiated)	0	0	4	3.3	1	2.7
Adenocarcinoma	1	2.0	6	5.0	3	8.1
Combined adenoepidermoid	1	2.0	4	3.3	------	0
Alveolar cell	1	2.0	------	0	2	5.4
Total known cell type	51	------	121	------	37	------
Unknown cell type	3	------	28	------	36	------
Total cases	54	------	149	------	73	------
	Range	Median	Range	Median	Range	Median
Age (entire group)	39–76	54	31–88	63	36–93	65
Age (known cell type)	39–76	54	31–81	62	36–78	64
Pack-years, cigarettes	[3] 10–75	35	[4] 0–125	40	[5] 0–122	40

[1] The difference between group 1 and group 2 is at the 0.01 level of significance.
[2] The difference between small cell undifferentiated types of group 1 is different from groups 2 and 3 at the 0.01 level of significance.
[3] All smoked cigarettes, 1 not known.
[4] 4 nonsmokers, 6 pipe or cigar smokers only, 19 not known.
[5] 4 nonsmokers, 2 pipe smokers only, 27 not known.

TABLE 2.—*Summary of cell types of lung cancer of uranium miners matched with other men by age and smoking habit*

Cell type	Age-smoking matched		1 to 360 WL Mo. UGU [1]		361 to 1,200 WL Mo. UGU [1]		1,200+ WL Mo. UGU [1]		Combined UGU groups	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Epidermoid	32	62.1	8	61.5	8	42.1	3	[2] 15.8	19	37.2
Undifferentiated small cell types [3]										
Oat	4	7.8	5	[4] 38.5	7	[4] 36.8	10	[3] 52.6	22	[3] 43.1
Round	2	3.9	0	0	0	0	1	5.3	1	2.0
Polygonal	3	5.9	0	0	2	10.5	4	21.0	6	11.8
Large cell (undifferentiated)	3	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adenocarcinoma	5	9.8	0	0	1	5.3	0	0	1	2.0
Combined adenoepidermoid	2	3.9	0	0	0	0	1	5.3	1	2.0
Alveolar cell	0	0	0	0	1	5.3	0	0	1	2.0
Total cases	51	------	13	------	19	------	19	------	51	------

[1] WL Mo. UGU—Working-level months in underground uranium mines. This term gives relative cumulative exposure to airborne radon daughters.
[2] The fraction of epidermoid types among the 1,200+ WL Mo. group is significantly lower ($p < 0.05$) than in the matched control group.
[3] The fraction of small cell undifferentiated types among the 1,200+ WL Mo. and the combined UGU groups is significantly higher ($p < 0.01$) than in control group. This comparison is not significant for the 1 to 360 WL Mo. group, but is ($p < 0.05$) for the 361 to 1,200 WL Mo. group.
[4] The fraction of oat cell type among the 1 to 360 and 361 to 1,200 WL Mo. groups is significant by higher ($p < 0.05$) than in control group.
[5] The fraction of oat cell type among the 1,200+ WL Mo. group and the combined UGU groups is significantly higher ($p < 0.01$) than in control group.

* Reproduced from reference 1.

EXHIBIT 3

Comparison of accumulated working-level months and Pb^{210} in 26 lung cancer cases

Case No.	Pb^{210}	Working-level months
1	4.76	1,871
2	2.22	1,366
3	2.05	2,328
4	.69	150
5	10.00	1,843
6	.74	687
7	1.97	5,135
8	4.47	3,664
9	.95	600
10	15.50	3,643
11	5.80	1,432
12	1.43	1,800
13	4.10	4,354
14	2.50	2,868
15	9.40	2,892
16	1.34	1,778
17	5.30	2,864
18	2.94	851
19	.84	1,260
20	.03	383
21	.006	112
22	.77	920
23	5.23	4,310
24	.04	400
25	.36	1,200
26	.92	1,510
Total	84.36	50,221
Average	3.25	1,932

Note.—Coefficient of correlation, working-level months on Pb^{210}: 0.52. The coefficient of correlation of 0.52 can be interpreted to mean that approximately ¼ of the average squared difference between individual and average working-level months can be accounted for by variation in Pb^{210} content. Pb^{210} content is based upon bone samples.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE,

January 16, 1967.

Mr. HAROLD CLARK THOMPSON,
State Compensation Insurance Fund,
Denver, Colo.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: Our Washington Headquarters recently asked me to work out predictions of lung cancers that would occur among uranium miners.

The result of my efforts are enclosed. Even though this applies to the entire industry, I felt it might be of interest to you. I would have no objections if you wish to send this to Mr. Adler.

Sincerely yours,

VICTOR E. ARCHER, M.D.,
Medical Director.

PREDICTION OF LUNG CANCER AMONG URANIUM MINERS IN FUTURE

January 13, 1967.

Mr. Henry Doyle, Division of Occupational Health, Washington, D.C.

Victor E. Archer, M.D., Medical Director, OHFS, Salt Lake City, Utah

We now know of 96 lung cancers among uranium miners; the ones being diagnosed since 1954 are plotted in Figure 1 to give an "appearance curve". . . . Since the greatest number of men were exposed to rather high concentrations of radon daughters in the 1958–1960 period, and since the average time between start of mining and lung cancer is about 20 years, I have assumed that the present slope of the "appearance curve" will hold until about 1978 or 1980 at which time a peak will be reached and the rate of appearance of lung cancers will start to fall. Using this extrapolated graph one could predict the following number of cancers by 2 year periods for the period 1966–1979: 28, 32, 36, 39, 42, 44, 44. From 1980 through 1991, (which is more tenuous because it involves predicting the rate of fall) one might obtain the following numbers for 2 year periods: 44, 43, 42, 40, 38, 37. If we have actually missed many lung cancers (and we have undoubtedly missed some), then the slope of the curve will be a little steeper with resultant numbers being somewhat larger. Another factor which may make this curve underestimate the lung cancers is that the mining population was constantly increasing until about 1961. This method of extrapolating the curve is the simplest and crudest method, and probably represents a minimal estimate.

Another approach to the problem of estimating lung cancers in the future is to multiply the average number of men employed each year by 12 months and by the average Working Level Exposure for that year to obtain Working Level man months, calculate the expected number of lung cancers based on the graphs in my unpublished paper, and then calculate the time of appearance by assuming an average time between start of mining and lung cancer. Calculations for this method are shown on the enclosed Data sheet 1. Resultant predicted cancers and their time of appearance are graphed in Figure 2. Of the two curves on Figure 2, Curve A bears a much closer resemblance to the observed portion and extrapolated portion of the curve in Figure 1 than does the other one. I suspect that the peaks shown for both Curve A and B are sharper than they should be because of the simplified model used in their calculation.

The data and assumptions used in these calculations are as follows:

1. That there is no threshold for the production of lung cancer by exposure to radon daughters.

2. That the dose-response relationship between exposure to radon daughters is a linear one from zero to 10,000 Working Level Months.

From the above two assumptions (which are partially supported by data presently in hand) it follows that exposure of 100 men to 1000 WLM, each is equivalent to 1000 men exposed to 100 WLM each. This situation can be expressed as Working Level Man Months (WLMM) and is useful in the calculations.

3. In my unpublished paper the relative risk curve indicates that about 10,000 WLMM is required to produce a lung cancer. The incidence curve indicates that only about 5,000 WLMM is required. Consequently, in Data Sheet 1, and in Figure 2, both values are used. As indicated above, the value of 5,000 WLMM to produce 1 lung cancer appears to be more consistent with actual observation made on uranium miners to date.

4. That the median time from start of mining to lung cancer is 20 years with a normal distribution on either side of this midpoint. In calculating data in Data Sheet 1, to keep things simple, I have assumed that ½ of the induced cancers will appear during the 20th year after start of mining, and that ¼ of them will appear on the 15th year, and that ¼ of them will appear on the 25th year. This simplification may distort the shape of the resulting curves somewhat, but not greatly. As indicated above, I suspect that this simplification is responsible for the sharpness of the peaks in Curves A and B in Figure 2. Preliminary work has indicated that as the average intensity of exposure falls, the time from start of mining to lung cancer lengthens, so that we can expect this average time to be 30 or 35 years when the average exposure is in the range of 1 and 2 Working Levels. Disregarding of this factor will have little effect on the curves in Figure 2, except possibly in the period beyond 1980. Consideration of this factor might make the lung cancer rates beyond 1980 fall a little faster than indicated.

The above assumptions and calculations indicate that between 150 and 400 lung cancers will appear among uranium miners between January 1966 and January 1980, with the most probable number being about 300. A number nearly as large will appear after 1980 as a result of exposure already received by uranium miners.

A third (and much more complicated) approach could be used for predicting lung cancers which will appear in the future. This is an actuarial approach, which would use total numbers of men involved in mining over the period of interest, use the age of each, would use turnover rates and normal death rates to calculate in and out times for each man in an attempt to obtain average exposures. This method would then have to use the same or similar assumptions and data as that used above to calculate the number and time of appearance of lung cancers. This is, of course, potentially a more precise method, but the input data (ages and turnover rates) varies from year to year, and would require more estimates than are used in the other two methods.

The information and assumptions used in the above calculations are readily applicable to the problem of predicting lung cancers which will be induced, and their appearance among future uranium miners. Table 2 gives an estimate of the underground miners who will be working between 1967 and 1996. These are based on AEC estimates (taken from the FRC report), and assume that a plateau will be reached after 1980. The numbers in Table 2 are made on the assumption that radiation levels in all mines are maintained constantly at 1 W.L. and that 5,000 SLMM produces 1 lung cancer. For the 30 years (1967–96), this predicts 1,164,636 Working Level Man Months, which would be expected to ultimately produce about 233 lung cancers (*disregarding competing causes of death*).

In Table 2 are given the number of cancers that would be induced annually under these conditions. *The appearance of these cancers is calculated on the assumption that the mean time from start of mining to lung cancer is 28 years for this group.* The appearance of cancers was calculated by assuming that 1/6 appear at 15 years after start, 1/6 appear at 20 years after, that 1/3 appear at 28 years after, that 1/6 appear at 35 years after and that 1/6 appear at 40 years after start. The appearance of the first portion of these cancers is graphed in Figure 3, which indicates that a plateau would be reached by about 2008. Actually, the plateau might be reached at a slightly lower level because this computation does not consider competing causes of death, and the 20 year old men who started in 1967 would now be past 50 so that competing causes of death would be starting to become fairly important.

One can readily modify Table 2 and Figure 3 for different assumptions. For instance, if one wishes to predict the cancers if the level were maintained at 2 W.L. instead of 1 W.L., then the appropriate numbers can be doubled. If one wishes to use the alternate assumption that it requires 10,000 WLMM to produce one lung cancer, then the appropriated numbers should be divided by two.

Figure 4 is a composite of curves from Figures 2 and 3, assuming that 5,000 WLMM produces 1 cancer, and that Working Levels are maintained at the present level.

Using this method, *it makes no difference to the calculations whether the same men keep working for 20 years, or the turnover is fairly rapid. The same number of cancers would be predicted.*

The cancers predicted above are in addition to the normal "background" amount, so for absolute numbers of lung cancers, one would have to add the predicted number for the proper age group.

I have just noticed that *the number of underground miners I have used is a little smaller than the numbers used in the FRC document.* I really don't know why the difference. I had assumed that they would have used our numbers. Possibly one reason for the difference is in the estimate of men who are "underground". Some of our censuses failed to distinguish between surface and underground. Men who worked parttime underground were not always treated in the same way. My numbers were derived from our consensus, supplemented by estimates where necessary.

I hope this will serve your purpose.

UNREGULATED FOREIGN FISHING OFF THE WEST COAST

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and myself, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Enrolled House Joint Memorial 6 adopted by the 54th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

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

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 6

(Sponsored by Representatives Hanneman, Bedingfield, Boe, Detering, Elder, Gwinn, Holmstrom, McGilvra, McKenzie, Ouderkirk, Senators Chapman, Naterlin.)

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled, the Secretary of the Interior, and the President of the United States:

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fourth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas unregulated foreign fleets are fishing stocks of fish off the West Coast historically regulated by the United States, without conforming to this country's laws and regulations with respect to type of gear, permissible size of fish and other conservation techniques; and

Whereas 33 nations have subscribed to the "Continental Shelf" concept for protection of their respective native fisheries, and similar action by this country will conserve and perpetuate the great fisheries resources off the West Coast for domestic consumption and world-wide use of fish protein concentrate; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) We urge the Congress of the United States to give full consideration to the value of ocean fisheries to the West Coast, and to the Nation as a whole, and to take additional action necessary to preserve this resource. Specific attention is hereby drawn to the fishery procedures of foreign nations.

(2) A copy of this memorial shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Interior and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

THE DRAFT SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, an excellent article entitled "The Draft Should Be Abolished" by our able colleague, Senator MARK HATFIELD of Oregon, appears in the current, July 1, issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Senator HATFIELD properly terms the draft "inherently unfair, monstrously inefficient, and pernicious in its invasion of the individual liberty that eight generations of Americans have fought to preserve." Senator HATFIELD states forthrightly that he believes the draft to be "basically wrong" and that "we should get rid of it."

I share Senator HATFIELD's view and voted against the draft. Particularly do I share his view since all attempts through amendments to make the draft more equitable have been defeated.

I particularly agree with Senator HATFIELD's characterization of the draft as "pernicious in its invasion of the individual liberty that eight generations of Americans have fought to preserve" because our young draftees are subject to a unique discrimination not imposed on the men in the regular armed services—a distinction which I stressed when I offered my amendment to forbid the sending of draftees into Southeast Asia without their consent. That distinction is that when a man enlists in one of the regular armed services—Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps—he knows at the time of his voluntary enlistment that he will be subject to the orders of the Commander in Chief and must go where he is sent.

While many in the armed services and an increasing number, indeed, are revolted by the many inexcusable aspects of our military involvement in Southeast Asia, they voluntarily committed themselves to go where they were sent when they enlisted. The draftees have no such choice.

In short, they are subject to involuntary servitude—in itself a basic contradiction of all our allegations of freedom and democracy—compelled to go and fight people against whom they have no grievance who indeed are fighting for the independence of their country—and to be killed or maimed in the process.

It is particularly nauseating to see this slaughter going on, with the needless sacrifice of the flower of our youth in a civil war which the United States was largely responsible for creating.

The undeniable fact is that the United States was not attacked, and nevertheless unilaterally invaded an area where we had no vital interest, and when we began bombing north and south in violation of all existing treaties became the aggressor. So far this has resulted in over 11,000 fine young Americans killed in combat to date, over 60,000 wounded, many crippled for life—armless, legless, blinded—while we have slaughtered tens of thousands of civilians—men, women, and children—burning them with napalm, blasting them indiscriminately from the air, destroying their homes, making a wasteland out of their countryside—all this in the name of seeking peace and instilling democracy. Meanwhile the staggering cost of the war—over $2½ billion a month and going up—is eroding our vital and overdue domestic programs: health, education, pollution abatement, resource development, housing, slum clearance, the war on poverty, the war on crime and much else.

Over 3 years ago, in my Senate speeches in opposition to our folly in Southeast Asia, I gave my view that all South Vietnam was not worth the life of a single American boy. Gen. David M. Shoup, the retired Commandant of the Marine Corps, winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor for service above and beyond the call of duty in World War II, who has served in Southeast Asia and knows it well, went me one better by saying at a public gathering in California a year ago:

> I want to tell you I don't think the whole of Southeast Asia, as related to the present and future safety and freedom of the people of this country, is worth the life or limb of a single American.

His views and my views have been echoed by another combat marine officer whose letter was recently inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator FULBRIGHT. He wrote:

> Since returning from Vietnam ten months ago I have been following your public statements concerning Vietnam with considerable interest. I went to Vietnam, a hard charging Marine 2nd Lieutenant, sure that I had answered the plea of a victimized people in their struggle against communist aggression. That belief lasted about two weeks. Instead of fighting communist aggressors I found that 90% of the time our military actions were directed against the people of South Vietnam. These people had little sympathy or for that matter knowledge of the Saigon government. They are fighting for their nationalistic independence and whether they are communist or not does not detract from the fact that they are fighting for a cause that they believe in not because, as our government and newspapers would lead us to believe, because they are terrorized into fighting by the Viet Cong. People fighting against their will could not fight against such tremendous odds and bear up under continued hardship and privation. It might be interesting to note that the South Vietnamese has a miserbale fighting record despite weapons and logistics superiority. We are engaged in a war in South Vietnam to pound a people into submission to a government that has little or no popular support among the real people of South Vietnam. By real people I mean all those Vietnamese people who aren't war profiteers or who have sold out to their government or the United States because it was the easy and/or profitable thing to do.
>
> Much has been written about the terror tactics used by the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. May I suggest to you, that the real terrorists in Vietnam are the Americans and their allies rather than the Viet Cong! Of course I don't deny that some of the accusations levied against the Viet Cong are true but *from my own experiences the terror and havoc that we spread across Vietnam makes the Viet Cong look like a girl scout picnic.* Can you imagine what an isolated village looks like after it has been hit by over 500–750 pound bombs in a matter of seconds. Women, children, old men, cattle and every living thing is struck down without ever knowing from where their destruction originated. This particular village ceased to exist because it was in a Viet Cong dominated area and intelligence reports said it might have been used as a North Vietnamese regiment headquarters. *We never found any dead soldiers but,* as is the custom in Viet Cong controlled area, *all the dead found in the area were listed as Viet Cong killed in action in the official battle reports.* From time to time a story breaks about civilians getting killed in bombing accidents etc. but this represents a minute fraction of the total number of civilians that are actually killed. They forfeit their lives by living in Viet Cong controlled areas and resisting a government that has never done a thing for them. During my tour in South Vietnam I personally saw several hundreds of dead and wounded civilians; all had been wounded by U.S. Personnel or South Vietnamese soldiers. So who are the real terrorists in Vietnam?
>
> I also saw thousands of pounds of rice dumped in rivers and otherwise destroyed simply because some small unit commander decided that there was too much rice in this particular village for the number of people living there and therefore the surplus must be going to the Viet Cong. Here is some 2nd Lieutenant with a degree in Literature from Joe Dokes teachers college suddenly making himself an expert on Asian agriculture and family consumption patterns. These people had worked for months to bring in a rice harvest and their "defenders" had come along and destroyed it in a matter of minutes simply because they lived in a hostile area. Can anyone doubt who those little Vietnamese boys will be shooting at when

they grow up. When they are good and hungry and it's month before the next harvest they certainly aren't going to be thinking of us as saviors. This scene was repeated dozens of times during my tour and I'm sure it is still going on but on a much larger scale.

I would like to know why we are really fighting in Vietnam. The official views expounded by our government can't seriously be considered by any one familiar with Vietnamese history or who has viewed the situation first hand with an open mind. We are not defending a free people. Who can honestly say that the South Vietnamese people were ever really free under Diem or Ky? We have taken sides in a civil war and the only possible reason I can think of is that we have this paranoid fear of communism, no matter what shape, size, or form it comes in and we are rallying to support any government that opposes communism no matter how unpopular that government is among it's own people. Certainly I am not a pro-communist. But if that is what the people of Vietnam want who are we to deny them their choice?

So far in Vietnam over 9,000 Americans have given their lives. Magnify that number by a factor of ten or twenty and we might come close to the number of Vietnamese, both North and South, that have died. If this were truly a noble struggle to defend a free people then the loss of American lives and the casualties we are causing in both Vietnams could be accepted. But this is not the case and every American who dies in Vietnam has died in vain.

The truth about this terrible tragedy and horrible war must be told to the American public. Someone must speak up in the face of the lies and deliberate fabrications currently coming forth from our government. This brings me around to the real purpose of this letter; I'm sure that none of what I have told you about my own experiences is new to you. But I wanted to tell you that there are many, many of us in the military who oppose this war and appreciate your efforts to bring out the truth and get this thing stopped. We are not very vocal in our support because, as you know, it is perfectly all right for a military man to speak out in support of the war but to speak out in opposition would subject us to very serious repercussions. As I said there are many of us who are against our intervention in Vietnam—at the present scale; all three of my friends who went to Vietnam with me came away sharing my feelings.

At one time I thought I would make the military my career. But I could not live with myself if I stayed in the service of my own free will and was sent to Vietnam again to brutalize those poor people. I went voluntarily the first time; I could never go there again. The high number of resignations among junior officers, I think, could be a reflection of this widespread feeling.

It is gratifying to note that despite the tremendous impact of official propaganda and the more or less overwhelming support given by most of the press to our course in Southeast Asia, 24 Senators—just one less than one-quarter of the total membership—were recorded as voting against the conference report on the draft, and in the House 29 Members voted against the bill, which then went to the President for signature.

All honor to the 24 Senators and 29 Members of the House of Representatives. They will carry with them the reward of conscience, of knowing that they did not approve of compelling our young men without their consent to kill and be killed in an undeclared, illegal, immoral, totally unjustified, and monstrous war. Their fellow citizens will, I am confident, increasingly appreciate their courageous stand.

I ask unanimous consent that the article written by the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD] be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

THE DRAFT SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

(By Senator MARK O. HATFIELD)

For many years the merits and deficiencies of the draft have been debated by both the public and by Congress. On June 30 the law expires. It now seems certain that we will extend it—with some modifications—for another four years.

In doing so, we are consenting to a system that is inherently unfair, monstrously inefficient, and pernicious in its invasion of the individual liberty that eight generations of Americans have fought to preserve. I believe the draft is basically wrong; we should get rid of it.

With our nation at war in Vietnam, many will be horrified by this suggestion. But the facts are that, even with 3.4 million men under arms today, we do not need a draft; we can afford not to have a draft; we are long overdue in ending this invasion of the liberties of our young men.

The inequities of the draft are obvious. Critics have pointed to deferments that discriminate in favor of the wealthier and brighter young men who can go to college. Less-privileged groups suffer—including even people from other countries. I was shocked to learn recently that several young Peruvians who were here as students or on work permits had been drafted, and that three of them had been killed in Vietnam.

The nature of Selective Service itself has produced inequities. There are more than 4,000 local draft boards, each with wide latitude in interpreting and administering draft regulations. Indeed, there are no clear, uniform standards as to which boy is to be called up and which is to be left free.

Several years ago, when I was dean of students at Willamette University in Oregon I also served as military adviser. I could see how some draft boards differed. The members of one board, for example, felt that as long as a student was a warm body in a college classroom, he could keep his deferment. For the members of another board, it was a different story. The moment a student fell one one-hundredth of a grade point below the accepted line, away he went.

The most basic inequity of the current system is the fact that a smaller and smaller minority of our young men is carrying the burden of national defense. The principle of "universal sharing" of the national-defense effort—the principle on which the system was sold to the public years ago—is a transparent falsehood today. As President Johnson has admitted to Congress, "The unavoidable truth is that complete equity can never be achieved when only some must be selected and only some must serve."

Currently, only about 46 percent of the men reaching the age of 26 have seen military service. By 1974—at pre-Vietnam war levels—that figure will shrink to 34 percent. Even under today's crisis conditions, the military services draft only about 300,000 men a year out of a draft-eligible pool that totals nearly 12 million. I submit that we cannot tolerate a system that capriciously requisitions two years out of the lives of some young men while allowing others their liberty.

The draft has long been accepted on the theory that it is the only practical method of providing the military with the necessary quantity of men. This justification has served for too long to excuse national complacency. To be sure, the draft does provide the necessary *number* of young men. But the "success" of this system must be measured against its costs and inefficiencies.

According to the Pentagon's own figures, the current turnover rate among draftees ranges between 92 and 95 percent. Men who did not want in are naturally eager to get out. They are replaced by other men who do not want in. All these men go through the same cycle of training and assignment. Since it costs at least $6,000 just to train the average foot soldier, the total training cost for draftees now in uniform—men who will leave the service the moment their two-year hitches expire—approximates three billion dollars.

Even this sum cannot buy fighting men of the quality we now need. Since the peacetime draft was instituted in 1940, the nature of military strategy and technology has undergone radical change. No longer do we merely require large masses of GI's. Weapons have become more sophisticated, and so we need a higher percentage of specialized personnel who, in turn, require extensive training. The draft is not designed to satisfy this need. In fact, it frustrates it. The high turnover rate produced by the draft ties down many of the services' most experienced personnel, at least 10 percent of them, in training new recruits. Some 70 percent of the Army's enlisted men have less than two years' experience. At any given time, the equivalent of as many as 14 infantry divisions (210,000 men) may be categorized as students, trainees or transients. As Brig. Gen. Lynn D. Smith has noted: "As soon as we are able to operate as a unit, the trained men leave and we have to start all over again."

For more than 25 years we have accepted the draft as an immutable fact of life. Our keen sense of the value of liberty has been dulled by habit. Simply stated, conscription is involuntary servitude. It is complete usurpation by the Government of an individual's freedom of choice. As Daniel Webster put it—in speaking against a draft proposal in 1814—"The question is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered and despotism embraced in its worst form."

To my way of thinking, there should be one and only one circumstance when a free nation should condone the draft—and then reluctantly. That is when preserving the liberties of us all requires the sacrifice of liberty by some; when it is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that military manpower needs are so great that only coercion can produce the necessary numbers of men.

For personal liberty is not a privilege. It is not a concession granted by Government that must be paid for by military service. It is the guaranteed right of democracy. It must not be compromised.

The deprivation of individual liberty is not the only danger of conscription. There is also the danger that the Government may be unable to resist the temptation to indoctrinate hundreds of thousands of young men with ideas inimical to the workings of a free society. This attitude has been demonstrated by no less an authority than Lt. Gen. Lewis Hershey, director of the Selective Service System. Testifying before a House committee in June, 1966, he made this remarkable statement in defending the draft and opposing a volunteer army:

"I do not want to go along on a volunteer basis. I think a fellow should be compelled to become better and not let him use his discretion whether he wants to get smarter, more healthy or more honest. . . ." Now who is going to decide what is "better" for each recruit? The Federal Government? That is not the American way. That sounds like Russia.

For the past three years, the Johnson Administration has conducted a seeming end-

less series of studies on the draft. Last March the President sent his recommendations to Congress. Under the President's plan, deferments for all graduate students (except those preparing to be doctors, dentists and ministers) would be abolished. The age priorities for induction would be reversed; 19-year-olds would be drafted before 26-year-olds. The manpower requirements of the services would be met through a lottery.

A lottery! The Administration calls this scheme FAIR (for Fair and Impartial Random) selection. A colleague of mine points out that FAIR is really an acronym for Futile and Irresponsible Roulette.

The lottery approach does not remedy the basic inequity of the draft—the injustice of forcing one man to serve while allowing another man his liberty. As Bruce Chapman asks in his book, *Wrong Man in Uniform:* Is injustice handed out by a machine any more tolerable than injustice handed out by other men? Nor does the lottery method reduce the inefficiency of the draft, increase the quality of military personnel, or alter the fact that forcing young men into uniform contradicts our belief in the right of the individual to freedom from governmental interference. The lottery just makes the denial of personal liberty a little more arbitrary.

Obviously, the U.S. requires a sizable military force. The question is which system of manpower recruitment best meets our needs. The ideal system should provide the maximum amount of individual liberty; it should be fair; it should supply the services with the necessary quantity—and quality—of men as economically as possible. In my opinion, an all-volunteer military would satisfy these requirements far better than the draft.

Many argue that a voluntary system could not provide enough men at reasonable cost. The evidence is to the contrary. Despite the war in Vietnam, the Marines needed few draftees in 1966, and the Air Force, Navy and Coast Guard none at all. The only service dependent upon conscription is the Army. And of its 1.45 million men, about 60 percent are volunteers.

Critics of a volunteer military like to cite a Pentagon study which shows that 38 percent of all volunteers entered service only because they felt the draft was breathing down their necks. Even if this is true, the fact remains that we still have more men in our manpower pool than the military can possibly handle. Each year more than 1.9 million men reach draft age. Of these, even under war conditions, only about 300,000 must be drafted. Surely, with reasonable pay scales, fringe benefits and a progressive recruitment program, the military could induce that many men to enlist.

Another step that might be taken to insure the success of a voluntary system would be to accept many men who now try to volunteer but who are rejected because of "deficiencies." As General Hershey has stated, "the volume of requests . . . indicates to me that significant numbers of young men not qualified for military service really want to serve."

Don't misunderstand me. I am not suggesting that we lower our standards for combat duty. I simply feel that by adjusting our present mental and physical standards and by providing special training, we could enable thousands of "unqualified" young men who want to become members of the armed services to have that chance.

It also seems to me that the number of volunters actually required by the military could be reduced by substituting civilians for servicemen in many jobs. According to the Pentagon's own figures, only a small percentage of men are involved in combat. More than 50 percent are listed as "mechanics and repairmen, administrative and clerical, crafts and services." In June, 1966, Assistant Secretary of Defense Thomas D. Morris said that the Pentagon had already filled 74,000 such positions with civilians. We can do better. I'm convinced that we could hire a civilian as a bartender at an officers' club, or as a clerk-typist, for less than the estimated $18,000 a year that it costs to maintain the average foot soldier—the man who often performs these jobs.

Finally, under a voluntary system, the services would need to recruit fewer men simply because the turnover rate (which ranges between 92 and 95 percent among draftees) would be drastically reduced. Using Defense Department figures, Prof. Walter Oi of the University of Washington has computed that if all recruits were "true" volunteers, the turnover rate would plummet to 16.9 percent. An all-volunteer force would enjoy increased status, and this would encourage many to enlist without further inducements.

Some members of Congress are currently being influenced by a study submitted to the President last March. This report rejected the idea of a voluntary military force primarily because it supposedly lacked "flexibility." I submit that a voluntary, professional military force, coupled with a strengthened reserve system, could respond to a crisis more quickly, more effectively, indeed more "flexibly" than any force composed of draftees. As Brig. Gen. Lynn D. Smith has pointed out, 43 percent of the Army at any given time has less than one year's experience, meaning they are raw recruits. In the past, when confronted with crises that demanded an *immediate* build-up, the Pentagon has declined to rely upon draftees. During the Korean War, for example, more than 600,000 World War II veterans were called back into service while 1.6 million potential draftees were ignored. During the Berlin crisis, approximately 150,000 reservists were called back to duty.

Critics have also claimed that under a voluntary system, we would find ourselves with an all-Negro military. That argument has racist overtones. It implies that Negroes have different goals from whites. It denies all the progress that has been made in recent years to raise the standards of the Negro. Critics also say that a voluntary system would lead to the development of a military elite and would thus be a threat to civilian control. The danger of military elitism comes primarily from senior officers who are and always have been professionals. At the top we have and will continue to have civilian control.

The question is no longer whether a voluntary military is feasible or desirable but rather whether we can afford it. The Pentagon cannot say: Its cost estimates range from $4 billion to $17.5 billion. Dr. Oi has estimated that we would have to allocate roughly $8 billion for the salary increases to attract such a force. This sum must be measured against the economies that would inevitably result from a reduction in the turnover rate. The savings in training costs, material and maintenance, would be significant—perhaps billions of dollars. It seems to me that the economics of ending conscription may not be as terrible an obstacle as the draft's defenders insist.

We must have the foresight to accept logic over habit, reason over the retarding security of tradition. We must dispel the myth that the draft, besides being undesirable, is also inevitable. Again and again Congress will be asked to extend the draft. Our committees will provide one "study" after another. But the time for studies is over. In my opinion, Congress should enact legislation immediately to provide for an orderly transition to a volunteer military. It is never too late to start moving away from the draft—and toward the restoration of liberty, equity and military efficiency that a truly volunteer military would bring.

LSD AND OTHER HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, we have all read various articles in newspapers and magazines about the use of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs, particularly by young people. I have paid particular attention to these articles and to the efforts of public and private agencies to deal with the problems of illicit use of these drugs because I served on the Executive Reorganization Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee which conducted hearings into these matters a year ago.

As a result of an inquiry I received from a constituent and a subsequent inquiry which I made to the Federal Food and Drug Administration, I feel duty-bound to call to the attention of the Senate at this time an incredible lack of factual information in this whole problem area. We have practically no solid information upon which to base any judgments in dealing with the problems of these drugs. I feel the time has come when we must act to correct this.

The evidence which I have at hand is clear.

About a year ago, when the Executive Reorganization Subcommittee under the acting chairmanship of the distinguished Senator from New York, Mr. ROBERT KENNEDY, was conducting hearings on the use of LSD, I requested Mr. Jerome Sonosky, then staff director and general counsel of the subcommittee, to obtain additional information for me on illicit traffic in LSD and on control methods which were contemplated. Mr. Sonosky sent me the following letter, which is dated June 6, 1966:

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION,
June 6, 1966.

HON. CARL T. CURTIS,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CURTIS: Thank you for your letter of recent date. A fair review of our record to date indicates both a sad lack of accurate figures on the extent of illicit traffic in LSD and, at the same time certain exaggerated myths related to it. One of the myths, for instance, relates to the ease of manufacture. Testimony presented to the Subcommittee by FDA Commissioner Goddard and others indicates that the manufacture of LSD is a complex and sophisticated procedure (see page 114 of the transcript).

Dr. Goddard pointed out that while it is possible to produce the drug in a college lab setting it is hardly probable that the student would have access to the necessary equipment for the necessary length of time. It is imperative for college officials to supervise the use of laboratories to guard against this possible source of LSD. The problem of the relative ease of manufacture, however, does relate to those individuals who would establish illegal laboratory facilities for the purpose of large scale production. There were no accurate figures presented to the Subcommittee on the amount of LSD currently being produced in such manner.

The absence of facts about the illicit manufacture, distribution and use of LSD seems to be one of the few areas of complete agreement developed during the hearings. There was general agreement that LSD is easily obtained, especially in large urban centers. (See testimony of Cohen and Jackson.) Every witness agreed, however, that there was a

lack of reliable data on the extent of abuse. Beyond that no research was produced which shed any light on why students are turning to drugs. The implication is that research efforts have been confined to a description of the therapeutic use, to the exclusion of the "social side effects" which are attendent to these discoveries. The basic question asked throughout the hearings was whether the Federal government was organized in a way to enable it to meet and deal with scientific innovations and their social implications.

In an effort to obtain some reliable data Acting Chairman Kennedy asked the medical directors of 100 large universities to report the incidence of use as well as the adverse side effects. The summary of their reports is attached. You will note that the estimated use is less than one percent of the student population. We feel the reliability of these reports is reduced by the fact that they are made on personal college records with the consequence that the students have a tendency *not* to utilize college facilities. There is also the possibility that college administrators tend to minimize drug problems on their campuses. We feel, however, that these estimates are more valid than those made by the very antagonistic or protagonistic (whose estimates maybe self-serving).

With regard to the controls over bootleg manufacturing and distribution, the general tenor of the testimony leaned toward giving our present laws a chance to work (the Drug Abuse Amendments of 1965 just became applicable to LSD on May 17, 1966) before any move is made against individuals for possession. Many witnesses suggested that laws punishing possession would work to keep the college student away from the physician if he was having problems after taking LSD.

It appears that the FDA, under the leadership of Dr. Goddard, will move to control illicit manufacture and distribution. He testified that the present framework of the law gives him the necessary tools to bring this situation under control, and the Subcommittee will be overseeing the results of these efforts as the weeks pass.

Thank you for your inquiry. While we have no plans for further hearings specific to LSD, the Subcommittee's undertaking a broader view of Federal programs for the handicapped. We will continue to review the programs of all agencies as they seek to cope with the problems specific to LSD and to these broader considerations.

Sincerely,

JEROME SONOSKY,
Staff Director, General Counsel, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization.

You will note that in the next to the last paragraph of his letter Mr. Sonosky stated it appears the Food and Drug Administration, under Commissioner James L. Goddard's leadership, would move to control illicit manufacture and distribution. Mr. Sonosky further pointed out that Dr. Goddard testified the present framework of the law gave the Food and Drug Administration the necessary tools to bring the situation under control. Mr. Sonosky said that—

With regard to the controls over bootleg manufacturing and distribution, the general tenor of the testimony leaned toward giving our present laws a chance to work (the Drug Abuse Amendments of 1965 just became applicable to LSD on May 17, 1966) before any move is made against individuals for possession.

On the basis of Mr. Sonosky's letter nearly a year earlier, I wrote to Dr. Goddard on May 22 this year and requested a progress report. I sent Dr. Goddard a copy of Mr. Sonosky's letter and requested Dr. Goddard to give me his comments and opinions based on the FDA's experience of the past year. I further requested any additional factual information which Dr. Goddard could provide on the illicit manufacture, distribution, and use of LSD, since Mr. Sonosky's letter nearly a year earlier had reported the "absence of facts" seemed to be one of the few areas of complete agreement developed during the hearings.

Following is the very detailed and comprehensive reply which I received, under date of June 8, 1967, from my inquiry to Dr. Goddard:

FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., June 8, 1967.

Hon. CARL T. CURTIS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CURTIS: This is in answer to your letter of May 22, 1967, giving you a progress report on the drug, LSD.

1. LSD USE IN TERMS OF AVAILABLE STATISTICS

Unfortunately, we do not have reliable statistics on the amount of LSD used throughout the nation or in specific areas. While we have seen various figures quoted in the popular press in which the estimated national LSD abuse population ranges from one to four million, we know of no reliable information upon which such estimates can be based. The use of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs is not a violation of Federal statutes, but their possession and use violates many State laws. Our experience shows that, generally, the individual users of the hallucinogenic drugs make every effort to hide their use from enforcement officials. They normally came to the attention of the authorities only when they seek treatment for adverse reactions to the drugs, or when their use has resulted in suicides, homicides, traffic accidents, or other antisocial activities. In addition, the illicit distribution of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs is also an underground activity in which both the seller and the purchaser of the drugs take great effort to insure that their activities remain hidden from enforcement authorities, making collection of information extremely difficult.

We have not yet had time to design and implement a program whereby local and State authorities would report statistical data to us so that national figures on the magnitude of such abuse could be produced. We recognize that such a cooperative reporting program is needed to develop meaningful statistics on the extent of the misuse of these drugs.

While we do not have reliable statistical information on the general prevalence of the use of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs, we do have enforcement statistics bearing on the abuse problem.

From May 1, 1966, through April 30, 1967, the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control made 94 arrests for hallucinogenic violations. This represents over 36 percent of the total arrests made by the Bureau during this period. Eighty-eight of the arrests involved LSD and six involved other hallucinogens.

From May 1, 1966, to April 30, 1967, the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control opened 460 investigations which involved the illicit manufacture and/or distribution of the hallucinogenic drugs.

From May 11, 1966, through April 30, 1967, the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control seized hallucinogenic drugs in illicit channels of distribution equal to over 1.6 million dosage units having an estimated illicit value of over $2,000,000.

2. TRENDS OF LSD USE

Even though we have no reliable statistics on abuse, we believe there has been a significant increase in the use of LSD over the past year.

We also believe that there is a trend toward more frequent and scheduled abuse of LSD and the other hallucinogenic drugs. Although there does not appear to be a standard pattern from the standpoint of frequency of use, our experience tends to indicate an increase in the regular use of the drugs, e.g., weekly or monthly, as opposed to a previous pattern of only occasional use. We occasionally hear of the daily use of LSD by misguided individuals attempting to remain under the influence of the drug for weeks at a time.

We believe that there is also a trend towards the concurrent use of several drugs or their use on a rotation basis. We have encountered the use of LSD combined with other drugs such as marihuana or amphetamines. We have also encountered LSD and other drugs such as dimethyltryptamine, mescaline, marihuana, and amphetamines being used in a haphazard rotation fashion to suit the circumstance of the user's mood.

We are encountering an increasing number of clandestine laboratories in which the hallucinogenic drugs are being produced, indicating that the increased use of the hallucinogenic drugs is creating an underground drug manufacturing "industry." These laboratories range in nature from the very crude to the more sophisticated. For example, we have recently encountered several varieties of LSD tablets which have been manufactured in clandestine laboratories. The LSD tablets are being manufactured under bootleg conditions to satisfy the desire of users for a product they can purchase with some assurance that the drug has not been adulterated or "cut" during its movement through the illicit channels of distribution.

On March 31, 1967, a 1948 International truck with cab and insulated van was stopped by the Colorado Highway Patrol when it failed to stop at a truck-weighing station near the Utah border. This truck matched the description of a truck which was observed in Craig, Colorado, in the vicinity of a drug store that was burglarized. The Sheriff of Moffat County, Colorado, was notified of the arrest of the truck's occupants. The Sheriff obtained a search warrant for the truck to look for fruits of the drug store burglary. During the search of the cab of the truck, the Sheriff found a plastic bag containing a powdered substance. The Sheriff requested assistance from Agents of the Denver Field Office of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control. The powdered substance found in the cab of the truck, upon analysis, was found to contain 800 milligrams of LSD. In the body of the truck were found 550 LSD tablets; dimethyltryptamine (DMT); diethyltryptamine (DET); mescaline; the precursor for mescaline; and 20 pounds of powder which was identified as material one step removed in the synthesis of dimethyltryptamine. The contents of the truck consisted of various laboratory equipment, glassware, chemicals, and literature containing information regarding the chemical synthesis and pharmacological properties of stimulant, depressant, and hallucinogenic drugs. Some of the equipment in this mobile laboratory was permanently attached to the vehicle. Agents of the Denver Field Office, in effecting the executive seizure of the production equipment, also seized the truck. It is currently stored at a General Services Administration facility in Denver, Colorado. The occupants of the truck were arrested for violation of the Drug Abuse Control Amendments to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

3. EFFECTIVENESS OF CONTROLS

BDAC is mobilizing the support of State and local law enforcement agencies to help combat the problems of drug abuse. We are using our Law Enforcement Institutes to help orient police officers to these problems, as well as the *BDAC Bulletin*, copies of which are enclosed.

The control measures we are using are both direct and indirect. The direct methods, the enforcement activities, have been described above. The powerful but indirect and long range educational activities will take greater time to make their effect known, but we feel they are just as important as the criminal investigative procedures. Some of these educational measures are:

(1) The college deans program, which is a contract between FDA and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators. A national conference was held for 70 deans last November and these educators then returned to their seven NASPA regions to plan regional conferences which have just been completed. Approximately 1,500 college deans were reached through this program, and we feel that they are now better equipped to handle the problem of drug abuse on campus.

(2) Talks, addresses and speeches are routinely delivered by BDAC personnel, including those field agents whose cover would not be compromised by appearing in public. These are given to diverse groups, such as parents, students, educators, and teachers.

(3) We are now preparing a movie to be released this summer which we feel will carry the educational message to the students directly on a very wide scale. This movie will be called the "Mind Benders" and is being produced by Vision Associates out of New York.

(4) Pharmacy leadership conferences are periodically conducted and letters to pharmacists and pharmacy groups have been sent out alerting them to the problems of drug abuse and encouraging them to increase their efforts in this area.

(5) We are now preparing an extensive brochure on LSD for widespread distribution and feel that it will be an effective educational tool. It will cover psychology, pharmacology, the law, and provide a great deal of information while highlighting the hazards and dangers of abuse of the hallucinogenic drugs.

(6) We are also developing our own research program into the social psychological aspects of LSD abuse, especially among young people. We are vitally concerned with what seems to make these borderline or "hippie" groups tick and the role LSD plays in their culture. An understanding of their makeup will allow us to tailor educational efforts directly to them, increasing the effectiveness of our educational programs and providing a better understanding of such groups for our agents and other enforcement personnel.

4. NEW LEGISLATIVE MEASURES

Legislative measures currently in progress, or completed, are the following:

Some states have currently enacted, or are considering, their own bills for controlling traffic in LSD, among which are New York, California, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, and New Jersey. FDA offers assistance when requested in deliberations on such legislation and has proposed a Model State Drug Abuse Control Act similar to the Federal legislation, which states may use to pattern their bills after, if they so desire. A copy and a summary of this model control act are enclosed.

5. NEED FOR NEW LAWS

May I assure you that the FDA is watching the LSD situation very closely and continually studying the need for possible changes in the level of controls, sanctions, and penalties against both hallucinogenic traffic and individual users. At the present time, however, we do not feel we should recommend any changes in this area until we are able to determine the effect of the recent measures and programs set up under existing legislation.

Thank you for your interest in the problem of drug abuse control. If we may provide you with additional information, please let us know and we shall be pleased to forward it to you.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL A. PUMPIAN,
Director, Office of Legislative and Governmental Services.

As you can see, there is still a woeful lack of reliable information on the extent and use of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs.

I believe, Mr. President, that the evidence set forth in these two letters clearly calls for two steps to be taken:

First, the Food and Drug Administration should begin at once to compile detailed information on just how much LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs are being used, particularly on college campuses and in other places where young people congregate.

Secondly, the Government Operations Committee of the Senate should renew its inquiry into the use of LSD and companion drugs.

As I understand it, these drugs are not habit forming in the sense that heroin is. But there is a growing body of evidence that indicates they may be psychologically habit forming—that is, that habitual users lean on them as they would a psychological crutch. Therein lies a potential danger.

I have been told that as many as 4 million young Americans are using LSD either on a sporadic or regular basis. But there is no confirmation of this, no real evidence of the numbers involved and the amounts involved—either in drugs or dollars.

And there is no national assessment of the damage these drugs may already have done.

When I asked for factual information on the use of LSD and similar drugs a year ago, I was told that a nationwide survey would have to be made and I was under the definite impression that such a survey would be undertaken. A year later we are told again a survey will have to be made to assemble the required data.

I am highly pleased that, in response to my inquiry to the Food and Drug Administration, I received an open and frank letter from the agency detailing what information is available and admitting honestly that not enough evidence has been gathered to date.

It is time, Mr. President, that we stop talking about the need for a survey and start doing such a survey. Without exact information we very easily could be stampeded into taking action we might later regret. Conversely, without such precise information the Congress might remain inactive while use of such drugs became a national health hazard. In either event, we cannot act wisely without such information.

Some idea of the magnitude of the problem is indicated in the FDA letter to me. For example, from May 1, 1966, to April 30, 1967, 94 arrests were made in connection with hallucinogenic drug violations. During the same period, FDA opened 460 inquiries into the illicit manufacture and/or distribution of such drugs. During that year aproximately 1.4 million dosages of the drugs, with a value estimated at $2 million, were confiscated.

An underground drug manufacturing "industry" is springing up as the result of increased use of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs, the FDA believes.

The evidence indicates there is widespread, illegal manufacture of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs in the United States. In some instances, the drugs were manufactured in modern, well-equipped laboratories, while in other cases the laboratories were jerry built and poorly equipped.

FDA reported instances of mobile laboratories being found. One such mobile unit was stopped near the Colorado-Utah border because of a reported truck theft. The county sheriff found a bag of white powder inside the truck and called FDA in Denver. It was found the truck was a laboratory producing LSD for distribution in the Rocky Mountain area.

This type of cooperation between local law enforcement agencies and FDA is a hopeful sign. I believe that until we do get solid information upon which to base action, FDA is doing everything within its power to enforce laws already on the books.

At this point, I do not know whether new legislation is needed or not. There appear to be strong State laws and FDA appears to be doing a good job of enforcing the laws already on the books.

What we really need is a lot more information. We need to know all there is to be known about LSD, its potential hazards and its potential for helping the mentally ill. We need to know whether the drug has become a real danger or whether the threat has been overdramatized because of our lack of solid knowledge. We need to know how widespread the use really is, the approximate amount being manufactured and sold illicitly, the extent of use among college and other youth groups, and the future impact on our social system.

CLERGYMEN SUPPORT ISRAEL

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, more than 50 clergymen, representing Protestant, Jewish, Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Mormon faiths met recently in Las Vegas and agreed unanimously on a resolution on behalf of the State of Israel.

In a letter which accompanied the resolution, Rabbi Aaron S. Gold, of Temple Beth Sholom, expressed the fervent hope that our Government will act with courage in supporting freedom and justice for Israel.

This can be done only by guaranteeing Israel rights of access to the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Straits of Tiran as a member of the world community of nations.

Certainly, in its heroic efforts to survive as a nation, Israel merits the admiration and support of all of us for its courage and tenacity.

The resolution to which I referred, Mr. President, was read at two mass rallies in Las Vegas, attended by more than 1,500 Christians and Jews. It was greeted with standing ovations.

I urge all Senators to read this resolution of support for Israel which has the unanimous support of the more than 50 clergymen who declared that they "cannot be neutral where an issue of freedom

and justice is involved." I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

CLERGYMEN'S RESOLUTION ON BEHALF OF ISRAEL

At a meeting held on Friday afternoon, June 9, 1967, at Temple Beth Sholom, and attended by over 50 clergymen, representing Roman Catholic, Mormon, Jewish, Protestant and Greek Orthodox faiths, it was moved and unanimously agreed upon to offer the following resolution on behalf of the State of Israel, to be presented to the proper agencies of the United States Government and the United Nations:

1. We, as clergymen, cannot be neutral where an issue of freedom and justice is involved. We, therefore, raise our voices to state unequivocally that we believe the cause of Israel is just and right.

2. We favor direct peace negotiations and not an armistice between Israel and her Arab neighboring states, and that these negotiations are to be based on the fact that Israel is a sovereign state, meeting with Arab sovereign states, all participants having full rights and responsibilities in the international community. We further favor a permanent peace settlement as an outgrowth of these negotiations.

3. We favor that the old city of Jerusalem remain under the sovereign jurisdiction of Israel, thus insuring free access to all faiths, at all times, to the holy places located there.

4. We are in favor of Israel's borders becoming viable and defensible.

5. We hold that the following waterways should be international waterways: The Mediterranean Sea, The Suez Canal, The Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran, and we favor free and unmolested passage through them to all nations, including Israel.

Father James Adams, St. John's Greek Orthodox Church; Rev. Marion Bennett, Zion Methodist Church; Dr. Aaron S. Gold, Rabbi, Temple Beth Sholom; Rev. Douglas Harrell, First Methodist Church and President, Clark County Ministerial Association; Rev. Joseph Kohn, Cantor, Temple Beth Sholom; Father Tally H. Jarrett, Christ Episcopal Church; Father Patrick Toomey, St. Viator's Catholic Church; Mr. Reed Whipple, President, Stake of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Resolution Committee.

OREGON DUNES NATIONAL RECREATIONAL AREA

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and myself, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Enrolled House Joint Memorial 7 adopted by the 54th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

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

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 7

(Sponsored by Representatives Elder, Bedingfield, Gwinn, Hanneman, Kennedy, Leiken, McKenzie, Martin, Richards, Skelton, Wilson, Senators Husband, Stadler.)

Whereas establishment of an Oregon Dunes National Recreation Area under the administration of the United States Forest Service would end a controversy over the proper treatment of this area that has continued for nearly a decade; and

Whereas establishment of such recreation area would avoid condemnation of private property and the absorption of tax-paying lands by the Federal Government, which would deprive local government and schools of part of their support; and

Whereas establishment of such recreation area would permit continuation of revenues received by the United States Forest Service from the sale of timber therein, which would be discontinued if such area were under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service; and

Whereas establishment of such recreation area at an early date would permit the United States Forest Service and the State of Oregon to proceed with plans for additional campsites and other tourist facilities now delayed because of the uncertain future of this area; and

Whereas establishment of such recreation area would stabilize conditions in the Florence-Reedsport-Coos Bay area by removing uncertainty as to the future ownership of lands in and near the dunes; now, therefore,

Be it Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The Congress of the United States is memorialized to enact legislation placing under the United States Forest Service the area to be known as the Oregon Dunes National Recreation Area, located south of the Siuslaw River and north of Tenmile Creek. The Congress is memorialized further to insure the unqualified continuation of domestic and industrial water supplies within such area.

(2) A copy of this memorial shall be sent to the presiding officer of each chamber of the Congress, to the Secretary of Agriculture, to the Secretary of the Interior and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

FEDERAL COURT UPSETS WELFARE RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on June 15 I introduced a bill (S. 1949) which calls for a Federal statute to require discontinuance of State laws imposing residency requirements up to one year before applicants for welfare assistance to the blind are considered.

In a decision handed down by a three-judge Federal court in Hartford, Conn., on June 19 it has now been ruled that residency requirements—such as my bill would outlaw for the blind—are unconstitutional. The decision applied to a closely related area, that of aid to dependent children. If the State of Connecticut should appeal to the Supreme Court and the decision is upheld, it is likely that the objective of this bill will be attained through such court action. Whether or not that occurs, the weight of the decision is very strong as indicating the basic correctness of the view embodied in the bill. State residency restrictions are hampering, unnecessary, and inequitable as well as being, in the view of the Federal judges, unconstitutional.

In the majority opinion of Judges N. Joseph Blumenfeld and J. Joseph Smith, "the right of interstate travel also encompasses the right to be free of discouragement of interstate movement." As I said in my statement last Thursday, the purpose of my bill was based on the same outlook, i.e., "to remove unnecessary hardship for those blind persons who find it necessary or desirable to move from one State to another."

Mr. President, it is my sincere hope that the views of the court in the Hartford case may serve as convincing argument to my colleagues for the consideration and passage of my bill. I ask unanimous consent that the text of a dispatch reporting the case, appearing in the New York Times for June 20, may be reproduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

CONNECTICUT WELFARE LAW HELD UNCONSTITUTIONAL—ONE-YEAR RESIDENCY STATUTE OVERTURNED IN U.S. COURT—39 OTHER STATES AFFECTED

HARTFORD, June 19.—A Federal court ruled today that a one-year residency requirement for payments under Connecticut's aid to dependent children law is unconstitutional.

The majority opinion of the three-judge panel said the law was unconstitutional because the requirement violated the right of interstate travel.

The case arose after the Connecticut Welfare Commissioner, Bernard Shapiro, denied benefits to Vivian Marie Thompson last Nov. 1, because she had not lived in this state for a year. Miss Thompson has two children. She had been receiving assistance in Massachusetts before moving here about a year ago.

PURPOSE OF AID CITED

In its 2–1 decision, the court said "the intent of the law was to exclude from benefits those who came into the state for the primary purpose of seeking welfare assistance and it should be so construed and interpreted." The minority opinion was written by Judge T. Emmett Clarie.

The majority opinion, written by Judges N. Joseph Blumenfeld and J. Joseph Smith said "the right of interstate travel also encompasses the right to be free of discouragement of interstate movement. Denying . . . even a gratuitous benefit because of her exercise of her constitutional right effectively impedes the exercise of that right," the majority opinion said. Judge Clarie, in his dissent, said that 40 states, including Connecticut, have one-year residency requirements in their welfare laws.

ONE-MILLION DOLLARS IN AID INVOLVED

Francis McGregor, counsel for the State Welfare Department in the Thompson case, said he had not yet received a copy of the court's decision, but he believed that the welfare laws of the other 39 states would probably be affected by the decision.

Ten states, including New York, New Jersey and Rhode Island, do not have residence requirements in their welfare laws, Mr. McGregor said.

Mr. McGregor, who is an assistant state attorney general, said that during the course of the trial Commissioner Shapiro testified that more than $1-million in welfare funds in Connecticut would be affected by the court's decision.

He said "it is possible" the state may appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court. The welfare commissioner Shapiro is on vacation.

The majority opinion held that Connecticut states quite frankly that the purpose of the law is to protect it from "those who come needing relief."

Brian Hollander, Miss Thompson's lawyer, said that under the decision "no state would have a residence law in the area of welfare."

STRATEGIC INSTRUMENT MAY BE SHIPPED TO POLAND

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, just how far our Government is going in its ill-conceived bridge building to Eastern Europe through the suicidal formula of selling and shipping supplies to the enemy has been demonstrated anew by the Department of Commerce in a recent letter

which responds to my questioning an export authorized on February 1, 1967. The article approved for export is a Worden type gravimeter valued at $10,200, a pittance compared with the value it could conceivably contribute to Soviet missile experts who would undoubtedly have access to the instrument.

Because this exchange of correspondence strikingly illustrates the ineffective manner in which our export control program is being administered, I ask unanimous consent that the correspondence be printed in the RECORD.

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

JUNE 6, 1967.

MR. LAWRENCE C. MCQUADE,
Acting Assistant Secretary for Domestic and International Business, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCQUADE: This is in regard to the Department of Commerce release containing a list of export licenses approved for February 1, 1967.

One of the items contained in that release indicates that an export license has been granted authorizing the shipment of a gravity meter valued at $10,200 and parts to Poland. I would appreciate receiving complete detailed information concerning the granting of this license. This should include:

(1) The date application was made.

(2) Complete information as to the type of installation or institution which will utilize the instrument. The city or cities in Poland to which shipment is to be made.

(3) Detailed information concerning the accuracy of registration; that is milligals.

(4) Inasmuch as geodetic instruments are a source of data of value to guided missile trajectory determinations, I would appreciate knowing whether the gravity meter exported in this instance would qualify for such application.

If, in fact, this instrument is of military application, I would appreciate your advising me as to the rationale of the Department of Commerce in granting the license for export.

Sincerely yours,

KARL E. MUNDT,
U.S. Senator.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., June 3, 1967.

HON. KARL E. MUNDT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MUNDT: Your letter of June 6, 1967, to Mr. McQuade requested certain information about an export license granted for shipment of one gravity meter and parts valued at $10,200 to the USSR.

The information is as follows:

1. The application was received October 6, 1966.

2. The Worden type gravity meter was to be shipped to the Institute of Geodesy and Cartography located in Warsaw, for use in Poland in connection with a geodetic mapping project sponsored by the International Association of Geodesy.

3. The reading accuracy of the Worden meter is 0.01 milligals.

4. As you state, geodetic instruments are a source of data of value to guided missile trajectory determinations, particularly when supplemented by earth satellite derived gravity data. The major military gravity requirements today, however, are concerned with the effects of gravity on seaborne inertial navigation and seaborne fire control systems. The subject meter, however, is not a seaborne type; it is used only on land. The necessary geodetic information for land-based military systems also can be determined by Russian instruments already in Poland or by Canadian gravity meters comparable to the Worden meter.

Subsequent to the issuance of this license, and based on information supplied by intelligence sources, the applicant was requested on February 16, 1967 to return the license to the Office of Export Control. Currently, the license is pending further consideration. The meter has not been shipped to Poland.

Sincerely yours,

RAUER H. MEYER,
Director, Office of Export Control.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it is heartening to learn that the Department is now belatedly reconsidering its mistake. What I cannot understand is how the application can even be given any further consideration in light of the admission that intelligence information conflicts with the decision to allow shipment. As I understand it, assembly of an instrument of this caliber is such a difficult and exacting science that fewer than a score of sufficiently competent technicians can be found in all the world and that all these artisans are now employed by one or two companies here in the United States. I am very skeptical that equivalent instruments are produced in the U.S.S.R. or Poland. If they are, why would they be buying one from us?

I am deeply concerned that in all too many instances vital military and strategic goods are leaking through the sieve of our so-called export control program. Something must be done to mend our ways, particularly in these times when the arms and supplies of Communist nations feed the flames of war all over the world.

If this administration really wants to shorten the war in Vietnam and to restore an enduring peace in the Mideast is should summarily and definitely suspend, while the war continues and our American casualties continue to pyramid, all shipments of American supplies to the Communist countries who are giving aid and comfort to our enemy.

SCHOOL BOARD RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, the challenge to our educational system provided by the disadvantaged child is a tremendous one.

There is the financial challenge—where will we find the resources to provide every child with a first-rate education? There is the challenge of personnel—how do we develop a community of teachers equipped to meet the special educational needs of the disadvantaged child? There is the programing challenge—what instructional techniques and material can most effectively develop the intellectual potential of all children?

And finally, there is the challenge of outlook—when will local school boards understand they must provide compensatory programs to insure the quality of educational opportunity for all?

Mr. Bernard Lang, vice president of the board of education in Farmingdale, N.Y., thoughtfully addressed himself to this last challenge in a paper delivered recently to the National School Boards Association's 27th annual conference in Portland, Oreg. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Mr. Lang's paper be printed in the RECORD.

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

A CHALLENGE TO SCHOOL BOARD RESPONSIBILITY

(By Bernard Lang)

The disadvantaged child in our community presents a challenge to us which expressed in terms of his need is a plea to school boards and to teachers: "Listen to me . . . Look at me . . . Pay attention to me . . . Care about me!" *Care about me!* Do we really care?

Every school system in this country has always been educating disadvantaged children in a general sense. The educational, social and human imperatives inherent in the need to eradicate racial discrimination and the onslaught against the effects of poverty added a new dimension to what we had been doing. We were challenged to take a fresh look—and with this new vision to change our approach towards the education of the disadvantaged youth of our communities.

At the outset I must emphasize my agreement with those who believe that compensatory education is no substitute for integrated schools. The term "disadvantaged" however is not synonymous with ethnic identity. Those who are doubly disadvantaged because of racial discrimination present a special problem which can only be ameliorated by compensatory education.

The disadvantaged children who are or should be the concern of school boards include the racial and ethnic minorities, include those whose families meet the federal government's very limited definition of disadvantage—but also must include *all* children whose self concept, social skills and attitude towards school and society consign them to a cycle of defeat, resignation and dulling conformity. The child who comes from a broken home or the culturally deprived product of our intellectual wasteland may be disadvantaged regardless of level of family income.

All of these are the children who challenge us. How do we react?

Special programs for the gifted children in our communities usually elicit enthusiastic support from local boards of education. These programs are often status symbols. In encouraging our more able learners positive results are readily apparent. Programs for gifted children have the additional appeal of relatively lower cost. Intuitively we know that even if our curriculum is not meeting their needs the children involved cannot be hurt too much. The gifted, advantaged child will usually learn and progress almost despite some of our educational programs.

School boards have a more difficult problem with disadvantaged youth programs. These programs are invariably expensive. Positive results are not always apparent. The programs do not always improve the image of the board in the eyes of the majority of the taxpayers. And too often discouraging results can be the outcome of large expenditures of money and effort. Yet I am convinced that the accomplishments of boards of education must be evaluated by the degree of their support of and sponsorship of programs of compensatory education for disadvantaged children.

School boards must demonstrate that the principles and concepts underlying the special needs of disadvantaged children have worked their way into their day by day thinking and that the boards have the vision and the courage to respond.

There are boards of education who have refused to approve programs because to be effective class size would have to be limited to 15 or 20 children. These boards express their sympathy for the needs of disadvantaged youngsters but would not approve reduced class sizes without a corresponding reduction of all class sizes throughout the school system—which was obviously not very feasible. In other instances boards will only approve programs to the extent that they are federally financed. For practical purposes this limits their programs in many cases to "headstart" activities. I could cite many similar board responses but these are typical enough to illustrate the need for a deep and compassionate understanding of the problem. From such understanding must emerge an honest determination to meet and to try to solve the problem.

I am well aware of the large financial commitment involved when a board of education establishes a program for disadvantaged children. Federal assistance is limited in scope, hopelessly tangled in administration, and makes it difficult for school boards to effectively institute long range planning. A board may initiate a program one year with federal funds, meeting 90% of the costs, only to find that the following year federal support may be reduced to 80%, or possibly withdrawn completely. Federal aid should be expected by us, larger amounts should be allocated directly to local boards, and should be made available for an over-all curriculum. These funds should not be tagged for a specific purpose year by year. [Title I funds and programs gave many of us the impetus to get started and pointed us in the right direction. The implementation of Title I is unnecessarily restrictive especially in those school districts which have demonstrated a bold approach to curriculum revision.] But to return to the deplorable formula which equates children with dollars, it is apparent that despite the financial burden to the local districts and the inadequacies of federal and state support—the school board has a responsibility to the children of its community. This responsibility demands a complete program for disadvantaged youth from pre-kindergarten through the 12th grade—and this program must win the support of the community including the willingness to pay for the program.

Having said this I ask myself which programs and curricular a board should support or sponsor. There is no easy answer—if there is an answer at all. The literature on the subject of educating the disadvantaged is mountainous and the mountains are surrounded by hills of controversy. Techniques lie in the realm of educators—psychologists—sociologists—and are not the province of a lay school board member. Certain guidelines are visible, however, and have particular relevance to our discussion.

One of the conclusions of a Racine, Wisconsin pilot project is perhaps the most significant because in one form or another it is becoming generally accepted. This conclusion is summarized in these words: "One shot compensatory programs would seem to be a waste of time and money . . . revision over the entire school curriculum is a necessary part of any lasting solution."

Pre-kindergarten programs are essential but they serve only to bring the child up to the point where he can start kindergarten on an equal basis with his more advantaged peers. Too many school boards put all of their disadvantaged eggs in the pre-school basket. Unless special programs are continued at least through kindergarten and the elementary grades the all too familiar patterns of failure and frustration will again emerge.

There seems to be a gerat deal of evidence that compensatory programs to achieve maximum success should include some "more-advantaged" children in the classroom. The implementation of this technique is primarily a school board problem and not exclusively that of the educator since it again entails community understanding, zoning issues, busing problems and of course extra cost.

In my own school district I attended a meeting to hear a report on some of the methods being employed in teaching our disadvantaged children. It was most encouraging to hear that at the junior high level a program wherein a reading teacher was involved in instruction in each departmentalized area had proven successful. I was further encouraged by the result of a project which seemed to demonstrate that two teachers working as a team with 30 children were infinitely more successful than were classes of 20 children with a single teacher. However my enthusiasm was dampened when the dollar-child equation again appeared. The report concluded with the words—"Can we afford to continue these programs?" And we apparently could not! Perhaps less costly programs might be as effective but while we argue this question we lose the children who give us only a single opportunity to reach them and teach them. Unfortunately a twelve year old boy or girl is 12 years old just once.

There are many promising programs being implemented throughout the country but I particularly want to refer to one part of the curriculum which is rarely included in programming for disadvantaged youth and is scarcely mentioned in the literature on the subject. In many respects disadvantaged children can meet all other children as equals in the fields of music and art. This is true in the creative and performing aspects if not in what is normally and inappropriately called "appreciation." While education in the basic skills is essential we would be neglecting an important element in the education of deprived children if we minimized the arts. In my school district we have seen children who came from disadvantaged backgrounds learn to create—to write music which was then performed by instrumental groups—a dramatic change from the pattern of failure, frustration and non-recognition. In the arts the disadvantaged child will often contribute to the accomplishment of the group as an equal. I am aware of instances wherein musical or aristic proficiency was the key to educating the disadvantaged child—where a college scholarship was the reward instead of the more familiar rejection.

In the overall approach to a solution of the problem we are discussing this morning school boards have a further obligation. We cannot continue to do business as usual. When the geographic borders of a school district create lack of balance as to population or financial resources we should be receptive to and initiate changes which would improve education in areas beyond the scope of our existing school districts. We should explore cooperative programs with neighboring systems. We must not wait for citizens and parents to come to us in their wrath but encourage greater participation through citizen's committees whose recommendations will become an integral part of the board's decision-making. These are not easy tasks but nevertheless must be undertaken boldly and imaginatively.

In the literature, at the meetings and conferences, in the reports on educating the disadvantaged we are warned against being unduly optimistic as the result of apparent gains by pupils in pilot projects. On the other hand we are warned against undue pessimism as to programs which do not immediately bring significant results. It is all very well to weight the "should-wes/shouldn't wes" of a project—but I believe that it is even more important for boards to adapt and adopt an old slogan—"Don't just sit there—do something!"

We cannot await for eternal truths—these will never appear. The only ideal program is the one which seems to be the most suitable right now for the children we are teaching and helping today.

School boards must recognize that their main concern really is to assist each child reach his maximum potential. We must put an end to complacent and conservative attitudes—we must do less talking about meeting the needs of the individual child and more doing. We must be more concerned with children than with dollars. Only then will we be answering not some amorphous need—but we will be responding to the individual child—the disadvantaged child—the deprived child—when he calls out to us—the educational leaders of the community:

Listen to me.
Look at me.
Pay attention to me.
Care about me.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON, THURGOOD MARSHALL, AND AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the appointment of Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court by President Johnson should, on its very merits alone, be the occasion for unanimous congratulations on a splendid choice.

Yet, because Thurgood Marshall is a Negro, because he has been associated with the cause of civil rights, because we live in a time of the opportunity revolution, Mr. Marshall's appointment has taken on added symbolic significance.

Thurgood Marshall's rise to the Supreme Court means that, in America, it is still what you are, and not who you are, that counts.

His appointment means that a fine intellect, love of the law, stamina, courage, and dedication can bring a man to the top of his profession.

His appointment means that the American Negro is part of American society and not outside of it.

His appointment highlights the intensive "opportunity effort" which President Johnson has carried on for almost 4 years.

His appointment is a model and inspiration to other members of "minority" groups in America.

In short, as President Johnson said when he announced Mr. Marshall's appointment to the Court: Mr. Marshall was the right man in the right place at the right time.

At long last the United States is breaking the color barrier to service on our highest court.

There is no need for such a barrier to exist in our country, and we must still do much to abolish it completely in all areas. But much of our progress in making this Nation colorblind must go to President Johnson who has been the most effective civil rights President this Nation has known since Abraham Lincoln.

As one who served on the committee which conducted the hearing on the nomination of Thurgood Marshall as judge of the second circuit and was privileged to report the favorable action on that nomination for the Committee on the Judiciary. I hope the Senate will act promptly on this nomination.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD excellent and thoughtful editorials from the Detroit Free Press.

the Detroit News, and the Washington Post which praise the appointment of Mr. Marshall.

I know that all right-thinking Americans share that praise.

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

[From the Detroit Free Press, June 15, 1967]

MR. MARSHALL'S NOMINATION IS BOTH FITTING AND JUST

The court of public opinion will never believe that race played no part in President Johnson's nomination of Thurgood Marshall to become the first Negro justice of the United States Supreme Court. Nor should it.

Mr. Marshall's race undeniably played a part.

Doubtless the President, ever the canny politician, understood that Mr. Marshall's nomination would win favor among the Negro community and it has. The whole spectrum of Negro leadership is jubilant.

But Mr. Marshall's race more surely played a part in another way, for it was his race which drove him into an intense study of the Constitution. Combing precedents and finding them wanting, he probed the essence of the Constitution and poured new meaning into some of its forgotten and ignored provisions. Due process of law. Equal protection of the law. He breathed new life into these previously limp 14th Amendment phrases.

As chief attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he relied on the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence as well as the conscience of the American people to convince the high court that a Jim Crow interpretation of constitutional provisions may have been acceptable in earlier times but was acceptable no more.

Mr. Marshall won the original school desegregation case. He won a case forbidding restrictive covenants in the sale of homes and a case that opened primary elections in the South to Negroes and another which ruled Negro teachers must receive the same pay as white teachers.

Perhaps more as a result of his efforts than those of any other American, a largely segregated society was changed into a largely integrated society and Negroes acquired fundamental protections of full citizenship and found whole new areas of challenges and opportunities opening up for them.

So, race did play a part in President Johnson's nomination of Mr. Marshall.

And it is fitting that the man who opened a new world for the Negro in America by gaining precedent-shattering court decisions should personally shatter another by becoming the first Negro to sit on the highest court in the land. His work as an attorney and his later experience as a member of the circuit court and as the solicitor general fully qualify him for elevation to the Supreme Court.

The Constitution, as one of his predecessors on the court once said, is what the judges say it is and the judges in recent years have repeatedly said it to be what Mr. Marshall convinced them it ought to be. Our basic compact of government is not really the work of a small group of men and it was not actually struck off at any one time, contrary to popular notion. It is a living Constitution which has been altered many times by the people through the amendment process and many more times by the courts which interpret it to meet the nation's needs. In influencing some of these interpretations Mr. Marshall has already had as large a role in writing the Constitution as many of those the history books call the Founders.

It is not only fitting that Thurgood Marshall now becomes a member of the Supreme Court. It is just. Undeniably a Negro, he is undeniably one of the nation's foremost constitutional lawyers.

[From the Detroit News, June 14, 1967]

MARSHALL STEPS UP TO HIGH COURT

It was appropriate that Thurgood Marshall, who has made a career out of smashing racial barriers, should become the first Negro justice nominee of the United States Supreme Court.

Two years ago President Johnson appointed Marshall as the first Negro solicitor general, the third highest post in the Justice Department. Back in 1961, President Kennedy had named Marshall to the Court of Appeals for the second circuit covering New York, Connecticut and Vermont.

Marshall has been breaking new racial trails ever since he graduated from Howard University's law school. His first civil rights victory came soon after he entered private law practice when he won a case compelling admission of a Negro law student to the University of Maryland—which had refused Marshall's own admission.

But it was as chief counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that Marshall made his principal legal reputation. From that post he argued 32 civil rights cases before the U.S. Supreme Court—and won 29 of them. The most famous was Brown vs. Board of Education, the school desegregation case which repealed the "separate but equal" doctrine and opened the way for the integration of schools throughout the United States.

Because of his long record with the NAACP, Marshall is better known as an advocate than as a judge. Yet in nearly four years in the relative obscurity of the appeals bench, he wrote more than 100 opinions, not one of which was reversed by the Supreme Court. And if he's an excellent advocate (as some of his colleagues also were at their appointment), he now will have the opportunity to prove he can become an excellent Supreme Court justice as well.

One thing is certain: His appointment ought to be quickly confirmed. There should be no repetition of the disgraceful delay over confirmation that Southern senators caused before permitting approval of Marshall's nomination as a federal judge in 1962. The quick confirmation of his 1965 appointment to the solicitor general's post ought to set the pattern for this year's action.

Marshall's appointment once more confirms President Johnson's words when Marshall was sworn in as solicitor general: ". . . our nation has now progressed to the point—in large measure because of what Thurgood Marshall has done—that race no longer serves as a bar to the exercise of experience and skill."

In fact, Marshall's appointment is further proof of a fact to which his earlier civil rights triumphs has testified: Justice now is colorblind in this country.

[From the Washington Post, June 14, 1967]

AT LONG LAST

Thirty years ago, no one would have thought of suggesting that a Negro be appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Twenty years ago, such an appointment would have been inconceivable. Even five years ago, politicians generally agreed that the President who made such an appointment would be subjecting his political future to the gravest kind of risk.

But no President has put more Negroes into high office than Lyndon B. Johnson and his appointment yesterday of Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court was almost inevitable. It is a measure of the maturing of race relations in recent years that this nomination is not likely to be opposed, except in a few scattered places. And this should serve as a demonstration of just how rapidly race relations have improved to those Negro leaders who argue that their people can get their rights only through violence.

For President Johnson, the nomination is another indication of his desire to bring able Negroes into the highest levels of Government. He has prevously appointed the first Negro to a position carrying Cabinet rank. He has named two Negroes to the sub-Cabinet level in major departments, eight to Ambassadorships, 11 to judgeships, and dozens of others to major posts.

For Mr. Marshall, the nomination is the climax of a distinguished career. For many years he has been the Nation's leading Negro lawyer, challenged for the label in the past only by Judge William Henry Hastie, and in the present only by a rising group of young lawyers, too inexperienced yet to be considered for the Nation's highest court. Mr. Marshall was an outstanding advocate for civil rights in his years as head of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund. His horizons were broadened beyond civil rights when he was appointed to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals by President Kennedy. And his years as Solicitor General have certainly helped to give him the exposure to the many aspects of law that a Justice needs.

We hope the Senate will quickly confirm the nomination.

STOP THE STATES FROM TAKING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS MEANT FOR THE POOR

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in the 1965 Social Security Amendments the Congress included legislation enabling the States to disregard up to $5 per month in computing the resources of persons in need of public welfare assistance. Yet it is a shocking fact that more than 900,000 of these people—people so poor that they must have public assistance—instead of receiving even the small amount Congress thus intended for them, have instead been contributing the difference to their State treasuries involuntarily. A cynic might say that the 39 States which do this are robbing the poor. John Edelman of the National Council of Senior Citizens put it more politely when he said, in recent testimony before the Subcommittee on Employment and Retirement Incomes, that such States "believe in economizing at the expense of their poorest citizens."

Mr. President, I speak up today on this topic in order to make clear the full import of the legislation which I introduced on Friday, S. 1965. Let me first spell out the details of the shameful situation which is involved, the situation which demands some such remedy as the mandate to the States which my bill contains.

S. 1965, by coincidence, has its roots in the result of the Social Security Amendments of 1965. In that bill, the Congress provided for a 7-percent increase in social security benefit payments, with a minimum increase of $4 per month—sufficient for even the minimum beneficiary to cover, at least in theory, the $3 charge for part B coverage under medicare. It is difficult for many Americans, especially though enjoying property, to realize what a difference even $4 per month can make in the lives of the very poor. I recall letters from individuals, who felt that they could not spare the $3 for the part B premiums, needing the small cash income even more.

In passing that bill, we in the Congress made it clear that we expected to help such persons, not to replenish the coffers of State treasuries. We included in the bill a provision which allowed—but did not mandate—the States to pass along

up to $5 per month of added social security benefits to individuals by excluding it from income calculated as the base of old age assistance, blind assistance, and other Federal-State welfare programs based on need.

What has been the result?

At the present time, to the best of my information, only 16 States are passing along those benefits, intended to alleviate life a little for the very poorest. Of those 16 some do not allow the full $5 per month: Arkansas sets the figure at $3, Georgia at $4. I am proud to say that my own State of Indiana is one of those few which allows the full amount of $5 as an exclusion. Let me illustrate how this has worked, because the law does not mandate the States and is permissive only.

Let us suppose that a social security beneficiary has qualified for the minimum $40 payment in effect before the 1965 change. This elderly person's State—and States fix their own standards of need, which vary widely—has set a minimum need for such a person at $100. However, as President Johnson pointed out in his January 23, 1967, message on older Americans, and I quote:

> Twenty-seven states do not even meet their own minimum standards for welfare payments.

He also stated, incidentally, that in nine States the average amounts paid for old-age assistance are as low as $50 a month or less.

Let us suppose that this State, with its $100 per month standard, is one of the 27, so that in fact it allows its very poor, who must apply for public assistance, only $85. This means that, with no resources other than $40 social security per month, the poor person applies for old-age assistance, funds for which are also provided under the welfare section of the social security law on a Federal-State basis. The State, therefore, out of these funds provides another $45 of monthly payments for the $85 total, even though by its own admission it takes $100 for such a person to be minimally provided for.

Now the increase brings social security checks for $44 instead of $40. Theoretically, it was our intention that this would make it possible for every person even at the lowest levels to pay the $3 for part B medicare insurance without penalizing his already minimal income. Certainly that was, in part, the reason for the permission to disregard up to $5 in structuring welfare payments. But we did not require it, only permitted it. So what happens?

The States, which no one denies are pressed for funds, decide that since it is not mandatory, they will refuse to exempt any of the increased social security from the income base to which welfare payments are added. Now the $85 remains exactly the same; the only difference is that out of it the State welfare agency pays $41 instead of $45. In effect, the State has itself taken the $4 intended for its poor person as a nice Federal gift for its treasury. The poor person, rather than having the $4 out of which to pay medicare, winds up—if he is to be in the program at all—cutting down still further on food, clothes, or any other little expense he can live with in order to dig up that monthly $3. More likely, already cut to the bone—and remember that the total in nine States is $50 or less—he can not afford to join the program and so forgoes medical care when it is later needed.

This, I submit, is not far from robbing the poor. Certainly it is not in keeping with the intent of Congress in passing the improvements of 1965. It was never our intention to subsidize State treasuries out of these social security increases.

I have been speaking of a case involving the very minimum. The increase at other levels was 7 percent, which in some cases on welfare means considerably more per individual than the $4. The case of the State of Illinois illustrates the extent of the windfall to the States. With an annual budget of public aid amounting to $350,000,000, half is supplied by the Federal Government. The gain to Illinois by not passing on the $5 exclusion amounts to $110,000 per month, or $1,320,000 in the course of a year. Do the States need this money more than their poor? Where is the justice in this kind of action?

You will recall that the increase was made retroactive to January 1, 1966, so that when the first checks were issued to the recipients of social security raises they were lump-sum amounts for the accumulated benefits. In five States a quarter of a million persons had their public assistance payments reduced by exactly the same amount as their 8-month accumulation of benefits. One of these States later corrected the situation, however.

How many people are we thus penalizing? While the figure has moved up to 16 States which had adopted the income exclusion privilege by the beginning of this year, some indication may be had from an earlier figure cited by Mr. Edelman in committee testimony. In February 1966, when 11 States only were excluding the increases, the total number of persons in the country receiving both social security payments and welfare assistance was 1,014,000. In the 11 States which, so to speak, were wearing the white hats of the good guys, there were 138,360 such cases. That means that some 910,000 persons throughout the Nation were then receiving none of the intended benefits of the social security increases, not even the $3 increase which would pay part B medicare. The figure is somewhat smaller now, perhaps, but doubtless still around the three-quarter million mark.

At the time the change was made, a Wall Street Journal reporter, Kenneth G. Slocum, investigated the impact in St. Petersburg, Fla., where 28 percent of the population is 65 or older, as compared with the national average of 9 percent. Here are some comments, in which the meaning of the small additional income is poignantly evident. I quote from that article, which appeared on September 22, 1965, under a heading which read in part "Checks for Retroactive Boost Go for Clothes, Food, Rent":

> Gifford Adams, a former bookkeeper, will use his (retroactive payment) check "to put some new rags on the old frame."
>
> And a frail old couple here will use the money to change hotel rooms. "Instead of a $10-a-week room with cockroaches on First Street we're getting a clean $13-a-week room on Sixth Street. . . ."
>
> On Saturday, the prescription drug department at Webb's City reported business was 15% above normal, "indicating that some of these people had been unable to pay for prescriptions until the retroactive checks arrived," says James Webb, executive vice president.

If this is the meaning of the small increases for people who were not confined to the minimums set for welfare subsistence levels, how much greater the meaning for those who are—but who have been deprived of any increase by the loophole in the law to which I have referred.

It is out of this background that my bill has grown. We must not let such an occurrence take place again. Included in those for whom no gains were made are great numbers of the 380,000 estimated blind persons who are not gainfully employed and self-supporting.

My bill, Mr. President, would correct the situation by simply requiring that States must—not may—disregard increases in social security payments dating back to January 1, 1966, and including increases to be passed hereafter, when calculating income for purposes of determining welfare assistance payments under the Federal-State provisions of the social security law. We talk about the need for eliminating poverty, but when we pass a measure to upgrade the poorest of our citizens a little bit in this way we leave a loophole that gives the benefits to the States instead of the poor.

Mr. President, we must do better. We must not let it happen again. We must correct the inequities by passage of this bill, or one which will achieve the same objectives. To do less is intolerable.

URBAN AMERICA, INC.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the Federal Government has been so active in the field of urban affairs in the past few years that this activity has tended to overshadow the work that has been done by private groups.

One of the most dynamic private groups has been Urban America, Inc., with headquarters in Washington. This organization has attempted to assist cities that are planning for the future, and for a better physical, social, and economic environment in urban areas.

Urban America, Inc., was established in 1965 with the help of a grant from the Taconic Foundation. Later that same year it merged its activities with those of the Action Council for Better Cities. Its success has been due to James Rouse, its president, and this success will be enhanced by the recent appointment of William Slayton as executive director. Mr. Slayton was formerly the Administrator of the Federal Urban Renewal Administration and is one of the leading experts in the urban field.

Urban America, Inc., operates in five areas and seeks to improve: The quality of architecture, the exchange of information between cities, the governmental policies in urban affairs, the interest of the business community in urban programs, and the quality of low-income

housing. One of its most significant activities has been in providing technical assistance to nonprofit sponsors of FHA section 221(d)(3) below the market interest rate insured loans for the construction of units for those of low or moderate income. It has done this by providing technical assistance and information to nonprofit sponsors through its Nonprofit Housing Center. Its publications include Architectural Forum, one of the best magazines in the design and environmental field.

This month Urban America, Inc., has launched a new publication, City, which will be published bimonthly. This periodical is designed to improve the range of knowledge to the reader by emphasizing the full spectrum of problems which face the city. Its first issue is devoted to an excellent review of the important events of the last year which have affected our cities. I wish to congratulate Mr. Rouse and Bill Slayton for developing this vital publication, and wish them success on this publication as well as in their other activities.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a section of the first issue of City be printed in the RECORD. The section deals with the activities and purposes of the organization and the role City will play in them.

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

Urban America, Inc., last September welcomed some 1,000 specialists and citizens to its Washington conference on "Our People and Their Cities." Several of the speakers, in turn, welcomed Urban America as what one termed "a catalytic force" for improvement of the urban environment. The conference was called, in part, to bring new ideas and insights into Urban America's developing program. It marked a midpoint in the transition from organization to direct involvement in urban problems, a transition now nearly complete.

Urban America began with Stephen R. Currier's concern with the quality of life in cities. It was formed under a Taconic Foundation grant in February, 1965, through the joining of Mr. Currier's goals to the American Planning and Civic Association. In December, 1965, it merged with the Action Council for Better Cities.

Urban America's first 18 months were spent in a wide-ranging examination of urban problems for the points at which intervention could have most effect. By mid-1966, Urban America's program had begun to take both substance and a definite style. In June, William L. Slayton, former commissioner of the federal Urban Renewal Administration, was appointed executive vice president, and began to build the professional staff.

Urban America has been organized in five centers of activity. Three of the centers—for policy, design, and information—were established as key elements of the program early in its planning. The other two, for nonprofit housing and for business and development, grew from the Action merger.

Each center has its own staff and its own particular constituency. But the lines of responsibility are thoroughly interlaced. Urban America has been made a flexible instrument, responsive to the changing problems and opportunities presented by the cities. The following are some to which Urban America responded in its first full year of operation.

DESIGN

In a remarkable appendix to the Logue report on the development functions of New York City, Architect-Planner David Crane of University of Pennsylvania examined with surgical precision the reasons design quality is so low on the list of concerns of those who build cities. Simply stated, the reasons were two: first, that design is regarded as an optional extra and has no established place on the agenda of developmental decision-making; and second, that designers are untrained and unpracticed in working at bigger-than-building scale.

The Urban Design Center, now in the process of completing its staff, will direct its program to the removal of both these obstacles. It will not itself undertake design, but will work to inject design concern into the decision-making structure. It will seek to develop new techniques, and refine old ones, for the selection and application of design talent to urban-scale projects. At the same time, it will encourage the preparation of designers, and of the design process, to deal competently with these larger and vastly more complicated tasks.

Architectural design and its application to the urban scene were, of course, the subjects of the first project undertaken by Urban America, Inc.: publication of The Architectural Forum. The relationship between Forum and Urban America is a unique one. The magazine enjoys complete editorial independence, within the broad charter of helping prepare the architectural profession for a more effective role in shaping the urban environment. It has used that independence to become a lively, often controversial editorial force—and the nation's most thoroughly read and respected journal of architectural and urban design.

In addition to presentation and criticism of major buildings, Forum regularly covers broader environmental issues. Thus, in the past year, it was the first national magazine to examine—and deplore—the single-mindedness of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System's planners. "Unless changes are made in its procedures," said Forum, "BART's shiny trains will pass through an environment that is worse, not better, for its presence." Two months later BART's design consultants resigned, making some of the same charges in their departing statements.

FORUM also published the first detailed report on the Summer Study on Science and Urban Development, sponsored by HUD and others at Woods Hole, Mass. Its continuing series of analyses of significant urban design projects ranged from the Lower Manhattan Plan and Philadelphia's Market East to what it termed a "mini-core" for the small community of Rockville, Md. FORUM's reach also extended to the social problems of the city: in November, it found a direct link between design and the conflict that surrounded the opening of Intermediate School 201 in Harlem over the issues of integration and community control.

DEVELOPMENT

At its mid-January meeting, Urban America's Board of Trustees approved creation of a Business and Development Center as an expansion of the Redevelopment Division that had been part of ACTION. More than just a minor matter of organization, the change signified the current search for new forms of private involvement in urban development. Previously, private capital had entered the city-building process mainly through the urban renewal program and the activities of their developers. Now other corporations were entering the process in other ways.

A prospectus outlining the need for the new Center recognized "the infusion of new resources into the job of building and rebuilding America: large amounts of capital and managerial and research talent from large corporations." The prospectus said that the Center's program of analyses, publications, and information services would attempt to show how the needs of cities could be made a market for business innovation. The objective would be "to build bridges between planning and development, private initiative and governmental power, the technician and the layman, the profit and nonprofit operation."

The agenda of the Center's annual development forum in January suggested the scope of its activities. At that two-day session, more than 120 delegates got a glimpse of the "state of the art" of new town building, plus insight into techniques for adapting the systems approach to community development. George Bogard of General Electric described the rationale for his company's decision to build new cities of 100,000 population; John Eberhard made a strong appeal to industry to help broaden the research base for the next stage of technological development and thus enhance the physical plant we leave for the next generation; investment banker John G. Heimann suggested how new sources might be tapped to take the peaks and dips out of the flow of money for housing loans.

Early in 1966, the Center organized a task force to review FHA procedures on multifamily mortgage insurance. Task force members visited 11 FHA local offices, and produced eight recommendations for streamlining the agency's procedures.

The Center held lecture-workshops last year at Berkeley, Calif., and Princeton, N.J., that were attended by more than 300 builders, developers, lawyers, architects and representatives of nonprofit organizations. These sessions provided briefings by authorities on the intricacies of financing housing for lower-income families under the federal 221d3 and rent supplement programs and on public-housing innovations such as the turnkey and leased-housing programs. Superior urban design for renewal projects was the goal of a separate lecture-workshop at Princeton.

Administrative responsibility for the National Action Council also belongs to the Business and Development Center. The Council, made up of more than 100 prominent business and professional men, was established as a forum for the debate of national urban issues.

POLICY

Last November, the electorate took a sharp turn to the right. Analysts added up the projectable attitudes of the 90th Congress, and concluded that the model cities and rent supplement programs, were they to be introduced this year rather than last, would have virtually no chance of passage. Prospects for the funding of these programs and the launching of new ones seemed glum; only the nation's mayors were talking determinedly about pressing for further urban advances, and they were vulnerable to the charge of special pleading.

In January, Urban America invited the mayors of a cross-section of major cities to a series of Washington meetings from which emerged two plans for action. One was for the formation of an urban coalition, composed of groups that share a major stake in cities. The other was for the creation of an Urban Economic Council which would examine and evaluate the impact of economic policies on urban areas.

Urban America is now working with a steering committee of mayors to bring together spokesmen for components of the coalition—business, education, civil rights groups, labor unions, and religious organizations. Meetings with each of these groups are aimed at developing an agenda for an increased national commitment—federal, state, and private—to the cities.

The Urban Economic Council will be made up of three nationally recognized economists. It will be asked to establish a two-way channel between national and local economic policies. On one hand, it will provide a detailed analysis of urban needs and propose the necessary administrative and budgetary measures to meet them. On the other hand, it will translate the potential effects of

alternative national policies on local programs.

The Council will appraise the allocation of economic resources and priorities for federal expenditures, assigning the relative importance of urban programs to other national needs. It also will appraise the economic importance of the programs and expenditures of local governments to the national economy, and the potential impact of business fluctuations on cities.

The Council's first report, to be prepared by an established private, nonprofit agency, will provide quantitative estimates to 1975 of urban expenditures and urban requirements under a variety of possible situations. The study will trace historical trends of federal, state, and local expenditures on programs that are totally urban, such as mass transit; those that are totally non urban, such as defense; and those that have characteristics of both, such as highways.

Reports of the Council will be issued from the Urban Policy Center, which will coordinate the research and writing with assistance from consultants. The Policy Center, last of Urban America's components to be staffed, will focus attention on other major issues as well. It might, for example, seek ways to channel metropolitan development in coherent patterns; or propose policies to encourage urban growth in optimal locations; or ask publicly how it might be possible to achieve equitable distribution of population in metropolitan areas by race and income. Through seminars and papers, the Center will invite to such issues national discussion and debate.

HOUSING

Steadily, in recent years, the flow of federal encouragement to nonprofit sponsors of low- and moderate-income housing has increased. Today, nonprofit sponsors have a wide and flexible range of assistance programs to use in building, and they are using them: some 60 percent of all housing constructed under the Section 221d3 program of low-rate mortgage loans is the work of nonprofit sponsors. Some have become expert in the process, or have readily available expertise they can tap. Others, particularly first-time sponsors, are lost in the jungle of complications surrounding housing development.

The prime objective of the Nonprofit Housing Center is to help the latter group, and help it does: in the period covered by its latest bimonthly report, it responded to 170 letters asking information or technical assistance. A growing number were from communities interested in organizing private development funds or nonprofit housing corporations.

The Center was created in 1965 as the Local Development Services Division of ACTION under a Ford Foundation grant that was renewed last fall. In October, it entered into an agreement with the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Church to encourage and assist religious groups interested in housing sponsorship, with each denomination contributing $25,000.

The Nonprofit Housing Center is the most fully operational of Urban America's components, with four regional offices in addition to its headquarters staff. Requests for its technical assistance come from a wide range of organizations in major metropolitan areas—and also from places such as Mercedes, Texas (population 15,000), where the Roman Catholic diocese is sponsoring a 100-unit rent supplement project. In the Watts area of Los Angeles, the Center is working with a group of nonprofit sponsors on a development plan and program for construction of new housing on a vacant 116-acre site.

In addition to local church and community groups, the Center's clientele extends from the National Association of Manufacturers to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Dr. Martin Luther King. NAM's Center for Independent Action asked assistance in studying the feasibility of a privately financed rehabilitation program in Indianapolis, Indiana. For Dr. King's organization, the Nonprofit Housing Center is investigating the possibility of establishing a Southeastern Housing Development Corporation to sponsor low-income dwellings in an eight-state area. Preliminary discussions also are being held with the Appalachian Regional Commission on a multistate housing program, and with the Office of Economic Opportunity on its efforts to form housing development corporations with direct involvement of the poor themselves in their operation.

To extend its assistance beyond what a single staff can provide on a project-by-project basis, the Center maintains a program of publications and conferences. It is about to begin a series of six regional meetings of potential nonprofit sponsors, with cooperation of the Federal Housing Administration. The sessions will deal with a variety of new housing tools, and will include case studies on local projects.

To expand the nation's stock of expertise, the Nonprofit Housing Center and the church-supported Urban Training Center of Chicago are investigating the possibility of holding one-week orientation sessions and intensive two-week seminars in federal housing programs. The Nonprofit Housing Center and the U.S. Office of Education also are exploring the prospect of developing a national training program for nonprofit housing sponsors and corporations, in cooperation with several universities across the country.

INFORMATION

The services that the city requires of its professionals increasingly are cross-disciplinary services. The model cities program, with its demands for the melding of social concern with physical planning and design, only formalizes a trend toward realization that one set of skills is not sufficient in dealing with the complexity of development problems. But collaboration among disciplines requires that each know the thinking, the mode of practice, the state of research in the others. There are at present few effective means of exchanging this information, except under the pressures of the problem at hand.

In an attempt to fill this need, the Urban Information Center will launch City, a bimonthly review of urban affairs. This annual report is, in a sense, the first issue of City, introducing its size, typography, tone, and range of content. The annual report is more heavily illustrated, however: City's plus-or-minus 24 pages per issue will consist mainly of relatively brief reports and summaries, organized by sections.

City will be the major headquarters publication of Urban America, reporting its activities in the context of urban events and thought, and prime outlet for the information-gathering function that is the Center's basic task. The Center also will continue Urban America's series of special reports, which in the past year have included a *Chart Book* of graphically depicted statistics on the urban environment; *Five Speeches*, reproducing in permanent form major addresses from the September conference; *The Troubled Environment*, the paperback proceedings of an important 1965 symposium; and a series of guidebooks and analyses produced by the Nonprofit Housing Center.

Issued concurrently with this annual report are Wilfred Owen's colorful *Fable* on urban transportation; and John G. Heimann's paper *The Necessary Revolution in Housing Finance* from the January forum of the Business and Development Center. In preparation are publications on topics ranging from open space, to the reorganization of urban governments, to the design and workings of fountains, to case histories of low- and moderate-income housing, to a colloquy on urban design that was part of the legislative history of model cities.

These publications, and City, are mainly directed to urban specialists. To increase and inform the interest of the general public, the Center acts as a reference service for the press, radio, and television. Regular contact is maintained with urban affairs editors and writers on newspapers throughout the nation. The reference function of the Center also serves as a resource for Urban America's 80 Local Group Associates, the citizens' and business organizations that are on the firing line of urban issues. Plans are now under way both to increase the number of these affiliates and the exchange of information among them through Urban America.

THE PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, one of the finest journals of public opinion in the United States is the Progressive magazine. Founded in 1909 by the late Robert M. La Follette, it has continued to be unruffled by the—at times—more popular majority view. It has continued to serve for almost 60 years as a source of independent, thoughtful, and responsible comment on public issues facing our Nation.

I am proud to say that the Progressive, ably edited by Mr. Morris H. Rubin, is still published in Madison, Wis. Through the publication of its editorials and articles the Progressive magazine has certainly lived up to the tradition endorsed by the late Senator La Follette as stated at the beginning of each lead editorial: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

In the July issue appear articles worthy of being read by my colleagues. "War and Peace in the Middle East" is a brilliant editorial analysis of the Arab-Israel confict. I suggest that an article by my distinguished colleague, Senator YOUNG of Ohio, entitled "The New Democracy in Vietnam," should be read by the entire Senate. A short editorial entitled "Morgan Moves Up" calls attention to the loss of Edward P. Morgan to the radio networks. Mr. Morgan leaves a void which will not be easily filled when he moves to National Education Television on a 2-year leave of absence. The Progressive correctly states that his 12 years of broadcasting for the AFL–CIO stand as "models of perception, clarity, and courage."

I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Progressive magazine, July 1967]

WAR AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Hostilities in the Middle East had come to an end as this was written. Israel arms were brilliantly triumphant on every front. Greatly outnumbered and forced to fight simultaneously on three or four fronts, the Israelis destroyed much of the shiny new military hardware given the Arabs by the Soviets and, in the process, shattered the morale of the Arabs who, only a few days before, had been whipped into a frenzied mob clamoring for a holy war to exterminate Israel.

The speed and scope of the Israeli triumph stunned the whole world. Now comes the hard and heavy task of building a peace—a peace that may be more difficult to achieve as a result of the very magnitude of Israel's victory. Bitterness and hate are everywhere. Despair and devastation dominate the Arab countryside. None of the basic causes of conflict has been resolved by the success of Israel's arms.

This is the moment when the leaders and people of Israel must exercise extraordinary restraint, as some are. Some hot-headed Israelis, however, may continue to demand the spoils of victory, but the only meaningful fruit of military success for Israel is a peace settlement that makes possible the patient pursuit of reconciliation with the Arab world. As the late Albert Einstein once said: "Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding."

When hostilities broke out June 5, each side accused the other of firing the first shot. We tend to agree with Tom Wicker of the strongly pro-Israeli *New York Times* that while history may never be able to make an exact determination, "the presumptive evidence is that the Israelis launched the actual fighting."

This is not to brand Israel as the aggressor on the basis of the evidence available to us up to now. If she did fire the first shot, it was only after intense and deliberate provocation by Arab leaders—and several weeks of fruitless haggling by the Great Powers and frustrating paralysis in the United Nations. Encircled by a bitterly hostile Arab world vowing her destruction, confronted with hastily rigged military alliances between previously feuding Arab nations, faced with total Arab mobilization after the expulsion of the United Nations Emergency Force from Egypt, denied innocent passage to and from her vital port of Elath, convinced that her very survival was at stake, and left largely alone in her agony by the rest of the world—Israel showed great and commendable restraint until the guns went off.

In longer-range terms, none of the three actors in the current crisis—the Great Powers, Israel, and the Arab world—came into the court of world opinion with spotless hands. Each contributed some of the matches and the tinder that ignited the fire which threatened for a time to run out of control. Consider the roles each has played:

One. The Great Powers, expressing shock and dismay at first over the war hysteria and then over the war itself that swept through the Middle East, were guilty of massive hypocrisy. For it was they who had raced each other to provide the arms, without which a military confrontation would have been impossible. The Soviet Union had poured hundreds of millions of dollars worth of weapons into the trigger-happy hands of the Egyptians and the Syrians. France had sold a sizable arsenal to the understandably anxiety-ridden Israelis. Great Britain had deposited nearly a quarter of a billion dollars worth of military hardware in the oil-rich country of Saudi Arabia. And the United States, true to its tradition of free enterprise, had supplied mountains of arms to *both* sides. Altogether, a recent *London Times* study showed, the nations of Europe and North America have poured almost *$3 billion* in armaments into this highly inflammable region since World War II.

All the Great Powers, moreover, were guilty of failing, despite repeated warnings, to come to grips, either in the United Nations or through Four Power talks, with the basic issues which almost everyone knew must one day explode in violent confrontation. The Soviets played an especially dangerous game in encouraging Nasser and other Arab adventurers. And the United States, obsessed as always with deepening escalation in Vietnam, ignored the danger signals flashing in the Middle East. Indeed, for nearly six months President Johnson left vacant the key post of Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East. When he finally filled the position by giving the job to his ambassador to the UAR, he left Cairo without an American ambassador for eleven weeks just at the time Nasser was brewing his new crisis.

Two. Israel, obliged by hostile encirclement to play a lonely game, has overplayed her hand on occasion. She refused, for example, for reasons that seem to us false pride, to permit a United Nations presence on her side of the border after the war of 1956, although Egypt, too weak and defeated to resist, consented to such a presence until the current crisis exploded. Had Israel consented to a U.N. presence in 1956, the withdrawal of U.N. forces from Egypt, demanded and obtained by Nasser, would still have left a United Nations buffer force on the Israeli side of the border and possibly might have barred the way to hostilities.

Israel, moreover, has unwisely walked out of—or failed to attend—meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commissions established by the United Nations to resolve specific disputes. There have been occasions over the past decade, too, as the United Nations has determined, when Israel violently over-reacted to border incidents.

For example, the Israelis over-reacted to Arab provocations late last fall and this past spring shortly before the current explosion—and, in the judgment of some competent observers, may have set fire to the tinderbox the Arabs had provided. In a demilitarized zone of Jordan, Israel retaliated to an unusually severe terrorist attack on her border by burning forty Jordanian homes—although, to be sure, not until the inhabitants had been warned. In April this year Israeli aircraft shot down six Soviet-built Syrian MIGs *over Jordanian and Syrian territory*. Far more significant, perhaps, was the May declaration by the highest Israeli officials, including the usually mild-mannered and peace-committed Prime Minister Eshkol, that further border raids from Syria would result in the invasion of that country, the seizure of Damascus, and the overthrow of the Syrian government.

The jittery, unstable government of Syria—there have been a dozen changes in Syria's government in eleven years—immediately appealed to Egypt to honor her military alliance in the face of this grave threat from Israel. President Nasser, who had often proclaimed his implacable hostility to Israel and had long waited in the wings to reassert his claim to leadership of the Arab world, bounced onto the stage, ordered the United Nations peace-keeping forces out of his country, mobilized his own forces on the border, declared the Gulf of Aqaba closed to Israeli shipping, and, doubtless much to his own surprise at the swift pace of events, found himself acclaimed, in the Arab world, as the hero and savior who had parlayed a couple of Israeli mistakes into a brief political triumph over Israel—a triumph that was soon, however, to be reversed by the spectacular military success of the Israelis.

A final grievance against Israel held by many western students of the region who deeply believe in her right to live as a free and independent nation is her long-standing failure to deal humanely and comprehensively with the vexing problem of the estimated 800,000 to 1,000,000 Arab refugees who were uprooted or who uprooted themselves when the Israelis took over their portion of Palestine two decades ago. Little or nothing has been achieved in all these years in working out a decent settlement of the claims of Palestinian Arabs who lost their lands and homes to Israel.

Three. The Arab World, led by Nasser's Egypt, rates the decisive share of the blame for the current crisis. The conflict over the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba was an important factor but not the governing consideration. The heart of the matter was and is the refusual of the Arab world to accept the very existence of Israel, which was created through the partition of Palestine in 1947–1948, with the blessing of both the Soviet Union and the United States. Shortly thereafter the new nation was recognized by and accepted as a member of the United Nations.

It is understandable that the Arabs passionately resent the transfer of the land that is now Israel to the Jews—a transfer made without Arab consent and over their bitter and violent objections. But time, tradition, and international agreement have sealed the settlement of 1947–1948, and the implacable, vengeance-motivated insistence of the Arab leadership that Israel must be destroyed, if persisted in, could only result in chaos and disaster for all the peoples of the Middle East. The strident competition among Arab leaders to spew the most hateful epithets on Israel—and their shrill call for a holy war—did much to inflame Arab public opinion to the boiling point.

"Arab children are born with psychological scars," an articulate, well-informed Egyptian told us recently. "They are indoctrinated from the first moment of understanding," he noted with approval, "with the conviction that their great mission in life is to redeem the portion of Palestine arbitrarily handed to the Zionists by the Great Powers—and to reopen that land to the Arab refugees now living in hunger and despair."

This strikes us as a criminal incitement to permanent warfare. Israel, on the map, represents an almost invisible island in the vast Arab world. The obliteration of Israel would solve none of the social, economic, and political problems that torment the Arabs today; indeed, the contrived concentration of Arab concern on the presence of tiny Israel provides Arab leaders with a device to shift public attention away from their own inability to solve their social and economic problems.

President Nasser has been described to us in somewhat contradictory terms by correspondents whose judgment we usually respect. One American newsman who saw him in action at close range during the past year or two called him an irresponsible adventurer who has acquired a Messianic complex. Another correspondent emphasized that Nasser is basically a shrewd, sophisticated leader who has sought to forge a more progressive program at home than the royalist reactionaries in some of the other areas of the Middle East.

The results, however, have not been impressive—in significant measure because the increase in population is outrunning the gains in technology. The great Aswan Dam, for example, which is rising on the Nile with massive Soviet assistance, will add two million acres of arable land to the present total of six million. But when the time comes that Egypt can hope to reap the gains of this increase, the population will have increased to the point where per capita food production will actually drop below the level of January, 1960, when construction of the dam began.

Given this fact of domestic despair, given the further fact that Nasser's enemies in the Arab world were taunting him—although he was long a leader in hostility to Israel—with cries of "coward" and "paper tiger" in the face of his relatively moderate response to Israel's over-reaction to border incidents, given the additional fact that his ill-conceived campaign against the royalists has been bogged down for months in Yemen, and given the final fact that the Soviets stood at his side with guns, planes, money, and a desire to improve their bargaining position with the United States in the war in Vietnam—given all these considerations, Nasser's recent moves assume a sort of twisted logic

of their own: the desperate design by a leader in urgent need of a major diversion.

His insistence that the end of Israel was his real goal brought—for the moment—an end to domestic conflict in Egypt and his enthronement—again for only the moment—as the unchallenged leader of the Arab world. "We will never accept co-existence with Israel," he cried to the hysterical mobs. "Those who stand by Israel are our enemies and those who stand with us are our friends." A day or two later, before war broke out, Nasser described Egyptians as "hotter than burning coals in awaiting the battle with Israel." Hearing the clangorous call for a holy war against Israel, Nasser must have realized at this point, just before the guns went off, that he had mounted a tiger he could not ride.

The wave of criticism that beat down on U.N. Secretary-General U Thant for withdrawing the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) from the Egyptian side of the 117-mile frontier with Israel strikes us as largely unjustified. Our considerable confidence in him is unshaken.

U Thant did not "shoot from the hip" as some of his critics have contended. He consulted for hours with his advisers in the Secretariat, including Ralph Bunche, who advised the Secretary-General that he had no alternative but to comply with Egypt's demand.

It is true that Thant might have stalled for a day or two, but with results that would doubtless have been much the same, except that there might have been bloodshed if runaway mobs of emotionally-charged Egyptians had attacked the lightly-armed UNEF forces.

Moreover, two of the nations with the largest contingents in the UNEF, India and Yugoslavia, whose troops constituted nearly half the force, were unwilling to maintain them against Egypt's wishes and demanded the immediate withdrawal of their men, which they had every right to do.

The UNEF, it must be remembered, was placed on Egyptian soil in 1956 solely with Egypt's consent. Israel had refused at the time to permit a similar force on her side of the frontier. This, too, made U Thant's position extremely difficult and delicate, if not untenable, when Nasser demanded immediate withdrawal of the UNEF.

"It may be pointed out in passing," Mr. Thant said afterwards, "that over the years UNEF dealt with numerous infiltrators coming from the Israeli as well as from the United Arab Republic side of the line.

"It would hardly be logical," the Secretary-General continued, "to take the position that, because UNEF has maintained relative quiet along the line for more than ten years, due in large measure to the cooperation of the United Arab Republic authorities, the UAR government should now be told that it cannot unilaterally seek the removal of the force."

It has only lately been revealed, by a source James A. Wechsler described in *The New York Post* as one "whose integrity is beyond challenge," that in the tense hours proceeding his decision to pull the UNEF out of Egypt, Thant addressed an urgent secret plea to Israel to allow the transfer of the UNEF contingent to the Israeli side of the border. Israel rejected Thant's plea. We suspect that when all the facts are known, U Thant will be acclaimed for his even-handed statesmanship in pursuing peace, which is what his job is all about.

It is reassuring that some of those who first lashed out at U Thant, including some Israeli spokesmen, have now greatly moderated their position and understand the undeviating commitment of the Secretary-General to world peace and the integrity of the United Nations. U.S. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg spoke for many thoughtful observers when he urged that "we should at all costs avoid wasteful recrimination" on this subject. Goldberg then went on to praise U Thant's pursuit of a peaceful solution.

This pursuit of peace in the Middle East will be extraordinarily difficult. No peaceful settlement can hope to endure, it seems to us, that does not include at least these principal ingredients:

One. The Arab world must accept the fact of Israel as a free, independent, sovereign nation. Isarel is a child of international agreement and United Nations decision. Even the Soviet Union, which armed the Arabs for their recent adventures against Israel, does not dispute her legitimacy. Without Arab recognition of Israel's national personality, there can be no basis for a peace settlement to replace the rickety, long battered, and now smashed armistice of 1949. And recognition clearly must encompass Israel's untrammeled right to free and innocent passage of both the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

This recognition, understandably, will be a bitter pill for the Arabs to swallow, but history reminds us that countless "irreconcilable conflicts" have yielded to the healing powers of time and tolerance and reason—and a willingness to live and let live.

Two. The government of Israel, perhaps with the economic assistance of the Great Powers, must take prompt, decisive, and generous steps to indemnify the Arabs who lost their homes and their lands when Israel was created. This problem has been neglected far too long, despite repeated pleas to Israel by the United Nations for just compensation.

In November, 1962, Mrs. Golda Meir, then Israel's foreign minister, suggested that her country would be willing to negotiate a compensation settlement for the Arab refugees—but only as part of a package deal for a general peace agreement to replace the shattered armistice of 1949. That proposal should be urgently revived now.

The Progressive does not suggest that Israel take back all, or nearly all, of the refugees who fled or were expelled two decades ago. This would place an intolerable strain on this tiny country's precarious economy, and it would, moreover, create a critical security problem for Israel—with a million or so dissident, revenge-minded Arabs on her soil. Reasonable compensation to the refugees would enable them to resettle permanently on the friendly soil of their Arab cousins.

Three. This time, unlike 1956, *both* sides should be obliged to accept a substantial and effective United Nations' presence on their borders or in neutral, demilitarized zones—at least until tempers cool and passions subside. Given the harsh facts of life in the Middle East, Israel must discard the false notion that the presence of U.N. peacekeeping forces on her soil is somehow a reflection on the nation's virility and an affront to its sovereignty. What is also needed are positive reaffirmations by the United Nations and the Great Powers of the territorial integrity of Israel *and* her Arab neighbors.

Four. The great powers must agree, for their own self-interest if for no loftier purpose, to end the arms race in the Middle East by refusing to sell or give arms to *any* country in the region. Instead, working through the United Nations, the wealthier and more powerful countries should join forces to provide significant economic assistance to *all* nations in the Middle East.

There is doubtless much more that needs doing, including the internationalization of Jerusalem, so holy to three great religions. But these four proposals, we are convinced, lie at the heart of the problem of taking the first patient steps toward transforming this region of constant conflict and wretched poverty into one of peace and hope.

[From the Progressive magazine, July 1967]

THE NEW "DEMOCRACY" IN VIETNAM

(By Senator STEPHEN M. YOUNG [1])

In 1965, from September 28 to October 19, I visited Southeast Asia on a mission for the Senate Committee on Armed Services. During that time, I visited every Air Force base in Vietnam and also spent a number of days in Thailand.

Before I visited Vietnam, I had believed implicitly the statements of Secretary of State Dean Rusk that we were engaged in Vietnam because of Communist aggression from the North. I believed that even though I had known, because I had read the Geneva accords, that historically there never were any such countries as North Vietnam and South Vietnam, and that the Geneva agreements, which the United States approved but did not sign, specifically stated that the separation of Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam was not to be regarded as a boundary but as a temporary demarcation line. Nevertheless, I was taken in by the repeated statements of the Secretary of State about aggression from the North, until I talked at some length with General Westmoreland in Saigon.

In the course of our conversation, General Westmoreland told me that the bulk of the Vietcong who were fighting us in the Mekong Delta, south and west of Saigon, were men who had been born and reared in the Mekong Delta.

Following that, when I was in Thailand, I was informed by General Richard Stilwell, second in command of the American forces in Southeast Asia, that eighty per cent of the Vietcong fighting us in the Mekong Delta were born and reared in the Mekong Delta.

I said to him, "General, this, then, is a civil war in which we are involved."

He replied, "It is an insurrection."

If there remains any doubt as to the nature of the regime we are supporting in South Vietnam, recent developments should dispel them. Premier Ky, who was born in Hanoi, is definitely a Vietnamese "Tory," having fought on the side of the French during the war in Vietnam following World War II, when France sought to reestablish her lush Indochinese colonial empire. Our forefathers would have called him a Tory because he fought on the side of the colonial power.

Now, through his performance as Premier of South Vietnam—a position which he obtained not through elections but through a military coup engineered by ten generals, nine of whom were born in North Vietnam and had fought on the side of the French colonial oppressors against their own nationals seeking independence—he proves daily that his interests lie closer to those who have oppressed the Vietnamese people for centuries than to any real desires and needs of the people he rules.

The United States has furthered this travesty on democracy by giving it an appearance of respectability. Whom are we trying to fool by advertising the regime we are defending as "free" or "democratic"? Whom can we convince that South Vietnam is on its way to becoming a representative democracy since the Constituent Assembly made public its constitution?

I suggest we examine this proposed constitution more closely. First of all, who are its authors? As the result of a discriminatory election law, not only members of the National Liberation Front but also neutralists, so-called, and militant Buddhists were pro-

[1] Stephen M. Young, U.S. Senator from Ohio, is a much decorated veteran. In World War I he served in field artillery; in World War II he was in combat service for thirty-seven months in North Africa and with the Fifth Army in Italy.

hibited last fall from running for election to the Constituent Assembly.

The fact is, the Constituent Assembly is composed primarily of representatives of the landowning and wealthy classes and close supporters of the military junta that now rules South Vietnam. To illustrate this fact, when a genuine agrarian reform law was proposed earlier this year only three out of 117 members of the Assembly voted in favor of it. A number of these "representatives" are themselves military men. They can hardly be expected to put up a strong opposition to the Ky dictatorship.

As for the new Constitution itself, the provisions which appear to guarantee basic human rights are granted with one hand and taken away with the other. For example, Article twelve, section two reads:

"Censorship will be abolished except for motion pictures and plays."

Yet, section three of Article twelve states:

"Press regulations will be subscribed by law."

According to Article twelve, section one:

"The state respects freedom of thought, speech, press, and publishing as long as it does not harm personal honor, national security, or good morals."

Who will decide what constitutes a danger to personal honor, national security, or good morals? The answer is, of course, the same rulers who until now have shown little or no respect for fundamental civil liberties.

Article nine guarantees religious freedom to all citizens "as long as it does not violate the national interest and is not harmful to public safety and order or contrary to good morals." This gives the government virtually *carte blanche* authority to restrict the free exercise of religion. Is this the sort of religious freedom we would consider adequate in our country? This provision in the South Vietnamese constitution makes a mockery of the phrase "freedom of religion." Similarly, the rights to join labor unions and to strike, to organize political parties, and to meet and form associations are guaranteed "in accordance with conditions and procedures prescribed by law." What sort of bill of rights is this? It sounds more like the fiat of a medieval monarch.

On one point, at least, the Constitution is straightforward: Article five prohibits "every activity designed to propagandize or carry out Communism." As we have seen in the past, this type of prohibition could be extended to almost any form of political opposition to the government whether from Communists, neutralists, or militant Buddhists. More than likely it would apply to any political group whose thinking did not coincide with that of the ruling regime.

Interestingly, the one right which is guaranteed unconditionally is the right of private property in Article nineteen. The Constitution bears the stamp of the landowners who drew it up, and assures that their interests will remain secure. In effect, Article nineteen promises them that no thoroughgoing land reform could be carried out without complete compensation to those who have for centuries prospered at the expense of the landless peasants.

I definitely do not consider this to be a document which is even a step toward democracy or toward a republic in South Vietnam. Indeed, how can there be any progress while a war disrupts civilian life and while we support and perpetuate a military dictatorship in Saigon? What can the Vietnamese peasant expect from Western democracy when it is presented to him through our collaborators in Vietnam—the dictatorial Premier Ky, who was serving in the French Air Force in Vietnam during the years 1946 to 1954, seeking to help restore French colonial oppression of its Indochinese empire, and an oligarchic Constituent Assembly?

Administration leaders would do well to heed the advice of retired Marine Commandant, General David Shoup, one of the nation's great military leaders. General Shoup said:

"It must be a bit confusing, to, to read and hear about fighting for freedom. Supposedly, we have it, and I don't think anyone is going to take it away from us by playing cops and robbers in Southeast Asia. Even so, we urge others to fight for freedom. There may be a little confusion here. We insist they should sacrifice arms and legs and their lives for freedom. In the history of their ancestors they've never experienced what we expect them to understand and fight for. . . .

"These masses of people and their ancestors have always lived where the few have everything. Everything that is produced by the burdensome labor of the many. And the many have nothing except for the barest subsistence and not always that. . . .

"I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-crooked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own that they design and want; that they fight and work for. And if unfortunately their revolution must be of the violent type because the 'haves' refuse to share with the 'have-nots' by any peaceful method, at least what they get will be their own, and not the American style, which they don't want, and above all don't want crammed down their throats by Americans."

If real and honest elections were to be held I doubt whether those elected would choose to prolong the civil war that is now raging and has been raging since 1946 in Vietnam when the French commenced to reestablish their empire. If the real voice of South Vietnam could be heard, it would be asking for peace, not military victory.

[From the Progressive magazine, July 1967]

VIETNAM'S NEW "DEMOCRACY"

Even before the new "democracy" becomes operative in South Vietnam Premier Ky has given the world some indication of what he meant by a "free government." An Associated Press dispatch from Vietnam May 15 quoted Ky as threatening to close Vietnamese newspapers that "create dissension" among the people during the approaching presidential election.

"I want to point out to the press that from now until election day any newspaper article creating dissension between the people—military or civilian—will be censored."

An even more startling concept of the "new freedom" turned up in an Associated Press dispatch from Vietnam May 14, in which Ky, who is himself a candidate for president, announced that he might respond "militarily" if a civilian whose policies he disagreed with won the election.

"If he is a Communist or if he is a neutralist, I am going to fight him militarily," said the disciple of freedom in Vietnam.

[From the Progressive magazine, July 1967]

MORGAN MOVES UP

Not since Edward R. Murrow went off the air have the broadcasting industry and the listening public experienced so great a loss as they now do with the end of Edward P. Morgan's news commentary over the American Broadcasting Company network. For twelve years, with the sponsorship of the AFL–CIO, Morgan has provided millions of Americans each weekday night with analyses of the news that will stand as models of perception, clarity, and courage.

Morgan has taken a two-year leave of absence from ABC to join the Public Broadcast Laboratory of National Educational Television. He will undertake a weekly series of two- or three-hour programs to be seen over 100 non-commercial stations. The programs will be financed by a $10 million Ford Foundation grant. Meanwhile, it is regrettable that the AFL–CIO has no present plans to continue its radio news program with another commentator of comparable caliber.

NET announced that in addition to being a reporter on its new series, Morgan will be "involved in investigative reports, incisive commentary, interviews, and in the development of the innovative and experimental techniques of bringing relevant information to the public. . . ." We expect that Morgan will develop programs for NET that will be provocative, illuminating, and superior to most "public affairs" programs on commercial television. If his programs expand the audiences of non-commercial television stations, and increase public demand for more such stations, Mr. Morgan's contribution to public enlightenment may be even greater in the future than in the past.

PAYMENTS MADE IN NATION'S FARM PROGRAMS

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, recently we have heard comments in the Senate on the Nation's farm program to the effect that these programs involve payments of more substantial size to some farmers than to others. It is argued that big payments go to big farmers who do not need them, while little farmers get only little payments.

For more than 30 years it has been basic national farm policy to provide a continuously adequate supply—but not a burdensome excess—of food and fiber products at stable prices fair to both producers and consumers, without undue public cost considering the vital objective of this policy.

If all the vast U.S. land resources are used in farm production, and the advancing technology we command is applied, our farmers can, and would, produce more than U.S. consumers want, or foreign markets will buy, at prices in line with the level of production costs which American farmers must pay.

It is certainly not in the national interests to waste land, labor, and production costs in turning out unneeded products which then cost still more to store. Moreover, excess supplies bring ruinous prices which threaten national prosperity—ruinous prices for all producers alike.

Nevertheless, the individual farmer cannot prevent excess production and ruinous prices in the market by letting his land and resources go unused, or partly used. By doing so alone, he only further reduces the income of his family and the chance of return upon the capital he has invested to create an efficient farming enterprise.

So on the one hand we have, to be served, the interest of all producers, and a national interest in orderly production and marketing. And on the other, the necessity of each individual producer to earn a fair return for his capital, his skill and his family's labor. And we have a certain conflict which public policy must find a way to reconcile.

Mandatory cutbacks, by force of law, would sacrifice the individual to the national interest, unless the individual is compensated in ratio to the income-earning opportunities so denied to him. With compensation through price supports, but only when over two-thirds of the voting growers approve, mandatory quotas can be applied to certain crops—

cotton, tobacco, peanuts, rice. And the growers do vote to approve, with rare exceptions from time to time.

In voluntary programs for wheat, feed grains and for further reduction of cotton surpluses, payments are compensations which, added to price supports at about world price levels, enable individual producers to join with each other in limiting the total land and other resources employed, and thus the output, of the commodity in question.

This compensation is in ratio to the income-earning possibilities each grower gives up, just as his marketing income has always been in proportion to the size of his operation and the volume of his output.

The points which we must emphasize here, which opponents of these programs seem unable or unwilling to understand, are these:

First, the payments which make it practicable for individual farmers to take part in the programs are not welfare handouts, not an unearned dole to relieve the poverty of some farmers who are less well off than other farmers may be. They are an earned compensation proportionate to the contribution the individual has made to the realization of established goals of national policy.

Second, the program in which the payments are a logical and justified means benefit all producers—not just big producers, not just little producers—but all producers, each in proportion to the size of his resources and his operations.

Third, the purpose of the programs is to bring about adjustment of total production of the commodity in question to the actual needs of the marketplace, expressed in prices which are fair and acceptable returns to efficient producers, thus avoiding waste of manpower, capital, and land resources of the Nation.

It is perfectly clear to anyone who will see, Mr. President, that if we are to adjust production, we must do so where the production takes place. The programs must therefore deal with the fewer big producers as well as with the many little producers.

Efficient family farms, in these days when modern machinery and methods enable one family to handle steadily enlarging operations, are enterprises of substantial size and require very substantial investment and operating capital. They are growing in number, and in proportion of the total of our farms. They are the mainstay of America's marvelously productive agriculture.

Would such producers participate in programs to limit total output to the market's real demands if they are denied compensation in ratio to their cutbacks in income-earning use of land and other resources? If they do not do so, because of some notion of arbitrary limitation upon their compensatory program payments, total output will increase.

The increased output of the big producers would swell the volume in commercial channels, while the output of small growers participating in the program would be forced into Government hands under the price-support loans.

Prices and returns for everyone would decrease, while program costs would be likely to continue. Would either little or big growers, or the public, be better off? It is clear that they would not be.

The Secretary of Agriculture summed this up very well, Mr. President, in speaking last March to the Midcontinent Farmers Association in St. Louis:

> The man who works 40 hours a week for $3 an hour expects to be paid twice as much as one who works 20 hours a week for $3 an hour. The farmer who diverts 100 acres from surplus production expects to be paid about twice as much as his next door neighbor, with comparable land, earns for 50 acres of diversion. And why not?
>
> Commodity program payments are not welfare grants. To be effective in balancing production they must fit into the free-enterprise concept that a man is rewarded in terms of the value of his contribution.
>
> All farmers, large and small, should fight vigorously against being lured into a trap that would quickly erode, then destroy, their commodity programs.

THE PROPOSED PERMANENT NATO NAVAL FORCE

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, on Saturday, June 17, 1967 Adm. Thomas H. Moorer discussed a plan to convert the Matchmaker Squadron into a permanent multinational NATO naval force, with headquarters in Norfolk, Va. Admiral Moorer, who was giving up his post as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, to become Chief of Naval Operations in August, said the proposal was agreed to in principle by the NATO defense ministers at their last meeting. This is the first public endorsement of such a plan by a high-ranking member of the U.S. military or civilian command.

I welcome this initiative and urge the U.S. Government to begin at once the review necessary for official approval of the plan. I also urge the U.S. Government to move forward in consultations with the governments of the other NATO nations to encourage their official approval of the plan.

The Matchmaker Fleet, consisting of destroyers from the NATO maritime nations consolidated as a single force, has participated in various joint operations and exercises during the past 3 years. The command of the force has rotated among the participating nations, but the force has been under the overall direction of the Supreme Allied Command Atlantic, Norfolk, Va. Instead of existing continuously, however, the fleet has been organized for a few months and then disbanded in each of the 3 years of its being.

Establishment of the fleet as a permanent force could not but help strengthen both the Allied Command Atlantic and the entire NATO maritime structure. It would serve as a major response to the increasing growth in Russian naval power and would help overcome the weakened geographical position of NATO which resulted from the withdrawal of France from the alliance. The standing force would also permit the NATO nations to react in a more flexible manner to aggression and other threats to peace and to plan naval strategy on a more advanced schedule.

Finally, within the NATO alliance itself, the creation of the standing force should promote new cooperation and coordination. Although the ships are to be volunteered and manned by the participating nations, the permanent staff will have personnel from all participating nations and the squadron command will continue to alternate among the participating nations.

The proposed fleet would be the world's first permanent multinational naval force. Although, like the Matchmaker, the force would consist mostly of destroyer-type vessels, other ships such as aircraft carriers and cruisers would participate in certain exercises, and the force eventually would probably become substantially larger than the Matchmaker fleet has ever been.

I am hopeful that Admiral Moorer's proposal will receive immediately the consideration which it deserves.

Admiral Moorer, who sponsored the third Matchmaker maneuver, discussed the standing NATO naval plan, in a June 17 speech on the occasion of the change of the NATO Supreme Allied Atlantic Command. The U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings has published articles describing the value of the Matchmaker I—1965—and II—1966—efforts. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

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

SPEECH BY THE SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER ATLANTIC, ADM. THOMAS H. MOORER, U.S. NAVY, ON THE OCCASION OF THE CHANGE OF COMMAND CEREMONIES, NORFOLK, VA., JUNE 17, 1967

Admiral Holmes, Admiral Clutterbuck, General De Cumont, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great pleasure for me to be able to see so many of my good friends here today, not only the officers of my staff, and their families, and my many Norfolk friends, but also senior officers of a number of NATO countries. I am most grateful to you all for honoring me with your attendance: It is not often that I am given the opportunity to speak to such a distinguished captive audience, so I intend to take full advantage of the occasion!

As I look back over my last two years as the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic I realize how meaningful, how personally rewarding, they have been to me! They are full of memories of many challenges that faced our alliance and how we met them. They are particularly full of the warm recollections of my many friends and colleagues within NATO, with whom I have continuously worked to strengthen our alliance. Without their support and confidence, my task as SACLANT would have been impossible to carry out. Many are here today. I would like to particularly recognize my close friend, General De Cumont, chairman of the Military Committee, and the permanent representatives to the Military Committee who have traveled here from Washington for this occasion. I am deeply honored. I sincerely appreciate their coming.

There is no question that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has faced many problems—diverse challenges—these last two years. They have ranged the spectrum from the withdrawal of France from the integrated military structure of NATO to the need for a revision of overall NATO strategy to the problem of various organizational changes within the alliance. All of these challenges have been met or are being positively addressed.

The relocation of SHAPE and NATO headquarters to Belgium and various other subordinate headquarters to elsewhere in Europe has proceeded or is proceeding right on schedule. The move to Belgium has been cited as a "miracle" and I believe it is deserving of that accolade.

Only a little over a month ago at the North Atlantic Council ministerial meeting in Paris a major step was taken, moving toward a more flexible NATO strategy which is responsive to the changing world in which we live. A strategy which provides for alternative courses of action rather than a single all or nothing strategy of all out nuclear war. Various other dynamic, affirmative steps have been taken within NATO in recent months which attest as well to the vitality and viability of the alliance.

Organizational changes have involved the the dissolution of the standing group and the establishment of the international military staff under the military committee. Despite its short period of existence this staff has already demonstrated its expertise in producing highly professional support for the military committee. Here again NATO has moved ahead positively and effectually.

Of all the areas of direct concern to SACLANT, the one which has concerned me most these last two years has been what I detect as a major shift in Soviet strategy—toward the use of the open seas to gain their continually reiterated goal of communist world domination. This poses a major new challenge to SACLANT and to the entire maritime side of the NATO defense structure. I believe that we here at SACLANT headquarters have been successful in sounding the alarm within NATO and among the various capitals of NATO countries as to the significance of this challenge. We believe that there is clear evidence that the Soviet leadership has finally appreciated the value of an old, old book by Alfred Thayer Mahan—"The Influence of Seapower on History."

Recognizing the challenge this shift in Soviet strategy could represent to NATO, we have resolved on various implementing measures in support of a new NATO maritime strategy to answer the challenge. They are all we believe feasible, practicable and readily available to NATO. They are not all inclusive, but do point in the direction we should go at this time. Of all of them, my proposal to establish a standing naval force Atlantic—a NATO naval force in being—could be one of the most significant. I am happy to be able to announce that this proposal has now been approved in principle within NATO and it is my hope and confident belief that such a force will be established in the very near future. It will provide to NATO a valuable and flexible military tool which can be used with important politico-military effect in behalf of the alliance. It will permit NATO ships flying the flags of many nations—but consolidated as a single NATO force in being—to play an important part in the overall, basic mission of NATO to deter war.

When I first entered on my duty as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, I made a vow that I would solve, somehow, a nagging command problem that had plagued NATO, and particularly the Allied Command, Atlantic, for many years. The Iberlant command, encompassing one of the most critical portions of my area of responsibility—including the vital Western approaches to the Mediterranean through Gibraltar, had never been established. This void in my command arrangements, so necessary to carrying out of my mission, had to be filled. With the cooperation and support of the military committee, my fellow major NATO commanders—Saceur and the Commander in Chief, Channel—and very importantly the national authorities of Portugal, all obstacles were overcome and the Iberlant command was activated in Lisbon just four months ago. I, frankly, was pleased and proud to see this accomplished "on my watch."

Therefore, as I look back, at this moment of relinquishing my duties as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, I have the satisfaction of seeing NATO not only having weathered some rough seas but also moving ahead dynamically and effectively in various areas. I am proud to have played a part in this critical period of NATO history.

And now, before I turn over my command to my good friend Admiral Holmes, I would like to express my most sincere thanks to my NATO staff officers. You have all worked hard to achieve the goals which have been set for us, and I congratulate you upon your outstanding contributions to the Allied Command, Atlantic. I have learned much from you and I hope our paths continue to cross in the future. You, and your wives and families from many NATO nations, are a great asset to the Norfolk community; you have given Americans an opportunity to learn about your countries and your customs, which we much appreciate. More than this, we consider you all to be our very close friends; and it is this feature of my change of command which I most regret—having to leave you and your families. To my entire staff, and to my many Norfolk friends, I would like to say—not goodby—but rather that I hope that Mrs. Moorer and I will have many opportunities to see you in the years ahead.

Exercise Match Maker

(By Captain D. V. M. Macleod, D.S.C., Royal Navy, Commander, Match Maker Squadron)

Since the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949, ships of member nations have only operated together for up to three weeks during planned exercise periods. In November 1963, the Commander-in-Chief Eastern Atlantic proposed an extended exercise for a small NATO task group. The Standing Group approved this exercise on 5 March 1964, and planning went ahead during the summer of 1964. Four destroyer-type ships were organized into this so-called Match Maker Squadron: HMS *Leander*, HMCS *Columbia*, HNMS *Overijssel*, and the USS *Hammerberg* (DE–1015).

The mission of the four ships was to gain experience in the problems, especially those of logistics and maintenance, arising from the operation of ships of several NATO nations for an extended period during peacetime.

In order to fulfill this mission the ships were to operate together for five months, take part in selected NATO exercises that were scheduled for that period, carry out a training program comparable to that which the ships would have while under national control, and visit ports of NATO countries in order to make use of the differing maintenance and logistic facilities.

The program was virtually cut and dried before the squadron formed, and it was designed to include the maximum number of scheduled NATO exercises and four periods of base maintenance—one each in the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and the United States. Generous allowance was made for weapons training and ASW practice outside of the scheduled NATO exercises. Emphasis was placed, naturally, on use of NATO publications and procedures, and if there was a conflict between NATO and national procedures, the NATO procedure was to be used. The four ships were organized as a task group, and the task group commander (Commander, Match Maker Squadron) was free to ride in any of the ships in the exercise.

Detailed orders for administration were produced by the squadron commander immediately prior to the formation of the squadron. These orders were kept brief and were based on the concept of each ship operating, as much as possible, in accordance with her own national customs. The orders covered the normal points of ship safety and gave guidance on ASW tactical doctrine, communications, logistics, etc. No attempt was made to achieve standardization of dress or appearance of the ships; the squadron commander's policy was to achieve enough common practice between the ships to demonstrate squadron solidarity.

Bearing in mind that Match Maker was primarily a logistic exercise, a squadron logistic policy was established. This laid down the following supply methods:

Primary method: cross-serving within the squadon.

Secondary method: dockyard assistance in NATO ports of call.

Tertiary method: use of national logistic agencies.

The documentation of the primary and secondary methods involved the use of the standard demand formats. Resort was made to the tertiary method only when the other two had failed; in this last case normal national accounting procedures were used.

The system worked well for readily identifiable stores such as cordage, paint, and cleaning materials, but some difficulty was experienced in identifying more complex electronic and mechanical items. There is no common NATO stores catalogue, and not all ships carry the U.S. Federal Stock Book of Stores or national catalogues other than their own. There is also a completely inadequate system of cross-references in the national stores catalogues. While it is appreciated that its preparation would be a monumental task, there is no doubt that there is an urgent requirement for a NATO stores catalogue or stock book. The provision of this book would achieve great savings in time and transport costs and would allow full use to be made of the provisions of STANAG 1062 (Standard Procedures for Services Rendered and Supply Transfer between NATO Navies).

Apart from the difficulties experienced in identify specialized stores, the greatest problem encountered by the squadron was that of ammunition supply. Little progress seems to have been made beyond national supply arrangements and recommendations have been made to attempt to improve this situation.

The ships of the squadron were experienced in underway replenishment and use was made of tankers and store ships of all the participating navies. No insuperable incompatibilities of rig were encountered, but the little differences of practice and gear that were experienced called for considerable ingenuity, first-class seamanship, and a lot of hard work. Most of this could have been avoided if navies would ensure that ATP 16—replenishment at sea—is kept amended and up to date as new techniques are developed and incorporated in the equipment of allied tankers. Apart from the almost universal incidence of minor modifications to standard gear, the biggest snag encountered was the failure of oilers in the Eastern Atlantic area (Eastlant) to provide an easily used adaptor for use with the open-trunk system. The Canadian replenishment ship *Provided* was greatly admired, and her self-tensioning winchs put her in a class of her own. The development of the probe system of fueling should be a great advance over current practice. The only other significant difference in this field between the two sides of the Atlantic was the apparent reluctance of Western Atlantic area (Westlant) replenishment ships to alter course during replenishment.

On 18 February 1965, the four Match Maker ships met in Rosyth on the east coast of Scotland. The formation of the squadron coincided with the start of NATO Exercise Pilot Light, so there was no time to worry about minor difficulties. Fortunately, very few problems arose: some cross-servicing was necessary to ensure that every ship had the right crystals to meet the Eastlant communications plan and when

one or two defects had been rectified by Rosyth Dockyard the squadron was ready.

The initial phase of Pilot Light was an intensive weapons training period which allowed the Match Maker ships to practice the ASW tactical doctrine laid down in the squadron orders. By the end of Pilot Light, the four ships formed a unit which was a squadron in spirit as well as in name.

All ships had an enormous enthusiasm for the project. This established a capital of goodwill which paid a continuous dividend of cheerful pride in the squadron throughout its corporate existence. A new concept is bound to be more exciting than the humdrum normal, and this, coupled with a proper professional pride, ensured a 100 per cent output from each ship. In a very short space of time friendly rivalry was balanced by real respect for colleagues in other ships in the squadron. It was fairly early in the operation that an enlisted man from the *Hammerberg* overheard a Bristish rating, who was not in the squadron, criticize a *Leander* rating; the U.S. sailor's immediate reaction was to defend the reputation of his British colleague in the most forceful way he knew.

In order to get the maximum benefit from the different customs and equipment in each ship, every officer, chief petty officer, and petty officer was made an honorary member of the mess of his opposite number in each ship of the squadron. This encouraged intership visiting in harbor and promoted a lively exchange of views and operating experiences which broadened the horizons of everyone concerned. It also sowed the seeds of friendships which show every sign of lasting even now that the squadron has been disbanded.

The anticipated language barrier never materialized. The Royal Netherlands Navy practices English on its own voice circuits and, apart from the tendency of the English (or more normally the Irish, Welsh, and Scot) communicators to talk too fast on voice circuits, no real difficulties were encountered. The worst offender was probably the squadron commander whose idiomatic signals were sadly misinterpreted on one or two occasions, and *not* by the Dutch ship at that.

After Pilot Light, the Match Maker Squadron underwent a three-week course at the Joint Antisubmarine School at Londonderry, Northern Ireland. This intense period of ASW training consolidated the techniques that had been developed to gain maximum advantage of the fine variety of sonar equipment in the four ships. A weakness was revealed in electronic warfare, and to improve this the Royal Netherlands Navy provided an enlisted specialist whose skill in this art did much to improve the standard of all four ships. A further period of training with the British nuclear-powered submarine *Dreadnought* and two fast conventional submarines at the end of April rounded off a fine initial training phase.

The arrangements for base maintenance in Portsmouth, Brest, Halifax, and Norfolk worked well. Four separate periods were really too many in five months, but the program was justified by the experience gained in the different ports. Particularly well commented on were the high standards of work carried out in Brest by the French Navy.

The month of May was devoted to visiting Copenhagen, Rotterdam, Brest, and Lisbon. Great interest was displayed in the Match Maker Squadron, both by the navies and by the general public. A heavy program of exercises was carried out on passage between these ports, and British and French facilities were used for further weapons training.

The passage across the Atlantic, which included a fueling stop in the Azores, was used to exercise Westlant ASW techniques and the Westlant communications plan. Contact was made in dense fog with the U.S. and Canadian ships taking part in NATO Exercise Pole Star. This was a convoy exercise where, for the first time, the Match Maker Squadron was split up among the other screening forces and temporarily lost its squadron identity. This was unavoidable, and involved the sacrifice of one of the great assets of a worked-up ASW squadron—the intimate knowledge of the likely intentions and the capabilities of the other ships of the unit.

In Halifax, the Match Maker ships received a warm welcome and willing, skilled assistance with maintenance problems. Both the *Columbia* and *Hammerberg* found their national squadrons in company—in fact the gentlest of hints had to be dropped to both squadrons that these two ships were now NATO and not national and so were not available for national domestic chores.

After passage of the Cape Cod Canal in perfect weather, the four ships enjoyed the hospitality of New York City for four days. The squadron was honored by a visit by the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, and close contact was made with Commander Carrier Division 18 and his ships with whom the squadron was to exercise for the next eight days.

This period of hunter-killer operations was an interesting finish to Exercise Match Maker and, after a brief visit to Norfolk, the Match Maker ships reverted to national control on 19 July 1965.

The exercise provided a fascinating five months for every officer and enlisted man who took part in it. Much was learned from the logistic problems that arose under these circumstances. Five months of continuous operations with excellent training facilities allowed an unusually high standard of ASW proficiency to be achieved. The combination of four widely differing sets of equipment gave the squadron a unique tactical flexibility. Each ship started the exercise with the conviction that her own methods of operation were the best; each ship finished the exercise with a new respect for her colleagues and with a very much broader approach to common naval problems.

Most important of all, the exercise has made NATO live for 1,000 officers and enlisted men. Allies who previously were just names are now friends who will be remembered with real affection and respect for years to come. There should be annual opportunities for other NATO units to do the same.

Captain E. F. GALLAGHER, U. S. Navy—Evidently the recommendation of Commodore Macleod that "There should be annual opportunities for other NATO units to do the same," i.e., participate in a Match Maker-type exercise, received a fair wind, for the four nations which took part in Match Maker I, have, from January to June 1966, participated in Match Maker II.

While the Match Maker I squadron consisted of four ships and emphasized logistic and repair support under NATO standardized procedures, the Match Maker II squadron consisted of six ships and was keyed to the formulation of new NATO tactics and the evaluation of existing tactics.

Commencing 22 January, the squadron engaged in intensive training at the Atlantic Fleet Weapons Range near Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico, and participated in the U.S. Atlantic Fleet's annual training exercise, Operation Springboard. The Springboard training was most beneficial in developing the squadron's capability to operate as an integrated team and as a tune-up for special NATO exercises conducted in June. The concept of cross-pollination where crew members of ships of different nationalities are exchanged in order to give the officers and enlisted personnel an opportunity to familiarize themselves with how the other men live, work, operate, and think, has been continued and expanded from the scheme employed in Match Maker I.

Cross-pollination is a favorite idea with the men and the concept has heightened their interest and enthusiasm in the exercise. It also pays off in a better understanding of mutual problems and develops co-operation, team work, and mutual respect.

The six ships participating in Match Maker II were HMS *Agincourt*, a British radar picket destroyer; HNethMS *Drenthe*, a Dutch antisubmarine destroyer; HMCS *Annapolis*, HMCS *Skeena*, and HMCS *Restigouche*, Canadian destroyer escorts; and the USS *Garcia* (DE–1040), a new U.S. escort ship. This year's commodore of the Match Maker squadron was Captain Parker B. Armstrong, U.S. Navy, whose flagship for the most part was the *Garcia*. Like its predecessor, the Match Maker II squadron was particularly oriented toward antisubmarine warfare training.

Not only has Match Maker II again demonstrated the feasibility of the concept of ships of different nationalities operating together as a group, but it has come to represent a NATO sea force in being. There is a tremendous growth potential here which could encourage greater participation by other NATO countries than in the past. This is particularly so at this time because of the forced revisions to NATO resulting from the French decision to withdraw from the organization. Fortunately, there is sea room to the west and north which facilitates the natural expansion and development of NATO toward the sea.

Perhaps there should be an Allied Command Atlantic (ACLant) Mobile Sea Force—built upon the Match Maker concept—to complement the existing Allied Command Europe (ACEur) Mobile Force. The NATO maritime nations could provide forces according to the availability of their assets and in phase with a schedule of varying types of ships, including destroyers, submarines, mine sweepers, and patrol craft, each type to operate together for from four to six months.

In this way the Match Maker squadron could become a permanent unit of ACLant and could be the nucleus of the Mobile Sea Force. Depending on the availability of resources, the ships of one period might be mine sweepers, next submarines, then fast patrol boats, and finally destroyers. The cycle could then be repeated or be varied if necessary. By varying the types from time to time, the cross-pollination concept could be extended and nations could be brought more in tune with each other than ever before.

But most important, a permanent Match Maker would foster the development of NATO forces at sea, in being—the ACLant Mobile Sea Force. The sea has a great deal to offer toward the future growth of military strength in NATO. The land and air spaces of continental Europe are filled to the point where new training areas are needed. Yet the sea is wide open and offers no national barriers or problems of sovereignty. Here is the place for NATO to grow.

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ON TECHNOLOGICAL AND HUMAN PROGRESS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on May 8, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY addressed the 23d Convention of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express, and Station Employees in Minneapolis. The remarks of the Vice President on this occasion are instructive to all Americans, for Mr. HUMPHREY speaks as a man with many years of significant achievement in the public service.

His address on this occasion reviewed both the technological and human progress we have experienced in recent

decades. It also looked forward to the work that lies ahead. The Vice President's buoyant optimism renews our confidence for we have, he reminds us, an excellent record as a people capable of meeting and surmounting a vast array of difficult problems. He believes we have built a strong society, one capable of meeting and surmounting remaining problems despite the challenge which changes always pose.

Mr. President, the Vice President's remarks on this occasion are particularly valuable because they give us a sense of perspective, a measured and objective appraisal of where we have been and where we now are. Above all, they provide a balanced sense of direction to guide us toward tomorrow. I commend the Vice President's remarks to the attention of my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in its entirety at this point in the RECORD.

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

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 23D REGULAR AND NINTH QUADRENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS, FREIGHT HANDLERS, EXPRESS AND STATION EMPLOYEES, HELD AT MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA CONVENTION HALL, MONDAY, MAY 8, 1967

MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Grand President C. L. Dennis: Sisters, Brothers, Delegates, visitors and friends, it is about the greatest honor of my life to introduce to this great Convention the Vice President of the United States, whom we all love dearly—Hubert Humphrey. (Prolonged applause)

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey: Thank you. Thank you very much.

(The Delegates' attention was drawn to the Official Photographer at the rear of the Auditorium, who then took a Convention Photograph.)

Vice President Humphrey: President Dennis and President-Emeritus Harrison—old friend George—and George Gibbons, Grand Secretary-Treasurer; the many Vice Presidents, of whom I will have something to say in just a moment; and members of the Board; and Delegates here to the great Convention—I believe it is your 23rd, am I correct?—of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes; and anyone else we can organize (laughter and applause).

You know, when I heard that voice coming from the back of the hall a while ago, I said, "Well, it's just like it has been at these recent meetings I have been attending. Somebody intended to give the speech instead of me." (Laughter) Then, when I came in here and saw three podiums from which to speak, I said, "Well, this is the first convention in which I have ever been able to sing in a trio." (Laughter) I thought possibly we were going to have George Harrison over here and President Dennis over here and the Vice President in the middle as usual. (Laughter)

But I see they are going to let me have it all alone for a little while. And I do want to thank you.

First, may I say how pleased all of us are, of course, to have you in this great City of Minneapolis. I know the Mayor of Minneapolis already has given you a warm welcome. If you have not heard from the distinguished Mayor of St. Paul, Mayor Byrne, you will. Mayor Naftalin of Minneapolis and Mayor Byrne of St. Paul are both very, very good mayors, both of them the leaders of great cities, and both of them Democrats. I just thought I would toss that in. (Laughter and applause)

This is strictly a non-partisan gathering. That is the way I thought I would start. (Laughter)

I noticed the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has a very, very impressive roster of officers. I really feel sorry for President Dennis, according to what President Johnson tells me about Vice Presidents. He only has one, and look at the trouble he is in. (Laughter) President Dennis has nine. Or, there is another way of putting it: I am overworked. (Laughter) If it takes nine vice presidents for this great labor organization, I think you will agree that just to be one Vice President of the United States means that you are really sort of a member of a "company union"; you are being overworked all the time. (Laughter)

Truly, I am highly honored to be at your Convention. This is not my first experience with you, and it is a very singular pleasure for me to come back and to greet you in my home city, to say a few words to you about our country, to talk with you just a little bit about our common concerns, and to share with you a few minutes of friendship and fellowship.

First, I want to take this opportunity to express a very sincere thanks to your Officers, to your Board members, to the membership of this growing and spendid organization for your support, not only in recent years, but throughout all of the years of my public life. I am ever grateful.

I can remember the days when your President Emeritus would come here and speak for me and help me, always speaking up and working for social and economic and progressive democracy. I considered it a high honor to enjoy the friendship of and to be privileged to share in the friendship of your distinguished President, Grand President Dennis. He is a good man. He represents the best in American Labor, and I salute you for him. (Applause)

I want to express, too, our thanks to the Chairman of this Convention, Chairman Heidenreich for his arrangements and for all the effort that has gone into making this Convention what it will be. You have a big program ahead of you.

My goodness, I am glad I got on while you are still fresh. (Laughter) But you will enjoy it here. I am sure the weather will improve every day. (Laughter) We will try to keep the Minnesota Twins around occasionally. They have been doing all right until they were derailed yesterday. (Laughter) I don't know whether it had anything to do with your coming to town or not. (Laughter)

It is a good ball club, and I am an enthusiastic supporter.

I think I should let you know, though, that when I first became Vice President, I was so enthusiastic about the local ball team that I kept talking about it wherever I went. Then, when the Twins were the champs in the American League, I supported them, of course, in the World's Series. I received a letter from a lady in Los Angeles—and you may recall the Los Angeles Dodgers were the opposition in that series—and the victors—and I received a letter that read like this:

"Mr. Vice President: I am a Democrat, and I voted for you and President Johnson. But I did not vote for you to be Vice President of Minnesota. I voted for you to be Vice President of the United States. I am for the Dodgers, and why don't you shut up?" (Laughter and applause)

So I have to be exceedingly careful now about my parochialism of interest. I have to remind my fellow Minnesotans when I am back here that if I say a good word about California, New York or Texas, or Maine or Florida, don't think that I am any less faithful to Minnesota. It is just that I have wider responsibilities, and I ought to tend to them, which I try to do.

Now, this morning I want to talk to you about not your union as such, because you know how to run your union. I do not think you need to have people come to you from outside and tell you how to organize, to tell you how to tend to your business. You have done very well with it. You represent high quality citizenship. You represent experienced, long experienced, trade unionism, and you represent a bulwark of strength in this country. We are grateful to you for your responsibility and your sense of civic service. You represent a great industry, a tremendous industry, the transportation industry. It is a growing industry.

I think one out of every five dollars of our economy relates to transportation, and you represent an industry, if I have been properly informed by your President, that is a growing industry in terms of the handling of freight—tonnage of freight. You represent an industry that is one of the largest employers in the railroad industry. There are today almost seven hundred and fifty thousand—I think seven hundred and thirty-seven thousands—employes in the railroad industry.

To those who have any dismal pictures to paint and feel that the world is not what it ought to be and look with a degree of pessimism upon the future, I think we ought to point out about the railroad industry, of which you are an integral part, that the railroads have reduced the cost of freight handling by fifteen per cent since 1958, and that in 1965 railroads handled seven hundred and five billion tons of freight, which compared with six hundred and fifty billion ton miles in 1956.

Seven hundred and five billion ton miles of freight in 1965 compared to six hundred fifty billion ton miles in 1956. This doesn't represent retardation. It doesn't represent regression. It represents progress. And a few years ago everybody was predicting that the passenger service on railroads would be all over. Well, now what do you think is happening?

As we study the problems of communication in the metropolitan areas, as we study the problems of communication on the Eastern Seaboard, for example, communication and transportation, it is now pretty well agreed that the future of mass movement in transportation is rail transportation.

In late 1965, the President of the United States signed legislation calling for a $90 million experiment—a three-year study of high-speed rail transportation in the so-called Northeast Corridor from Boston to Washington, Boston-New York to Washington, Boston to Providence. I know you are very familiar with this. The first demonstration run between Washington and New York will come soon. I believe it will be a success. In fact, quite frankly, it has to be a success!

You know, any nation that plans on putting a man on the moon and bringing him back ought to be able to get him from New York to Washington in less than a week—don't you think? (Laughter and applause)

So we have our challenges before us and we have our problems, but I think we have the people that know what to do about it.

I have heard your President speak about the new technological and scientific advances that are taking place in transportation. I know of his concern and your concern about automation. I know of his concern and your about the computers that make some of the decisions that control some of the movement of men and materials on rails. But I also know that President Dennis said that it is members of this union that run the computers. And as long as you keep it that way, you can look upon the computers as a friend and not as an enemy.

As a matter of fact, a growing economy—that this is what we have and that is what we are going to have—is going to require more man hours, and it is going to require

more people, no matter how much we mechanize. Needless to say, we will mechanize. It is inevitable, and in the long run, it is desirable. But the purpose of automation and mechanization is not to deny people the benefits of a good life. The purpose is to make possible the good life.

That is why when we look down the road the next twenty years, we look to a shorter work week. When we look down the road the next twenty to twenty-five years, and even less than that, we must look in terms of collective bargaining in negotiation and wage and price policy, in terms of a shorter week and a higher wage, the better use of leisure time, and the improved standard of living.

I heard Tom Watson, the President of IBM, International Business Machines, speak not long ago in Washington. He predicted by the year 1980 a twenty-five hour work week would be characteristic of the American work scene.

And then he said, "The question is, what will we do with the time that we have available?" And that is why today we plan a much richer, an enriched culturally, educationally better life for our people, and that is why we are so interested in the education of our young. That is why we are so interested in the development of community programs, because trade union members are not just members of a great union. Trade union members are also members of families, churches, fraternal orders; they are members of veterans' organizations; they are members of a host of civic organizations. And the purpose of America was well stated in the Declaration of Independence, and it was a bold purpose, a revoluntionary purpose, at the time it was uttered, and it still is one, and that purpose is life—a life with liberty, which makes possible the pursuit for happiness.

This is the first time that an organized society ever proclaimed such high ideals. Not just survival, but life in its full meaning. Not just some grants or gratuities that some monarch would give to us, but individual liberty without license; individual freedom with responsibility. And the purpose of it all: the pursuit of happiness, the happiness that comes not so much with things as it comes with satisfactions, as it comes with understanding that things are as you want them for your loved ones, for yourself, and for your country.

These are high ideals and noble objectives, but I am here to say that we have done a good deal to achieve them, and to obtain them. And I ask this audience, for the moment that I have with you today, to look to the future.

I know that every one of us can be very, very pessimistic about all of the things that we hear of contemporary life if all you want to concentrate on are the racial tensions, the riots, the disturbances, the crime, the corruption, the war. You can soon lose faith as to man's ability and capacity to govern himself, or as to his purpose here on earth. But I ask you to lift your eyes to a broader scene and to new horizons. Keep your feet on the ground, but gaze at the stars, because there is a brighter future and there is a great deal that is going on today that is simply fantastic, incredibly good.

I spoke to a young group last night—honor students up at Chisholm, Minnesota. One-third of the total graduating class were honor students, under the highest standards. One-third of the graduating class—47 honor students, A students and B students, every one of them going on to college. Every one of them was the son or a daughter of a working man or a shopkeeper; not the son or daughter of a privileged or unusually rich family in the entire group. And what a great opportunity they have ahead of them, and yet what great challenges. But what tremendous resources they represent in terms of human ability and energy and capacity. And I feel that that young generation that is now taking off, so to speak, leaving its high schools this year, and leaving college, the high school graduate and the college graduate of this year, while he faces a very uncertain future, he is better equipped to manage that future than any other before him, and there is literally opportunity unlimited—unlimited opportunities.

He lives in the space age. He lives in the age of nuclear technology. He lives in the age of fantastic scientific and technological development. He lives in a time when life will be extended. He lives at a time when more children will be educated than ever before. And he lives at a time when men have created the instruments of total destruction. And yet, those same men that create these implements of total destruction, if they are properly motivated, if they have high enough ethical standards, if they are sufficiently moral, can change that same power for destruction into power for construction, power for good, power to tame and conquer disease; power, if you please, to change even and control the weather; power to move men and material to new heights of achievement and accomplishment.

It is here, and I made up my mind a long time ago that I was not a natural born pessimist. There are some people who are never so happy as when they are unhappy, and they are never so unhappy as when they are happy. I am not one of those. I leave pessimism to other people who seem to enjoy that more than I do. I am essentially and basically an optimist. Yes, I hope a realistic, cautious optimist, but I have seen enough in my lifetime to know that you can make progress. I have seen enough in my lifetime to know that you can have a better life, despite all of the terrible things that happen, despite wars and despite depressions and natural calamities. I have lived to see an America that is more prosperous than ever before. I have tried to see a world that has recovered from a tragic World War II. I have lived to see a world today where the cause of freedom is not in retreat, but where totalitarianism and dictatorship is in retreat, and I know that much of this is due to the great achievements of the American people. And as the Vice President of this country, the second-highest office within the gift of the American people, I feel prayerfully grateful and humbly proud—prayerfully grateful for the blessings that are ours, and humbly proud of the accomplishments that are ours, because never in the history of all the world have so few done so much to influence so many for social and economic progress and basic good as the American people have been able to do in the 20th Century. I think this a a remarkable thing! (Applause)

Now let me just remind you for a moment of some of the current things. I am in government, and I speak primarily of the work of government. I am not unaware of the fact that America is more than government. Most of the things that happen in our lives are not government. They are what happen at our home and our community, and where we live. But government has a role to play, and the role of government today is not to dominate, but to cooperate. The role is to be a partner and not a boss. And every one of us in public life needs to remember that. Sometimes we forget it.

And there is a new partnership today in America which has been very real. We are beginning to grow up. We have a partnership of government at all levels of government. It used to be the pattern of the day that if you were a mayor of a city or the governor of a state, if you had any troubles, you blamed the Federal Government, and if you were in the Federal Government and you had troubles, you blamed the state and local government. Well, that day is all over. People are too smart to listen to that demagoguery, because that is just a coverup. If we have problems today, the fact is we are all guilty, and we all have responsibilities, and today the partnership is between Federal, state and local government, and we are asking each one of those partners to get updated, to be ready to work together, not to be a drag on the other.

And then there was a time when you had people in government who spent all of their time talking about labor bosses and labor crooks, or somebody else would talk about economic royalists. I hope that day is over, too, because it wasn't fair. And today there is a better working relationship between government, and labor, and management. Not the perfect one, not the one that doesn't have its difficulties, as we well know—but it is better. And I will tell you why it is better. Because it has to be. We can't afford division—at least deep division—in our country.

So we have this new partnership, and the reason is that every single problem that we face today is so big that it requires the best of us. How can we rebuild our cities, where over eighty per cent of the American people will live by the year 1975? How can we do it unless we work together? And yet our cities today are sick in many areas. They need curative treatment. Many of them need to be remodeled, redesigned. But we can do it.

You know, I have said so many times that any nation that can afford to put a man on the moon—and we will and we can—that that same country and that same nation can afford to help put a man on his feet right here on earth. (Applause) We can do it. (Applause)

Because—make no mistake of it—very few of you are going to the moon. There are some people who are suggesting that I should make the trip. (Laughter) I have some candidates of my own for that. (Laughter) Most of us are going to live right here, and therefore we had better make the most out of what we have here.

I have quite a time joking with our President about this. I am Chairman of the Space Council in Washington, handling all of these activities of outer space—at least coordinating them between the civilian and the military. The Congress gave me that responsibility, to be Chairman of the activities in space. I am also Chairman of what we call the Council on Marine Resources, that is oceanography, dealing with the oceans, the fish life, the tides, the currents, the minerals, the gas, the oil, everything that goes into the seas, and the government and private industry working together to develop those resources.

I told the President one day, I said, "Mr. President, you know, I looked at the map and I find that 71 per cent of the earth's surface, the surface of the globe, is water; 29 per cent is land; and of the 29 per cent you have about 4 per cent of it that is under your jurisdiction."

I said, "Mr. President, did you ever realize who is doing the most work?" (Laughter) "Here I am with 17 per cent (laughter) of the waters of the earth, and you with just about 4 or 5 per cent of the 29 per cent of the land surface of the earth." And I said, "What is more, Mr. President, my fish cause me less trouble than your people." (Laughter and applause)

Somebody said to me not long ago, they said, "Well, they must not think much of you down in Washington, Mr. Vice President."

I said, "Why is that?"

They said, "Every time the Congress gives you something to do, first of all it was the space agency, secondly it was oceanography. Whenever Congress gives you something to do, they show what they think of you. They give you a job out of this world, or in the bottom of the ocean." (Laughter)

But I will tell you what these two jobs have done for me. They have given me some sense of perspective as to what there is to do, and some sense of understanding of the meaning of science and technology, and its impact upon humankind.

So, to revert to my theme, the wonderful things what lie ahead, the things that we can do, and the things that we ought to be doing, and the necessity of all of us trying to pull our share of the load, and this is why the effort is being made in this country, and we must make it around the world to harness the human, and physical and material resources for building purposes, nation building, and to try to get people to understand that if we are going to rebuild our cities, if we are going to make efforts towards world peace, if we are going to be able to keep our water systems clean, if we are going to meet the problems of communication and transportation, it is going to take a tremendous effort.

Government cannot do it alone. You cannot do it alone. Management cannot do it alone. Private industry cannot do it alone. We have to do it together, and we have to do it in freedom, because the choices are getting to be pretty clear. Either it will be done as the communists try to do it with a totalitarian state system in which you have no rights, and in which everything, human beings and material things, are managed and directed by the State and that does work—not well, but it is being done—or it will be done by a system of freedom in which each of us preserves our own identity, in which each of us has our own area of freedom, but we also have our area of responsibility, in which we preserve our identity in cooperation, in which we preserve our freedom in responsibility. And we have to make our choice one way or another, because the day in which everybody can go at his own, without regard to the other fellow, the day in which a person in public life thinks these problems can be handled by government alone, or a man in private life that thinks the government has no role to play, and it ought to be handled privately all alone, that day is all over, and those are the days for demagogues, not the day for people who are realistic and who love their country, and have something that they want to do for their fellow man.

Well, we have been busy everywhere. People are working hard these days, and people are concerned.

This is the period of rapid change. There has been more change that has taken place in the last twenty-five years, or the last fifty years, let us put it that way, than the preceding 5,000. No doubt about it.

There is more change in science and technology in the last fifty years than the preceding five thousand; there are more scientists living today than in all of previous recorded history; more doctors living today than in the preceding 300 years; more teachers at work today than the preceding 100 years all added together.

So we are changing, and changing rapidly. I can remember only a few years ago when we used to talk about the possibility of a $100 billion economy. Last year it was $750 billions. The United States of America, with six per cent of the world's population, produced over forty per cent of all the wealth of the world last year.

Our country, the United States of America had—well, let's put it this way—all of Europe put together last year, all of Europe, exclusive of the Soviet Union, all of Western Europe produced about two-thirds as much as the United States did; $475 billion, we, $750 billion. Unbelievable economic growth, movements of people, tremendous social changes, racial changes.

Who would ever have believed fifteen years ago, ten years ago, that we would have had the legislation we have on the statute books today relating to Civil Rights? Who would ever have believed that we would have been doing what we are doing in education?

I introduced the first bill in 1949, in the Congress of the United States for Medicare. May 17, 1949. And my bill was entitled "Hospital and Nursing Home Care under terms of Social Security for Persons aged 65 and over." (Applause) And they almost ran me out of Congress.

I said, and I meant it, they almost ran me out of Congress. I sent a letter home to some of my constituents that month, in 1949, and I said, "What do you think of this bill?" And they told me. I have never dared let my wife read the letters. (Laughter) I have never received such a lacing down in my life.

Nevertheless, we kept at it, and we have gained a victory. Tremendous change. The 89th Congress, I think, was one of the great break-through Congresses of all times. And I just listed down a few things that happened in that 89th Congress, and I don't want you to think that we are content with that, because I learned something in public life. People are not interested in what you did, as much as they are interested in what you are going to do. It does not do a great deal of good just to talk about where you have been. People want to know where you are going to go. Some people have some good suggestions, too. (Laughter)

But at least, to get some idea of what you are going to do for tomorrow, and where you ought to go, you ought to know what you have done, and where you have been. That is the purpose of history. It does not mean that it guides you. It means that it gives you a sense of direction.

Well, what did we do in these last few years?

We have done great things in the field of education. We have provided medical and hospital care for senior citizens. And we have a billion dollars worth of research underway right now in such diseases as heart, and cancer and stroke. And I want to make a prediction here that before the year 2000 arrives—in fact, in the next fifteen years—heart disease, cancer and stroke will have the same category on the disease charts as polio and some others that we have conquered. We are close now to making fundamental breakthroughs, and what a blessing that will be, because when I look over this audience, I know that the statistics tell me that one out of every three will have some form of cancer, and I also know that the statistics tell me that one out of five will die of it. That is the average audience.

And I want to tell you that I can think of nothing that would be more important to the health and the happiness and the pursuit of happiness to the American family than if every woman in this audience would know that her life would never be afflicted by cancer. And if every mother and father would know that it would never strike their family. It has struck mine. I know of what I speak. And what a day that will be.

And then think of heart disease and stroke, and we are learning so much, and we are pouring in resources to do something about it. And we are making progress towards a cleaner and a more beautiful America. Here we are in the state of 10,000 lakes. I think it would be good if you would ask sometime some of the public officials of this state how many of your lakes are clean, or have the people defiled them? How many rivers are unpolluted? Can your children go to swim safely in them?

The problem of water supply. We are beginning to do something about it. We have made the beginnings, and remember, the longest journey is the first step. And we have made that first step. When I hear people say, "Well, I don't think you, Mr. Humphrey, and your President, Lyndon Johnson, I don't think you two have done much"—and I hear that plenty—I say, "Well, I am sure we haven't done enough, but the beginnings are what count."

It was the first union that was organized, it was the first day that we passed Social Security, the first Minimum Wage law was only twenty cents an hour. The beginnings.

Once we get the beginnings, we can build on it. But it is the break-through, it is the start, and I have seen too many people in my life who never wanted to make the beginnings, because they were not sure what the endings would be like, or I have seen all of these highly intelligent people who say, "We have to wait for more facts." And they died while they were waiting.

Somebody once said, "What's the difference in the short run and the long run?"

I believe in the long run, but I want to tell you I also believe even more emphatically in the short run. The difference is that in the long run you are all dead; and it is the short run that we are working on. It is the starts, the beginnings that will help you achieve the long run.

We are making progress, and improving our highways, and the beautifictaion of our countryside, and recreation for a population that will soon be over 200 million. And why shouldn't we? We are entitled to have parks, and forests, and wilderness areas, and lakes and campsites.

As an urbanized population becomes the pattern of the day, we need more of the out of doors, and it requires men in public life to have the courage, the fortitude, to resist the special interests who want to take all the land and use it for commercial purposes.

We need to protect this great heritage, because your grandchildren, your great grandchildren deserve a chance for a day in a canoe in a clean lake. They deserve a chance to go to a national park; they deserve a chance to have wholesome, clean outdoors. God did not intend that the atmosphere be polluted by man's machines. And air pollution, and water pollution are indefensible, and your Government is doing something about it—beginning.

We are doing something about revitalizing our cities, and we need your help. Modernization of our cities, the establishment of a new department of urbanization and urban development. We are doing something about human relations. A great revolution is taking place in this country in human relations. If it seems turbulent at times, remember that every change is turbulent.

I fly a great deal, and I looked at the map this morning, and I noticed that the weather between here and the Appalachians was clear. I noticed that the man who was talking about the weather and showed me the map on the television this morning said that there was a front, on the eastern seaboard. It is the bad weather that moved through here. It moved towards the East.

Now I know just as sure as I am talking to you now that when we pass through that front, from one system into another, that we will hit a period of turbulence. And we also wonder, don't we, if the pilot is capable, if the craft in which we fly, or in which we move is strong enough to weather that tension, and that strain.

Well, my dear fellow Americans, we are moving from one old system into another, a system of segregation into integration. We are moving from a system where we had two kinds of citizenship, a citizenship for the whites, and another kind for the blacks, and we are moving out of that into one citizenship for one people, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. (Applause)

And I know that when we move into that system, when we move through these two social forces, we are going to have some turbulence, and all we have to hope and pray is that we have built a society strong enough to take it. And we have to hope that we have people who are managing things, who are directing things, like a pilot who knows his business, and has fortitude and courage and training, and can bring us through.

And just as surely as I stand before you, if we have those two things, and faith in ourselves, we are going to come out in clear skies. And you know what it is like after a storm passes through. The air is better than ever. You have been there, you have seen it. After those storms pass through, it is just crystal clear, and the air that you breathe literally just is perfumed with cleanliness and wholesomeness.

That is exactly what is happening in America if we can last it out. The greatest single social experiment that any nation has even tried, to have one citizenship for one people. To have a nation that is not divided, but a nation that is united.

It was Lincoln who told us, "We are testing to see whether this nation or any other nation that has a government of the people, by the people and for the people can long endure." He told us that over a hundred years ago, and he said to us that we are being tested as to whether we will meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope on earth.

He was right then, and that was a hundred years ago. He is still right today. That is what makes Lincoln great. He was immortal. He was a man for all seasons and all time. He understood the verities of life.

So we are building and building. We even have built a new Department of Transportation, which your great union supported. It was long overdue. We are making progress.

What has this meant? I am not going to keep you any longer, except to be specific. Generalities are not enough for pragmatic and sensible people, even though we need to have ideals and goals. People say, "Well, for instance, what have you done?" Many people think what we are engaged in today is a war on poverty, and I guess that is a good way to describe it. The President has said that what we are trying to do is build a Great Society. Franklin Roosevelt said it was a New Deal. Woodrow Wilson called it a New Freedom. Theodore Roosevelt called it a Square Deal. Harry S. Truman called it a Fair Deal. John Kennedy spoke of it as the New Frontier. Lyndon Johnson speaks of it as the Great Society.

I would like to call it, in my own words, An Adventure in Opportunity.

I will tell you why.

What everybody really wants is a chance to be himself. What everybody wants is a chance to live and to work. As that poet and author of the 1930's, Thomas Wolfe, put it, he wants a chance to make something of himself. Every man seeks to combine together those qualities that will permit him to make the most of his life. This is the promise of America.

We are in a great adventure. We are doing something with it. No other people on the face of the earth are doing as much.

This Adventure in Opportunity did not start with Lyndon Johnson or Hubert Humphrey. It started early in our country; but it has had new impetus.

Franklin Roosevelt was a part of it with Social Security and Minimum Wage and the National Labor Relations Act, just to mention three. It includes the Full Employment policies of Harry S. Truman, and it includes a host of legislative enactments of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, a policy to create an environment of trust and of confidence.

The War on Poverty or this Adventure in Opportunity includes Medicare, the Economic Development Administration, Aid to Elementary and Secondary Schools, the Office of Economic Opportunity. So when I speak to you now of the achievements that we have made thus far, I am not speaking of one little segment of our activity. I am speaking of this whole spectrum of activities that all of you are familiar with in one way or another.

What are these programs and policies achieving and what have they achieved? Because we have so many people telling you what has not been done, maybe you ought to know what is being done. Not that you should be satisfied. I hope you never are satisfied. It is so that you can properly judge whether or not the policies that are being pursued show any promise of fulfillment. I think they do.

Let me give you a few facts. Five million more Americans are at work today than a year ago. That's not bad. Wages are the highest in our history, and unemployment is the lowest in 13 years.

More than one million persons are receiving job training under Federal programs today, compared to none only six years ago. Think of that. We are reaching down into the hard core of the unemployed. We are reaching down into the jobless youth. We are reaching down into that Negro boy in the ghetto whose heart is filled with bitterness and hatred, who has never had a job in his life, who comes from a broken family, who lives in a dilapidated neighborhood, who has had little or no education, who has never known what it is to have responsibility.

My fellow Americans, we are reaching down and finding those Americans, and a million of them are getting trained this morning—one million. Six years ago none of them were, and there were more of them than there are now that needed training.

I know that a million is not enough; but I know, too, that it is a million more than other people did, a million more than anybody else dared to dream of or dared to do anything about.

I have been to these urban centers. I have been to these training programs. I know what it means. When I hear the critics say, "Well, you are not doing much," I said, "Where were you when the fight was on, you Monday morning quarterback? Where were you? You were sitting off in the bleachers while the battle was going on in the field, an armchair general, unwilling to get into the smoke and the din of battle."

We have had to do it the hard way, by trial and error. We have made mistakes. The only way not to make mistakes is to be totally paralyzed, inactive or dead. (Applause.)

There are six million young Americans in college today, and there are one million of them there because your Federal Government, through its Aid to Education programs, is helping them, in work study programs, scholarships and fellowships.

There were five million people that received Medicare help since last July 30th, in hospital and nursing home care. Three and a half million of the elderly received doctor's care. The hospitals received $2 billion in payments. The doctors have received over $200 million in payments. The five million that went to a hospital went to the hospital of their choice. The three and a half million that received medical care went to a doctor of their choice, and their bills were paid by their Government under a social insurance program called Medicare.

I think that's progress. (Applause)

A million and a half children, ages 3 to 5, pre-schoolers, have been in Project Head Start in the last two and a half years. Some of them for the first time in their lives have had a decent meal. Some of them for the first time in their lives have had a medical checkup. And some of them for the first time in their lives have had a chance for a wholesome environment. Project Head Start—all of you here, the mothers particularly—know of what I speak. It is a wonderful experience, not only for the children, but, as it is said, a little child shall lead them, and if you follow the chid back home, you will find out what the problem is. It is not the child that is wrong. We are finding out in Project Start, by working with the parents, the depth of our social problem, going back into the community.

We have 900,000 young people in the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, youngsters that never have had a job, that are today doing good work and learning something about work. Thirty-five thousand young people from the slums of our cities, from the poor schools, youngsters that were tested and found to have a high I.Q., yet youngsters that were lost, young men and women that were bitter, young men and women that had no intention of going on to school. Thirty-five thousand of them.

My fellow Americans, they have been lifted out of that depravity, frustration and bitterness, and they are on to universities today, in this day and age, 1967. They are at Minnesota, Michigan, Yale, Duke, in California; they are all over America. Thirty-five thousand of them in Project Upward Bound.

How do you know but amongst those 35,000 will be found the doctor or the scientist that will discover the cure that we look for in the field of disease, or will make some great achievement? All I know of is that these are 35,000 of the brightest young Americans that were lost, just as lost as if they had been drowned, and they had been rescued, and they are on to universities and colleges.

No other country in the world has ever done anything like that.

And there are 50,000 graduates of Job Corps Centers, and 35,000 more are in training.

The Job Corps gets a lot of heat. Everytime you want to get a good news story, go and find something wrong in a Job Corps Center.

I want to let you in on the Job Corps Center. I am the author of the legislation, and I know of what I speak. The Job Corps Center and the youngsters that go to the Job Corps in the main, the overwhelming majority, over 95 per cent of them were dropouts before they ever went. They were in trouble with the law, many of them. They were referred to the Job Corps by social workers or juvenile judges or a school authority, because this was their last chance. They are ages 16 to 20, and 95 per cent of them were poorly educated. Five per cent of them had had jobs. The average wage of the 5 per cent that had a job was 70 cents an hour.

What do you think has happened to the 50,000 that have graduated? Their average wage is $1.91 an hour. Seventy per cent of the graduates got good jobs. Twenty per cent of the graduates went back to school. Ten percent of the graduates joined the American Armed Forces.

Now, I ask you: Wasn't it worth it? Wasn't it worth it to have 50,000 young men and women make something out of their lives, rather than to be sources of disappointment to themselves and their community? I think so. I don't think America will ever impoverish itself by investing in its people. I think we will be better. (Applause)

Finally, may I say that eight million youngsters are getting an education this year that never had it before in elementary and secondary education because of Aid to Education—Federal aid to education. We used to kill every Federal aid to education program on the issue of race or religion. You would pass it in the Senate, and they would kill it in the House. You would pass it in the House the next year, and they would kill it in the Senate. It was like a sort of ping pong game or tennis match, and the "education ball" hit the net every other time you hit it, and it failed.

Finally, you got a President who was a country school teacher, who taught in a Mexican-American school down in Texas. That President said, "Well, what about making Federal Aid to Education to the child? Why don't we talk about the children? Why don't we identify the Government of the United States and its services with people rather than with states or churches or districts? Let's talk about people."

Today we have a tremendous program of

aid to education. We have tripled the Federal Government's investment in education in less than four years.

What has it meant? It has meant that America is being better educated. It has meant that millions of youngsters that never had a chance in their lives, for the first time have a chance.

My fellow Americans, you either believe what you say or you don't. If you believe that this is one nation under God and indivisible, you believe it or you are a hyprocrite if you don't practice it. If you believe in liberty and justice for all, the word means exactly what it says. I happen to believe that we do believe it. I think we have to act on those beliefs. But I also know that we need everybody today. I know that we can't afford to have one-sixth of our people out of the mainstream of American life. I know that we can't afford to continue to have lawlessness and violence in our streets. I know that we must enforce the law, but I know we must also make possible opportunity. That is what we are trying to do.

We are engaged in a mighty enterprise. We are not working on the easy things any more. Jobs are available to most people. Education is available to most people. Health is available to most people. But the test of a Great Society is not only what you do for most people but what do you do for the least of these.

Franklin Roosevelt once said that it is not the duty of government to see to it that those who already have too much have more. But it is the responsibility of government to see to it that those who have too little have enough.

Thomas Jefferson said that the only legitimate objective of government is the health, the education, and the happiness of the people. And I am proud to work in a government and be a part of a government, and prouder yet to be a citizen of a nation, that believes that the highest priority of every service is the enrichment of the lives of our fellow citizens. And I am proud to come before a great union that has done so much for its own members. Your lives are better because of your union. America is better because of this union. The railroads are better because of this union. The communities are better because of this union.

I know of no force in America that has done more for the uplifting of the standard of living in America than organized labor. And I have been proud all of my public life to be called a friend of labor. I have been proud and valued the support of labor and I am exceedingly proud this morning to have been your invited guest to this, your 23rd Convention, because I know that I am in the household of good people. I know that I speak to good citizens. I know that I speak to people who will not only admire and respect their union and its leadership, but, more importantly, you are patriots. You love your country. You have given of yourself and your sons and your daughters. You have a sense of dedication to what this nation believes in and stands for.

So permit me to say goodbye on that note and to thank you so much for letting me in this house to share these thoughts with you, my fellow Americans. Good morning.

(The delegation arose and there was prolonged applause.)

Vice President Humphrey: Thank you.

A CHANCE FOR THE RURAL POOR

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, for too many years the rural poor have been largely forgotten in the Nation's efforts to combat poverty and unemployment. Millions of dollars have been poured into our teeming cities to provide education, training, and jobs; but relatively little attention has been paid to the severe manpower crisis in our vast rural areas.

As a result, millions of impoverished individuals and families have abandoned the farms and small towns to seek better opportunities in the cities. There they have all too often found continued economic frustration and deprivation, and have only intensified the problem facing the cities' already overburdened education, welfare, and employment programs.

A. Philip Randolph succinctly posed the issue in a recent statement submitted to the President's Commission on Rural Poverty:

In the generation from 1940 to 1965, some 25 million people left agriculture. Is this not one of the great migrations in the world's history? Yet in all that quarter of a century, we have seen no coherent plan or program or social purposes either to help these millions remain on the land or prepare them for the changed environment of the cities into which they thronged.

In the past year, the Federal Government has given increased emphasis to programs meeting the challenge of rural poverty. Community action programs have now been developed and launched in over 1,500 rural counties. Through work experience programs such as the community betterment and beautification program, which I had the privilege to sponsor, thousands of rural poor have been provided useful, productive employment.

Much, of course, remains to be done. But a start has at least been made. Indicative of the ferment and progress in the Nation's rural areas are the many program developments documented monthly in Rural Opportunities, an information bulletin published by the community action program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Its pages reflect the promising changes that are now underway in rural America. In order that these achievements may receive more widespread notice, I ask unanimous consent that the bulletins for April and May be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the April 1967 issue of Rural Opportunities]

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS—A CHANCE FOR RURAL YOUTH

Rural poverty is deceptive. It is undramatic but intense. Its victims are often apathetic but proud. Its isolation sets up obstacles that are major barriers to assistance.

The record of the U.S. Labor Department's Neighborhood Youth Corps in rural areas is good: some 40% of the 1.8 million youth eligible for the Neighborhood Youth Corps live in rural areas. During the first two years of NYC operation, slightly less than half of the 3,104 projects were in rural areas; 31% of the 1 million job opportunities were for rural youth and 48 states had rural projects.

With the passage of the Economic Opportunity Amendments Act of 1966, we have additional tools that make it possible to launch even more effective work-training and job creation programs in rural areas.

As the result of these amendments and agreements between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the United States Department of Labor, the Labor Department will set up the Bureau of Work Programs to administer youth and adult work experience programs. They include: the Neighborhood Youth Corps (Title 1, Part B), Adult Work-Experience Training Programs (Title II, Sec. 205d); New Careers (Title II, Sec. 205e), and Special Impact (Title 1, Part D).

With the exception of Special Impact, which has a strictly urban orientation, all of these programs can play a significant part in dissipating rural poverty.

And—as has been the case with the Neighborhood Youth Corps—the Bureau of Work Programs welcomes the support and resources of rural Community Action Agencies in these efforts. The Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity have agreed that projects under these programs will be developed by or with CAAs. Sponsorship by other than CAAs will take place only when there is no available CAA or when there exists a compelling argument against such sponsorship.

The recent legislative amendments affecting NYC have particular implications for rural youth. Under the new legislation the age requirements for in-school youth, formerly set at 16–21, have been lowered. Eligibility is now geared not only to students attending the 9th through the 12th grades but also to those attending elementary school who are the age of those in grades 9–12.

Aware of both the growing migration of young people from rural areas to the cities and the need to create new opportunities for work in rural areas, the NYC has emphasized to its sponsors the necessity for work-experience that can lead to permanent jobs in the hometown areas as well as work-experience that is transferable. NYC enrollees have served as aides in many employment fields, such as pollution control, drafting, clerical work, food services, research, surveying, education, health and landscaping.

Under the new legislation, enrollees are no longer limited to work-assignments with public and private non-profit agencies but may be assigned to work stations with private employers. This makes it possible to broaden the exposure and experience of enrollees and can have two results particularly important for rural youth: It can prepare and motivate these youths to enter, on a career basis, new industries that may be developing in their home-areas; and, for those who move to an urban locality, it can help provide a desperately needed orientation on available urban jobs.

Location of a project in a rural area or town will be one of the priority considerations in approving proposals for Adult Work-Experience Training Programs. To be approved by the Bureau of Work Programs, proposals must include, as their prime objective, training for permanent jobs in the competitive job market. The employing agency is urged to provide permanent employment opportunities for and to hire those persons who receive work-training and who qualify for such jobs. A substantial portion of the Fiscal Year 1967 funds appropriated for this program, which was formerly administered by OEO, have been committed. As part of planning for the future, the Bureau of Work Programs will, at a later date, review and evaluate these on-going programs for their consistency with the new guidelines. The New Careers programs will emphasize focus on the creation of additional and permanent jobs as support personnel in public service. Rural areas are eligible for inclusion in the program which will initially operate on demonstration and selective basis. Projects will be authorized only in those communities where there is opportunity for upward mobility and where the wage-rate is equivalent to the Federal or State minimum or the prevailing wage in the area—whichever is highest.

The New Career projects can lead the way in demonstrating how rural communities can solve some of their most serious problems, such as shortages of available profes-

sional personnel; limited community services and lack of employment opportunities.

Not all of these problems can be solved through legislation. Some will depend for their solution on human creativity. The Bureau of Work Programs looks forward to maximizing cooperative creative efforts with rural CAAs directed at elimination of rural poverty.

JACK HOWARD,
Administrator, Bureau of Work Programs, U.S. Department of Labor.

HEAD START WORKSHOP IN MISSISSIPPI

Eager to talk about their Head Start program, Amite, Pike, and Wilkinson County, Mississippi, citizens filled the big courtroom in Magnolia, February 17 and 18. For two hours Friday evening, February 17, interested individuals poured out their complaints and registered their disapprovals against what they felt was wrong.

Chester Sims, analyst, Atlanta, OEO; Bob Golter, consultant, Nashville; and Joseph Bradford, Rural Services Division, Washington, OEO, listened and attempted to provide some answers. Unable to give all the answers, the three workshop directors grouped complaints and questions into four categories: Employment Practices and Procedures; Recruitment and Enrollment of White Children; Center Locations; and, Board Reconstitution and Reorganization—for further discussion.

Returning in full force Saturday morning, the audience divided into four groups, each taking one of the four topics for discussion and recommendations. The groups pored over complaints and questions and tried to come up with answers and procedures to resolve their numerous problems.

The two-session workshop proved to be an exercise in community action such as had never occurred in the three-county Community Action Agency previously. Although all complaints were not satisfied, nor all questions answered, greater measures of information and understanding were provided.

CAP Board and staff members, delegate agency board and staff, Head Start Center and staff members, together with many community representatives, shared the sessions.

Follow-up Committees on Recruitment of white children and involvement of white parents, and Reconstitution and Reorganization of delegate agency boards, were appointed.

HUMPHREY URGES CO-OPS TO BANISH RURAL POVERTY

Throwing out a challenge to "banish poverty from rural America," Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey set the theme for the 25th annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association when more than 8,000 members met in San Francisco in February.

Revitalization of rural areas was stressed in speeches and panel discussions throughout the convention, and the Association passed a unanimous resolution to accelerate efforts in rural development. The resolution also urged its member systems to assume leadership in rural development. Many rural electric systems are already participating in local anti-poverty and economic development programs.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman encouraged the rural electric delegates to use "the concept of the larger community" in order to accomplish "exciting and meaningful development." He pointed out that "formal political subdivision of county, township and municipality are being replaced by functional boundaries determined in practice by the commuting distance to jobs, availability of services within driving range, and other factors relating to present-day transportation and communication."

Jack T. Conway, former Deputy Director of OEO and now executive director, Industrial Union Department, urged the cooperatives to develop programs for "people-erosion control." Other speakers who stressed the urgency of improving rural life were Rural Electrification Administrator Norman M. Clapp; Hugh B. O'Hara, director of Rural Areas Development for REA; and B. H. Jarman, an educator from Middletown, Virginia, who urged that opportunities be created for young people to assume leadership roles in the rural community.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY CLOSES HEARINGS IN WASHINGTON

Testimony, continued in Washington and given by Federal officials, organization representatives, individuals and the poor, confirmed the reports the Commission heard at its recent hearings held in Tucson and Memphis: that the array of anti-poverty programs on the American scene are still not solving the problem of the rural poor. Those problems are just piling up.

Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman, testifying, said he hoped the Commission's hearings would impress "one indelible fact" on the national conscience. He stated that the Nation would pay for poverty, one way or the other, either through "endless generations of welfare payments," more crime and violence or through programs that trained, educated and provided work for the rural poor.

A. Philip Randolph, vice-chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund, who could not be present at the hearings, had his statement read. "We have enough committees, enough commissions, enough conferences. We need action."

"In the generation from 1940 to 1965, some 25 million people left agriculture. Is this not one of the great migrations in the world's history? Yet in all that quarter of a century, we have seen no coherent plan or program or social purposes either to help those millions remain on the land or prepare them for the changed environment of the cities into which they thronged."

Racial discrimination in U.S. sponsored farm programs was cited by William L. Taylor, staff director of the Civil Rights Commission. He told the President's Commission that there have been improvements in some programs in the past two years but while "some integration" has occurred in State Extension offices in the South, "to this day, no Negro holds a supervisory position at the county level." Services provided by these offices "are still carried on largely on a segregated basis."

The three-day hearings took in some 50 witnesses, among them, Bernard L. Boutin, Administrator of Small Business Administration; Undersecretary of Labor Millard Cass; Richard W. Boone of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty; John Short, a former coal miner now living in the city; W. B. Murphy, President of Campbell Soup Company; and, Robert E. Simon, developer of the new town of Reston in nearby Virginia.

James G. Patton, past-President of the National Farmers Union offered a sweeping program in his testimony. Mr. Patton's plan included free education from the cradle to the grave, guaranteed income, a new "homestead act" providing land to anyone who wanted to farm, and the construction of "350 new three-level cities of 150,000 population right out in the middle of rural America."

The President's Commission is now in the process of sifting through and evaluating all the written and oral testimony submitted. Its report to President Johnson is due in September.

Excerpts from the testimony of Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, given February 17, 1967, to the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty

"I am here today to plead . . . the conservation of our rural people.

"We view the Community Action Program concept as a dynamic and ever-changing idea, which it must be in order to serve the needs of poor people in a dynamic and ever-changing economy.

"In some areas, race discrimination, long entrenched 'court house' stand-patism, or simply the lack of any community organization on which to build have kept community action from even getting off the ground. There are no simple solutions here. The fact that you as a Presidential Commission are devoting your time and talents to seeking solutions to rural poverty is adequate evidence of this.

"It will not surprise you to hear me say that the shortfall of funds is our most critical problem. . . . We are hopeful that the President's request for $2.1 billion in FY 1968 is treated more generously by the Congress than was the case last year. With these funds we can look forward to strengthening existing CAA's and creating at least 50 more in rural areas. . . ."

Recommendations made by Mr. Shriver

Grouping of CAA's into multi-county CAP agencies. Federations of Community Action Agencies.

Demonstration programs in pilot rural area for health, education, welfare and training.

Extension of legislation dealing with minimum wages, labor standards, unemployment insurance, and labor-management relations to all agricultural workers.

Extension of the U.S. Employment Service to rural areas, and inclusion of functions of Farm Placement Service as part of U.S.E.S.

Membership on Farmers Home Administration county committees more representative of the borrowers served by the various loan categories.

Reassessment by Federal agencies of their fund allocation procedures to insure an equitable share of program resources to rural areas.

Comprehensive financial assistance and counseling for rural poor who wish to seek urban employment.

EXTENSION SERVICE LOW-INCOME WORK

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first in a series of columns in *Rural Opportunities* highlighting current Extension Service work and accomplishments with low-income families and groups. CAA staffs and Extension workers can complement each other's efforts to assist low-income individuals, families, and communities attain self-sufficiency.)

During the past few years the Cooperative Extension Service has greatly intensified its work with low-income families and groups. A 1966 study of how Extension workers spend their time shows that 28.6 percent is devoted to working with low-income families; 50.8 percent is spent working with farm families, of which 21.7 are classified by current standards as low-income. Some 28.9 percent of Extension's time is spent with rural nonfarm families of which 11.1 percent are low-income; and 20.3 percent is working with families living in areas of over 2,500 population of which 5.8 percent are low-income.

In its youth programs, Extension is working with 700,000 boys and girls from low-income families—one-third of its total 4-H enrollment. In relation to their distribution in the total U.S. population, a higher percentage of non-white youth are being served through 4-H white youth.

Some highlights

Following are some brief highlights of Extension work with Community Action Programs and with other low-income families and groups:

With the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964, the Extension Service undertook a massive educational effort to inform rural people of the provisions of the Act and to help them organize Community Action Programs.

Extension helped organize 781 CAP's, some of which were later combined into multi-county CAP's.

Extension workers helped develop and implement hundreds of component CAP projects, and are currently assisting with 1,742 such projects, both rural and urban.

Extension currently is supervising 4,057 professional and subprofessional workers assigned to OEO and related low-income projects.

In the past six months, Extension workers assisted in establishing 941 MDTA and other job training programs involving 28,552 participants.

Extension is currently working with some 3,152 community resource development committees, and 562 multi-county committees, on a wide range of projects ranging from job training and job development, housing, health, education, recreation, and other beneficial services.

The University of Missouri Extension Division recently completed an OEO-funded 12-month training program for rural CAP directors and staffs. Part I of the program was a series of 13 two-week workshops attended by 356 trainees from 46 states. Part II was the field follow-up of the training staff who worked individually with participants in their home areas on local problems. Regional follow-up conferences with participants was a part of this phase of the project.

The Federal Extension Service has prepared a series of 50 publications especially designed for low-literacy, low-income mothers and families. Copies are available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

The Federal Extension Service and the Cooperative Extension Services of Alabama and Arkansas have teamed up in developing two pilot projects for the developing more effective methods of reaching and teaching hard-core low-income families and youth. Subprofessionals have been trained in a variety of skills to work directly with these families and individuals with striking results.

Extension home economists in 332 counties participating in the Food Stamp Program as of October, 1966, have assisted 142,555 participating families with nutrition education programs aimed at helping them make more effective use of the Food Stamp purchases.

Some 759,500 families in 1,565 counties participating in the program of direct distribution of food for needy families are being taught by Extension home economists how to use the food in preparing nutritious meals.

From July, 1965, through October of 1966, Extension Workers trained 9,711 nonprofessional aides for other agencies. During the same period, 745 nonprofessional aides were trained and supervised by Extension to work directly with low-income families.

During the past two summers, Extension has employed or supervised 6,721 low-income youth in various programs such as NYC and college work-study.

BRYAN PHIFER,
Federal Extension Service.

WAR-ON-RURAL POVERTY EXHIBIT SET FOR USDA PATIO, APRIL 10–21

"The Forge of Progress" will be the theme for a joint OEO–U.S. Department of Agriculture exhibit that will show with pictures, words and objects how low-income rural people benefit from the Economic Opportunity loan program, administered by the Farmers Home Administration, and other anti-poverty programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity and USDA.

Vice-President Humphrey has been invited to participate in the opening ceremonies for the event at the USDA on April 10.

Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, and R. Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity have been invited to join Vice-President Humphrey in the opening ceremony.

COAHOMA YOUTH HAPPY WITH LIFE IN JOB CORPS

Job Corps boys home on Christmas leave in Coahoma County, Mississippi, had visits from outreach workers of the Coahoma Opportunities CAA to discuss their Job Corps experiences.

Geographically, the 12 young Mississippians have gone a long way. Some are on the West Coast, some in mid-U.S.A., and some near the East Coast. They expressed conviction that they are also going a long way in their education and training. Some are learning welding, other such courses as carpentry, auto body repair, mechanics, heavy equipment operation, cooking, electronics, bricklaying, painting, and truck driving.

Generally the boys agreed that "Job Corps is a nice place to be." A typical comment came from 20-year-old James Riley, stationed at Poplar Bluff, Missouri: "I will be glad when the time comes to go back. I think other boys who are not going to school would do well to go into the Job Corps."

MOUNTAIN CRAFT TRAINING AND MARKETING PROGRAM

The mountain craft training and marketing program of W.A.M.Y.—a community action component—is designed to provide means by which low-income families and individuals can supplement their income. In each of the four counties, there is a crafts specialist who arranges for craft production training and assists the craftsmen in finding markets.

In the last quarter of 1966, October through December, 147 craftsmen in the four county area earned a total of $5,000. Many are learning to set up their own bazaars, make their own market contacts and will, eventually, become independent of the crafts specialist.

HOME DYEING NOT DEAD IN W.A.M.Y.

A crafts teacher and marketing specialist working for W.A.M.Y. Community Action in four North Carolina mountain communities—Watauga, Avery, Mitchell, Yancey—found Elsie Trivette in the mountain hamlet of Beech Mountain, near Banner Elk.

Mrs. Trivette makes her own dyes in the same way her mother did, using natural materials such as black walnut hulls and onion skins.

Now 55, Elsie Trivette was the youngest of 8 children and only 2 years old when her father died. "My mother taught all of us to dye and hook rugs and knot bedspreads. We supported ourselves."

Then, with 6 children of her own and a husband who was confined to a State hospital in 1938, once again Elsie Trivette turned to rug making for some income. Her children are grown now and she supports herself, living 21 miles from where she was born and raised.

The crafts specialist calls Elsie Trivette "one of the few true craftsmen in the mountains . . . she takes raw materials, creates designs and colors and turns out high quality finished products . . . the cross design came from studying her churn dashers . . . her rugs have beautifully muted colors because she dyes the burlap sacks before she ravels the material."

Making home dyes requires time and skill. Here is how Mrs. Trivette explains the process:

"I get my brown dyes from black walnut hulls. If I boil them inside a kitchen pan, I get a lighter shade than if I boil them outside in an old iron pot. Some of that iron in that old pot seems to mix with the dye." Onion hulls produce a yellow or orange dye when boiled. Apple tree bark produces a different shade of yellow; sumac burrs gives deep red and wine shades. Polk berry juice is good for making designs on burlap.

After the dye is made, Mrs. Trivette puts the burlap bags into the boiling dye and adds vinegar and salt to set the dye in the material. She gets the bags free from the neighboring farmers.

After the burlap is dyed, she ravels the material and hooks it into another burlap sack stretched on a frame. It takes 24 hours to complete a rug that sells for $15.00.

Mrs. Trivette takes orders for rugs. Write to: W.A.M.Y. Community Action, Inc., P.O. Box 552, Boone, North Carolina—28601.

FARMERS LEARN THROUGH DEMONSTRATIONS

Alabama's Cooperative Extension Service (District 11) took a "grassroots" approach in solving low-income family problems. Made up of 17 counties in southeast Alabama, the area is known as the Wiregrass Area and the principal crops are peanuts, cotton and livestock. Extension staffs conducted 256 low-income demonstrations during 1966. The demonstrations were kept simple and the emphasis was on increasing farm income and home food supply.

There were garden, corn, peanut, cotton and home meat supply demonstrations set up for the family units. One county took up commercial cucumber growing. The aim of the demonstrations was to show by example the value of those methods that would increase production, income and home food supply.

Assisting low-income families was designated the top priority item in the 1966 Extension program. County agents made regular visits to the low-income farmers and kept a record of their progress.

One of the most pleased demonstrators is George Rogers of Ozark, Alabama. Rogers had almost a complete crop failure in 1965. He made only 14 tons of peanuts on 50 acres—about one-third of the county's average yield. This year, through the help of the Extension Agent, he almost tripled his 1965 yields and sold 23 tons from a planted acreage of 32.

"Extension has been the difference," says Rogers, "operating money until my crops were harvested . . . coming by and reminding me of jobs that needed to be done . . . advising me on taking soil samples, planting dates, insect control and how and when to cultivate. I'm going to pay off my debts this year."

What about Rogers' neighbors? "They've watched my operation all year," reports Rogers, "and everyone of them says he is going to try to do the things I did to up his yields and income."

A Bullock County family of 11 received help from Extension and had good success increasing its food supply.

Mrs. Nettie B. Robbins knew she had to do some planning to properly feed her 10 children. Advice from the Extension Home Agent helped her decide the size garden she needed and size laying flock to supply enough eggs for eating and baking. "We ate about 500 pounds of fresh vegetables and put over 500 quarts in our freezer," says Mrs. Robbins. "This was a saving of over $500 for us."

"I'm well satisfied with our program in District 11," says District Extension Chairman J. C. Bullington. "We plan to expand next year by taking in more families and using this year's demonstrators as leaders in their respective communities.

"There is no doubt in my mind but that this program is going to spill over into hundreds of families and create better living conditions, and improve the State's economy and educational level in the process."

FREE BUS WILL BRING ELDERLY FOLKS TO CENTER

A free bus for elderly people in the Windham Area of Connecticut will make it possible for rural folks to enjoy the special services of a new CAA-sponsored Senior Citizens Center in Willimantic.

The Windham Area Community Action

Program is the first CAA in Connecticut to get a grant from the State Commission on Services to Elderly Persons for a senior citizens center. The community is making a $16,200 "in kind" contribution to match the Commission's $27,700 grant.

Free daily bus service throughout a ten-town area will enable rural people to participate in the Center's activities, as well as get to medical and dental care, to shops, and to the homes of their friends and relatives.

The center will be open five days a week. Among its services will be an information and referral center, social activities, and a senior citizen employment center. Geraldine Novotny, a gerontology specialist at the University of Connecticut, is director of the new center.

The Windham CAA recently merged with the neighboring Quinebaug Valley Action Committee. The new CAA, covering 20 towns, will retain the WACAP title. William Olds is the executive director of the agency.

NORTH CAROLINA MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY SOLVES WATER PROBLEM

The people of this mountain community in Avery County have got together to effect a minor miracle in their cove. And they did it by hard work in cooperation with their local community action agency.

First of all, what is Blevins Creek? It's a mile-long community of about thirty families whose houses are strung out along the namesake creek.

"Up until last year, the basic living wage per year would run somewhere between six hundred and a thousand dollars per family," says Walter Vance, a community leader who spearheaded the community's recent improvement drive.

"The basic income is from pulling off galax leaves," says Vance, who works in in a greenhouse which uses the leaves of the galax plant for floral decorations. A few people have found jobs with industries that have come in the past few years, but Blevins Creek is still one of the poorer sections of Avery County, Vance says.

Vance was instrumental in getting people together for a meeting on community problems. They soon discovered that one thing was on the people's minds: water.

"Only two or three families had water in their house," Vance explains. "And in the late fall, when our watershed was low, it was really rough for us to get water."

"Even in winter, when the watershed was high, there was snow, and the people still had to carry water, sometimes a quarter to a half a mile."

Generations of cove residents had trudged down mud paths to springs and shivered while the water slowly trickled into two-gallon buckets. Finally, the people of Blevins Creek had had enough, and they solved the problem—but it took a helping hand.

The help came from W.A.M.Y. Community Action, Inc., the local anti-poverty organization. "We called, and Mr. Jeffrey McArthur from W.A.M.Y. came," says Vance. "He helped us organize and got us ready to go see the man at the F.H.A."

The Farmer's Home Administration agreed to lend the group $12,000, a sum much larger than any single family could possibly have afforded. In addition, W.A.M.Y. made a $900 grant to the community group.

Vance explains that the men of Blevins Creek did much of the work themselves: "We contacted the construction people and got estimates and prices," he says, "and we made numerous trips to try to get all of our supplies ready and get the system set up to work efficiently."

W.A.M.Y.'s role didn't stop with helping the group organize. The Neighborhood Youth Corps program sponsored by the community action agency provided the labor force for laying part of the water lines.

Youth Corps enrollees—high school dropouts from low-income families—wielded picks and shovels, gouging out a pathway for the water through the rock-studded mountain earth. These enrollees, while earning money, also were receiving academic courses to help them finish their education.

The value of united action is shown by the relative ease with which the Blevins Creek residents will be able to repay their loan.

"We've set up a base pay of four dollars per month for each family to use the water," Vance says. "The four dollars will also go toward upkeep of the electrical part of the water system."

Community cooperation in Blevins Creek hasn't stopped with getting water lines. "We're fixing up the roads to our cemetery so we can get up there in bad weather," Vance says. "After that we're going to try to beautify our highway and get the trash off the sides of the road."

The people of Blevins Creek knew their problem, worked on it, and—with a helping hand—solved it. Their success is a lucid example of what the W.A.M.Y. people call "involvement of the poor." This means letting the poor decide what needs to be done and, as much as possible, letting them work on their own problems.

The people of Blevins Creek don't talk much about the "war on poverty"; instead, they speak of their community group and their local anti-poverty agency, W.A.M.Y. But, the new water lines in this mountain community are the evidence that the war on poverty is neither a "giveaway program" nor a "paper war."

CAP POSITION OPENINGS

Three positions are open in W.A.M.Y. Community Action, Inc., North Carolina. Apply to Ernest D. Eppley, Executive Director, W.A.M.Y., Box 552, Boone, North Carolina 28607; phone 704–264–2421:

Human Resources Planning Director. $12,000–$13,000. Master's degree or equivalent in planning, public administration or economics, strong background in social sciences; 3 years' professional experience including 1 year directive. To organize, direct staff of 5, pioneering in Appalachian anti-poverty planning on OEO demonstration grant.

Resources Specialist-Planner. $9,000–$10,000. Master's degree or equivalent in Planning, Public Administration or economics, familiarity with Federal assistance programs. To provide resource information inputs in comprehensive plan for 4-county Appalachian area; help plan, draft proposals to funding agencies.

Planning Intelligence Specialist. $9,000–$10,000. Master's degree or equivalent in social sciences. Experience in designing, operating continuous data collection systems; interpreting social, economic data. To provide population needs and program progress information for comprehensive anti-poverty planning process; also help evaluate programs draft plan.

Five positions are open in Community Action for Improvement, Inc., Georgia. Apply to P.O. Box 479, La Grange, Georgia 30240. Telephone 404–882–2946. Positions are:

Executive Director for 7-county CAA. Coordinate, direct programs. Experience, high degree of flexibility necessary. $12,000. Start immediately.

Co-op Director. Two positions open. To expand Farmers' Cooperative into unserved county. $7,200. To start April 1, subject to grant approval.

Center Director, Assistant Director. To develop, operate multi-purpose center in community of 7,000. Director, $7,800; Assistant Director, $7,200. To start April 1, subject to grant approval.

BRIEFS

The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, a privately operated organization headquartered in Washington, D. C., is setting up a National Grievance and Information Center to help facilitate community action programs. The Center will work to expedite program proposals through government channels, and provide information to community groups about sources of funds. Representatives of welfare, industry, labor, religious organizations, civil rights groups, Indians and Mexican-American groups are on the 14-man steering committee for the Center.

RURAL CAP GRANTS [1]

(204–205–206–207)

February 28, 1967:

Cumulative grants to rural CAA's and single-purpose agencies: $227 million.

Fiscal Year '67 rural grants: $44.1 million.

Rural CAA's: 613.[2]

Rural counties funded: 1,536 (2,464 total).

Program Development grants: 666.

Conduct & Administration grants: 1,547 [3].

Demonstration, Training, Technical Assistance grants: 60.

[From the May 1967 issue of Rural Opportunities]

THE OUTLOOK FOR RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

President Johnson's recent Poverty message and the current Congressional hearings on the War on Poverty are generating many questions about the status of rural community action. What is it doing? Where is it headed? And what can we do to move faster toward the goals of the War on Poverty?

The statistics can be stated very briefly: after two and a half years of CAP, 1,540 counties are organized in some 620 rural CAA's, with programs ranging from a single-county Program Development survey to a multicounty operation covering a dozen or more community activities.

The significance is not only in the numbers. It is in what the existence of these CAA's tells us—that a new force is at work in rural America today. By existing, and by conducting programs, these CAA's are demonstrating the potential of creativity and capability of the rural people.

In my short time in the Community Action Program, I have been impressed by the significant number of meaningful efforts rural communities are making to get at the roots of the problem of poverty. That we have not moved fast enough or hard enough is no reflection on the board members and others who have taken the time to study their communities and identify the means which must be used to solve the dilemma of local poverty.

We all recognize that rural areas have only made a beginning toward what needs to be done. In the coming year, the Rural Services Devision anticipates strong OEO support for rural community action. The thrust will be toward providing the rural poor with services and opportunities *where they are*. This will make it possible for them to remain in their own communities if they wish rather than being forced, by lack of services and opportunities, to migrate to a city.

To provide support to rural community action, we are projecting the following plans for CAP in the coming fiscal year:

Organization of 350 rural counties into 50 new CAA's. A massive buildup of managerial and technical competence in rural CAA's through technical assistance, training, and cooperation between rural areas and nearby urban centers.

Appointment of a rural specialist in each

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[1] Excluding grants for Migrant and Indian Programs.

[2] Adjusted total resulting from multi-county consolidations.

[3] Excluding Summer Head Start.

Regional office, to deal exclusively with programs for the rural poor.

Publication of a guideline handbook for rural community action. (This is now in preparation.)

Additional single-purpose agencies in areas where it is difficult to establish a broad-based CAA.

Increased use of the rural resource center or neighborhood service center to deploy services more effectively to rural poor.

Stepped-up use of the New Career program to train non-professionals in rural areas.

Increased interaction of rural agencies, including CAA's, for multi-county planning and economic development.

Improved liaison of Headquarters CAP with other Federal agencies to assure availability of programs to rural poor. This will include joint training programs, with U.S. Department of Agriculture and other agencies, conducted at the local level to focus team effort on solution of rural poverty problems.

A research and demonstration project in the field of rural transportation.

Community action has become a part of the life of rural America. Although it is now OEO-related by reasons of its funding, this relationship will change as CAA's become stronger and more self-reliant, and more interrelated with other community agencies.

Knowledge can indeed be power, and knowing how to plan and coordinate, how to use the interaction of agencies and programs, and how to develop local leadership and citizen participation—all this knowledge is developing a new dimension within the CAA areas, as rural people use community action to improve their lives.

IRA KAY,
Director, Rural Services Division.

CAREERS OPENING FOR DISADVANTAGED

A quiet revolution has taken place in Missouri, led by C. B. "Brice" Ratchford, vice president of the University of Missouri for Extension. Dr. Ratchford served on the original task force that studied ways to fight poverty in the months before the creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The revolution brought about by his leadership in the area that is most meaningful to the disadvantaged—from 25 to 50 jobs will be opened up this year for non-professional employees in the Missouri Extension Service.

Dr. Ratchford credits OEO with showing that benefits could be gained from hiring disadvantaged persons. "Until we got involved in the War on Poverty, we never thought of hiring disadvantaged persons to work with our staff people. Now, we feel that they can provide the most effective way for us to accomplish our mission. They have unique skills, especially in being able to communicate with a hard-to-reach segment of rural Missourians. In certain cases they are much more effective than our usual professionals," Dr. Ratchford said.

Begin hiring July 1

The first year, according to Dr. Ratchford, the ratio of non-professionals to professionals may reach one-to-ten. "We have 385 professionals on our field staff now," he said, "and beginning July 1 we'll begin to hire trainees to work with our current employees. Starting salaries in most cases will be at least $260 per month, and salaries will probably be raised by 25 percent in six months. We'll be recruiting from the areas where the people will be working, and we'll offer upgrading to individuals who are currently employed in OEO projects. In most cases, we'll have four or five non-professionals working under the direction of one professional."

Favorable results have been reported from a preliminary study made of the employability of non-professionals after working in OEO programs delegated to the local Extension Service. "About 70 of those who left these programs are now working on full-time jobs." Dr. Ratchford said. "About a third of those who are working have found employment on other OEO projects, but private industry and other organizations are employing the other two-thirds. It looks as if there is a significant increase in employability for those who take part in these programs.

Study favorable

Another source of support for hiring non-professionals has come from a study by Dr. Darrell Hobbs, a professor of sociology at the University. Dr. Hobbs' study has shown that low-income and middle-income residents respond more positively to home visits and field work conducted by non-professionals than to those by professional outreach workers.

According to Dr. Ratchford, a number of other State cooperative extension services have been using non-professional employees on a trial basis with generally favorable results.

Two years ago, at the outset of Missouri Extension's involvement in OEO programs, Dr. Ratchford assigned Mrs. Catherine Zimmerman, a nationally-known consumer education and home economics expert, to coordinate the programs within Missouri. She is still hard at work on every level, especially on training of non-professionals.

Dr. Ratchford is eager to share the experience of Missouri Extension Service in reaching and serving disadvantaged rural poor, and in the use of non-professional employees. His address is Whitten Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri 65201.

NEW BULLETIN OUT

"Storing Vegetables and Fruits in Basements, Cellars, Outbuildings and Pits" is the title of a new bulletin now available to those who wish to store these foods without refrigeration. Single copies are available from the Office of Information, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C. Ask for House and Garden Bulletin No. 119.

OKLAHOMA, COMMUNITIES IN ACTION SUMMARY

(NOTE.—Taken from the overall report by State Coordinator for Economic Opportunity, Robert L. Haught.)

"Community Action is not a new idea in Oklahoma. Indian tribes which populated the territory prior to statehood built schools for their children and formed governments to administer to common needs. Pioneer settlers faced and conquered the hardships of frontier life by helping one another. The struggle to survive united families together in a common bond. Those who homesteaded the area represented many nationalities and races and widely varied economic and social backgrounds. . .

The first OEO grant for Community Action in Oklahoma was approved by the Governor on April 14, 1965. It provided Program Development funds for Oklahoma County. About one month later, the first rural grant was made, to Pawnee County. By the end of 1965, a total of 23 counties had been funded.

During the first six months of 1966, the total rose to 54 counties with funded Community Action Agencies.

The funded CAA's include one which covers three counties and two which cover two counties each, for a total of 50 operating agencies. These 50 agencies are serving more than 90 percent of the low-income population of the state. . .

Governing the activities of the 50 CAA's are around 1,200 board members—local citizens who contribute their time and talents without compensation. Of the total, some 350 are representatives of the poor. About one-fourth of the board members come from minority groups.

Among the CAA staffs are many from the low-income group who have become employed as directors, assistant directors, secretaries or neighborhood workers. The meaning of such a job is expressed . . . by a woman employee:

" 'In the time I have been (working) in the CAP office, I have . . . a deep feeling of accomplishment . . . I know the feeling of going to bed hungry and the embarrassment of going to school without a decent pair of shoes to wear . . . since being with Community Action I have found that the people in the big offices downtown have more feeling and desire toward the poorer class than I ever dreamed it was possible.

Community Action has come so far in (our) county . . . if OEO should close our office . . . Community Action would not die . . . too many people have seen the ray of light, and they want to get a little closer to that cloud of prosperity and self-respect.' "

Oklahoma Community Action may be summarized as follows:

Head Start—During the first year, summer of 1965, Oklahoma had 184 centers in 44 counties serving 7,237 children. In 1966, there were 332 centers in 51 counties serving 7,497 children.

Upward Bound—Five educational institutions served 500 students in 41 counties.

General Youth Programs—Nine counties have child day care centers, youth recreation and other such programs serving 19,145 children.

Multi-Service Centers—Centers are located at Picher in Ottawa County, Muskogee, Chickasha and Idabel, and they serve approximately 40,320 low-income citizens.

Legal Services—Oklahoma has two programs, one at Oklahoma City, the other in Delaware County. The latter is the first rural county to be funded. Together these programs serve 99,243 low-income citizens.

Health Programs—Family Planning programs have been funded in six counties. Two counties—Coal and Johnston—have county-wide health programs, and Hughes County has a program for dental care and eyeglasses. Oklahoma has a unique Indian dietary program. A total of 14,865 low-income citizens are served by these programs.

Migrant Programs—An Adult Basic Education and job training program for 125 members of migrant families was funded for Harmon, Jackson and Greer Counties.

Oklahomans helping themselves

A Cherokee Indian, who made his living by cutting and hauling wood, was stopped one day while driving his pickup truck without a license. He was ordered to quit driving until he got a license, thus halting his source of income. He walked from his home in a remote part of the county to the county seat to take the driver's test. Because of the language barrier, and because he was lacking in reading ability, he had to make the trip three times before he could pass the written examination and qualify for a license. Through a Community Action driver's education program, others like him are now learning the skills necessary to pass the driver's test.

Oklahomans helping their communities

The once-wealthy mining town of Picher all but died when the lead and zinc mines closed down a few years ago. Members of the Picher's Lions Club took the lead in putting the community back on its feet. With an Economic Opportunity grant, a multi-purpose neighborhood center was created, offering educational, health, housing, employment and social services.

EXTENSION SERVICE LOW-INCOME WORK

This column by the Federal Extension Service is a regular feature of *Rural Opportunities*. It tells how CAA staffs and Extension workers complement each other's efforts to assist low-income people in rural areas.

Last month's column provided a broad overview of many Extension Service activities with low-income families and groups. These ranged from job training and job de-

velopment to teaching better uses of donated foods, and included work with many different organizations and agencies serving the poor. This month's column features some of the results of Extension work with low-income groups and communities, and may provide ideas that you will find useful.

Indian women operate successful cooperative

The Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana offers limited job opportunities to the 900 Chippewa and Cree Indians who live there.

In an effort to provide work and income, a two-month MDTA training course in leather decorating was conducted in 1965. This proved to be the start of a productive and profitable venture.

The Hill County Extension Service home economist, Mrs. Elinor Clack, was asked to be in charge of the school. Two Indian women were selected to be instructors. Twenty women took the course and decided to form a cooperative, the Chippewa-Cree Craft Guild. They asked Mrs. Clack to serve as their advisor.

During the last week of the school the women sold their beadwork at a bazaar to gain experience in meeting the public and in pricing items. They donated the proceeds to the Guild. Mrs. Clack entered samples of their work in the Indian Exhibition in Charlotte, North Carolina, where they rated an "honorable mention." This was the encouragement the Indians needed to continue.

Bank shows faith

Their first contract—really a subcontract to furnish 1,150 sets of beaded purses, bracelets, pins and earrings—was for the Cheyenne Arts and Crafts at St. Labre Mission. It took courage, faith and much hard work to accept a contract costing several thousand dollars when the cooperative bank balance was only $110.90. The Havre Bank had enough faith in the venture to approve a loan. In less than four months the order was filled, the loan repaid, and $67 left in the cooperative bank account. The women were paid $6,000. This is an impressive record, but the women recognized there was much yet to learn about production, advertising, management and salesmanship.

The future of this cooperative effort now looks quite promising. Last year the cooperative:

Had a contract with Guild Arts and Crafts of Farmington, New York, and Ashland, Montana, for 475 *dozen pairs* of modern earrings.

Developed a nationwide mail order business.

Supplied several shops with crafts for tourist trade.

Managed to get Rocky Boy Yo-Yo's featured by an Ohio firm.

Provided special quill work for a client in California.

Made beaded ties for a New York outlet.

The Indian women have become very versatile. They can copy lodge insigni and brands, and make rug designs. They enjoy expanding their craft to serve their customers' needs, as well as providing traditional Indian crafts. Moreover, their cooperative is financially solvent and they look forward to expanding their business.

Agents Assist CAP's

In addition to the Indian cooperative, Mrs. Clack and Extension Agent R. A. Roush also are helping with several CAP projects. Under the Nelson amendment, 18 Indian women were trained and employed to make dolls and quilts. The dolls were sold to purchase materials for the quilts which, in turn, are donated to needy elderly people.

Mrs. Clack and Mr. Roush also conducted weekly training meetings over a six-month period for both Indian men and women employed under Nelson amendment funds and for NYC enrollees. This training ranged all the way from developing job skills to teaching money management, health, sanitation, nutrition, grooming and other personal habits.

The latest project which the Rocky Boy Indians are trying to develop with Extension and OEO assistance is a pole furniture and upholstering industry. Some 30 women already are enrolled in training classes in preparation for launching this industry.

Any reader of Rural Opportunities who wishes to purchase Indian crafts from the Chippewa-Cree Craft Guild or who would like to serve as a sales outlet should write to the Guild in care of Box 707, Havre, Montana 59501.

BRYAN PHIFER,
Federal Extension Service.

ADAMS-BROWN COUNTIES, OHIO, SALUTE NYC

A special issue of News Notes & Observations, the newsletter put out by Adams-Brown Counties Office of Economic Opportunity, has been dedicated to the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program . . . "to all who have shared in the success and failures of a year's involvement . . . the staff, the employer, the teacher, the enrollee, and the general public."

Naming their NYC program "Operation Bootstrap" the CAP lists and salutes user agencies and organizations who have given a lift to the 400 NYC youth in the 16 through 21 age group in the year's program.

The West Union High School was singled out for special praise in offering space and equipment for weekly classes for the NYC enrollees studying courses such as: office routine, general business, typing, and operating complicated office equipment.

The County Home Extension Agent came in to teach the girls money management, health and hygiene, and homemaking. A church in Georgetown organized a commercial class for nine girls, mainly special handicapped NYC enrollees.

In closing their salute, the CAP newsletter states: "As with any program operating in unmapped territory, NYC has had to feel its way. Statistics can be used to prove anything. We can proudly boast that at least 50 percent of the enrollees who complete the six months training period have permanent employment. But can we not also count many others as at least partial success? We've set new values that are bound to clash with old standards . . ."

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RURAL YOUTH SET FOR WASHINGTON

President Lyndon B. Johnson has announced that a National Outlook Conference on Rural Youth will be held in Washington, D.C., October 23 to 26. The event will be sponsored jointly by five federal agencies—the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The theme of the three-day meeting will be "New Prospects for Rural Youth." The sessions will focus on the economic, social, health, educational, and employment conditions affecting rural youth. It is hoped that the Conference will encourage State and local groups to conduct programs to meet the needs of rural youth.

A factbook of material relating to rural youth, situations, trends, problems and opportunities is being compiled by the five participating agencies.

About 750 persons from public and private organizations and agencies, and interested individuals throughout the Nation will be invited to take part.

SPOKANE COUNTY YOUTH WILL BE FOSTER FARMERS

Boys and girls in Spokane County, Washington, will have an opportunity this summer to become Foster Farmers, living and working for wages on nearby farms.

The Rural Neighborhood Development Program of the Community Action Council developed the Foster Farmers program. Youth from the city and from rural areas will be recruited and screened through the Spokane Youth Opportunity Center.

Each Foster Farmer will become part of the family on the farm where he works. The Pomona Grange will locate farms on which the youth will be placed. Result: needed farm labor for the farmers, work experience and income for the boys and girls, and better mutual understanding of city and rural people.

GILBERT CREEK FOLKS GET THEIR OWN STORE

When the people along Gilbert Creek decided they were tired of "owing their souls to the company store," they knew how to go about solving their problem—through community action. Mingo County, West Virginia, Economic Opportunity Corporation has organized 30 communities for community action, and the Gilbert Creek group is one of these.

The tiny community consists of frame and tarpaper homes strung out along a mine-residue-polluted stream. Although the area is described as a "billion dollar coal field," most family heads are unemployed. Like families everywhere, the folks in the Gilbert Creek Community Action Group have felt the pinch of rising prices. Last fall they came up with an answer—a community-owned low-profit grocery store.

No Federal funds

On their own—and with not a penny of Federal funds—the group formed a corporation and sold 543 shares of stock at $10 a share. The community group kept a majority of the stock. With working capital in hand, it proceeded to rent a small cinderblock building on the creek bank, and renovate it for a store—hundreds of man-hours went into this.

Then they began to line up their suppliers—not an easy job. They had expected to be able to buy on consignment, but wholesalers would not agree to this, so capital had to be invested in stock for the store. Truckers were suspicious of this new kind of enterprise, and at first refused their services.

By December, however, in spite of all obstacles, the store was in business, and has been gaining in volume steadily. December sales were $2,700, March sales $8,000.

The business operates on a 10 percent markup, and employs two people fulltime and one parttime. Seventeen wholesalers supply the store, and trucking service is no longer a problem.

Handle food stamps

Hostile at first, merchants in the area are beginning to temper their opposition. The U.S. Department of Agriculture questioned the suitability of the store for Food Stamp participation, but after investigation permitted it to handle stamp sales.

The people of Gilbert Creek are happy to have a store close at hand, and to have their food prices cut. They give their store credit for bringing down prices in other area stores too. Now they are exploring a plan to set up a credit union, with their store providing the initial capital.

Charles W. Cline, the elementary school principal, who is president of the new corporation, feels the store is a success. "Foodstuff on the table is what this is all about," he says. "Nobody's getting rich, but the people aren't being taken either."

KIDS GET DENTAL CARE IN OHIO CAA PROGRAM

"Look, Ma, no cavities" may well be the feeling of 900 children who are getting dental care—their first, for many youngsters—through the Dental Treatment and Educational program of the Tri-County Community Action Program Committee in Ohio. The CAA covers Athen, Hockin, and Perry Counties.

In Athens County 11 children from one family—including three sets of twins—are

receiving their first dental care through the program.

Schools and the county health and welfare departments are assisting in the program. Low-income families were informed of it through the schools.

Ninety percent of the dentists in the three-county area are participating. Each child sees the dentist an average of four times, for cleaning and fillings, extractions and fluoride treatment as needed. Average cost per child is $40.

In addition to the dental care, the tri-county program is providing dental education through films, talks, and demonstrations.

JOB CORPS EARNS THANKS

The 890 citizens of Golconda, Illinois of Pope County have a special affection for the men of the Golconda Job Corps.

Twenty-two Job Corpsmen pitched in and helped restore the First Presbyterian Church, a landmark since 1869, after a fire had demolished the structure.

While the officers of the church were meeting to try to decide how to remove the debris from their house of worship, the telephone rang and Wayne Bell, 32, director of the Golconda Job Corps, said his men were anxious to help.

The Job Corps members put on their working clothes, protective helmet, rolled up their sleeves, and went about the business of removing several tons of debris. A church spokesman said: "Working at a rapid pace, they finished the job in a remarkably short time."

JOINT OEO–TV PROGRAM

WBIR–TV, Knoxville, Tenn., has completed the showing of six original War on Poverty TV programs drawn directly from CAA's in Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia counties covered by the station.

Pete Fennelly, Program Director of WBIR–TV says that he isn't through, that there is more to tell about the wonderful achievements of the poverty program. He aims to bring in two more shows on the Economic Opportunity Loans which are administered by the Farmers Home Administration showing what they have meant to the low-income farmers.

FEEDER PIG PROGRAM PAYS DIVIDENDS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The Williamsburg County Division of the Williamsburg-Lee Counties (South Carolina) Economic Opportunity Council, Inc. completed work on the pastures, fences and houses of 16 low-income farmers early enough this year for the farmers to make some profit on their pig raising.

James Wilson, one of the four families that sold pigs, is a typical example.

Wilson's expenses for buying 6 Bred Gilts, fencing, houses, equipment, pastures, planting and feed amounted to $1150. In the 6 month period, he sold 48 pigs, kept 2 pigs for home use, received a rebate on fence construction and pasture planting—all this totalling $943.

Mr. Wilson still has his fencing, houses, equipment, pastures, as well as many pigs (five of his brood sows farrowed 62 pigs) for future yields on his investment.

The FHA has approved more Economic Opportunity loans for additional low-income farmers who will soon be joining the Feeder Pig Project. The County Agent, FHA, Soil Conservation Service, and Agricultural Stabilization Service have all pitched in with valuable advice in making this a successful program.

"WHERE TO TURN"

Fond du Lac (Wisc.) Area Economic Opportunity Committee, Inc. has an attractive pamphlet out titled "Where To Turn"— listing all the community facilities available for the senior citizen: health resources, social activities, financial help, employment, counseling and advice, and learning.

The material for the pamphlet was compiled by the community action agency, the format arranged by a volunteer committee of senior citizens, and the printing was donated by a local manufacturer—a good example of how a community action agency can get the resources of the community together to help a segment of its population.

Ten thousand copies were printed. For a copy, write to: Fond du Lac Area Economic Opportunity Committee, Inc., 146 Forest Ave., Fond du Lac, Wisc. 54935.

CAP POSITION OPENING

Executive director of Franklin Community Action Corporation, Inc., Greenfield, Massachusetts. Résumé to Gerald F. McCarthy, Vice-President, 39 Federal Street, Greenfield, Mass.

VERMONT TRAINS OLDER AMERICANS

A pilot project for the aging, part-time library aides, has proven to be an enthusiastic success if judged by the many requests coming in from libraries in the 3 Vermont counties of Orleans, Caledonia and Essex.

The model program, funded by the Administration On Aging of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and sponsored by the CAA—Orleans County Council of Social Agencies—has been in operation since January.

Believed to be the only program of its kind in the country, this demonstration project is intended to provide meaningful employment for the older American as well as opportunity for libraries to expand their services through the additional assistance. The program will last 12 months and will be evaluated by a team from the University of Vermont to judge its effectiveness.

So far, 13 library aides are working in St. Johnsbury, Hardwick, Canaan, Troy, Derby, Gilman, Barnet, Barton, Danville, Craftsbury, Concord, Lunenburg, and Island Pond. There are three libraries on the waiting list and the program will have to expand to meet the requests.

The aides receive $1.50 an hour and work a half week, earning $20. This is in line with Social Security regulations. To most of them the money is important, but just as important is the feeling of usefulness as expressed by one 67-year-old library aide when she said: "I feel as though I have just rejoined life."

Their one-week formal training included: care of the book collection, cataloging and processing of books, circulation systems, reference work, and general library management. While working in the library, the aides continue with in-service training.

Rural libraries, which were only open 4 hours a week, have now been able to expand their hours because of the library aide services. The advantage of expanding hours in library service makes it possible for the library to be eligible for State support in the request for more books for its readers.

Donald H. Donnelly, head of the pilot project, said that since the program has been in effect, he hasn't "ceased to be surprised" at just how much it has done for the aging in bringing them back into the life of the community. They have only one male library aide—69-year-old R. Dale Sleeper from Danville who used to manage a general store. The others go up to 84 years of age.

RURAL CAP GRANTS [1]

(March 31, 1967)

Cumulative grants to rural CAA's and single-purpose agencies: $248 million.

Fiscal Year '67 rural grants: $64.8 million.

Rural CAA's: 615.

Rural counties funded: 1,539 (2,464 total).

Program Development grants: 673.

Conduct & Administration grants: 1,755 [2].

Demonstration, Training, Technical Assistance grants: 65.

BRIEFS

Martin County Community Action, Inc., in Williamston, North Carolina, is making good use of the local air waves. Through the courtesy of radio station WIAM, the CAA has a weekly broadcast every Thursday afternoon telling about its activities. Recent programs were about homemaker aides, small business loans to low-income people, and PACE—Plan Assuring College Education.

QUINCO Economic Opportunity Agency, Inc.—Marion, Monroe, Ralls, Shelby, and Pike Counties, Missouri, has Mobile Dental Units operating in the area. The Dental Unit examines and treats youngsters 6, 7, and 8 years of age whose parents are among the low-income citizenry. These Mobile Units operate throughout Missouri with about 50% of the funds being supplied from OEO.

An encouraging start on a Comprehensive Manpower Development Center has been made by West Central Development Corporation, Iowa (Crawford, Harrison, Monona and Shelby Counties). The Center has had 482 walk-in clients, 33 cases have been before the reviewing panel, 67 persons have had counseling, 8 placements have been completed. The center has processed 26 NYC applicants and placed them in work stations, and has placed one youth in on-the-job training and another in vocational training. Six youths have signed up for Job Corps. The Division of Vocational Rehabilitation is working with 21 people.

Residents of Eight-CAP, Inc., Michigan (Isabella, Montcalm, Gratiot, and Ionia Counties) are serving on a group of committees to formulate programs. The committees are: Education, Housing, Health and Welfare, Employment and Manpower, Programs for the Aged, Rural Farm Programs, and Area Residents.

Books have arrived on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in North Dakota—ten tons of them, collected by a friend of "Tracy the VISTA," delivered through the generosity of North American Van Lines of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and unloaded at Cannonball by Job Corps men from the Lewis and Clark Center in Bismarck. The books are being divided up for distribution to the community center libraries on the reservation. Another 500 books have been received from the University of Utah student body and library.

Clay-Wilkins Opportunity Council, Minnesota, was recently refunded for its health program for prevention and treatment of alcoholism. Families and individuals receive counseling, and referrals are made to hospitals and Alcoholics Anonymous. There is also an educational program.

[1] 204–205–206–207 grants, excluding grants to Migrant and Indian programs.

[2] Excluding Summer Head Start.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF SST IGNORE LARGER SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, if Congress approves the $198 million appropriation the Federal Aviation Administration wants in order to carry on with the development of a supersonic transport, it will have made a regrettable decision—a decision that may well prove irrevocable in spite of the intolerable social and economic costs that now seem likely to result.

If the SST prototypes, which this appropriation would finance, are built, I fear there will be no turning back. The pressure of past expenditures in this venture—as in so many others in which the Federal Government has become involved—will push us, however unwilling, into the production stage. And then—make no mistake about it—the SST's will

fly. They will fly even though the initial cost per plane and the daily cost of operating them may be so incredibly high that many airlines may be driven into bankruptcy or merger or total Government takeover. They will fly even though they may bring in their wake an undesirable concentration—or even a monopoly—in the aircraft manufacturing industry. And they will fly—over both land and sea—even if a way to muffle the disturbing, destructive, and incessant sonic boom has not been found.

We must realize before it is too late—as Karl M. Ruppenthal of Stanford University has said—that "political, economic, and social questions of considerable magnitude have yet to be assessed." We have totally ignored them so far. We have plunged into the SST adventure based on an equation in which much weight is given to elements of national pride and technical leadership and to a spurious argument that the plane will somehow reap enormous benefits for our balance-of-payments position. Nowhere in this equation is any weight given to what the SST would do to the quality of life on this globe.

It is always possible, of course, that those who care about the quality of life will win out over the hell-for-leather, speed-at-any-cost advocates. It is possible that those who value a modicum of peace and quiet, those who, by some oversight, have failed to ensconce themselves in homes, or offices or factories designed—like Frank Lloyd Wright's Imperial Hotel—to withstand the veritable earthquake of SST booms in tightly woven carpets of pandemonium across the country, will bring enough political pressure to ban SST flights over populated land areas. Several foreign governments have already indicated they will bar supersonic flights over their countries if the sonic boom proves disturbing. The shipping and fishing industries may win a similar ban over sea lanes and fishing grounds. And then where will the SST be? All may not be lost. The call for supersonic service between Nome and the Sandwich Islands may have picked up considerably by then. The more likely outcome, however, is a $4 billion loss to the American taxpayer. He is the only one taking any sizable risk in this venture. And when he loses, he is going to ask questions. Was there no logical point along the way, he will ask, when we could have abandoned this nonsensical contraption and have spent our money on something of value? Mr. President, we are now at that point. The time to stop it is now. We cannot afford it. We have serious domestic problems to attend to. We are fighting a war. Our budget deficit is spiraling, which has a deleterious effect on the health and stability of our economy. With all of this, let us not allow our attention and our money to be diverted into a senseless game of chance in which the prize is a booby trap.

Mr. President, there is already evidence that thoughtful citizens are organizing in determined opposition to the SST. A group, made up mostly of scientists, has been organized in Cambridge, Mass., called the Citizens League Against the Sonic Boom. The league purchased a half-page advertisement in the June 16, 1967, edition of the New York Times in which 21 pertinent questions about the SST were answered. A news article describing the league appeared in the June 18, 1967, edition of the Times. I ask unanimous consent that both the advertisement and the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, June 16, 1967]

THE THREAT OF THE SST AND ITS SHATTERING SONIC BOOM—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING THE PROPOSED SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT PLANE AND THE SONIC BOOM IT WOULD PRODUCE—MATERIAL PREPARED BY SCIENTISTS OF THE CITIZENS LEAGUE AGAINST THE SONIC BOOM

1. What is a supersonic plane?

One that travels faster than sound, i.e., more than about 700 miles per hour. The proposed Boeing supersonic transport is designed to fly at about 1800 mph, or about 2½ times the speed of sound.

2. Does the proposed SST have any advantage over convention jet planes?

Yes: speed. On a flight from New York to London it would save the passengers about 3 hours.

3. Has it any disadvantages?

Yes. Many. It is extremely expensive (about $35 million each). It will require higher fare than on the principal competing planes, the so-called jumbo jets which will be in use quite soon. Its cruising range will be shorter. It poses many new safety problems. But *its worst feature is the inevitable sonic boom.*

4. Just what is a sonic boom?

A very loud, very sudden *bang*, something like the "bang" produced by a moderate size explosion a block away. The bang is the result of an intense shock-wave produced by the SST as it hurtles through the air.

5. Where does this boom occur?

It occurs *everywhere along the entire supersonic flight path*. That is, it follows along behind the plane *all the way*, striking every house and every person along this path.

6. How wide is the bang-zone?

About 50 miles wide, when the plane is at cruising altitude. If an SST flies across USA, the sonic boom would strike every one in an area about 50 miles wide by 2000 miles long—an area more than ten times the area of Massachusetts. Every man, woman and child in this area could be struck by the boom from a *single* SST.

7. Does this mean that a single SST could deliver its bone-shaking jolt to a million people?

Worse: more like 20,000,000 people. Consider this: In about five minutes time a single SST could boom *everyone* on Long Island—all 5,000,000, people, all animals, all schools, all hospitals.

8. How much does the sonic boom bother people?

Very much. In a five-month-long series of sonic boom tests conducted in Oklahoma City in 1964 with supersonic military planes, government investigators found that a large fraction of the population hated the boom. 15,000 persons complained to authorities. More than 4,000 filed formal damage claims. A poll taken near the end of the test series showed that more than one quarter of the population were so startled and so annoyed by the booms that they declared they would never learn to live with it. Laboratory tests of various kinds have shown that a large fraction of persons find booms to be extremely annoying; an appreciable fraction show a sudden increase in rate of heartbeat when struck unexpectedly by the boom. Harm done to babies, to nervous people, to heart patients, etc., has not yet been evaluated satisfactorily.

9. Does the boom bother animals?

Yes. It can cause panic and stampedes among large animals. It can cause mink to kill their offspring.

10. Why does the sonic boom bother people if they are already used to city noises of all kinds?

Because it is so sudden, and there is no warning. The effect can be very startling; disrupting; sometimes even terrifying.

11. Will the boom annoy me less when I am indoors?

Tests have shown that, often, it is *more* annoying indoors, perhaps because of reverberation effects and the shaking of the whole house.

12. How about damage to houses: Can the sonic boom do serious harm?

Yes. In the Oklahoma City tests mentioned above, a single house was virtually split in two, and a court awarded the owner $10,000 in damages. Many other houses suffered damage amounting to thousands of dollars each. In all, more than 4,000 damage claims were submitted. (Many of the homeowners could not *prove* that the damage was done by the boom, and even after years of effort have not received any reimbursement.) An analysis of damage payments resulting from sonic boom tests in Chicago and St. Louis indicates that if a fleet of 150 SST's were in routine use over USA, day and night, the amount of damage they would do to windows, plaster, etc., would be about $1 million per *day*.

13. But if the SST's fly very high, can the boom still reach the ground?

Yes. Even when the proposed Boeing SST is flying at an altitude of 70,000 ft. (almost 14 miles), the boom reaches the ground easily.

14. Can scientists find a way of eliminating the boom?

They have been trying, for years. And failed. The boom is an immutable fact of nature, like gravity.

15. Has the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) banned supersonic flight over land?

No.

16. Has it banned supersonic flight over large cities?

No.

17. Why not?

We do not know. We have inquired of the FAA many times, and have received vague answers about not wanting to hurt the economic prospects of the SST. The potential harassment of millions of our citizens is seldom mentioned in FAA speeches, news releases, etc. The FAA seems infatuated with the idea of supersonic travel and dazzled by dreams of prestige and financial profit this country might gain.

18. What about profits: Will they be large?

The FAA says so. But reports by several independent groups of economists cast doubt on this. There are many circumstances under which the project could be a financial disaster—a gigantic *boondoggle*. The taxpayers could suffer a great financial loss.

19. Why mention the taxpayer? What has he got to do with it?

The U.S. Government, through the FAA, has already contributed many millions of taxpayer dollars to the airplane builders involved. It is considering pouring in hundreds of millions more. Eventually the sum may run to several *billions*. The airplane builders and several airlines are contributing to the program, but the lion's share is to be paid by our Government, i.e., by the taxpayers.

20. What about competitors of the SST? Will the jumbo jet really compete?

Definitely. The jumbo jet, which creates no boom at all, could sweep the field. A jumbo jet will hold 400 to 1000 passengers, two or three times as many as the SST. It can fly 6000 miles nonstop, about 50% far-

ther than the SST. Jumbo jets are expected to be carrying passengers routinely in 1971, about four years before the Boeing SST is expected to be in routine use. Because of its much greater passenger capacity, the jumbo jet would require far fewer take-offs and landings per million passengers carried. The jumbo jet is relatively cheap—far less than the SST. The fares to be charged are expected to be well below today's fares and well below SST fares. The jumbo jet is of conventional design, hence presents few novel safety problems; whereas the SST presents a host of new and difficult problems. The *jumbo jet produces no sonic boom at all!* It is free to travel almost anywhere: over land, over the sea, over great cities. Its prospects are so bright that the aviation industry itself is glad to pay the development costs; there is no billion-dollar reach into the taxpayer's pocket.

21. If Britain and France are already building an SST, don't we have to build one also?

The British and French are already worried by the poor prospects of their *Concorde* SST. Compared to the jumbo jets, it has a very small capacity and a very short range. Development costs have exceeded the estimates again and again. An extra-high fare must be charged. The plane will produce a severe boom, and many countries are already considering prohibiting supersonic flight over their territory. The number of Concordes ordered to date is embarrassingly small.

OUR CONCLUSION

The Citizens League Against the Sonic Boom concludes that the proposed SST has few of the hallmarks of a truly worthwhile project. Its sole virtue is a modest saving in time, which, relative to delays in reaching the airport, checking in, waiting for runway clearance, etc., may not prove to be of major significance; and in any case the public may prefer to travel in the longer-range, lower-fare, boomless jumbo jets. The drawbacks of the SSTS are impressive: the sonic boom, the huge expense, the greater cluttering of airports, the uncertain safety. In our opinion the sonic boom alone is sufficient ground for halting the SST program. The SST would create a new kind of pollution—a worldwide sonic pollution. Hour after hour, day and night, week-days and holidays, it would inflict its startling bang on literally hundreds of millions of defenseless persons, with no place of refuge. While helping a few, the plane would plague millions. Scientific progress is fine; but a major new source of pollution cannot be called progress. Prestige is fine; but the sonic boom would reap a harvest of discontent and protest. Aviation should be the servant of man, not his scourge.

OUR PLEA

We urge all who value peace and quiet to write now, before it is too late, to their Senators and Representatives, to the President, to their newspapers and TV commentators, urging that the SST program be halted. Write often, and urge your friends to write.

We invite you to send contributions to us, to help us intensify our increasingly effective campaign to alert the public and the Congress to this serious, and totally unnecessary, threat to civilized living. Send checks payable to Citizens League Against the Sonic Boom, 19 Appleton St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. Also, we invite you to become a member of this very active League. Send name, address (with zip code), occupation. No dues. Contributions welcomed.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Professor John Borden Armstrong, historian; J. Henderson Barr, architect; William Brower, professor of speech; Prof. Bernard D. Davis, Head of Dept. of Bacteriology and Immunology at Harvard Medical School; Murray N. Fairbank, mechanical engineer; W. H. Ferry, Vice President of Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; Mrs. Ferdinand Fetter, housewife; David C. Forbes, attorney and trustee; Dr. John H. Gibbon, Jr., professor of surgery; C. Edward Graves, conservationist and writer; Dr. Herbert I. Harris, psychiatrist; Mrs. Franz J. Ingelfinger, artist; Mrs. Francis C. Lowell, conservationist; Dr. J. H. Meier, engineer; Mrs. Sara Owen, writer; Mrs. J. H. Parker, conservationist; Mrs. W. T. Pohlig, housewife; Dr. J. Reece Roth, engineering physicist; John M. Sayward, research chemist; John M. Swomley, professor of Christian ethics; Robert J. Varga, teacher; Dr. Donald O. Walter, aerospace medical researcher.

CITIZENS LEAGUE AGAINST THE SONIC BOOM.
Dr. WILLIAM A. SHURCLIFF, *Physicist, Director.*
Prof. JOHN T. EDSALL, *Biochemist, Deputy Director.*

[From the New York Times, June 18, 1967]

LEAGUE AGAINST SONIC BOOM WORKS TO STOP BUILDING OF HIGH-SPEED JETS

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 17.—A group that calls itself the Citizens League Against the Sonic Boom has organized a campaign to stop the construction of a United States supersonic transport.

The campaign, which has scientists, educators and conservationists among its major supporters, is being directed by Dr. William A. Shurcliff, a Harvard University physicist.

Dr. Shurcliff said today that the league had about 230 members in 18 states, plus "a few in Canada and one in England." He said the scientists accounted for about one-quarter of the membership, which he said also included "many writers, professors and conservationists and a good many housewives."

They are linked, he said, "as human beings who don't like to be hit over our heads without our permission being asked."

The campaign, which began quietly three months ago, has been stepped up through newspaper advertisements appealing for support to all "who value peace and quiet."

"Our main approach in intensifying the campaign," Dr. Shurcliff said, "will be to have our members and others writing like mad to their Senators and Representatives and other influential people." He said that donations to the league would be used for additional advertising.

Dr. Shurcliff said the league had decided, "somewhat reluctantly," that it would be necessary to oppose the "very existence" of the supersonic transport, known as the SST.

"Just as the only way to get rid of the smell of the skunk is to eliminate the skunk," he said, "we propose to attack the sonic boom by eliminating the SST."

Aircraft flying faster than sound, as the SST would, build up pressure shock waves that reach the ground in varying intensity. The strength of the sound wave, or boom, depends on such circumstances as the size, shape and weight of the aircraft, its altitude and atmospheric and wind conditions.

The league's position has not been softened by reports that the SST will be limited to overwater routes, unless technology can substantially reduce the effects of the sonic booms.

"For one thing," Dr. Shurcliff said, "the Federal Aviation Administration, in letters to me, insists that there is no ban."

"Once they start flying, they're going to want to fly them everywhere," Dr. Shurcliff said. "Usually, they say they will be flown only over water and less populated areas. The 'less populated areas' sound like a foot in the door."

"Anyway, we object to overwater routes," he said. "You'll find that there will be something like 4,000 people hit by the boom, as near as we can estimate, on a typical trans-Atlantic flight. These will be people on fishing vessels, on pleasure boats of all kinds, on freighters, tankers and, of course, on the big passenger ships."

Dr. Shurcliff said the league would attack the SST program in Congress, which must allocate the funds for the project.

President Johnson gave the go-ahead on April 29 to the Boeing Company and the General Electric Company for the construction of test models. It has been expected that these prototypes of the 1,800-mile-an-hour, 350-passenger aircraft would be flying by 1970 and that commercial service could start by late 1974.

"The amount of money provided thus far by Congress is less than one-quarter of what is needed to get a protype in the air," Dr. Shurcliff said. "The government must put about $1.1 billion together, and to date Congress has only supplied $200 million or $299 million."

"I think our chances of stopping the program are good," he added. "If you ask me when, I'm not so sure, but every year the public will become more aware of the problem."

"The trend today is against pollution of all kinds, and here we have the Government paying $1 billion to create sonic pollution," he said.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that the third in a three-part series of articles about the SST by Karl M. Ruppenthal, which appeared in the June 19, 1967, edition of the Nation, be included as a part of my remarks. The first two articles in the series were included as a part of my remarks on the SST on May 31. Mr. Ruppenthal was an active airline pilot for 25 years and is an attorney and director of the transportation management program at Stanford University. His articles have done a great deal to put the SST dilemma in which we are now mired into perspective. I commend them to the attention of Senators. The third article shows how questionable is one of the assumptions which seems to be fueling the race to build an American SST; namely, that the Anglo-French SST, the Concorde, will be such a great new advance that it will destroy our aircraft industry and wreck our balance-of-payments position unless we build a plane to compete with it. Ruppenthal points up the serious problems the British and French are having with the Concorde. Prime Minister Wilson, in fact, was on the verge of withdrawing his Government's participation in the project because he was convinced the market for the plane had been "wildly overestimated and that the project was unduly expensive." The British stayed with the project, says Ruppenthal, only because of pressure from the French.

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

BLIND STAKES IN THE POKER GAME

(By Karl M. Ruppenthal)

(NOTE.—This article concludes Mr. Ruppenthal's discussion of the problems surrounding the projected supersonic airline. The previous articles in the series were "Billion-Dollar Dilemma," May 22, and "Heat, Cold, Radiation & the Boom," May 29.)

Impressive technical obstacles must be overcome, large amounts of money must be spent, and economic risks of unknown dimensions must be assumed before the United States can produce a supersonic transport that will cruise at Mach 3, that is, at three times the speed of sound. One set of technical problems stems from the fact that presently developed aluminum alloys will not tolerate the high temperatures

that would be developed at such speeds. That being the case, why must the plane go so fast? What would happen if the United States should content itself with craft that would fly, say, in the range of Mach 2 or Mach 2.2?

That same question was asked by the British-French combine when it first entertained thoughts of building an SST, and early studies convinced them that they should content themselves with an aircraft capable of flying at a little more than twice the speed of the present subsonic jets. They came to that conclusion principally because aircraft speeds on the order of Mach 2 will produce the highest surface temperatures that existing aluminum alloys can accept over long periods of time.

Once the builders of the Concorde decided to limit its speed, a host of troublesome problems were eliminated. They did not have to learn how to fabricate titanium or other exotic metals. They did not have to worry about using large amounts of heavy stainless steel. Because of its size, configuration and speed, the sonic boom that the Concorde will produce may be somewhat less intense than must be anticipated by the builders of the Mach 3 SST. Since it would cruise at a lower altitude (probably 60,000 feet instead of 80,000 feet), radiation hazards may be reduced. The risks of explosive depressurization would be a little smaller, and a lighter, less expensive back-up system for pressurizing the cabin will therefore be acceptable.

There is no doubt that from a technical standpoint it would be a great deal easier for the U.S. aircraft industry to build a Mach 2 transport than it will be to build one for Mach 3. But it is not at all certain that such an aircraft could be an economic success.

Probably the most impressive argument for not building a plane that will cruise on the order of Mach 2 is that the Concorde will get there first. The British-French combine began to develop their aircraft several years before studies of supersonic commercial flight were undertaken in this country. And even with its time advantage there is no assurance that the British-French Concorde will be an economic success. When the initial Anglo-French agreement was signed in November, 1962, it was estimated that the taxpayers of each country would be required to contribute on the order of $225 million. But as the plane went from the drawing board to a secondary state, the cost estimate rose and within two years they had almost doubled. In July, 1964, the best estimates indicated that development costs would approach $800 million.

The public knows little about the efforts made in Britain and in France to broaden the base of the project and thus share the risks. Some of the proponents of the airplane thought that it might become a full-fledged NATO venture. Others hoped for cooperation at least from the United States. But no strong expressions of interest came from either the American Government or the American aircraft industry. Both the Italian and the German Governments made polite responses to overtures, but they showed no active interest. The net result of the various talks was that Britain and France decided to carry the burden by themselves.

When his government took office in England, Harold Wilson was faced with a host of problems including inflation, unemployment, a balance-of-payments deficit, and severe pressure on the pound. Although there was no simple answer to England's complex problems. Wilson knew that the country could not afford to spend money on projects that were ill conceived or unduly expensive. He was concerned that the Concorde project could be classified in both categories.

Wilson and his advisers studied the Concorde project carefully in 1964, and satisfied themselves that the market for the plane had been wildly overestimated, that the project was unduly expensive, and that Britain could not afford it. Many members of Parliament believed that the aircraft had little economic potential. Because of its limited range, there were severe doubts that the plane could even fly nonstop from Paris to New York with a full load of passengers (the specifications of the plane have since been somewhat modified). Because its range would be far less than that of the subsonic jets, its usefulness would be limited.

The plane was originally scheduled to sell for about $16 million but better cost estimates indicated that if there were to be any possibility of recovering the tremendous investments, an additional $5 million or $6 million should be added to the price tag of each plane. But even at $20 million per plane, there was considerable doubt that enough of them could be sold for the project ever to break even.

Said James Gallaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer: "1964 was a year of reckoning for a decade of mistaken policies and false pride." The British Minister of Aviation, Roy Jenkins, concurred: "If we were convinced that the investment in Concorde from our point of view and from the French point of view would help pay our way in the world consistent with the amount of money spent on it, then of course, we would have to go ahead. But at the moment we have our doubts."

As one move to stop wasteful expenditures and prop up a shaky economy, the Wilson government decided to cancel the project. The London *Observer* wrote an obituary that American proponents of the SST might do well to read thoughtfully today: "The simplest reason for cancelling the Concorde is that its chances of commercial success have become extremely slender. It is already bigger, heavier, noisier, and far more expensive than when it was first conceived. . . . The odds are that, having paid for its construction, the taxpayer would have to subsidize its operations and put up with its sonic boom as well. The aircraft industry will not be restored to economic health by being paid to develop an unsuccessful aircraft."

The British announcement reverberated far beyond the aviation community. There were clear indications that cancellation would result in major damage to already fragile Anglo-French relations. *The Wall Street Journal* thought "it would be considered by France's de Gaulle as a stab in the back and as proof that Britain still wants to behave as a non-European island. The French President undoubtedly would charge that the British walkout would amount to sabotage and would leave the door open to American domination of Europe's aviation for years to come. Already the Labour government has had to deny rumors prevalent here and in France that it entered into a 'deal' with the U.S. to back out of the Concorde project in return for U.S. support of the 15 per cent surcharge it recently imposed on imports of manufactured goods."

There were reports that de Gaulle was prepared to retaliate in other areas. There might be unusual construction delays in the long proposed tunnel beneath the English Channel. Britain's application to join the Common Market might be put on ice. The fact of the matter was that France could not afford to go it alone.

"France is barely on speaking terms with Britain as a result of Mr. Wilson's handling of the 'Concorde Affair,'" reported the *U.S. News & World Report*. "Without sounding out the French, the British made a spectacular announcement indicating that they had decided to write off the Concorde supersonic airliner. . . . Mr. Wilson is having second thoughts about that decision, inasmuch as the French have threatened to go to the World Court and seek heavy damages from Britain for violating a contract that has no cancellation clause."

In the face of this pressure from its partner England reversed its decision, but the fact remains that the British economists were undoubtedly correct. While there is some chance that the Concorde may be able to pay its own immediate costs of operation—fuel, maintenance wages and the like—there is virtually no possibility that the project as a whole will be self-liquidating or that the British and French taxpayers will be repaid for their investment. And Sir William Hildred, for years director general of the International Air Transport Association, predictions of the SST engineers could wreck the economic picture. Should there be restrictions on night operations or should circuitous routings be required because of the noise, the projected solvency of SST operations could quickly convert into losses. Hildred worries that "such problems promise headaches for an industry which scarcely makes 2 per cent on its invested capital."

The financial risks involved in the development of any supersonic transport, be it Mach 2 or Mach 3, are so large that no single aircraft company could undertake them. Karl G. Harr, Jr., president of the Aerospace Industries Association, has stated that the development would be impossible without substantial government assistance, and that view is shared by almost every responsible financial executive who has yet spoken on the subject. Indeed the cost is so large and the risks are so great that neither Britain nor France seriously thought of the SST as a single-nation project. Of all the countries in the world, probably only the United States and Russia have the requisite resources to produce the SST on their own. That fact raises interesting questions concerning the appropriate role of the United States Government in the project.

While the federal government has always indicated interest in advancing the nation's transport facilities by subsidies of one kind or another, never before in history has an agency of the government undertaken such an important role in a transport project of this magnitude. It is clear already that if the SST is to be built in the United States within the next decade, the principal financial backers of the project will not be a consortium of financial institutions and Wall Street bankers but the taxpayers. It also seems inevitable that some government agency—probably the FAA—will be the general contractor on the project. After all, it was the Federal Aviation Agency (and not the airlines that will buy the planes) which decided that the supersonic transport should be assembled by Boeing and its engines produced by General Electric. And while the various airlines have advised on the specifications for the aircraft, the FAA will have the final say. Thus, it might be said that the government has already become the project's banker and its general contractor. Now it is about to become architect for the project as well. Through the CAB, the government already has the power to determine fare levels, and as the principal investor the FAA may well set the price that will be paid for the plane.

There are also indications that in some respects the FAA is the principal promoter. On March 2, 1967, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that President Johnson might request additional funds for the project so that it could proceed closer to Phase III—the actual building of two test models and a flight test program of 100 hours. But before requesting an addition $200 million, said the *Journal*, Mr. Johnson wanted the airlines to indicate greater interest in the project through a contribution to research and development costs. "In a surprise move the FAA began early last month [February,

1967] to try persuading them to contribute $1 million of risk capital for each of the 57 planes they've tentatively ordered."

In a report to its stockholders, dated March 24, TWA stated the matter as follows: "TWA has made down payments of $1,000,000 to the Federal Aviation Agency for the purpose of reserving delivery positions for ten supersonic transport aircraft to be built by United States manufacturers under a program sponsored by the United States Government. . . . At the request of the Federal Government, TWA has agreed . . . to participate in a plan for financing the development of two U.S. supersonic transport prototype aircraft. The agreement provides that in the event the Government and The Boeing Company enter into contract before December 1, 1967 for such research and development work. TWA will pay [$10,000,000 to Boeing]. . . . The funds to be paid by TWA wil be at a total risk. These amounts will not under any circumstances be returned to TWA. . . . Other U.S. carriers holding delivery positions have been requested to make similar commitments. . . ."

This position may well be typical for the industry; however, World Airways, which has placed tentative orders for three of the SSTs, declined to follow suit. Edward J. Daley, president, said in a letter to FAA Administrator General William F. McKee that if World were to set aside $3 million of its funds now as "risk capital" for SST development, its present subsonic jet acquisition program could be seriously hampered.

Following up on the story, *The Wall Street Journal* reported: "A large carrier is said to have entered the talks [with the FAA] with a list of qualifications, including a request that the Government accept a formula whereby the airlines would receive $3 million eventually for each $1 million invested, if the plane were successful." The attractiveness of this proposed arrangement may not be evident to the principal backers—the taxpayers of the United States.

Not yet fully explored is the government's role as a possible insurer of the supersonic craft. As long as the plane remains on the ground, insurance questions are relatively mundane. It is simply a matter of determining how much insurance should prudently be provided against various hazards that are known to be possible. Such an insurance policy would be large, but portions of the risk could be sold to various companies.

But once the plane is in the air there is as yet no real measure of the risks to which the operating airline may be exposed. It would be difficult enough to handle passengers' claims for alleged injury through radiation, faulty pressurization and other phenomena. But what about possible claims that may arise from aircraft accidents and the effects of the sonic boom? The dimensions of this problem are so widespread that several unorthodox solutions have been suggested.

One is that claims for damage resulting from sonic boom be severely restricted by legislation—a course of action that would be unpopular, to say the least. Another proposal is that the government simply underwrite the risks. Should that course of action be followed, the Government of the United States would automatically, and perhaps inadvertently, find itself in the insurance business, and in a very substantial way.

As the day of supersonic decision approaches, the level of government in-fighting has increased. While most of the early government-generated publicity came from protoganists of the SST, some of their detractors are now on the stage. Their position was reported by Fred L. Zimmerman in *The Wall Street Journal:*

"'It is remarkable that this project has got as far as it has,' complains an economist familiar with the project. Part of the explanation, he asserts, is that most public and Congressional discussion so far has been based on pro-SST material widely circulated by the FAA, while government critics of the program have been 'placed under constraint.'

"Few administration SST experts still believe the FAA's claim of total objectivity about the project. This claim has long irritated SST critics, who have argued there is a basic conflict of interest, in that the FAA is running the project and yet will have responsibility for certifying that the SSTs are safe for passenger service. In effect, charges one critic, 'the FAA will be asked to certify that it has spent its money wisely and that its own technical judgment is sound.'"

While economic questions in themselves are not always simple, aircraft economics are also intertwined in balance-of-payments questions. Roy H. Nickerson, vice president in charge of the Aerospace and Electronics Department of the First National City Bank, said at a banking forum in 1965 that a failure of the U.S. to get a supersonic transport into the air by 1972 could add a staggering $10 billion to our balance of payments deficit in the 1970s. As an aside, he pointed out that the aerospace and electronics industries had met favorable trade balances of some $1.7 billion in 1964.

"That could be wiped out if the U.S. fails to deliver a supersonic jet market within two years after the British-Concorde begins flying. A longer lead than that, some industry experts fear, would siphon off much of the business that the U.S. might normally get," said Dennis Duggan in the now defunct New York *Herald Tribune.*

But the SST detractors are not satisfied with these figures. They suspect that considerable double counting is involved, that SST proponents may rest their predictions on the assumption that without the SST U.S. aircraft exports would nose-dive. They contend that if the United States exports many supersonic craft, it may find itself substituting them for subsonic transports, which are at present an export item of considerable importance. Also largely ignored in the calculations is the fact that if the SST manages to induce large numbers of passengers to fly to the far corners of the earth, many of those passengers will be Americans.

The amount of money brought in by the sale of supersonic aircraft could be far overshadowed by the dollars that U.S. travelers would spend abroad.

Zimmerman, reporting again in *The Wall Street Journal,* became acidic:

"Economic studies done by several outside research concerns and just delivered to the FAA are so critical of the project's optimistic financial assumptions—including those about market demand, likely fare levels, and the balance-of-payments effect—that the FAA has decided to keep them secret.

"When the FAA commissioned the studies last year at a cost of more than $650,000, it is understood to have said it would make them public when completed. But as it began receiving the reports and discovered almost all conclusions were unfavorable to the SST, it quickly stamped them 'for official use only.'

"'Anything that's been done in this area is for controlled distribution only,' explains an FAA spokesman in refusing to let a reporter see the studies. 'This means the reports are available only to people who establish a need to know.' It's believed that in the past few days the FAA decided this 'need to know' didn't extend to several Congressmen, including some members of the House Appropriations Committee, and at least one powerful Democratic Senator, all of whom were denied access to the reports."

Zimmerman quoted one person in the Administration as saying: "We all agree there's absolutely no economic justification for building this plane." "This thing could become the FAA's Edsel," said another. "Among those to whom this may come as a shock," said Zimmerman, "are the members of Congress who have appropriated $511 million since 1962 for developing the plane, partly because of unequivocal assurances from the FAA that the SST would be a bonanza for the U.S. balance-of-payments position, while being highly profitable for the airlines to operate. . . ."

Several months after *The Wall Street Journal* complained of the official secrecy surrounding the project, the FAA made public several of the studies that had previously been classified. Now that there is less uncertainty concerning probable costs, a gigantic poker game is beginning to take shape. Participants include the U.S. aircraft industry, the Anglo-French builders of the Concorde, the conservationists, property owners on the boom paths and the taxpayers. Some of the players hold impressive cards and an imposing stack of chips. Others, less well heeled, are skillful players who seldom lose in this game. Some players are eager, while others have been reluctantly drawn into the game. And sitting quietly in the background another potential participant, Russia, silently eyes the table.

The stakes are high: several billion dollars in government contracts, billions of dollars in wages and several thousand jobs. At stake, too, are elements of national pride and technical leadership.

But also to be considered are important questions about the living qualities of the earth: how much noise should be tolerated, and who is competent to set the levels? What would be the impact of the supersonic transport upon all of the peoples of the world? And who is to decide whether it would be desirable? The full importance of the supersonic decision is just beginning to unfold. Far more is involved than the aircraft industry itself, or travel itself. Political, economic and social questions of considerable magnitude have yet to be assessed. Far more discussion is indicated before we undertake a project that promises literally to shake the world.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks an article by Bo Lundberg, director general of the Aeronautical Research Institute of Sweden, about the unexplored problems posed by sonic boom disturbance at sea and at night, published in the New York Times of June 17, 1967. All sonic boom tests thus far have been conducted during the day and over land areas.

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

THE BOOM OVER THE SEA

(By Bo Lundberg)

The boom tests over Oklahoma City in 1964 indicated that supersonic flight over land of the British-French Concorde as well as the United States Boeing supersonic transport (SST's) will be hard to take. Although the average boom intensity beneath the flight path was never more than 1.6 pounds per square foot, considerable damage to buildings occurred. Fewer than 27 per cent of Oklahoma citizens who were polled declared they could not "learn to live" with eight daytime booms per day. No booms at night were produced (the really critical test), but practically all day sleepers were awakened. The 7 A.M. boom was widely used as an alarm clock!

UNACCEPTABLE SITUATIONS

Both the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Air Transport Association have already, by implication, condemned the SST.

I.C.A.O. demands that "the SST's must be able to operate without creating unaccept-

able situations due to sonic boom." Surely, regular sleep disturbance is unacceptable. I.A.T.A. demands that "economic operation at supersonic speed must be practicable over inhabited areas at any time of the day or night."

Yet the United States Congress is expected to grant funds for building prototypes of the Boeing SST—on the totally unsupported hope that the sonic boom will be acceptable to people at sea.

Building prototypes of the American SST would throw mankind into the Sonic Boom Age. It would encourage Britain and France to launch quantity production of the Concorde. A few years later this would result in quantity production of the American SST.

No doubt a sonic boom of a given strength will usually be of less concern for people at sea. But why assume that people on ships can accept booms many times stronger than the level acceptable to people on land? Surely it would be ruthless to consider people at sea an insignificant minority.

The SST's will produce a "nominal" boom of 2.5 pounds per square foot in supersonic climb over water. Due to focusing effects the intensity will often exceed five or six pounds per square foot. By reflection close to cabin walls, the intensity could exceed ten or even fifteen pounds. Such booms are exceedingly frightening and potentially dangerous to people with heart disease.

The disturbance, fright and danger will, of course, be especially pronounced in areas with heavy concentrations of both SST's and ship traffic, in particular south of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Conservative calculations suggest that there will be, every year, many thousands of cases of people on boat decks being struck by booms exceeding five pounds per square foot (disregarding wall reflection).

TESTS AT SEA

I wish to make a plea that boom tests on different types of ships—from sailboats to ocean liners—be conducted before the final decision on building prototypes of the American SST's. All nations and representatives of people at sea should be invited to send observers, who would be subjected to the booms on the test vessels. As magnified booms are the most significant ones, the overflights should be at a low altitude yielding an average boom intensity of, say, four pounds per square foot, whereby a considerable number of booms, of five to six pounds, would be obtained relatively cheaply by a few hundred overflights.

ECONOMIC RISKS

Clearly, adequate boom tests on ships are in the best interest of civil aviation in general. If such tests are not made before the Western world proceeds further on the supersonic road, there is a staggering risk of an economic disaster. People at sea will certainly find ways and means of putting an end to supersonic over-water flight—once the activity has reached such a scale that the incessant boom thunder has become unbearable and there have been a number of cases of serious incidents or fatal accidents, such as heart attacks. These would mean that most of the many hundreds of SST's then flying would have to be scrapped.

Supersonic flying—over land *and* sea—requires fresh study of its effects on people.

TRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE YOUNGER

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, it is a sad duty for my colleague from California [Mr. MURPHY] and me to announce to the Senate the untimely passing of the late Honorable J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, a Representative from the 11th District of the State of California in the House of Representatives.

The appropriate resolution will be offered by us tomorrow after the House has first agreed to the resolution required by custom.

Meanwhile, I ask unanimous consent that the biographical sketch of the late Representative YOUNGER appearing in the Congressional Directory be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, Republican, of San Mateo, Calif.; born in Albany, Oreg., April 11, 1893; married Norma W. Younger; graduated from the University of Washington in 1915, and served as graduate manager of athletics until 1917; was called into service with the Washington National Guard CAC during First World War, and went overseas with the Forty-eighth Artillery CAC; discharged as a captain in June 1919; life member and past commander of Seattle Post, American Legion; served as vice president, director and manager of the mortgage loan department, Seattle Title Trust Co., 1920–30; president Seattle Mortgage Loan Co., 1930–34; served as regional appraiser of the HOLC, assistant appraiser-adviser Home Loan Bank Board, and Chief of the Savings and Loan Division, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Washington, D.C., 1934–37; executive vice president Citizens Federal Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco, since 1937; moved to San Mateo in December 1937; member: Rotary Club, Congregational Church, Delta Upsilon Fraternity, Islam Temple, A.A.O.N.M.S., Newcomen Society, Commonwealth Club of California, Menlo Country Club, and Congressional Country Club; elected to the 83d Congress November 4, 1952; reelected to the 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th and 90th Congresses.

Mr. KUCHEL. In the long years of public service in the Congress, during which both Senators from California have dealt with the late Representative YOUNGER on many occasions, we found that he was a man of great courage, great intellect, and a man who possessed a great desire to serve the people of this country.

He called them as he saw them.

On behalf of my wife, Mrs. Kuchel, and myself, we express our heartfelt condolences to the widow, Mrs. Younger.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I join with my colleague in expressing my heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Younger on the death of her husband, the late Representative YOUNGER.

I have had the great privilege of knowing and working with the late Representative YOUNGER over many years.

He was unquestionably one of the finest gentleman I have ever known. He was respected, and highly respected, not only in his own district but also throughout the State of California.

He was a charming companion, and the fact that he served his district well is reflected by the fact that he had been reelected seven times and was now serving eighth term as a Representative.

We shall miss him greatly. We shall miss him as a statesman from our great State of California.

We shall miss him as a great friend.

I should like most sincerely to have the RECORD show that Mrs. Murphy and I join with Senator and Mrs. Kuchel in expressing our heartfelt condolences to the family of the late J. ARTHUR YOUNGER.

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

Mr. MURPHY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I join with the Senators from California in expressing my deep sympathy to the family of Representative YOUNGER.

Representative YOUNGER was born in Albany, Oreg.

His family left the State when he was a young boy, I think 11 years of age.

When we were faced with Pacific coast problems in the legislative field in Congress, it was always my pleasure to be associated with Representative YOUNGER over the years in the normal objective of doing those things necessary to advance our part of the country.

Representative YOUNGER was a very sincere and exceedingly able conservative. He would be so labeled, I believe. However, he was a man whose integrity was beyond question, whose statesmanship, I think, was very high.

I consider that I have lost a very cooperative associate in Congress, that the people of my State have lost a very good friend to the State of Oregon, and that the State of California has lost a great servant of the State of California.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for his remarks.

The reflection of the truth of the statement of the Senator from Oregon is in the fact that I do not think anybody ever thought of running against Representative YOUNGER. He was too highly regarded.

He represented his constituents in a completely nonpartisan manner. He was a fine gentleman and was held in great regard in the Congress of the United States.

We shall miss him deeply.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague from California, I ask unanimous consent that, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Representative J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, when the Senate stands in recess today, it do so in memory of him.

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

RECESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Representative from California, J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, and in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 3 minutes p.m.) the Senate, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Representative YOUNGER, took a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 21 (legislative day of June 12), 1967:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Benjamin H. Oehlert, Jr., of Georgia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Pakistan.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following candidates for personnel action in the Regular Corps of the Public Health Service subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law and regulations:

I. FOR PERMANENT PROMOTION

To be medical directors

Victor E. Archer
George R. Bock
Charles J. Buhrow
William H. Cope
Ernest Cotlove
Martin Flavin, Jr.
Samuel M. Fox III
Hector P. Gutierrez
Harvey A. Itano
Charles A. Jarvis
Thomas J. Kennedy, Jr.
Jamens R. Lewis
J. Robert Lindsay
George Moore
Alfred S. Nelson
Edward J. O'Rourke
Paul D. Pedersen
Seymour M. Perry
Claire F. Ryder
Charles F. Sparger
Richard B. Stephenson

To be senior surgeons

Gordon Allen
James E. Banta
William B. Barr
Tom D. Y. Chin
David J. Crosby
William T. Davis
John L. Fahey
Harold S. Frederiksen
Donald L. Fry
Murray Goldstein
William D. Hawley
Warren P. Jurgensen
Donald E. Kayhoe
Leonard Laster
Edward J. Leonard
Enrico A. Leopardi
Philip E. Morgan
William E. Newby
Michael Potter
David P. Rall
Jacob Robbins
Roy P. Sandidge, Jr.
Robert T. Scholes
William M. Smith
Frederick Snyder
Richard H. Thurm
Donald L. Toker
Donald P. Tschudy
Martha Vaughan
John T. West
Tamarath K. Yolles

To be surgeons

William J. Atkinson
Arthur F. Budge
Daniel H. Buller
Henry J. Cabeceiras, Jr.
Allen W. Cheever
Harold T. Conrad
Anthony N. Danato
George W. Douglas, Jr.
Frederick V. C. Featherstone
Roger A. Feldman
J. Kenneth Fleshman
Donald D. Funk
Frank P. Greene
Robert J. Griep
Robert L. Hampton
Joseph S. Handler
Roger W. Haskell
David C. Kay
Harry R. Keiser
Donald J. Lawler
James O. Mason
Clayton H. McCracken, Jr.
Glenn L. Momberger
George D. Monda
Will L. Nash
Paul G. Pechous
John C. Scott
George S. Walter
Robert J. Warren
Richard D. Zonis

To be dental directors

Dean W. Darby
John W. Heck
Alfred Popper
Quentin M. Smith
Reuben L. Turner

Te be senior dental surgeons

Joseph Abramowitz
William O. Engler
Colie H. Millsap, Jr.
Donald M. Phillips

To be dental surgeons

Lawrence I. Carnes
Sherman L. Cox
Charles O. Cranford
Ronald Dubner
Glen D. Elliott
T. Edwin Evans, Jr.
Louis R. Feese
Donald W. Johnson
Merlyn B. Johnson
Thomas L. Louden
Robert E. Mecklenburg
Stewart H. Rowberry
Lowell W. Smith

To be sanitary engineer directors

William B. Page
Earl V. Porter
Robert L. Stenburg

To be senior sanitary engineers

Howard E. Ayer
Delbert S. Barth
Frank A. Bell, Jr.
Joseph M. Dennis
Theodore Jaffe
Charles C. Johnson, Jr.
Donald M. Keagy
Leland J. McCabe, Jr.
William H. Megonell
Frederick Nevins
Albert L. Platz
James P. Sheehy
George R. Shultz

To be sanitary engineers

Richard J. Anderson
Robert G. Bostrom
Jules B. Cohen
Donald P. Dubois
John A. Eckert
John A. Eure
John E. Regnier
Edgar F. Seagle
Albert V. Soukup
John C. Villforth
Gerald G. Vurek

To be senior assistant sanitary engineers

Wayne A. Blackard
Dennis E. Body
Fred O. Bridges
James W. Carpenter, Jr.
Clyde J. Dial
Donald J. Dunsmore
Walter W. Liberick, Jr.
Edwin C. Lippy
George L. Pettigrew
Leroy C. Reid, Jr.
Milbourn Smith
Walter S. Smith
Morris G. Tucker
Lynn P. Wallace
James E. Warren

To be assistant sanitary engineers

Edward M. Beck
Gerald K. Falin
Billy F. Pearson
Allan M. Shapiro
John F. Steiner, Jr.

To be pharmacist directors

Allen J. Brands
Cornelius B. Kelly, Jr.
Milton W. Skolaut

To be senior pharmacists

Adelbert E. Briggs
Felix A. Conte
Paul H. Honda
Boris J. Osheroff
Lowell R. Pfau
Edward J. Vesey

To be pharmacists

William H. Briner
Gerald L. Eugene
Paul O. Fehnel, Jr.
James R. Grigdesby
Robert E. McKay
Lowell F. Miller
Lawrence D. Smith
Edward S. Thompson
Jesse P. Walker, Jr.

To be senior assistant pharmacists

Frederick J. Abramek
John G. Beauregard
Ronald C. Becker
Richard J. Bull
William R. Francis
Richard M. Gallant
Daniel Hausman
Richard A. Moss
Lawrence R. Ulrich
Thomas J. Walker
Stephen T. Werelus
James C. Yatsco

To be scientist directors

Robert K. Gerloff
Robert R. Omata
Heber J. R. Stephenson

To be senior scientists

Norman A. Clarke
George J. Hermann
Margaret A. Howell
John W. McDowell
Max D. Moody
Myron J. Willis

To be scientists

John R. Bagby, Jr.
Sotiros D. Chaparas
Carleton M. Clifford, Jr.
Robert L. Elder
Burton R. Evans
Arthur D. Flynn
Vincent J. Sodd

To be sanitarian directors

Clarence E. Calbert
Charles E. Gerhardt
Samuel M. Rogers
Harold E. Thompson, Jr.

To be senior sanitarians

Warren S. Dobson
Charles J. Hart
Irving H. Schlafman

To be sanitarians

Willard N. Adams
Gerald J. Karches
Thomas C. Sell
Jack Womack

To be senior assistant sanitarians

Gene P. Burke
Richard J. J. O'Connor
Walter R. Payne
Robert E. Sanders

To be veterinary officer directors

U.S. Grant Kuhn III
Robert L. Rausch

To be senior veterinary officers

Keith T. Maddy
Andrew C. Wheeler

To be veterinary officers

Philip H. Coleman
John E. Holman, Jr.
Charles W. McPherson
James L. McQueen
Richard A. Tjalma

To be nurse directors

Faye G. Abdellah
Margaret T. Delawter
Kathryn M. Fritz
Vivian L. Gibson
Marie D. Grant
Elizabeth J. Haglund
Elsie K. Y. Ho
Elizabeth C. Kuhlman
Dorine J. Loso
Mary F. Luvisi
Elinor D. Stanford
Florence J. Ullman

To be senior nurse officers

Elizabeth A. Casper
Eileen M. Coviello
Janet L. Fitzwater
Marian E. Haij
Helen M. Hanlon
E. Arline Heath
Phyllis B. Hullum
Eileen G. Jones
Mildred Jones
Mary B. Krause
Sara K. Marsh
Lydia K. Oustalan
Loretta C. Parsons
Ruth E. Shvedoff
Mary K. Wade
Arlene M. Waldhaus

To be nurse officer

Jean A. McCollum

To be dietitian directors

Jeanne L. Tillotson
Margaret V. Vance
Suzane C. Van Leuzen
Dorothy M. Youland

To be senior dietitians

Merme Bonnell
Jean M. Pope
Charlotte E. Smith

To be dietitian

Lois R. Seidler

To be therapists

Peter D. Cline
Lamont B. Smith

To be senior assistant therapists

George H. Hampton
Donald S. Henderson
Anthony M. Morreale

To be health services directors

George A. Amundson
Margaret E. Heap
Stanley I. Hirsch
William H. Redkey
Evelyn Walker

To be senior health services officers

Jess L. Benton, Jr.
Leah Bigalow
Mary P. Byrd
Earl P. Floyd
Mary A. Fugitt
James C. McCullough

To be health services officers

Charles L. Cox
Kenneth F. Hunt

To be senior assistant health services officers

William J. Brown
Paul E. Lehman
Allan C. Tapert
John B. Wiggins, Jr.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rabbi Harvey Waxman, Congregation Beth Medrosh Elyon, Monsey, N.Y., offered the following prayer:

We open this session with thanks and prayer.

In our hearts, we citizens of America utter thanks each moment for this great Hall of laws—wherein is exercised the free will of the people to legislate the law of our land. We thank the Almighty for that priceless right, the freedom to speak, to debate and to be governed through our own duly elected representatives. The gifts of freedom were not easily won nor are they easily maintained. In our generation the price of freedom has been the supreme sacrifice by so many of our bravest and noblest heroes.

We humbly beseech the Almighty for the justice of thought and deed, the strength of truth and understanding, soundness of mind and body so that we be enabled to enjoy our sacred liberties and preserve them for the generations to come. We pray for the guidance and power to insure the blessing—that: "A government of the people, by the people,