

fense Supply Agency is advertising for bids on non-magnetic mine sweepers (Class of boat: MS 0523-538, bid No. IFB-N-00024-67-B-1040). The quantity we believe is in the area of 200 of these boats which would have to be built of wood to be non-magnetic.

It is reported that the Secretary of Defense would like to have England bid on these craft on an equal basis with United States' suppliers, but there is presently a rider on the 1968 Defense Appropriation bill restricting the use of funds to purchases in the United States; in other words, a "Buy America" provision.

Considering the desperate straits of our forest products industry, it is our opinion that the rider on the defense bill should be retained, assuming it is as described to us. Certainly the forest products industry in this country needs all the support and encouragement possible if it is to survive in a condition that will permit it to undertake the massive job of building new housing and rehabilitating existing housing that the economists predict will be mandatory in the next few years. For our own Government to look to foreign suppliers when domestic suppliers are in a depressed condition is really a low blow.

Since we have not actually seen any of the material cited above, all we can ask is that you exercise your best judgment in light of our comments.

Very truly yours,

DOUGLAS DAVID,
President.

THE TESTIMONY OF SECRETARY McNAMARA BEFORE THE MILITARY PREPAREDNESS SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I have great respect for Secretary McNamara, but if his testimony this morning before the Preparedness Subcommittee is right, then it would appear that the sworn testimony of every military leader that this committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee—Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps—have listened to is wrong.

If Secretary McNamara's present analysis and interpretation of the JCS target list is right, then the detailed military testimony we have received on this subject would also appear wrong.

These differences can be cleared up provided the testimony in these executive hearings is not too heavily censored. That testimony, and the subsequent report of this subcommittee based thereon, will then be given out to the people for their decision.

In any case, if the position as presented by the Secretary this morning is right, I believe the United States should get out of Vietnam at the earliest possible time, and on the best possible basis; because with his premises, there would appear no chance for any true "success" in this long war.

The gigantic price of this war, already running at a cost to the taxpayer of over \$70 million a day, is badly needed to finance our other international and domestic problems and programs.

CHIPPEWA HERALD MAKES PERSUASIVE CASE AGAINST TAX INCREASE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the case against the President's proposed 10-percent surtax is as concisely summed

up in an editorial from the Chippewa Herald-Telegram as I have seen it anywhere.

I ask unanimous consent that this remarkably perceptive editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

L. B. J. OUT OF LINE

President Johnson has asked the Congress for a surcharge tax increase of 10%, effective for the last quarter of 1967. While the Herald-Telegram understands what motivates the President to make this request, we agree with the chairman of the Joint Senate-House Economic Committee, Senator William Proxmire, that the President's request is out of line at this time. And we think that the Administration should reevaluate its request, in light of the points that Senator Proxmire makes in defense of his case for no tax increase.

President Johnson has used inflation as his number one argument for his tax increase. He has also noted that we must pay for the war in Vietnam and for the goals of the Great Society, and we must prevent "tight money" and must reduce the budget deficit.

We agree wholeheartedly with the points that Mr. Johnson makes. All of these things must be done. However, as Senator Proxmire has pointed out, "It will not only be wrong, but foolhardy, to let rising prices panic the Congress into raising taxes."

Proxmire noted that if we raise taxes, prices will go up in any case. Furthermore, the Senator said that the economy has been "under paced" this year, and that it is possible, "that higher tax rates would depress, (the economy) even further."

In building his argument, Senator Proxmire noted that "excessive demand"—the classic cause for inflation—has not been the reason why the cost of living has risen thus far in '67. As measured by Gross National Product, GNP, figures, consumers, businessmen and government together grew by only \$4.5 billion dollars in the first quarter of this year and only \$9 million in the second quarter of '67—as compared by a quarterly growth average of \$13.5 billion in 1966.

Senator Proxmire noted that the rise in the cost of living this year, unlike other years, has been basically centered in areas of food and medical care and services. And he pointed out that food prices fluctuate quite independent of consumer demand. He also noted that medical care charges have been rising sharply for a number of years because of the acute shortage of hospital space and doctors, and that other services have gone up as wage rates have risen.

Senator Proxmire sums up by noting, "Removing dollars from the hands of consumers and businessmen, by means of a tax increase, is not going to stop this kind of inflation."

Now, the Administration's economists do not dispute Senator Proxmire's analysis of what has happened so far this year, nor do they contend that a tax increase would stop food and service prices in their tracks.

Rather, as they gaze into their crystal ball, the administration see forces at work which, in their opinion, if they remain unchecked would push total demand up by \$15 billion by the fourth quarter of this year. And since the United States' economy capacity to produce goods and services is growing at the rate of \$12.5 billion a quarter, LBJ argues that \$2.5 billion of the \$15 billion achieved by the fourth quarter of the year would represent price increases, rather than more real goods and services.

Senator Proxmire refuses to buy this argument. He points out that there is no evidence yet that the GNP of the United States will grow 15 billion by the fourth quarter.

Moreover, the Senator concludes his argument by noting that the nation has a 4% unemployment ratio, and 15% of the national machinery is idle. Hence, Proxmire says, higher taxes could turn our already sluggish economy into a recession.

And all we can say, after hearing both sides of the argument, is that until the Administration can get more evidence to support its claims, Senator Proxmire certainly seems to have the best argument.

Taxes should not be raised.

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEES TO FILE REPORTS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, during the adjournment of the Senate following today's session, all committees of the Senate be authorized to file their reports, including minority, individual, additional, and supplemental views thereon, until midnight tomorrow, August 26.

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

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, when it is reported, S. 1467, the highway beautification measure, be made the pending business of the Senate.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 3 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, August 28, 1967, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate August 25, 1967:

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE

Lawrence A. Whipple, of New Jersey, to be U.S. district judge for the district of New Jersey, vice Thomas F. Meaney, retired.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, AUGUST 28, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth and even forevermore.—Psalm 121: 8

Eternal Father of our spirits, at the beginning of another week we pause a moment in Thy presence seeking guidance at Thy hand, strength for the day, and wisdom for the decisions we have to make.

May Thy blessing rest upon these Representatives of our people and may Thy spirit move within their hearts as they seek to promote justice in our land, good

will between our people, and cooperation among the nations of the world. As a result of their endeavors may obedience to law and the rights of the individual and loyalty to our country be firmly established among us. God bless America, keep her true to Thee and do Thou keep her free now and forever. In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, August 24, 1967.

The Clerk began the reading of the Journal.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

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

The SPEAKER. The Chair would inquire of the gentleman from Iowa, does the gentleman make the point of order before the reading and approval of the Journal?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, Mr. Speaker, I think the Members ought to hear a review of the marathon of last week.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] makes the point of order that a quorum is not present.

Evidently, a quorum is not present.

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

A call of the House was ordered.

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

[Roll No. 238]

Abbutt	de la Garza	Irwin
Abernethy	Delaney	Jarman
Adair	Dent	Johnson, Calif.
Adams	Derwinski	Jonas
Addabbo	Diggs	Jones, Mo.
Anderson, III.	Donohue	Karsten
Anderson, Tenn.	Downing	Karth
Andrews, N. Dak.	Dulski	Keith
Ashbrook	Dwyer	Kelly
Ashley	Eckhardt	King, Calif.
Ashmores	Edmondson	Kluczynski
Barrett	Edwards, Calif.	Kornegay
Battin	Ederborn	Kuperman
Berry	Esch	Kyros
Betts	Evans, Colo.	Landrum
Beyll	Everett	Latta
Bingham	Evens, Tenn.	Leggett
Blanton	Fallon	Lloyd
Bolling	Farbstein	Long, La.
Boiton	Fino	Lukens
Brinkley	Flood	McCarthy
Brook	Fountain	McCulloch
Brooks	Fraser	McDonald,
Brotzman	Frelinghuysen	Mich.
Broyhill, N.C.	Gallfanakis	McEwen
Burke, Fla.	Gallagher	McFall
Burleson	Gardner	Macdonald,
Burton, Utah	Gathings	Mass.
Cabell	Giaimo	MacGregor
Carey	Gibbons	Martin
Casey	Gray	May
Celler	Griffiths	Meeds
Clancy	Grover	Meskill
Clark	Gurney	Miller, Calif.
Clausen, Don H.	Hall	Minish
Cohelan	Halleck	Minshall
Colmer	Halpern	Mize
Conte	Hamilton	Monagan
Conyers	Hansen, Wash.	Moorhead
Corbett	Hardy	Morgan
Corman	Harsha	Morris, N. Mex.
Cowger	Harvey	Moss
Culver	Hawkins	Multer
Curtis	Hays	Murphy, N.Y.
Daddario	Heckler, Mass.	O'Konski
Davis, Ga.	Hicks	O'Neal, Ga.
Dawson	Hoffield	O'Neill, Mass.
	Holland	Ottinger
	Howard	Passman

Patman	Rodino	Taft
Pelly	Ronan	Taylor
Pepper	Rooney, N.Y.	Teague, Tex.
Philbin	Rooney, Pa.	Tenzer
Pirnie	Rosenthal	Thompson, N.J.
Poage	Rostenkowski	Tiernan
Poff	Sandman	Tuck
Pollock	Satterfield	Tunney
Pucinski	St Germain	Udall
Purcell	Saylor	Watkins
Qule	Schadeberg	Watson
Quillen	Scheuer	Whalen
Randall	Schneebeli	Whitten
Rarick	Shipley	Wiggins
Reid, III.	Sikes	Williams, Miss.
Reifel	Smith, Calif.	Willis
Reinecke	Smith, Iowa	Wilson, Bob
Resnick	Stanton	Wolf
Reuss	Steed	Wright
Rhodes, Ariz.	Stelger, Ariz.	Yates
Rhodes, Pa.	Stephens	Young
Rivers	Stratton	Zion
Robison	Stuckey	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 219 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

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

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will proceed with the reading of the Journal.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, August 24, 1967, which was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

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

H.R. 3717. An act for the relief of Mrs. M. M. Richwine;

H.R. 11945. An act to amend the college work-study program with respect to institutional matching and permissible hours of work; and

H.J. Res. 804. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 9547. An act to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the foregoing bill; requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, and Mr. AKEN to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 222. An act to insure that public buildings financed with Federal funds are so designed and constructed as to be accessible to the physically handicapped.

ORDERLY TRADE IN TEXTILE ARTICLES

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, may I commend the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, for his understanding and earnest consideration of our textile problem.

We are grateful to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] for introducing H.R. 11578 which would provide for orderly trade in wool, cotton, manmade fibers, and textiles in general. The textile industry is vital to the defense of our country and to the economy of our Nation. Our textile apparel and garment employees cannot compete directly with goods manufactured in such areas as Hong Kong where employees earn only 25 cents an hour.

Mr. Speaker, we will soon report to the House from my Committee on Public Works a bill authorizing additional millions for Appalachia. Textile jobs in Appalachia amount to 453,000 jobs, 26 percent of all industrial employment in the Appalachia region. We cannot justify before the American people the expenditure of \$1 billion or more in Appalachia while permitting the jobs of our textile employees to be sacrificed to low wage imports coming into our country unfairly. Recently a garment plant closed in Appalachia—in North Carolina—for this specific reason.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to announce to the House that as of this moment 135 of our colleagues have joined the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] in introducing H.R. 11578. My colleague and distinguished chairman of the informal textile committee, the Honorable PHEL LANDRUM, is a member of the Ways and Means Committee and has joined the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] in introducing this timely legislation. As secretary of the informal textile group, I am today respectfully urging the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] to conduct open hearings on his bill following Labor Day. I am sure open hearings before the great Committee on Ways and Means will demonstrate beyond any doubt the need for orderly, fair trade in textiles. I believe these hearings will prove the need for a long-term agreement covering wool and manmade staple fiber, filaments, and filament yarn in addition to the long-term agreement covering cotton textiles.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I

was unavoidably absent from the House Chamber when the final vote was taken on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967 early Friday morning. Although I had been present to vote on most of the amendments to the legislation, at that time I was in my home State of Ohio to honor a longstanding speaking commitment. If I had been present, I would have voted "nay" on final passage.

SCHEDULING OF LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS AND THE 5-DAY WORKWEEK FOR THE CONGRESS

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, while I would join my colleagues in urging the leadership to schedule legislative business on Monday through Friday of each week, I do not feel that the record ought to stand that when this is not the case, Members do not have a 5-day workweek. Most of us have full-time district offices, staffed, at home, and when we go home, we spend most of the weekend engaged in the transaction of congressional business. It seems to me that the average Member of Congress usually has a great deal to do even when Congress is not in session and he always does when the Congress is in session. Mr. Speaker, I do not know of a single Member of this body who has a mere 5-day workweek.

ADJOURNMENT FROM THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, TO MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Concurrent Resolution 497 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution as follows:

H. CON. RES. 497

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses shall adjourn on Thursday, August 31, 1967, and that when they adjourn on said day they stand adjourned until 12 o'clock noon on Monday, September 11, 1967.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that this is not a debatable resolution.

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

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa for the purpose of making a brief statement.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the distinguished majority leader why the adjournment resolution was not made effective as of the first of this week, and why the recess was not planned to take in this week as well as next week?

Mr. ALBERT. We have discussed this matter with the leadership on both sides, and it was determined it would be impractical to do so.

Mr. GROSS. What is practicable, if I may ask, and if the gentleman will yield further, about meeting under the circum-

stances in which we are meeting here today, with scarcely a quorum present, and no urgent legislation before the House today or for the rest of the week? What is practical about this?

Mr. ALBERT. We do have a sufficient number of Members present to transact business.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZATION FOR THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, NOTWITHSTANDING ADJOURNMENT, TO SIGN ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS FOUND TRULY ENROLLED

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Concurrent Resolution 498 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution as follows:

H. CON. RES. 498

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That notwithstanding any adjournment of the two Houses until September 11, 1967, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate be, and they are hereby, authorized to sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions duly passed by the two Houses and found truly enrolled.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZATION FOR THE CLERK TO RECEIVE MESSAGES FROM THE SENATE, NOTWITHSTANDING ADJOURNMENT TO SEPTEMBER 11

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding any adjournment of the House until September 11, 1967, the Clerk be authorized to receive messages from the Senate.

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

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUSINESS

The SPEAKER. This is District of Columbia day.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMILLAN].

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dowdy], to call up the business reported from his subcommittee.

AMEND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TEACHERS' LEAVE ACT

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 5709) to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act of 1949 to remove certain limitations, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 5709

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first section of the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act of 1949 (D.C. Code, sec. 31-691) is amended by striking out the third sentence thereof.

(b) The last sentence of section 2 of the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act of 1949 (D.C. Code, sec. 31-692) is amended to read as follows: "No attendance officer shall be entitled to annual or sick leave with pay under the provisions of any other Act."

(c) Section 4 of the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act of 1949 (D.C. Code, sec. 31-694) is amended by striking out "twenty-five" and inserting in lieu thereof "thirty".

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

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

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

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

I would like to ask, in regard to these two bills, this one and the teacher retirement bill to follow, if in both cases the same consideration is given to teachers holding temporary certificates?

I ask this particularly with reference to the retirement law. Are teachers who hold temporary certificates—and I understand some 40 percent of the teaching force in the District of Columbia do hold temporary certificates—to be covered by the same retirement benefits as those who hold permanent certificates?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding, in reply to the inquiry of the gentleman from Iowa, that they are under a separate system. However, I yield to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROYHILL].

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I would say in reply to the question asked by the gentleman from Iowa, that teachers who have a temporary certificate are not covered under the District of Columbia Teacher Retirement Act. We have a bill coming up that will allow their years of temporary service to be applied to their years of service in the teaching system when they become permanent. But under the present law they are on civil service retirement, but not under teacher retirement.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman will yield further, let me ask this question: If those holding temporary certificates are given the same leave benefits as those who permanent certificates?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. They have the same leave benefits as the permanent teachers, the same as temporary Federal employees have the same leave benefits as permanent Federal employees.

Mr. DOWDY. Under a bill passed by the last Congress, provision was made that teachers holding temporary certificates would have to qualify the same as the regular teachers or else they would be out.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman yield for one further question?

Mr. DOWDY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. This does not pertain precisely to either of these bills, but has the committee done anything to eliminate the situation whereby some 40 percent of the teachers of the District of Columbia are holders of temporary certificates? Has there been any move made by the Committee on the District of Columbia or any other committee of the Congress to change this situation?

Mr. DOWDY. In the last Congress a bill was passed which sets a certain period, I believe it is 5 years, within which they have to meet the requirements for a permanent certificate or else they are out. That was passed in the last Congress.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 5709 is to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act of 1949 in two particulars, as follows:

First. Provide an unlimited number of days of earned sick leave for all teachers; and

Second. Increase the number of days of sick leave which may be borrowed from 25 days to 30 days.

Under present law, probationary and permanent teachers and attendance officers in the District of Columbia public school system are allowed to accumulate not more than 75 days of sick and emergency leave, and temporary teachers and attendance officers may accumulate not more than 20 days of sick leave.

Also, under existing law teachers and attendance officers in the District of Columbia system may be advanced not more than 25 days of sick leave or emergency leave, in the event of a situation of medical emergency.

These existing restrictions pertaining to sick and emergency leave for District of Columbia teachers and attendance officers are no longer in keeping with the trend in other large city school systems nor in other jurisdictions in the Washington metropolitan area.

The May 1966 edition of Educational and Research Service, published by the American Association of School Administrators and the Research Division of the National Education Association, states in part as follows:

It appears that during the past four years provisions for accumulating unused sick leave have been liberalized in a number of the larger school systems. Comparison of the current study with the 1961-62 survey shows an increase of 6.3 in the percentage of policies permitting unlimited accumulation at full pay. There is also a notable increase (from 19.8 to 34.1) in the percentage allowing 100 to 200 days' accumulation. Combining these data, we find an increase of 20.6 in the percentage of policies providing a potential accumulation of 100 days or more at full salary.

Among the larger cities listed in this study, those which allow unlimited accumulation of sick leave are Denver, Los Angeles, New Orleans, San Francisco, San Diego, Philadelphia, and Jersey City. Cities which allow an accumulation of 200 days of leave are New York City, St. Louis, and Detroit.

Even more pertinent, however, are the sick leave policies in the area surrounding Washington. Teachers in Montgomery County in Maryland and in Arlington and Fairfax Counties in Virginia are allowed and unlimited accumulation of sick leave. In Prince Georges County, Md., teachers may accumulate 200 days.

As for the present limit of 25 days or the amount of sick or emergency leave which the District of Columbia Superintendent of Schools may advance to probationary or permanent teachers and attendance officers in cases where serious medical emergencies justify such an advance, this also is not as liberal as is the case in most other comparable public school systems.

These facts show clearly that sick leave and emergency leave policies for teachers in the surrounding area and in other large U.S. cities are considerably more liberal than those which presently apply to District teachers. In view of the present nationwide scarcity of qualified teachers, this situation contributes toward a lessening of the bargaining position of the District of Columbia in the vital matter of recruitment and retention of proficient teacher personnel.

A public hearing on this bill was conducted by Subcommittee No. 1 on April 27, 1967. At this time, approval of this measure was expressed by spokesmen for the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia Public School Administration, the District of Columbia Education Association, and the Washington Teachers' Union. There was no objection to the bill from any source.

The District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act has not been amended since 1953, and it is the opinion of your committee that the reevaluation and liberalization of sick leave and emergency leave policies represented in H.R. 5709 are fully justified at this time.

The following is the letter from the President of the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, expressing the Board's endorsement of this proposed legislation:

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, March 29, 1967.

The Honorable JOHN L. McMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. McMILLAN: The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have for report H.R. 5709, 90th Congress, a bill "To amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act of 1949 to remove certain limitations, and for other purposes."

The bill amends the Act in the following respects:

(1) It eliminates reference in the Act to the seventy-five-day limitation on accumulation of sick and emergency leave for probationary and permanent teachers and to the twenty-day limitation on such leave for temporary teachers and attendance officers.

(2) It increases from twenty-five to thirty the number of days of such leave which may be advanced to a teacher or attendance officer.

The Commissioners believe that the bill, by conforming the Teachers' Leave Act more closely to the Annual and Sick Leave Act of 1951, eliminates some inequities in the leave system for teachers as compared to leave of other District of Columbia employees and

Federal employees. Accordingly, they recommend its enactment.

The Commissioners have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER N. TOBRINER,
President, Board of Commissioners,
District of Columbia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I was pleased to introduce the bill H.R. 5709, at the request of the District of Columbia Education Association, for the purpose of amending the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act with respect to sick leave.

The present law with respect to sick leave—District of Columbia Code, 31-691 and the following—provides that all teachers and attendance officers employed by the District of Columbia Board of Education shall be granted cumulative leave with pay for personal illness, presence of contagious disease or death in the home, or pressing emergency, at the rate of 1 day for each month from September through June of each year. This leave with pay, amounting to 10 days per school year, may accumulate to a total not to exceed 75 days for probationary or permanent teachers, nor 20 days for temporary teachers. Also, a teacher may use 3 days of such cumulative leave with pay in any school year for any purpose, under rules and regulations prescribed by the Board of Education, upon giving timely notice of such intended absence. It is further provided, that a probationary or permanent teacher may "borrow" as much as 25 days of such leave with pay during any school year.

The administration of this policy of leave with pay is governed, of course, by such rules and regulations as the Board of Education may prescribe. In order to prevent abuse of this sick leave, a teacher must request such leave of her supervisor or principal, and in the case of sick leave extending over more than 3 days, a physician's certificate is required.

The bill H.R. 5709 will amend this present law in two respects. First, it will remove the present limitation of 75 days on the amount of sick leave which a teacher may accumulate; and second, it will increase from 25 days to 30 days the amount of such leave which a teacher may "borrow" during any school year in the event of a medical emergency.

The District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act has not been amended in any way since 1953. During this period of 14 years policies concerning sick leave have been liberalized in many other jurisdictions, with the result that the provisions for sick leave for teachers in the District are no longer in keeping with prevailing practice.

For example, accumulation of sick leave without limitation is presently permitted for teachers in such larger cities as Denver, Los Angeles, New Orleans, San Francisco, San Diego, Philadelphia, and Jersey City. In addition, accumulation up to 200 days is permitted in New York City, St. Louis, and Detroit.

Even more significant, however, are the sick leave policies for teachers in the

other jurisdictions of the Washington metropolitan area. In nearby Virginia, the cities of Alexandria, Fairfax, and Falls Church, and the counties of Fairfax and Arlington, permit the accumulation of sick leave without limit. In suburban Maryland, Montgomery County also permits teachers to accumulate sick leave without limit, while in Prince Georges County, the limit is 200 days.

Further, under present civil service law, most employees of the Federal and District of Columbia Governments, including the administrative and clerical personnel of the District of Columbia public school system, enjoy unlimited accumulation of sick leave.

As for the provision of H.R. 5709 which will increase from 25 days to 30 days the amount of sick leave which a District of Columbia teacher may "borrow," I am reliably informed that this is in line with the prevailing policy in most large urban school jurisdictions.

In view of these facts, it is obvious that the present provisions of the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act with respect to sick leave are no longer adequate to provide District teachers with benefits comparable to those prevailing elsewhere. For this reason, I earnestly solicit the support of my colleagues for the enactment of this proposed legislation to correct this inequity.

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

AMENDING DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TEACHERS' RETIREMENT ACT

Mr. DOWDY, Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 12505) to provide that a District of Columbia public school teacher may retire on a full annuity at age 55 after 30 years of service or at age 60 after 20 years of service, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12505

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act entitled "An Act for the retirement of public school teachers in the District of Columbia", approved August 7, 1946, is amended as follows:

(1) The proviso in the second sentence of the first paragraph of the first section of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-721) is amended by striking out "teaching service" and inserting in lieu thereof "eligible service".

(2) Section 3 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-723) is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. (a) Any teacher who completes five years of eligible service and who is separated from the service—

"(1) after becoming fifty-five years of age and completing thirty years of service,

"(2) after becoming sixty years of age

and completing twenty years of service, or "(3) after becoming sixty-two years of age, is entitled to an annuity.

"(b) Any teacher who completes five years of eligible service and who is involuntarily separated from the service, except by removal for cause on charges of misconduct or delinquency, after (1) completing twenty-five years of service, or (2) becoming fifty years of age and completing twenty years of service, is entitled to an annuity reduced by one-sixth of 1 per centum for each full month such teacher is under the age of fifty-five years at the date of his separation from the service.

"(c) Any teacher who completes five years of eligible service and who becomes sixty-two years of age may be separated from the service by the Board of Education upon the written recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools. Any teacher who becomes seventy years of age shall be separated from the service unless upon the written recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools two-thirds of the members of the Board of Education vote to retain such teacher in the public schools for the good of the service.

"(d) (1) The length of a teacher's service shall be computed in accordance with section 8 of this Act.

"(2) The amount of an annuity authorized by this section shall be computed in accordance with section 5 of this Act.

"(3) Each annuity authorized by this section shall commence on the day after the teacher is separated from the service and shall terminate on the date the teacher dies."

(3) Section 4 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-724) is amended—

(A) by striking out in the first paragraph "Any teacher to whom this Act applies who shall have served on active duty in the public schools of the District of Columbia for a total period of not less than five years" and inserting in lieu thereof "Any teacher who completes five years of eligible service"; and

(B) by striking out in the first paragraph "sections 5 and 6 hereof: *Provided*, That proof" and inserting in lieu thereof "sections 5 and 6 of this Act and beginning on the day after his pay ceases and he meets the service and disability requirements for title to annuity. Proof".

(4) Section 5 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-725) is amended—

(A) by amending the second sentence of subsection (a) to read as follows: "Each annuity is stated as an annual amount, one-twelfth of which, fixed at the nearest dollar, constitutes the monthly rate payable on the first business day of the month after the month or other period for which it has accrued.";

(B) by striking out the last sentence of paragraph (1) of subsection (b) and inserting in lieu thereof the following new sentence: "The annuity of such widow or widower shall begin on the day after the retired teacher dies. Such annuity and any right thereto shall terminate on the last day of the month before (A) the widow or widower dies, or (B) the widow or widower remarries before becoming sixty years of age. In the case of a surviving widow or widower whose annuity under this paragraph is terminated because of remarriage before becoming sixty years of age, annuity at the same rate shall be restored commencing on the day the remarriage is dissolved by death, annulment, or divorce, if—

"(i) the surviving widow or widower elects to receive the annuity which was terminated instead of a survivor benefit to which the surviving widow or widower may be entitled under this Act or another retirement system for employees of the Federal or District Government, by reason of the remarriage; and

"(ii) any lump sum paid on termination of the annuity is returned to the teachers' retirement and annuity fund established under section 2 of this Act."; and

(C) by striking out in the first sentence of paragraph (2) of subsection (b) "and upon

the death of each survivor annuitant all payments shall cease and no further annuity shall be due and payable" and by adding after such sentence the following new sentence: "The annuity of the survivor annuitant shall commence on the day after the retired teacher dies, and such annuity and any right thereto shall terminate on the last day of the month before the death of the survivor annuitant."

(5) The second sentence of the first paragraph of section 8 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-728) is amended by striking out "Act of June 12, 1940 (54 Stat. 349): *Provided further*" and all that follows down through "nothing contained herein shall be construed" in the last proviso in that sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "Act of June 12, 1940 (54 Stat. 349). If the teacher so elects he may deposit the required sum in the teacher's retirement and annuity fund in monthly installments with interest at 3 per centum per annum compounded annually, upon making a claim with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, or their designated agent. This section shall not be construed".

(6) Section 9 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-729) is amended—

(A) by striking out in subsection (a) "after having served in the public schools of the District of Columbia for a total period of not less than five years" and inserting in lieu thereof "after completing five years of eligible service";

(B) by striking out in subsection (a) "beginning at the age of sixty-two years computed as provided in section 5 of this Act" and inserting in lieu thereof "computed as provided in section 5 of this Act, beginning at the age of sixty-two years and terminating on the date of his death";

(C) by striking out in paragraph (1) of subsection (b) "after having rendered at least five years of service in the public schools of the District of Columbia" and inserting in lieu thereof "after completing five years of eligible service";

(D) (i) by striking out in paragraph (1) of subsection (b) "first day of the month following the death of the teacher" and inserting in lieu thereof "day after the teacher dies";

(ii) by striking out in such paragraph "teacher: *Provided*, That such payments or any right thereto shall cease upon the death or remarriage of the widow, or dependent widower, or upon the widower's becoming capable of self-support." and inserting the following: "teacher. Such annuity and any right thereto shall terminate on the last day of the month before (A) the widow or dependent widower dies, (B) the widow or dependent widower remarries before becoming sixty years of age, or (C) the dependent widower becomes capable of self-support. In the case of a widow or dependent widower whose annuity under this paragraph is terminated because of remarriage before becoming sixty years of age, annuity at the same rate shall be restored commencing on the day the remarriage is dissolved by death, annulment, or divorce, if—

"(i) the widow or dependent widower elects to receive the annuity which was terminated instead of a survivor benefit to which the widow or dependent widower may be entitled, under this Act or another retirement system for employees of the Federal or District Government, by reason of the remarriage; and

"(ii) any lump sum paid on termination of the annuity is returned to the teachers' retirement and annuity fund established under section 2 of this Act.";

(E) by striking out paragraph (2) and redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (2) and (3), respectively;

(F) (i) by striking out in the first sentence of paragraph (2) of subsection (b) (as so redesignated by subparagraph (E) of this paragraph) "five years of service in the public schools of the District of Columbia" and

inserting in lieu thereof "five years of eligible service";

(1) by striking out the third sentence of such paragraph and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"The child's annuity shall commence on the first day after the teacher dies. Such annuity and the right thereto terminate on the last day of the month before the child—

"(A) becomes eighteen years of age unless he is then a student as described or incapable of self-support;

"(B) becomes capable of self-support after becoming eighteen years of age unless he is then such a student;

"(C) becomes twenty-two years of age if he is then such a student and capable of self-support;

"(D) ceases to be such a student after becoming eighteen years of age unless he is then incapable of self-support; or

"(E) dies or marries;

whichever first occurs."

(G) by striking out in the first sentence of paragraph (3) of subsection (b) (as so redesignated by subparagraph (E) of this paragraph) "After having rendered at least five years of service in the public schools of the District of Columbia" and inserting in lieu thereof "after completing five years of eligible service";

(H) paragraph (2) of subsection (c) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) The term 'child' means—

"(A) an unmarried child under eighteen years of age, including (1) an adopted child, and (1) a stepchild or recognized natural child who lived with the teacher in a regular parent-child relationship;

"(B) such unmarried child regardless of age who is incapable of self-support because of mental or physical disability incurred before age eighteen; or

"(C) such unmarried child between eighteen and twenty-two years of age who is a student regularly pursuing a full-time course of study or training in residence in a high school, trade school, technical or vocational institute, junior college, college, university, or comparable recognized educational institution.

For the purpose of this paragraph and paragraph (2) of subsection (b) of this section, a child whose twenty-second birthday occurs before July 1 or after August 31 of a calendar year, and while he is regularly pursuing such a course of study or training, is deemed to have become twenty-two years of age on the first day of July after that birthday. A child who is a student is deemed not to have ceased to be a student during an interim between school years if the interim is not more than five months and if he shows to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia that he has a bona fide intention of continuing to pursue a course of study or training in the same or different school during the school semester (or other period into which the school year is divided) immediately after the interim."

(7) Section 10 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-730) is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 10. (a) Under regulations prescribed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, a present or former teacher may designate a beneficiary or beneficiaries for the purpose of this Act.

"(b) Lump-sum benefits authorized by subsections (c), (d), and (e) of this section shall be paid in the following order of precedence, to the person or persons surviving the teacher and alive at the date title to the payment arises, and the payment bars recovery by any other person:

"First, to the beneficiary or beneficiaries designated by the teacher in a signed and witnessed writing received by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia before his death.

"Second, if there is no designated beneficiary to the widow or widower of the teacher.

"Third, if none of the above, to the child or children of the teacher and descendants of deceased children by representation.

"Fourth, if none of the above, to the parents of the teacher or the survivor of them.

"Fifth, if none of the above, to the duly appointed executor or administrator of the estate of the teacher.

"Sixth, if none of the above, to such other next of kin of the teacher, as the Commissioners of the District of Columbia determine to be entitled under the laws of the domicile of the teacher at the date of his death.

For the purpose of this subsection, the term 'child' includes a natural child and an adopted child, but does not include a stepchild.

"(c) If—

"(1) a teacher dies—

"(A) without a survivor, or

"(B) with a survivor or survivors and the right of all survivors terminates before a claim for survivor annuity is filed; or

"(2) a former teacher not retired dies,

the lump sum credit shall be paid.

"(d) If all annuity rights under this Act based on the service of a deceased teacher terminate before the total annuity paid equals the lump-sum credit, the difference shall be paid.

"(e) If an annuitant dies, any annuity accrued and unpaid shall be paid.

"(f) For purposes of this section, the term 'lump-sum credit' means the unrefunded amount consisting of—

"(1) retirement deductions made under this Act from the salary of a teacher;

"(2) amounts deposited into the teachers' retirement and annuity fund by a teacher covering earlier service; and

"(3) interest on the deductions and deposits made with respect to service which aggregates more than one year but excluding interest for the fractional part of a month in the total service."

(8) Section 13 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-733) is amended—

(A) by striking out "creditable service" and inserting in lieu thereof "eligible service"; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"For purposes of this Act, the term 'eligible service' means service in the public schools of the District of Columbia under a temporary, probationary, or permanent appointment to a position, the rate of compensation of which is prescribed in the salary schedule contained in section 1 of the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955 (D.C. Code, sec. 31-1501)."

(9) The first sentence of section 21 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31-739a) is amended by striking out "December 30, 1965" and inserting in lieu thereof "January 1, 1966".

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill H.R. 12505 is to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Act so as to bring it into conformity with the Civil Service Retirement Act as presently amended.

H.R. 12505 amends the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Act in the following respects, all of which conform to provisions presently existing in the Civil Service Retirement Act:

First. Permits teachers to retire at age 55 with 30 years' service.

Second. Permits teachers to retire at age 60 with 20 years' service.

Third. Establishes the starting date for annuities as the day following separation from the teaching service; except that for disability retirement, annuity shall start on the day after the teacher's salary ceases and he meets the disability requirements.

Fourth. Permits time spent in temporary teaching status to count toward eligibility for benefits under the Teachers' Retirement Act if the teacher attains probationary and permanent status.

Fifth. Provides that the annuity of a teacher's surviving widow or widower shall be terminated by the survivor's remarriage only if such remarriage occurs prior to the survivor's attaining the age of 60. Also, if a survivor's annuity is terminated for this reason, the annuity may be renewed if the remarriage is terminated by divorce, death, or annulment, provided that the survivor gives up any other survivor benefits derived as a result of the remarriage, if the spouse in the remarriage was employed by the government or by another school system; and, the survivor pays back any lump sum received as the result of the termination of her original annuity from the District of Columbia teachers' retirement fund by reason of her remarriage.

Sixth. Provides that a teacher entering the District of Columbia system after having deposited retirement fund payments elsewhere in connection with prior teaching or Government employment, may redeposit such funds into the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Fund at any time. Such payments may be made in monthly installments at 3 percent interest compounded annually.

Seventh. Corrects an oversight in Public Law 89-494, whereby teachers who retired from the District of Columbia system during the month of December 1965 were denied a "bonus" of 6.1 percent in their annuities. This "bonus" was enjoyed by all civil service retirees of that month, and it was intended that the nine District of Columbia teachers who retired at that time should receive it also. This provision does not affect any other teacher retirees in any way.

Eighth. Provides that survivor annuities shall terminate on the last day of the month before the death of the survivor annuitant.

Ninth. Provides that the annuity of a teacher involuntarily separated from service, not for cause of misconduct or delinquency, shall be reduced by one-sixth of 1 percent for each month the teacher is below the age of 55 at the time of separation.

Tenth. Redefines the term "child" so as to afford child survivor benefits similar to those presently provided under the Civil Service Retirement Act.

Eleventh. Rewrites the section of the act providing for the payment of a teacher's unfunded retirement deductions to a beneficiary in the event of the teacher's death, to conform with provisions presently existing in the Civil Service Retirement Act.

COST ESTIMATE

It is extremely difficult to project the additional cost to the District of Columbia which will result from the earlier retirement ages authorized for teachers under the provisions of this bill. This is true because it is impossible to predict the number of teachers each year who will avail themselves of the opportunity for earlier retirement. In order to get the best possible estimate of this cost figure, your committee requested an opinion

from an actuary in the U.S. Treasury Department. This actuary's report, in pertinent part, is as follows:

Based on a sample, the distribution of teachers who are eligible for immediate retirement at ages 55 through 61 is approximately as shown below. (Ages 62 through 70 have been excluded.) An additional column showing the number normally expected to retire at each of these ages under existing law has been added.

Age	Total number	Eligible under H.R. 7737	Annual retirements expected under existing law
55-----	93	50	5
56-----	93	56	5
57-----	107	64	5
58-----	78	45	5
59-----	85	49	8
60-----	69	1 62	9
61-----	37	1 33	5
Total.....	562	359	42

† It is estimated that about 40 percent of these cases are not yet eligible for retirement under existing law.

The points at which the incentive for accelerated retirement is greatest are probably ages 55, 60, and 61. If, for example, retirements at these ages were to double in the first year, it would mean 19 extra retirements at about \$5,000 each or a total extra cost of about \$95,000 per year in the first year.

COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS

It is the view of your committee that the enactment of H.R. 12505, which will simply afford for the teachers and other professional employees of the District of Columbia public school system the same retirement benefits which are already in effect, through the Civil Service Retirement Act as presently amended, for nearly all the other employees of the District of Columbia government, is entirely justified. It is our hope that this legislation may serve to alleviate to some degree the serious problems of recruitment and retention of capable, qualified teachers for the public school system of the Nation's capital.

HEARING

A public hearing on H.R. 7737, the original form in which this bill was introduced, was conducted on April 27, 1967, by Subcommittee No. 1. Approval of the measure was expressed by spokesmen for the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia Board of Education, the District of Columbia Education Association, and the Washington Teachers' Union. No opposition was expressed from any source.

The District of Columbia Board of Commissioners recommended several amendments designed to conform the bill more closely to the present provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act. These suggested amendments are incorporated in the bill H.R. 12505, as reported by your committee.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I feel privileged to sponsor the bill H.R. 12505, which is designed to update the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Act so as to bring its provisions into conformity with the present provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act.

Traditionally, the retirement benefits for teachers and other professional employees of the District of Columbia pub-

lic school system have been kept parallel to those provided for retirees under the civil service system. This is as it should be, since most of the other employees of the District of Columbia government, as well as the classified employees in the Federal Government, enjoy the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act. At present, however, largely because of more liberal retirement benefits provided for civil service retirees in 1966, the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Act does not offer equal benefits. I introduced the bill H.R. 12505, at the request of the District of Columbia Education Association, in order to correct these inequities.

The most important provision of this bill will permit District of Columbia teachers to retire with full annuity at age 55 with 30 years of service, or at age 60 with 20 years' service. At present, a teacher may not retire with full annuity after 30 years of service until reaching the age of 60, though she may retire at age 55 with 30 years of service with a reduced annuity. I feel strongly that this liberalized formula should be afforded the teachers in the District of Columbia school system, inasmuch as it is presently enjoyed by all the classified employees in the District of Columbia and the Federal Governments.

The bill also will provide for the first time when a temporary teacher in the District system becomes probationary as a requisite for permanent status, the years she spent in temporary status may count toward her benefits under the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Act. A temporary teacher in the District of Columbia schools is covered under the civil service retirement system, but probationary and permanent teachers are, of course, under the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Act. Hence, at present when a temporary teacher acquires probationary status, she must work 5 years beyond that time before she can be eligible for any retirement benefits whatever. This has been a difficulty which has hampered efforts to encourage temporary teachers to become fully qualified. Inasmuch as approximately 34 percent of the teachers in the District of Columbia school system are presently on temporary status, I feel that this and all other feasible steps to encourage them to become probationary and permanent should be taken.

It is provided further in H.R. 12505 that the annuity left by a deceased retired teacher to a surviving widow or widower may be terminated by the survivor's remarriage only if such remarriage occurs before the survivor reaches the age of 60. Further, in this event the annuity may be renewed if the remarriage is terminated by death, divorce, or annulment. At present, such an annuity is terminated upon the survivor's remarriage at any age whatever, and cannot be renewed.

Another important provision of the bill is to correct an oversight in previous legislation, as a result of which teachers who retired during the month of December 1965 were denied an extra 6.1 percent in their annuities. This "bonus" was enjoyed by all civil service employees who retired during that month, and Congress intended that the District

teachers in that category should receive it also. H.R. 12505 will provide this increase in the annuities of the nine teachers who retired during that particular month, on a retroactive basis. This provision, of course, does not affect any other retirees.

In addition to these major provisions, this bill also updates and improves the District of Columbia Teachers' Retirement Act in a number of other ways. For example, all annuities will commence on the day after the teacher's separation from the service, rather than on the first day of the month following such separation. Also, the definition of the term "child" is changed so that child survivors under the Act will receive benefits similar to those provided for child survivors under the Civil Service Retirement Act; and the provisions for the payment of a teacher's unrefunded retirement deduction to a beneficiary in the event of the teacher's death are modified also into conformity with those in the Civil Service Act.

This bill provides no benefits for the teachers and other professional employees of the District of Columbia Board of Education which have not been in effect for all the Federal and District of Columbia Government employees under civil service for more than a year. For this reason, it is my conviction that the enactment of this proposed legislation is thoroughly justified at this time, in fairness to these dedicated public servants.

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

DULLES-POTOMAC INTERCEPTOR SEWER

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 8965) to amend the act of June 12, 1960, relating to the Potomac interceptor sewer, to increase the amount of the Federal contribution to the cost of that sewer, with a committee amendment, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 8965

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4 of the Act of June 12, 1960 (D.C. Code, sec. 43-1624), is amended—

(1) by inserting "(a)" immediately after "Sec. 4.",

(2) by striking out in the second sentence "and shall be repaid" and inserting in lieu thereof "and 50 per centum of the total amount of loans made under this section shall be repaid", and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) The amount of loans which were made under subsection (a) of this section, and which do not have to be repaid—

"(1) shall be considered as an additional Federal contribution toward the cost of planning, acquiring rights-of-way for, and constructing, the Potomac interceptor sewer, and

"(2) for purposes of section 2(b) of this Act, shall be treated as having been appropriated pursuant to section 3 of this Act."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, strike out lines 3 and 4 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That subsection (b) of section 2 of the Act of June 12, 1960 (D.C. Code, sec. 43-1621), is amended by inserting immediately after the first sentence the following: 'In the event any agency or local authority shall make lump sum payment of its entire portion of the cost, or one or more lump sum payments of the whole or any part of the remainder thereof, of all planning and construction (including acquisition of rights-of-way) of the interceptor, the agreement between the Commissioners and such agency or local authority shall provide or shall be modified to provide, as the case may be, that the charges to such local authority or agency for the use of the Potomac interceptor shall take into consideration such payment by the local authority or agency of its portion of the cost of such planning and construction: *Provided*, That any lump sum payment by an agency or local authority toward its portion of the cost of all planning and construction (including acquisition of rights-of-way), if not of the whole amount thereof or of the remaining balance at the time of payment, shall be in an amount of not less than one-fourth of the agency's or local authority's original entire portion of the planning and construction cost.'

"Sec. 2. Section 4 of the Act of June 12, 1960 (D.C. Code, sec. 43-1623), is amended"—

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

PURPOSE OF THE LEGISLATION

The purpose of H.R. 8965 is to increase the amount of the Federal contribution to the cost of the Potomac interceptor sewer from Dulles Airport, so that the users thereof shall repay the United States only 50 percent of the total amount of loans made under authority of the act of June 12, 1960—Public Law 86-515, 74 Stat. 210—which authorized the construction of the sewer.

In view of the paramount Federal interest in protecting the water supply of the District of Columbia from pollution, the purpose of this bill is to establish the Federal contribution toward the cost of the interceptor at a level more commensurate with the Federal Government's special stake in the water resources of the Potomac River.

PROVISIONS OF PRESENT LAW

Public Law 86-515—the act of June 12, 1960, 74 Stat. 210—provided for—first, disposal of sewage from Dulles International Airport through the District of Columbia sewerage system and sewage treatment plant at Blue Plains; and second, collection and treatment of sewage from those areas of Maryland and Virginia tributary to the region through which the sewer will pass.

To accomplish this, Congress in the 1960 act authorized construction of the Potomac interceptor sewer to connect federally owned Dulles International Airport and communities in suburban Virginia and Maryland with the District of Columbia sewer system. The purpose

was to provide sewer service for Dulles Airport and to protect the water sources of the Nation's Capital from pollution caused by the dumping of sewage into the Potomac River above Washington.

The District of Columbia Commissioners, by the 1960 act, were designated as the agency to plan, construct, operate, and maintain the sewer in cooperation with the other jurisdictions.

As to financing, the 1960 act authorized the project at a total cost of \$28 million, provided as follows:

(1) A Federal grant of \$3 million for planning, rights-of-way acquisition, and construction of the interceptor; and

(2) Treasury loan authorization of \$25 million to complete the construction, amortized over 40 years from rates to be collected by the user jurisdictions. The \$25 million loan made available by the 1960 act was made payable to the Metropolitan Area Sanitary Sewage Works Fund.

The loan is repayable within 40 years in substantially equal annual payments, including principal and interest at prevailing rates. The act requires that interest and principal payments be deferred whenever the Secretary of the Treasury finds that the income received from charges for sewage services is inadequate to cover these and other expenses properly chargeable to these receipts. The fiscal 1958 budget indicates that repayment of \$714,000 of principal and \$3.5 million of interest is being deferred under this provision. Interest is not required to be paid to the Treasury on such deferrals.

EFFECT OF PRESENT BILL

Under the 1960 Dulles Potomac Interceptor Sewer Act, the Federal Government has contributed \$3 million, or 11 percent of the construction cost, while the two States and subdivisions of Maryland and Virginia are to repay \$25 million, or 89 percent plus interest.

Under the proposed legislation, the Federal Government would increase its contribution from \$3 million to \$15.5 million, or from 11 percent to 55 percent of the construction cost. The loan repayable by the States of Maryland and Virginia and user jurisdictions would be reduced from \$25 million to \$12.5 million.

In effect, this makes retroactive—insofar as the Potomac sewer is concerned—a 50-percent reduction in the cost to Maryland and Virginia communities for use of the Potomac Interceptor sewer referred to.

Your committee believes that H.R. 8965 recognizes that the Federal interest in protecting the Nation's water resources applies with special force to the water resources of the Nation's Capital. The bill will increase the Federal contribution to the cost of a project to prevent pollution of the water supplies of the Capital City, that was built for a Federal establishment pursuant to congressional authorization, but which must be paid for almost exclusively by residents of the Washington metropolitan area in the jurisdictions served.

PRECEDENTS FOR THE LEGISLATION

Since the 1960 Potomac Interceptor Act, Congress, by amendments, has liberalized the provisions of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act—33 United

States Code 466—to control water pollution on a national basis, as follows:

First. By the Water Quality Act of 1965—Public Law 89-234, approved October 2, 1965, 79 Statute 903.

Second. By the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966—Public Law 89, approved November 3, 1966, 80 Statute 1246.

Under these recent enactments, Federal grants of up to 55 percent of construction costs have been made available to States and local jurisdictions for sewer construction projects and treatment plants, to alleviate or prevent water pollution.

In some cases, these Federal grants, with additional State grants, may require only a 20-percent local contribution to the cost of pollution control systems.

In view of the congressional enactments in 1965 and 1966 referred to, providing Federal aid for water pollution control projects, the prospect now exists that local authorities, including those in the Maryland and Virginia areas which could be served by the Potomac interceptor, might seek and receive Federal and State grants for sewage treatment plants and other projects to control water pollution. It therefore becomes a distinct possibility that local authorities would find it economically advantageous to forgo utilizing the interceptor and to apply for Federal and State construction grants for local sewage facilities. The results of this would be that the plans envisioned by the Federal Government for protecting the Potomac above Washington from additional pollution would be destroyed. The Potomac interceptor, already in existence and serving a relatively few users, would continue to be underutilized, and the cost burden on users would be prohibitive.

CURRENT STATUS

The main line of the interceptor was completed in December 1963. Other units were completed during 1964, with the exception of unit 14, to serve the Muddy Branch and Seneca Creek watersheds in Maryland. Plans for this unit have been completed, but bids have not yet been solicited.

The current population of the area served by the Potomac interceptor is about 70,000 and the projected population for 1980 is 260,000. Presently, the interceptor is serving approximately 29,500 persons, with 18,800 in Fairfax County and the town of Vienna, 5,200 in Loudoun County, 5,200 at Dulles Airport and environs, all in Virginia, and 200 in Maryland—Navy Department and National Park Service. Potentially, the system has a capability of serving 500,000 persons.

Indicative of present use of the Potomac interceptor is the tabulation of receipts paid to the Metropolitan Area Sanitary Sewage Works fund for the fiscal year 1967 with Fairfax County paying \$17,418.74; Loudoun County paying \$9,381.46; U.S. Navy Department paying \$1,077.01; U.S. Federal Aviation Agency paying \$2,491.55; National Park Service paying \$133.52; and Vienna paying \$25,-867.10; totaling \$56,369.38.

COSTS

Completed construction contracts total about \$22,709,000; other actual and estimated costs bring the total to more than

\$25,200,000. Another \$2,229,000 has been reserved for the construction of unit 14 in Maryland.

HEARINGS

Hearings were conducted by Subcommittee No. 3 on July 11, 1967, at which testimony was heard from representatives of the Federal and District Governments, suburban communities, and sanitary commissions that are now or in the future may use the Potomac interceptor. The record from these hearings shows clearly that the Potomac interceptor was conceived and planned primarily by the Federal Government to serve the airport, a Federal facility, and to protect the water sources of Washington, the Federal Capital. Local communities were expected to make use of the Potomac interceptor and approved the concept of an interceptor to protect the Potomac River. However, projected high charges for its use did not become clear until 2 years later. During hearings on H.R. 8965, the subcommittee received testimony that actual growth of the area served by the interceptor has been far less than anticipated. In some instances, projected increases in the already high sewer taxes and fees in the area—which may be twice as high as those in areas not using the interceptor—have actually hindered the development of the region, and have caused some communities to hesitate in connecting to the interceptor.

Sewer charges in the local areas now vary from approximately 20 cents per thousand gallons of water to as high as 80 cents per thousand gallons, according to testimony presented. While the variations are due to several factors, including amortization of capital assets, the higher sewage charges are primarily in those communities which now use or are expected to use the Potomac interceptor. It is clear that because the debt repayment requirements for the interceptor will have to be added to other disposal costs, sewage rates in those communities making use of the interceptor will necessarily be proportionately higher than rates in areas that do not have this added cost. For example, the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, which supplies water and sewer services to the Maryland suburbs of Washington, has calculated that the planned connection of its system to the Potomac interceptor will, under the existing law, require a rise in rates from the present 22 cents a thousand gallons to approximately 45 cents a thousand gallons.

SUPPORT FOR THE BILL

H.R. 8965 has received the support of the Federal Bureau of the Budget and the Department of Transportation, which presented the views of the administration; Congressmen representing constituencies in the areas served by the interceptor; the Maryland State Department of Health, representing the views of that State; members of the Virginia Legislature; the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments; the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission; the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; and spokesmen for the local and county governments in Virginia and Maryland affected by the interceptor. No opposition was expressed to the bill.

LETTER FROM THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., July 11, 1967.

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of
Columbia, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This refers to your letters of June 2 and June 30, 1967, requesting a report from the Bureau of the Budget on H.R. 9407 and H.R. 8965, respectively. These bills, along with H.R. 10759, are identical to S. 1633 "To amend the Act of June 12, 1960, relating to the Potomac interceptor sewer to increase the amount of the Federal contribution to the cost of that sewer."

Mr. Alan L. Dean, an Assistant Secretary of Transportation, testified for the Administration on S. 1633 before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia on June 27, 1967. A copy of the statement is attached and concludes that:

"In view of these unique conditions surrounding the Dulles interceptor project, particularly the fact that the project was advanced primarily to meet a specific Federal need, I am pleased to advise you that the Administration favors the enactment of S. 1633."

For the reasons outlined in Mr. Dean's statement to the Senate, the Bureau of the Budget favors enactment of either H.R. 9407, H.R. 8965 or H.R. 10759.

Sincerely yours,

WILFRED H. ROMMEL,
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference.

CONCLUSION

The Potomac interceptor is unique. It was built to handle the flows from a population that was almost entirely nonexistent at that time and is not expected to develop in its entirety for several decades. Time will undoubtedly prove this foresight to be a great benefit for the area around the Nation's Capital. If the interceptor were constructed at that future date when the need develops, the communities that would use the system would be in a position to seek Federal and State construction grants and would not be so heavily burdened with the cost of such a tremendous undertaking. However, the decision to build the interceptor when and where it was built was primarily a decision of the Federal Government to serve a Federal installation and to protect the purity of the water for the Capital, although it is the local communities that are presently burdened with virtually the entire cost of it.

The committee is convinced that it is grossly unfair to put the full burden of a project conceived, proposed, and so vital to the Federal Government on the shoulders of a relatively small number of citizens in the communities surrounding Washington. It becomes even more inequitable in light of the Federal water pollution control legislation to encourage the construction of sewers and treatment plants to protect water supplies with the assistance of Federal grants that has been enacted in the few years since the Potomac interceptor was authorized.

Your committee believes the Congress never intended to penalize the nearby communities in passing the Potomac Interceptor Act, yet that is the result of its past actions requiring almost completely local financing of this particular project. This contrasts with congressional action on water pollution legislation nationally whereby the Federal Gov-

ernment contributes the largest portion of construction costs.

BACKGROUND OF DULLES-POTOMAC INTERCEPTOR
SEWER

In 1959, President Eisenhower's budget requests to the Congress included \$27.5 million to complete construction of the new federally owned and operated Dulles International Airport at Chantilly, Va.; \$3.2 million of this amount, which was budgeted to construct a sewage line between the airport and the District of Columbia sewage system, was not approved by the House Appropriations Committee. Instead, the House appropriated \$750,000, an amount then sufficient to provide a local sewage treatment facility at the airport site. Senate efforts to restore the sewer line funds in conference were unsuccessful, as was a later Senate effort to include the item as a rider to a mutual aid appropriation bill.

Sewer planning for Dulles Airport recognized that waste disposal from such a major facility, unless handled properly, would constitute a threat to the water resources of the Nation's Capital. It also recognized that the new Federal airport would stimulate growth in neighboring communities, and that this presented a similar problem. The alternative solutions included a multiplication of local treatment plants and possible impairment of the river or protection of the Capital's water supply above Washington through the creation of an interceptor sewer connected to the District of Columbia system.

Since Dulles Airport was scheduled to open in 1961, the administration requested legislation on May 4, 1960, authorizing construction of the Potomac interceptor. In his letter forwarding the administration's draft bill to the Senate, the Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget stated, in part:

On September 1, 1959, in order to avoid, if possible, discharging treated effluent from the Dulles International Airport into the Potomac River above the District of Columbia water intakes, the President asked the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to defer action on a proposed waste treatment plant at the Dulles International Airport until a study could be made to determine the feasibility of an alternative method of waste disposal.

On March 9, 1960, the Administrator submitted a "Report on Sewage Disposal Methods: Dulles International Airport." The President shared in the Administrator's conviction that the Federal Government has a degree of responsibility along with the local jurisdictions in assuring a comprehensive solution of the National Capital water problem. He considered it essential, moreover, that the solution of the airport problem coincide with, rather than impinge upon, orderly community and regional development. Similarly, it is his belief that as local communities continue to expand, they will wish to provide for disposal facilities in a manner which will assure achievement of the longer range objectives sought for the Potomac River.

Joint hearings by the Senate and House District Committees were held on May 19, 1960. The House approved the bill on June 1, 1960, and the Senate on June 8. The bill was signed by President Eisenhower on June 12, 1960.

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

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, this is a bill that in my opinion needs some attention, and particularly so in light of what transpired on June 1, 1960. Just to keep the record straight, I would like to read into the RECORD of today, and in the consideration of this bill, something of what happened back on that fateful day, June 1, 1960. Having obtained the floor then I said:

Mr. Chairman, as I understand this bill, it provides for a loan from the Federal Government of \$25 million; and a grant of \$3 million, or a total of \$28 million.

The question I would like to ask is where is the money coming from to pay off the \$25 million? Where is the revenue coming from to pay for this obligation?

Mr. McMILLAN. As I understand it, the cost will be charged to different industries and facilities for the use of this sewer system. The cost with interest will be repaid by private enterprise.

I repeat, by private enterprise.

Continuing to read—

Mr. GROSS. What private enterprise is the gentleman talking about?

Mr. McMILLAN. Hotel facilities and all the different business establishments. It will be necessary to have different facilities in connection with this air base.

I assume he meant airport.

Mr. GROSS. Is the gentleman saying that the airlines are going to pay fees for the use of the airport sufficient to make a substantial contribution to the retirement of this obligation?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not know that. But I understand there will be a charge for the sewage.

Again I said—

Mr. GROSS. We have here \$3 million that is to be given as a grant to the airport to take care of that; and from some other source, of which we have no information, they are going to pay off the \$25 million?

Mr. McMILLAN. They are supposed to pay off the \$25 million with interest.

Mr. GROSS. But who is going to pay it?

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

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL. The \$3 million represents Federal payment. Fees will be charged against the use of this sewage system. This is not an unusual program. Any industry that patronizes the trunkline will pay a normal fee for the use of these facilities.

Mr. GROSS. I understand that, but what community is going to tie into the system? Where and what are the sources of revenue?

Mr. BROYHILL. The counties of Fairfax and Loudon in Virginia, as well as various developments and subdivisions therein. Also installations in Montgomery County in the State of Maryland. Fairfax County is already connecting with the Blue Plains treatment plant for serving the new CIA building in Langley, Virginia.

Mr. GROSS. What other sources?

Mr. BROYHILL. I am trying to explain. The various subdivisions; industries that have to discharge sewage, that normally discharges into the Potomac River, will now discharge into this interceptor.

Mr. GROSS. Let me ask the gentleman a simple question. Are there industries there now to meet the payments?

Mr. BROYHILL. Not at Chantilly; no.

Mr. GROSS. No. Is there any prospective industry?

Mr. BROYHILL. Why, certainly. This is a huge development.

And so forth.

Mr. GROSS. That is exactly what I am trying to get at. You have no industry there now, and you have no subdivisions. So this is all cast into the future. I am predicting that if this bill is passed you will be back here in a few years asking the Federal Government to take over this \$25 million obligation, or a substantial part of it.

You have no industry there today and you have no community sufficient to make a reasonable payment on this money that you are allegedly borrowing from the Federal Government.

Then the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] got into the situation in defense of this appropriation and I asked the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] the following question:

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman have any information on the rate of interest to be paid on the \$25 million?

Mr. Bow. My understanding is that it will pay the same rate of interest being paid by the Government on its borrowings.

Mr. GROSS. I sincerely hope the gentleman is right; that over a period of years the taxpayers of all the country will be reimbursed.

Mr. Bow. I believe it sincerely. I would not favor it if I did not believe it.

Mr. GROSS. I will say to the gentleman that I will not be at all surprised if within 5 or 10 years we are presented with a bill for more money from the Federal Government.

This is 7 years later so I did not miss it very far. I am sorry to say that my prophecy was correct. I am no authority and no prophet, but anyone could see and smell this one as far off as Chantilly, Va. The taxpayers are going to be hit with this. The chickens are coming home to roost for all the taxpayers of the Nation for the benefit of Virginia and Maryland.

I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman does not have enough time. I will have to get some time.

Mr. GROSS. No, I am afraid my time is about to expire. On June 1, 1960, we were assured the Federal taxpayers were not going to get hit right between the eyes on this, but if this bill is passed that is exactly what is going to happen.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 8965, to amend the Dulles Interceptor Sewer Act. This legislation provides that the remaining indebtedness of the suburban communities in Maryland and Virginia to the Federal Government as reimbursement for the cost of the Dulles sewer shall be reduced by 50 percent.

When Congress passed the Dulles Interceptor Sewer Act 6 years ago, other communities throughout the Nation did not have the 30 to 55 percent Federal contribution to local sewer construction projects since made available to them under the provisions of Public Law 89-753, the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966.

The Dulles interceptor sewer was built to prevent effluent from the Dulles Airport, and the large population increase which was anticipated near the airport, from posing a threat to the water supply of the District of Columbia. The Congress felt the Federal financing of the sewer trunkline was necessary to avert

pollution from a small treatment plant above the water supply.

Six years have intervened since construction of the sewer. However, neither the Dulles Airport itself nor the community surrounding it have grown as rapidly as was anticipated. The loan is presently scheduled to be repaid over a 40-year period through user's fees, and because of the fact that they are fewer in number than anticipated, users will be forced to pay fees far in excess of those charged for use of other facilities in the area and throughout the Nation.

Each of the communities now serviced by the Dulles sewer could, under provisions of the Clean Water Restoration Act, build its own treatment plant and receive 30 percent of the cost from the Federal Government; and the Federal contribution could be increased to as much as 55 percent if they were, as we are, part of a basin plan and part of a metropolitan area participating in a joint venture with neighboring communities.

Thus, unless this legislation is enacted, users of the Potomac interceptor sewer will be penalized for the fact that the Federal Government, to serve its own needs, built a sewer for them long before it was needed by the area population, and intends to charge the few users for the full construction cost, with the exception of the initial grant made in behalf of the Dulles Airport, on a prorated basis over a 40-year period. While this may have appeared equitable 6 years ago, it appears most inequitable today that users should be forced to pay rates greatly in excess of sewage rates elsewhere in the metropolitan area as a result of legislation designed to alleviate an areawide pollution problem.

This legislation will place nearby Virginia and Maryland suburbs on an equal basis with communities throughout the Nation who are now eligible for Federal participation in their water pollution projects. I urge favorable action on this legislation.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I believe objections to this bill, as the gentleman from Virginia just pointed out, will prove to be penny wise and pound foolish. All this bill will do is to put this particular sewer construction project, which is of great importance to the National Capital, on the same basis as the sewer projects presently being constructed in Iowa, in California, and in all other States of the Union. There is nothing special or privileged about this, so far as the National Capital area is concerned.

If we do not pass this legislation we will be inviting a proliferation of applications for individual Federal grants under general law, which will mean that the Federal Government's initial investment in the Dulles interceptor sewer will be largely wasted.

I urge the House today to give its speedy approval to this legislation.

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

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. I am glad to yield to my colleague from Virginia.

Mr. SCOTT. Is not the gentleman saying circumstances have changed since

1960 when this legislation was originally considered? This bill would merely give Virginia and Maryland the same sort of treatment being afforded to other States of this country?

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. The gentleman is correct. It would bring this project up to date with existing legislation which applies to the entire Union.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, as a sponsor of legislation identical to that before the House, I urge its passage.

The construction of the Potomac interceptor sewer was a pioneer move by Congress to safeguard one of the major rivers of the country against pollution within the greatest reasonable distance above the Washington metropolitan region's water supply intakes. The "interception" implied in the name of the facility is the interception of wastes discharged from waterways tributary to the Potomac.

Like later legislation, the law authorizing this project made it financially feasible for communities to participate in pollution control. However, unlike communities affected by later legislation, the jurisdictions of Virginia and Maryland which use the Potomac interceptor were not recipients of any grant for pollution control. The funds for construction of the Potomac interceptor sewer were made available in the form of loans to be repaid at Treasury rates amortized over a period of 40 years.

Since the development of Washington's International Airport by the Federal Government, a greater nationwide recognition of the need for water pollution controls has occurred. Congress has awarded increasingly generous grants for the construction of facilities which help eliminate the pollution of our waterways. One of the latest steps taken was the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, which makes it possible in some circumstances for local jurisdictions to receive Federal grants of 55 percent and State grants of 25 percent. By comparison, the jurisdictions which use the Potomac interceptor sewer received no grants, and are expected to pay 100 percent of the cost plus interest. Simple justice requires the enactment of this legislation.

The legislation before you will place the Virginia and Maryland jurisdictions on a nearly equal basis with other communities in the United States which are making efforts to restore the clarity of our waters. It will relieve them of 50 percent of the cost of using this modern facility, or, as the committee report states, on page 3, the Federal Government would increase its contribution from \$3 million to \$15.5 million or from 11 to 55 percent of the construction cost.

Passage of this legislation will insure that the Potomac interceptor sewer will be used in years ahead by the fast-growing communities of the northern Virginia and Maryland suburbs of Washington whose burgeoning populations have only begun to reach anticipated levels. It is likely that unless the inequity is removed, communities with future expansion needs will build separate smaller facilities in order to obtain the advantages available under the Clean Water Restoration Act.

I urge passage of this legislation, Mr. Speaker, as an immediate and practical

step toward control of pollution in one of our Nation's most historic streams.

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation, for the reasons given by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROXHILL] and my colleague from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS].

The situation has changed since the date of enactment of the initial legislation in 1960, with the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 and earlier programs.

I believe this was touched on by my colleague from Maryland, but with existing Federal statutes failure to pass the bill would encourage the political subdivisions bordering on the Potomac River to apply for substantial grants of their own for sewer construction in lieu of the Dulles interceptor sewer.

Under the original legislation the Federal Government is still primarily responsible for the payment of this obligation, and it will continue to pay until such time as the users' fees become sufficient to pay the other costs of the project.

Failure to pass the bill would be compounding the error that was made in connection with the concept of the building of Dulles Airport.

Mr. Speaker, in speaking on behalf of passage of H.R. 8965, my bill to increase the Federal payment toward construction of the Potomac interceptor sewer, I want to say that I introduced this legislation on April 20 at the request of Maryland Governor Agnew, who supports its enactment.

Mr. Speaker, until today I did not know of any opposition to enactment of my bill. It has the support of the Maryland State government, the Montgomery County Council, the District Commissioners, representatives of northern Virginia, and the Federal Government, and the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission which serves both Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, Md.

As of today, the Potomac or Dulles interceptor sewer is threatened by the same fate that is affecting the Dulles International Airport: underuse. Construction of this sewer was authorized by the Congress in 1960 as an antipollution program to protect our Potomac River water supply above Washington from pollution flowing out of the Dulles Airport. The \$28 million estimated construction cost was to have been financed by a \$3 million Federal grant, with the \$25 million balance paid off by Maryland and Virginia as a loan over a 40-year period. Under the original financial arrangement, the Federal Government would pay for approximately 11 percent of the construction cost; the two States the remaining 89 percent out of user fees from private hookups to the sewer system.

Then, in 1966 with enactment of the Clean Water Restoration Act, the Federal Government was authorized to make grants as high as 55 percent under certain circumstances for construction of antipollution projects, including sewers and treatment plants. With the possibility of 55 percent Federal construc-

tion grants being available to a State, the inequity to Maryland and Virginia of the 11 percent Federal financing for construction of the Dulles sewer becomes readily apparent. To compound the situation, development of the areas in Northern Virginia and Montgomery County to be serviced by this sewer has not occurred as rapidly as estimated, although there is little doubt that eventually this sewer will serve about a half-million Maryland and Virginia residents. Thus, the sewer, in its present stages, will not be used to the extent originally planned. With underuse, user fees would be higher, placing a serious financial burden on users.

Now we can see two major problems that are crying for remedy: One, the existence of a Federal program that could conceivably finance at the State level up to 55 percent of construction, rather than 11 percent; two, slower-than-expected development of proposed service areas, placing a heavy burden on users' fees, the same fees which the States would use to repay the 40-year loan on their 89 percent share of the construction cost.

In order to remedy these problems, my bill would increase the Federal share of construction costs from 11 percent to 55 percent, that is, from \$3 million to \$15.5 million. At the same time, the State share would decrease from \$25 million to \$12.5 million. Enactment of the legislation would relieve a massive burden both from the shoulders of the two States and the prospective users in the service areas. I feel that this is entirely justifiable and warranted, and I urge enactment of my bill.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMILLAN] for his leadership and support on behalf of this legislation in his committee. A large number of Maryland residents will be indebted to him for his support of this legislation because it will make certain that they may have the benefits of sewer service at a reasonable cost.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the bill, H.R. 8965, which increases the amount of the Federal contribution to the cost of the construction and financing of the Dulles-Potomac interceptor sewer, from \$3 million to \$15.5 million, or from 11 percent to 55 percent of the construction cost; and also at the same time makes retroactive, insofar as the Potomac sewer is concerned, a 50-percent reduction in the cost to the Maryland and Virginia communities for use of the Potomac sewer, a reduction from \$25 million to \$12.5 million of the loan repayable by the States of Maryland and Virginia.

Construction of the Dulles-Potomac interceptor sewer was authorized in 1960 by Public Law 86-515, which provided for disposal of sewage from Dulles International Airport through the D.C. sew-

erage system and sewage treatment plant at Blue Plains; and collection and treatment of sewage from those areas of Maryland and Virginia tributary to the region through which the sewer would pass. This 1960 act authorized financing by a Federal grant of \$3 million for planning, rights-of-way acquisition and construction of the interceptor, and a Treasury loan of \$25 million, amortized over 40 years from rates to be collected by the user jurisdictions, Maryland and Virginia.

Since the 1960 Dulles-Potomac Interceptor Act, Congress has liberalized the provisions of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act by the Water Quality Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-234) and the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-753), under which acts Federal grants of up to 55 percent of construction costs have been made available to States and local jurisdictions for sewer construction projects. Therefore, under the 1960 act the Federal Government is contributing, in effect, only 11 percent of the construction cost, while the two States, Maryland and Virginia, are required to repay 89 percent plus interest.

Under this legislation, H.R. 8965, the Federal Government would increase its contribution as previously outlined which would accomplish the purpose of allowing the Federal Government to participate in the cost of the Dulles-Potomac interceptor sewer in accordance with the provisions of existing law.

This project was originally advanced primarily to meet a specific Federal need for providing adequate service for the major international airport at Dulles serving the Nation's Capital, and was wholly funded by Federal loans and appropriations, all in anticipation of a very rapid growth in suburban development in the vicinity of the airport; however, this development in the areas served by the interceptor has not proceeded at anywhere near the pace the original planners of the facility anticipated. Thus, the repayment requirements on the construction loans in accordance with the 1960 act places an undue and unjustifiable burden on the communities in Maryland and Virginia that use and will use the facility.

I commend my colleague [Mr. MACHEN] for his efforts in connection with this legislation, and in view of the fact that this bill would correct existing inequities and provide for participation on the part of the Federal Government and the States of Maryland and Virginia in accordance with existing laws, I strongly urge approval of H.R. 8965.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this particular bill be withdrawn from consideration and passed over until the next District of Columbia day.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I will have to object to that.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Iowa object?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, sir; I do object, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Iowa has made a reference to the debate when the original bill on this matter was passed. I felt it had been worked out and this would be repaid in time. At that time the Federal contribution was to be \$3 million. There is a little history that goes even further back than that. When this question first came up it was to be a sewer for Dulles Airport. A request came in for \$27 million to build it. This was during the Eisenhower administration. I was then on the Committee on Appropriations and I objected to it and fought it rather hard against a \$27-million sewer for Dulles Airport that these other people could hook onto. I felt I had saved \$27 million there. What we actually did at that time was to appropriate \$750,000 for a sewer system at Dulles Airport and we eliminated some of these lines coming in that could have been hooked onto, which would have been a gift for Maryland and Virginia.

I remember at the time some rather critical editorials about the gentleman from Ohio. The people of Virginia and Maryland did not like me very much. The editorial writers took off on me for having done this. It seemed to me, though, that the people of Iowa and Ohio should not be called upon to pay for a sewage system in Maryland and Virginia. Then they came up with this new idea. They consulted with me very kindly, and I agreed that it looked like a feasible way to do it. The Federal Government would pay \$3 million and would make a loan of funds which would be paid back with interest. I supported it on the floor, as the gentleman from Iowa said. He did say then that they would be back in 5 or 10 years, but in my enthusiasm to help Virginia and Maryland I said, "Well, I do not think so." I said, "I think this will work out." I am a little astounded today, because the gentleman from Iowa again is right. When I thought I was saving \$27 million, I find now that we are back here asking for \$12.5 million more to bring it up to around \$15 million total instead of the original \$3 million.

Things are different today, as the gentlemen from Virginia and Maryland say. Yes. Things are a great deal different. We now have a national debt of over \$300 billion. There is some difference between what the debt was in those days and what it is now. We have an estimated deficit of \$30 billion this year. When you say you are just coming up to what other parts of the United States are having, I submit to you I wish I could get a deal of this kind back in Ohio in the 16th Congressional District. This is not a general thing all over the country that sewers are being paid for in this way. I just wonder how many Members on this floor have had this kind of favorable treatment in getting sewers built in their districts. I guess there have been some where they have, but this is not a change. The real change here is the fiscal situation of the country. I think we can ill afford to bring in these bills after we are sold a bill of goods and later on, as the gentleman from Iowa said, within 5 or 10 years—and he is right in the middle of it—they

are back here now asking for \$12.5 million.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I will be glad to yield to my friend from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. The gentleman is absolutely correct in that he made a major contribution to the solution of this problem in 1959 when it was proposed to build a cross-country sewerline to serve Dulles Airport and not much of anything else. It would have cost, I believe, the same as this particular project if they did get approval.

As a result of the gentleman's opposition and constructive suggestions, we were able to work out this particular program that would protect our water supply system and, hopefully, provide for the full payment of the construction cost, other than the amount that should have been the Federal contribution, anyway.

And as I said before, the development has not been as great.

Another thing that has prevented the excessive use or increased use of it, is the National Federal Water Control Act, which the gentleman's constituents can benefit from, up to 55 percent, of their contribution.

Mr. BOW. They can, but they just do not, and the constituencies of a great number of other congressional districts do not receive this kind of treatment on sewers. I just wish that we were able to take the impacted school areas benefits that accrue to the rich counties of northern Virginia and Maryland, and transfer some of those benefits over to the problem of the construction of sewers.

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

(On a request of Mr. GROSS, and by unanimous consent, Mr. Bow was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BOW. I would be delighted to yield to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman from Ohio for the statement he is making here today. The thing that hurts, and really hurts, is the fact that 7 years ago the proponents of this scheme would come in and say that there would be no further gouging of all the taxpayers. I thought the Federal Government was being pretty extravagant at that time, to underwrite \$3 million of the cost. But now it is proposed to triple that cost figure. This is the unacceptable part of this business—to come in one year and make a deal on the basis that the Federal Government's contribution is going to be so much, and then find a few years later that it has ballooned all out of shape. I cannot buy it. Therefore, I want to serve notice that insofar as I am concerned there will be a rollcall vote on this bill. And again I commend my friend from Ohio [Mr. Bow] for the statement he has made here today in behalf of the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Is the gentleman from Ohio stating that the State of Ohio and his congressional district cannot benefit under the Federal Water Control Act?

Mr. BOW. They could benefit, but they do not to the extent of the great States of Virginia and Maryland, under this particular bill.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, under the Federal Water Control Act metropolitan areas can receive up to 55 percent in the form of a contribution toward the construction of these facilities.

Mr. BOW. They can, but they do not. Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. But, why is this any basis—

Mr. BOW. They do not, and a number of other congressional districts throughout this country do not receive these benefits such as are received by the richer States of Virginia and Maryland.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, if the gentleman wants to discriminate against the States of Virginia and Maryland, that is another matter.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I cannot yield further to the gentleman from Virginia.

The gentleman from Virginia has done such a magnificent job over the years for the great State of Virginia and if he talks about discrimination against the State of Virginia, the job you have done has been magnificent, particularly insofar as the great State of Virginia is concerned. I do not feel that anyone in this Congress can say that they have been able to discriminate against the great State of Virginia in so long as the stalwart gentleman from Virginia has been here in the Halls of Congress defending that great State.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that it should be pointed out that the Potomac interceptor sewer is an enormous facility constructed to serve Dulles International Airport. When the interceptor sewer was devised to serve Dulles Airport, it was assumed that there would be a more rapid population and economic growth in the area to support the system. This has not come about, and, as a result, the financing of this Federal project places an undue burden on those currently using the facilities.

Failure to pass the interceptor sewer bill would mean a rather costly and extravagant use of both Federal and private funds. Without the Federal participation provided in this bill, future sewer development in the area would undoubtedly parallel the Dulles facilities. Since the original Dulles sewer was authorized, there have been other Government assistance programs passed which would make it more practical for developers to install sewer systems with Government help and avoid tying in with the Dulles system. This duplication and waste will be avoided by the passage of this bill.

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

Mr. GUDE. I am glad to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Scott].

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the House to the

staff memorandum that is on page 2 of the report of the subcommittee hearings. In effect, this memorandum indicates that the proposed legislation would simply put Virginia and Maryland on the same basis as the rest of the country, the Potomac interceptor sewer bill having been passed before general legislation which assists communities with financing the water pollution control projects. I am sure the gentleman from Maryland would agree with the staff memorandum.

Mr. GUDE. I thank the gentleman for pointing that out.

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

The committee amendment was agreed to.

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

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

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

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 118, nays 109, not voting 205, as follows:

[Roll No. 239]

YEAS—118

Addabbo	Green, Pa.	Morton
Albert	Guide	Murphy, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.	Hagan	Myers
Annunzio	Hammer-	Nedzi
Aspinall	schmidt	Nelsen
Bates	Hanna	Nix
Boggs	Hathaway	O'Hara, Ill.
Boland	Hechler, W. Va.	O'Hara, Mich.
Brademas	Helstoski	Patten
Brasco	Henderson	Pickle
Brown, Calif.	Horton	Price, Ill.
Broyhill, Va.	Hungate	Pryor
Burke, Mass.	Ichord	Rallsback
Burton, Calif.	Jacobs	Reid, N.Y.
Bush	Jones, N.C.	Resnick
Button	Kastenmeier	Rodino
Byrne, Pa.	Kazen	Rogers, Colo.
Clark	Kee	Rooney, N.Y.
Cleveland	King, Calif.	Roush
Collier	Kirwan	Roybal
Conable	Kleppe	Ruppe
Daniels	Kuykendall	Ryan
Dorn	Leggett	St. Onge
Dow	Lennon	Schweiker
Dowdy	Long, Md.	Schwengel
Eilberg	McClory	Scott
Fascell	McClure	Sisk
Felghan	McMillan	Smith, N.Y.
Fisher	Machen	Stafford
Ford, Gerald R.	Madden	Sullivan
Ford,	Mahon	Ullman
William D.	Mailliard	Van Deerlin
Friedel	Marsh	Waggonner
Fuqua	Mathias, Calif.	Walker
Galifianakis	Mathias, Md.	Wampler
Garmatz	Matsunaga	White
Gettys	Miller, Calif.	Whitener
Gilbert	Mills	Wyman
Gonzalez	Minish	Zwach
Green, Oreg.	Mink	
	Morse, Mass.	

NAYS—109

Andrews, Ala.	Blester	Broomfield
Arends	Blackburn	Brown, Mich.
Baring	Blatnik	Brown, Ohio
Belcher	Bow	Buchanan
Bennett	Bray	Byrnes, Wis.

Cahill	Hosmer	Rumsfeld
Carter	Hull	Scherle
Cederberg	Hunt	Selden
Chamberlain	Hutchinson	Shriver
Clawson, Del.	Joelson	Skubitz
Cramer	Johnson, Pa.	Slack
Cunningham	Jones, Ala.	Smith, Okla.
Davis, Wis.	King, N.Y.	Snyder
Dellenback	Laird	Springer
Denney	Langen	Steiger, Wis.
Devine	Lipscomb	Stubblefield
Dickinson	Lukens	Talcott
Dingell	McDade	Teague, Calif.
Dole	Mayne	Thompson, Ga.
Dulski	Michel	Thomson, Wis.
Duncan	Miller, Ohio	Utt
Edwards, Ala.	Montgomery	Vander Jagt
Eshleman	Moore	Vanik
Findley	Mosher	Vigorito
Flynt	Natcher	Waldie
Foley	Nichols	Watts
Fulton, Pa.	Olsen	Whalley
Fulton, Tenn.	Perkins	Williams, Pa.
Goodell	Pettis	Wilson, Bob
Goodling	Pike	Wilson,
Gross	Pool	Charles H.
Gubser	Price, Tex.	Winn
Haley	Riegle	Wyatt
Hanley	Roberts	Wylder
Hansen, Idaho	Rogers, Fla.	Wylie
Harrison	Roth	Zablocki
Hébert	Roudebush	

NOT VOTING—205

Abbutt	Fraser	Ottinger
Abernethy	Frelinghuysen	Passman
Adair	Gallagher	Patman
Adams	Gardner	Pelly
Anderson, Ill.	Gathings	Pepper
Andrews, N. Dak.	Gialmo	Philbin
Ashbrook	Gibbons	Pirnie
Ashley	Gray	Poage
Ashmore	Griffiths	Poff
Ayres	Grover	Pollock
Barrett	Gurney	Pucinski
Battin	Hall	Purcell
Bell	Halleck	Quie
Berry	Halpern	Quillen
Betts	Hamilton	Randall
Bevill	Hansen, Wash.	Rarick
Bingham	Hardy	Rees
Blanton	Harsha	Reid, Ill.
Bolling	Harvey	Reifel
Bolton	Hawkins	Reinecke
Brinkley	Hays	Reuss
Brock	Heckler, Mass.	Rhodes, Ariz.
Brooks	Herlong	Rhodes, Pa.
Brotzman	Hicks	Rivers
Broyhill, N.C.	Hollifield	Robison
Burke, Fla.	Holland	Ronan
Burleson	Howard	Rooney, Pa.
Burton, Utah	Irwin	Rosenthal
Cabell	Jarman	Rostenkowski
Carey	Johnson, Calif.	Sandman
Casey	Jonas	Satterfield
Celler	Jones, Mo.	St Germain
Clancy	Karsten	Saylor
Clausen,	Karth	Schadeberg
Don H.	Keith	Scheuer
Cohelan	Kelly	Schneebell
Colmer	Kluczynski	Shipley
Conte	Kornegay	Sikes
Conyers	Kupferman	Smith, Calif.
Corbett	Kyl	Smith, Iowa
Corman	Kyros	Staggers
Cowger	Landrum	Stanton
Culver	Latta	Steed
Curtis	Lloyd	Steiger, Ariz.
Daddario	Long, La.	Stephens
Davis, Ga.	McCarthy	Stratton
Dawson	McCulloch	Stuckey
de la Garza	Mich.	Taft
Delaney	McEwen	Taylor
Dent	McFall	Teague, Tex.
Derwinski	Macdonald,	Tenzer
Diggs	Mass.	Thompson, N.J.
Donohue	MacGregor	Tiernan
Downing	Martin	Tuck
Dwyer	Meeds	Tunney
Eckhardt	Meskill	Udall
Edmondson	Minshall	Watkins
Edwards, Calif.	Mize	Watson
Edwards, La.	Monagan	Whalen
Erlenborn	Moorhead	Whitten
Esch	Morgan	Widnall
Evans, Colo.	Morris, N. Mex.	Wiggins
Everett	Moss	Williams, Miss.
Evins, Tenn.	Multer	Willis
Fallon	Murphy, N.Y.	Wolf
Farbstein	O'Konski	Wright
Fino	O'Neal, Ga.	Yates
Flood	O'Neill, Mass.	Young
Fountain		Zion

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Monagan with Mr. Martin.
 Mr. Patman with Mr. Parnie.
 Mr. Reuss with Mr. Ribson.
 Mrs. Griffiths with Mr. Quie.
 Mr. Hamilton with Mr. Broyhill of North Carolina.
 Mr. Hardy with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.
 Mr. Hays with Mrs. Reid of Illinois.
 Mr. Howard with Mr. Stanton.
 Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania with Mr. Watkins.
 Mr. St Germain with Mr. Grover.
 Mr. Stephens with Mr. Hall.
 Mr. Steed with Mr. Brotzman.
 Mr. Satterfield with Mr. Mize.
 Mr. Purcell with Mrs. May.
 Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. McEwen.
 Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Kyl.
 Mr. Karth with Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts.
 Mr. Karsten with Mr. Pollock.
 Mr. Johnson of California with Mr. Schneebeli.
 Mr. Barrett with Mr. Taft.
 Mr. Jarman with Mr. Whalen.
 Mr. Brooks with Mr. Zion.
 Mr. Cohelan with Mr. McDonald of Michigan.
 Mr. Culver with Mr. Lloyd.
 Mr. Downing with Mr. Kupferman.
 Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Battin.
 Mr. Evans of Colorado with Mr. Curtis.
 Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Erlenborn.
 Mr. Randall with Mr. Wiggins.
 Mr. Pepper with Mr. Reinecke.
 Mr. Passman with Mr. Latta.
 Mr. Wright with Mr. Brock.
 Mr. Yates with Mr. Schadeberg.
 Mr. Udall with Mr. Burton of Utah.
 Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Conyers.
 Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Steiger of Arizona.
 Mr. Tuck with Mr. Burke of Florida.
 Mr. Abbitt with Mr. Esch.
 Mr. Cabell with Mr. Watson.
 Mr. Corman with Mr. Gardner.
 Mr. Adams with Mr. Meskill.
 Mr. Tunney with Mr. Sandman.
 Mr. Farbstein with Mr. Diggs.
 Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Cowger.
 Mr. Davis of Georgia with Mr. de la Garza.
 Mr. Delaney with Mr. Hawkins.
 Mr. Rosenthal with Mr. Brinkley.
 Mr. Scheuer with Mr. Dawson.
 Mr. Celler with Mr. Eckhardt.
 Mr. Carey with Mr. Edwards of California.
 Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Everett.
 Mr. McCarthy with Mr. Fallon.
 Mr. Multer with Mr. Moorhead.
 Mr. Ottinger with Mr. Rees.
 Mr. Wolf with Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania.
 Mr. Fraser with Mrs. Hansen of Washington.
 Mr. Herlong with Mr. Holland.
 Mr. Smith of Iowa with Mr. Gathings.
 Mr. Willis with Mr. Irwin.
 Mr. Meeds with Mr. Morris of New Mexico.
 Mr. Hicks with Mr. Gibbons.
 Mr. Bingham with Mr. Ashley.
 Mr. Beville with Mr. Rarick.
 Mr. Stratton with Mr. Shipley.
 Mr. Tenzer with Mr. Landrum.
 Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Stuckey.
 Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Conte.
 Mr. Ashmore with Mr. Saylor.
 Mr. Philbin with Mr. Rhodes of Arizona.
 Mr. Donohue with Mr. Widnall.
 Mr. Evans of Tennessee with Mr. Frelinghuysen.
 Mr. Flood with Mr. Halleck.
 Mr. Glaimo with Mr. Halpern.
 Mr. Daddario with Mr. Corbett.
 Mr. McFall with Mrs. Bolton.
 Mr. Kornegay with Mr. Betts.
 Mr. Morgan with Mrs. Dwyer.
 Mr. Taylor with Mr. Minshall.
 Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. McCulloch.

Mr. Young with Mr. Jonas.
 Mr. Moss with Mr. Harvey.
 Mr. O'Neal of Georgia with Mr. Adair.
 Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Ayres.
 Mr. Rivers with Mr. Reifel.
 Mr. Ronan with Mr. Poff.
 Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Smith of California.
 Mr. Sikes with Mr. O'Konski.
 Mr. Staggers with Mr. Pelly.
 Mr. Holifield with Mr. Clancy.
 Mr. Gray with Mr. Bell.
 Mr. Fountain with Mr. Berry.
 Mr. Edmondson with Mr. Keith.
 Mr. Dent with Mr. Harsha.
 Mr. Casey with Mr. Quillen.
 Mr. Burleson with Mr. Gurney.
 Mr. Kyros with Mr. Fino.
 Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Derwinski.
 Mr. Blanton with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
 Mr. Abernethy with Mr. Ashbrook.
 Mr. Colmer with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
 Mr. Whitten with Mr. MacGregor.

Mr. McDADE changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. WYMAN changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 1633) to amend the act of June 12, 1960, relating to the Potomac interceptor sewer, to increase the amount of the Federal contribution to the cost of that sewer.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill as follows:

S. 1633

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (b) of section 2 of the Act of June 12, 1960 (D.C. Code, sec. 43-1621), is amended by inserting immediately after the first sentence the following:

"In the event any agency or local authority shall make lump sum payment of its entire portion of the cost, or one or more lump sum payments of the whole or any part of the remainder thereof, of all planning and construction (including acquisition of rights-of-way) of the interceptor, the agreement between the Commissioners and such agency or local authority shall provide or shall be modified to provide, as the case may be, that the charges to such local authority or agency for the use of the Potomac interceptor shall take into consideration such payment by the local authority or agency of its portion of the cost of such planning and construction: *Provided*, That any lump sum payment by an agency or local authority toward its portion of the cost of all planning and construction (including acquisition of rights-of-way), if not of the whole amount thereof or of the remaining balance at the time of payment, shall be in an amount of not less than one-fourth of the agency's or local authority's original entire portion of the planning and construction cost."

SEC. 2. Section 4 of the Act of June 12, 1960 (D.C. Code, sec. 43-1623), is amended—

(1) by inserting "(a)" immediately after "Sec. 4,"

(2) by striking out in the second sentence "and shall be repaid" and inserting in lieu thereof "and 50 per centum of the total

amount of loans made under this section shall be repaid", and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) The amount of loans which were made under subsection (a) of this section, and which do not have to be repaid—

"(1) shall be considered as an additional Federal contribution toward the cost of planning, acquiring rights-of-way for, and constructing, the Potomac interceptor sewer, and

"(2) for purposes of section 2(b) of this Act, shall be treated as having been appropriated pursuant to section 3 of this Act."

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

A similar House bill, H.R. 8965, was laid on the table.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, that concludes the business of the District of Columbia Committee for today.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1872) entitled "An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MORSE, Mr. GORE, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. CARLSON, and Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMÁS AWARDED HONORARY DOCTOR OF LAWS DEGREE BY MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of our colleagues an honor recently conferred upon a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, of which I am privileged to be chairman.

I refer to the bestowing of the honorary degree of doctor of laws on Congressman JOHN BRADEMÁS, of Indiana, by Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt., on August 15, 1967.

Congressman BRADEMÁS delivered the commencement address for students graduating from the Middlebury Language Schools. Middlebury College has for over a half a century been a pioneer in modern language teaching in the United States and Congressman BRADEMÁS has shown a particular interest in our committee in higher education generally and especially in international education. He served as chairman of the task force on international education of the committee in 1966 and was the spon-

sor in the House of the International Education Act of 1966, which authorizes grants to colleges and universities here in the United States for international studies and research.

Mr. Speaker, I might also take this opportunity to note that Congressman BRADEMAs has received two other honorary degrees this year in recognition of his work in the field of education. On June 11, 1967, he was awarded the degree of honorary doctor of humane letters by Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., on June 6, 1967, the degree of honorary doctor of laws by St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Ind.

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE CITATION

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the text of the citation from Middlebury College:

John Brademas, we salute in you the example of a man who has accepted the duty of leadership as a matter of conscience. After a brief but brilliant apprenticeship, you have found yourself representing the American people as a leader in the crucial task of raising the quality of American education at all levels and for all the people. Middlebury College honors you especially for your position that in education lies the essential solution of most of the world's problems; and that a sympathetic understanding of other countries is the only sound basis for America's leadership in a close-knit world. Well-informed head of task forces and committees on international education, eloquent sponsor of much important legislation on that subject, energetic and dedicated public servant, you represent so well the ideals of Middlebury College and its Language Schools that we are proud to call you one of our honorary alumni. By virtue of the authority vested in me, I am happy to confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris cause*, and admit you to all the rights, honors, and privileges which here and everywhere appertain to this degree.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY CITATION

Mr. Speaker, the text of the Brandeis University citation reads:

The Trustees of Brandeis University upon the recommendation of the faculty have conferred on Stephen John Brademas, political scientist, legislator whose Indiana constituency has five times returned him to the House of Representatives. From his mentor, Adlai Stevenson, whom he served as an executive assistant, he learned the concept of service which shapes his political life: That the highest mission of statesmanship is to recognize the significance of an idea whose time has not yet come and then to hasten its day. . . . His meticulous study of widely divergent educational systems in emerging countries became the drafting discipline for the epochal International Education Act of 1966. Awarded the highest honor the Greek Orthodox Church bestows upon a layman, he has followed the ideal of his forebears, to dream of a great society and then to mount the courage to fulfill it. The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters and all the rights and privileges thereto appertaining.

June 11, 1967.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY,
Waltham, Mass.

A 5-DAY WORKWEEK

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, these remarks may be somewhat timely. With the date for the Labor Day adjournment rapidly approaching, I wish to raise a point that I have brought to the attention of some of my colleagues concerning congressional absenteeism.

The bulk of this body's work is done Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays simply because many Members prefer to spend 4-day weekends in their hometowns on personal and political business rather than on public business in Washington.

Several times this year debate has been interrupted on Thursday and rescheduled for the following Tuesday because it was apparent to the leadership that many Members did not intend to be in town on either Friday or Monday.

I firmly believe that the Tuesday-to-Thursday group of lawmakers have brought legislative activities to a snail's pace in recent months.

I noticed in yesterday's newspaper the gentleman from California, the Honorable JOHN MOSS, suggests that the salary of lawmakers be docked if absent during the 5-day workweek, unless the absence was excused. I can understand his concern. I have objected to this Tuesday-to-Thursday practice in my weekly newsletters, some of which have appeared as editorials in Texas newspapers, and reprints of which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last week.

However, Mr. Speaker, I do not think this fining process would be a very practical approach or even enforceable or constitutional, but I do think that the leadership on both sides of the aisle should take immediate steps to see that this practice is not continued.

And, I would hope that members of the Tuesday-to-Thursday club would recognize their responsibilities that the public's business comes first.

Monday-Friday absenteeism has reached a point that most committees would have more success getting a flock of dodo birds together than getting a quorum on the first and last day of the week.

I do not believe a 5-day workweek is asking too much and I further realize that the tenor of these remarks is not

aimed at winning any popularity contest with my colleagues. There would and should be exceptions to the 5-day workweek, but they should be the exception and not the rule.

WHY VIETNAM?

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, why is the United States involved in Vietnam? One with the temerity to ask this audacious question can find a neatly packaged answer in the form of a half-hour film, produced, packaged, and distributed by the U.S. Government, entitled "Why Vietnam?"

"Why Vietnam?" not only fails to answer the initial question, but Prof. Henry Steele Commanger, in his article "On the Way to 1984," in the Saturday Review of April 15, 1967, finds that it distorts history. This piece of indoctrination raises fundamental questions concerning the Government's dissemination of information and the effect not only on members of the Armed Forces but on high school students—young people who at that age are generally highly impressionable.

Were the purpose education in some objective sense of the word, a minimum requirement of the Government—which has a disproportionate influence over the dissemination of information to the public—would be that it make available, on the same basis, a film the title of which could be "Why Not Vietnam?"

But to show the why not? to those who see the why? might induce the young viewer to ask additional questions.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I recommend that they consider: the film script of "Why Vietnam?"; an article by Richard Dudman, "Troop Movie Is Being Used To Tell Nation About Vietnam," St. Louis Post Dispatch, November 6, 1966; and Prof. Henry Steele Commanger's article "On the Way to 1984," the Saturday Review, April 15, 1967:

[Film script of "Why Vietnam?" obtained from the Department of Defense]

WHY VIETNAM?

1. Johnson on camera.

My fellow Americans. Not long ago, I received a letter from a woman in the Midwest. She wrote:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In my humble way I am writing to you about the crisis in Vietnam. I have a son who is now in Vietnam. My husband served in World War II. Our country was at war. But now, this time, it's just something that I don't understand. Why?"

Munich—1938. (Narrator)

- 1B. Main Title.

2. Hitler and Mussolini in Munich.
3. Chamberlain arrives goes into conference building; Hitler and Mussolini on balcony after conference then live sound Chamberlain. As he finishes with statement that England and Germany will never go to war again we freeze frame and narrator picks up.
4. Mussolini, CU: then flame thrown against horses in Ethiopia.
5. Halle Selassie protests at Geneva, leaves podium alone.

NARRATOR. Peace in our time. A short cut to disaster. But even then, this was no new lesson.

It had stared us in the face with Mussolini, in Ethiopia.

And nothing was done.

WHY VIETNAM?—Continued

6. Nazi swastika, then Hitler on balcony, then sad old man giving salute.

7. Japanese fight Chinese in Manchuria.

8. Burning buildings in China, 1938.

9. LBJ on camera.

10. Johnson on camera.

11. Hanoi in 1954, old people in streets, French leaving, Red Flag on pole, Red troops marching in.

12. Geneva meeting: Mendes France is seen; Chou En Lai, Molotov. The document is signed.

13. After signing, Molotov and Chou shake hands and beam at one another; then shots of ragged refugees on their way South.

14. Animated map, showing 17th Parallel; then Aerials of Viet-Nam mountain terrain.

15. Ho Chi Minh comes down steps of big building, plays with children.

16. Ho gives mob of children candy, smiles as they stroke his beard.

17. Building new thatched huts, in south.

18. Rice fields, and harvesting shots.

19. Men bringing in sheaves of rice, then peaceful shots of small fishing boats to Saigon harbor.

20. Shadow of machine gun on water, then shots of men running through brush.

21. Night shots of burning villages. Also, shots of bodies in a ruined village; civilians and children.

22. CU, poster of Ho Chi Minh . . . pan down to red star, CU. This plays alone, with music.

We'd seen the Anschluss in Austria; and nothing was done.

And on the other side of the earth, we'd watched Japanese aggression swallow Manchuria.

In all these, there was a lesson we had to learn. President Johnson has phrased it well: "Aggression Unchallenged . . . is aggression unleashed."

Why must young Americans, born into a land exultant with hope and with golden promise, toil and suffer and sometimes dies in such a remote and distant place?

The answer, like the war itself, is not an easy one. But it echoes clearly from the painful lessons of half a century.

Three times in my lifetime—in two world wars and in Korea—Americans have gone to far lands to fight for freedom. We have learned at a terrible and a brutal cost that retreat does not bring safety, and weakness does not bring peace.

And it is this lesson that has brought us to Viet-Nam.

NARRATOR. In 1954, the streets of Hanoi reflect the ravages of long and bitter warfare. But now the fighting is over in Hanoi . . . and the victorious communist forces are moving in.

In Geneva, an agreement is reached which turns over North Viet-Nam to the Communists and ensures the withdrawal of the French. In theory, at least, the document signed here also provides the means of bringing true peace to all of Viet-Nam. But it is not to work out that way.

It is a bright victory for the Communist world, and broad smiles are to be seen . . . but not on the faces of the more than one million Vietnamese who desert their homes and flee southward rather than live under a Communist regime.

Divided at the 17th Parallel, as Korea was divided at the 38th—with the north firmly under Communist domination—Viet-Nam in 1954 faces the future: An imaginary line runs from border to border: Symbol of a separation which is far from imaginary.

In Hanoi, for the propaganda camera, Ho Chi Minh plays the kindly, smiling old grandfather.

But the unforgiving record of history shows that behind the smile is the mastermind of a reign of terror in which children like this are killed in their sleep, or as they scream in the dark of night.

Now, in the South, there is a fresh beginning. The people set about building new homes—new hopes.

Land reforms redistribute farmlands so that peasants own their own fields and reap, themselves, the benefit of their toil.

In these years, the land is bountiful . . . and the hopes of the people of South Vietnam are for peace.

But . . . when the South does not collapse, as Hanoi expects, a furtive and remorseless "war against people" begins.

In the words of Secretary of State Dean Rusk (Rusk Voice Over). The root of the trouble in Vietnam is today just what it has been at least since 1960—a cruel and sustained attack by North Vietnam upon the people of South Vietnam, marked by terror and sneak attack, and by the killing of women and children in the night. More than 2,000 local officials and civilians have been murdered. When an official is not found at home, often his wife and children are slain in his place. It is as if in our own country some 35,000 civic leaders or their families were to be killed at night by stealth and terror. These are the methods of the Viet Cong.

Music.

WHY VIETNAM?

23. Rice harvesting and milling in South.

24. Shots of mining, in the south.

25. Man taps rubber tree.

26. Latex processing plant, then shots of modern textile mill machinery, in operation.

27. Guards load onto armored train.

28. Silhouette shots, at dusk, as tired Viet soldiers climb a hill.

29. Jet taxis in Saigon airport. United States of America lettered on it.

30. Maxwell Taylor talks to people at plane-side. Then type aircraft are being delivered.

31. Advisors (Air Force) and Jet pilots. Plane takes off.

32. Special Forces men teach small arms to Viets.

33. Advisors show map to Viets. Viet soldiers move out on patrol.

34. Shots of combat in the field.

35. Viet Cong prisoners.

36. Aerial view of very numerous copters revving on airstrip. Shot of U.S. pilots conferring before take-off.

37. Copters take off, we see Viet troops inside, and we zoom on toward the objective.

38. Copter approaches isolated men in jungle. We see them below.

39. Copter pilot and Special Forces officer, shouting over noise of rotors. (CU)

40. Loading Viet and U. S. wounded into the copter. Then it takes off.

—Continued

This is the prize the Communists are after: South Vietnam . . . Rich in rice . . . and standing at the gateway to the rice-rich nations of Burma; Thailand; Cambodia; East Pakistan. And the Asian communists have said: "A grain of rice is worth a drop of blood."

There are also natural resources: coal . . . phosphate . . . zinc . . . tin . . . manganese. The raw materials on which to base industrialization—or feed a war machine.

Natural rubber: South Viet-Nam has this, too.

. . . and latex processing facilities which make of raw rubber the vitally important material it is, in today's world. This then, is another aspect of the South Viet-Nam which the north covets. A nation moving toward greater industrialization . . . a rich prize indeed, in the eyes of communist strategists.

NARRATOR. And so, every area of life in the south becomes a combat zone: (train tracks blow up)

(LBJ: Voice over): This is a different kind of war. There are no marching armies or solemn declarations.

But, this is really war. It is guided by North Viet-Nam and it is spurred by Communist China. Its goal is to conquer the South, and to extend the Asiatic dominion of Communism.

And there are great stakes in the balance. No people see this more clearly than the embattled South Vietnamese; and there comes a time when they send out a call for help.

The answer is prompt in arriving.

America promises technical aid and military assistance: the machines and equipment needed to resist aggression. . . .

. . . and trained men to teach Vietnamese fighting forces how to put them into effective use.

Instructors and advisors, willing and able to teach, find men whose freedom is at stake eager and quick to learn.

At this stage, however, the advisors are here to do only that. They have no combat role as such. It is the men they train, and encourage, and some to admire who must go into the hiding place of the enemy and seek him out.

Before Viet-Nam, open conventional attack in Korea has fallen short of its goals. A global "Trade and Aid Offensive" did not bring the hoped-for results. Now, Viet-Nam becomes a testing ground for the guerrilla "war of liberation"—the latest communist gambit in the quest for world domination.

As months go by the Viet Cong lose a great many people. But a great many more are ready to replace those losses, as they move down into South Viet-Nam from the North.

As the scale of aggression grows, the flow of weapons, equipment, and advisors is increased. It is the only means of meeting the flooding tide of infiltration and attack from the North.

Superior equipment and mobility are used to full advantage, to carry the fight to the enemy, swiftly, wherever his presence becomes known.

Even with superior equipment, however, this is a difficult war to prosecute. There are no front lines, here. The war is everywhere. . . . against an enemy that is seldom clearly seen.

In the scenes of casualty evacuation, the enemy is not far away . . . certainly within shouting distance.

The enemy is not seen . . . but American and Vietnamese fighting men bear on their bodies the painful evidence that he is still here . . . still determined . . . still deadly.

WHY VIETNAM?—Continued

41. Viet Marines land on beach, go on inland, fighting as they go.

42. Viet regulars fighting in brush and hills.

43. Presidential seal, then LBJ live on camera, 1964.

44. Jets striking targets with rockets. Then Sec. of Def. McNamara on camera, live, as he says, "We seek no wider war" . . .

45. Shots showing large cache of Viet Cong armament; ammunition and weapons; Chinese markings on them.

46. End of coverage of the arms cache, and beginning of shots showing Ho Chi Minh in conference.

47. Ho Chi Minh in conference.

48. LBJ on camera.

49. Shots of demolished helicopters on airfield and of barracks hit by high explosives. End on picture of little blond girl, in a broken frame; visually symbolizes the whole thing.

50. Shots of damage and of injured Americans at the American Embassy when it was bombed by terrorists.

51. Shots of American troops as they evacuate from a downed helicopter, under small arms fire as they dodge across a rice paddy.

52. Shots of American wounded in hospital shed.

53. Shots of American flag-draped coffins, loaded into aircraft by a four-service honor guard.

During this time, the combat capability of South Viet-Nam's conventional forces is also growing . . . and American advisors work to bring the level of training and combat readiness of these forces as high as possible. They train hard, and they fight well.

But despite the bolstering of conventional forces, there remains the growing need for still greater strength . . . the losses suffered by the Vietnamese in combat are cruelly heavy, for a nation with a population no larger than that of New York State. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk pointed out in June of 1965: (Rusk: Voice over) End R-2.

Then, in August of 1964 (LBJ: Live, Gulf of Tonkin).

For the first time, American fighting men and machines strike directly into North Viet-Nam; and Defense Secretary McNamara sets the record straight (McNamara: "We seek no wider war").

It is clear the Communists wish no lessening of hostilities. From the North, arms continue to flow southward. In this one captured shipment are a million rounds of small arms ammunition. . . . 35 hundred rifles and submarine guns . . . some four thousand rounds of anti-tank and mortar ammunition . . . no doubt about the source: the Chinese markings are unmistakable.

In meeting the aggression so unmistakably evidenced here, we have consistently sent strength to meet strength. But we have also, repeatedly, sent word that we are willing to talk.

(LBJ: Voice Over). Fifteen efforts have been made to start these discussions, with the help of 40 nations throughout the world. But there has been no answer.

"We do not seek the destruction of any government nor do we covet a foot of any territory. But we insist and we will always insist that the people of South Viet-Nam shall have the right of choice, the right to shape their own destiny in free elections in the South or throughout all Viet-Nam under international supervision, and they shall not have any government imposed upon them by force and terror so long as we can prevent it. We do not want an expanding struggle with consequences that no one can foresee, nor will we bluster or bully or flaunt our power. But we will not surrender, and we will not retreat.

The answer to American offers to move from the battlefield to the conference table continue to come in the form of high explosives aimed at American Air Bases and other troop installations in South Viet-Nam . . . including the barracks of American servicemen.

But in this war against people, the high explosives are not only aimed at the men who bear arms. (PAUSE) The American Embassy, in Saigon itself, becomes a grim battlefield scene, as Viet Cong terrorists single it out for a bomb attack. It is all a part of the carefully calculated and continuing campaign of terror.

Increasingly, Americans function directly in the fight for freedom in this far, foreign corner of the earth. They know what they are doing. And they do it willingly, accepting the risks involved because they understand the necessities involved.

Those risks are real, just as the stakes for which the risks are taken are real. People get hurt in Viet Nam . . .

Why do Americans risk—and sometimes give—all that they have, half a world away from home? To keep an American promise? Yes, there's that. But also in self defense. Self defense, because half-a-world-away has now become our front door. Freedom in Southeast Asia becomes personally vital to Americans because if freedom is to endure in their home town. . . . It must be preserved in such places as South Viet-Nam. And the fact is . . . it is up to us.

WHY VIETNAM?—Continued

54. Shots of faces of Asian types.

(LBJ: Voice Over) Most of the non-Communist nations of Asia cannot, by themselves and alone, resist the growing might and the grasping ambition of Asian Communism.

55. LBJ: on camera.

We did not choose to be the guardians at the gate, but there is no one else. Nor would surrender in Viet-Nam bring peace, because we learned from Hitler at Munich that success only feeds the appetite of aggression. The battle would be renewed in one country, and then another country, bringing with it perhaps even larger and crueller conflict, as we have learned from the lessons of history.

Moreover, we are in Viet-Nam to fulfill one of the most solemn pledges of the American nation. *Three Presidents—President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and your present President—over 11 years have committed themselves and have promised to help defend this small and valiant nation.*

Strengthened by that promise, the people of South Viet-Nam have fought for many long years. Thousands of them have died. Thousands more have been crippled and scarred by war. And we just cannot now dishonor our word, or abandon our commitment, or leave those who believed us and who trusted us to the terror and repression and murder that would follow. This, then, my fellow Americans, is why we are in Viet-Nam.

56. Shots of jet aircraft dropping napalm.

(LBJ: Voice Over) We intend to convince the Communists that we cannot be defeated by force of arms or by superior power.

57. Shots as 101st airborne begins unloading in South Viet-Nam.

(LBJ: Voice Over) I have asked the commanding general, General Westmoreland, what more he needs to meet this mounting aggression. He has told me. And we will meet his needs.

58. Shots as men of 101st move off in trucks.

The needs of the fight for freedom in Viet-Nam are being met, and will continue to be met in the future. In the words of Secretary Rusk:

59. Shots of U.S. Marines landing in South Viet-Nam.

(Rusk: Voice Over) American forces so committed will carry with them the determined support of our people. These men know, as all our people know, that what they do is done for freedom and peace, in Viet-Nam, in other continents, and here at home.

60. American advisers at a tactical map.

Meanwhile, the war goes on. The communists have made that choice.

61. Shots of terrified women and children awaiting copter evacuation.

And, as always, the innocent suffer.

62. Series of shots of appealing Viet children, in a nursery school setting; narration takes the first part of the sequence, then there is a segment of Voice Over by the President, then back to Narrator's voice.

For the children of South Viet-Nam—and of all Southeast Asia—the future is in the balance. *They* will pay, if we do not now think . . . decide . . . act . . . rightly, in these problems which are not of their making.

(LBJ: Voice Over.) It is an ancient but still terrible irony that while many leaders of men create division in pursuit of grand ambitions, the children of men are really united in the simple, elusive desire for a life of fruitful and rewarding toil.

63. LBJ: On camera

NARRATOR. "A life of fruitful and rewarding toil"—It is a legitimate aspiration: But if they are to be free to realize it, there are, for us, hard realities to be faced.

64. Shots of young Americans working, laughing, etc.

I do not find it easy to send the flower of our youth, our finest young men into battle. (LBJ: Voice over.) I have seen them in a thousand streets of a hundred towns in every state in this Union—working and laughing and building and filled with hope and life.

65. Shots of Kosygin, Mao, and Ho Chi Minh.

(LBJ: Voice over.) But as long as there are men who hate and destroy, we must have the courage to resist. . . .

66. LBJ: on camera

(LBJ: On camera.) or we'll see it all—all that we have built, all that we hope to build, all of our dreams for freedom, all, all—will be swept away on the flood of conquest.

So, too, this shall not happen. We will stand in Viet-Nam.

The 32-minute movie was released last December by the directorate, primarily for orientation of troops going to Viet Nam and secondarily for American troops stationed around the world.

The State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs, office of media services, obtained prints last March for free circulation to interested organizations and institutions.

Officials reported this week that the movie had been shown to 446 college and high school classes, 19 nongovernmental organizations and 12 government agencies. It has been shown on 13 commercial television stations.

SOME COMPLAINTS MADE

Some opponents of the Administration's policy in Viet Nam have complained about the showing of the movie to high school students. The complaints reached congressional staff aids, who viewed the picture recently and concluded privately that public funds were being used to indoctrinate the American public. Their Congressmen had not yet seen it and were not prepared to commit.

Although the United States Information Agency is prohibited by law from propagandizing or indoctrinating the American people, there is no such restriction on the State Department, which frequently issues leaflets and brochures advocating current policies.

The picture opens with a shot of President Lyndon B. Johnson reading a letter from a woman who said she could understand World War II but not the war in Viet Nam, where her son was fighting.

The scene shifts to Adolf Hitler and Neville Chamberlain at Munich in 1938. The picture freezes with Chamberlain staring confidently into the camera as he says England and France will never go to war again.

The narrator says: "Peace in our time—a short cut to disaster. But even then, this was no new lesson."

OTHER WAR SCENES

Flashbacks show Mussolini's troops in Ethiopia and Nazi troops taking over Austria. A sequence showing Japanese troops fighting Chinese in Manchuria has been cut out, in each case, says the narrator, "Nothing was done."

Mr. Johnson returns to the screen and says America has learned that "retreat does not bring safety, and weakness does not bring peace—and it is this lesson that has brought us to Viet Nam."

Tracing the historical background, the movie shows the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva conference that divided Viet Nam into North and South in 1954. The narrator says the agreement provided peace—"If the Communists were in good faith." From then to now, he goes on, the Communists have exerted steady pressure against the South, where there were free elections, land reform and other signs of progress.

Eventually, says the narrator, North Viet Nam turned from terrorism to open warfare in an effort to seize South Viet Nam's rice, minerals and natural rubber.

U.S. RESPONSE TO CALL

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, he says, pledged economic aid, and America responded in 1961 to an urgent call for help with additional aid and military advisers.

The current war is depicted by shots of combat teams helping relieve suffering among Viet Nameese civilians, planes striking military targets, evacuation of American wounded and rows of flag-draped American caskets.

After a recital of peace efforts by the United States, nonaligned countries, and U Thant, the United Nations secretary general, Secretary of State Dean Rusk reports that Hanoi consistently has refused to talk.

The narrator says that the Communists "seek the domination of southeast Asia and,

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Nov. 6, 1966]

TROOP MOVIE IS BEING USED TO TELL NATION ABOUT VIETNAM

(By Richard Dudman)

WASHINGTON, November 5.—The Johnson Administration is using a troop orientation

movie to tell the American people its involvement in the Viet Nam war.

Department of State officials report a brisk demand for 100 prints of the motion picture "Why Viet Nam?" borrowed from the Department of Defense Directorate for Armed Forces Information and Education.

if we believe what they say, the domination of the great world beyond."

The congressional aids noted that the movie mentioned President John F. Kennedy once, in a line about the commitment by three Presidents, and did not mention the late South Viet Name President Ngo Dinh Diem, whose repressive regime was a major target of Viet Cong political action. The current Premier, Ngyen Cao Ky, also goes unmentioned.

CASUALTIES MENTIONED

Civilian casualties are mentioned, but only those caused by the enemy. There is no mention of napalm.

Asked about these omissions, a State Department official said:

"This is not a discussion of the rights and wrongs. It is a presentation of the U.S. point of view."

An armed forces information guide that accompanies the movie when it goes to troop units says to stress these points:

"(1) Aggression and terror called 'liberation' by the Viet Cong.

"(2) We gave aid and advice at Viet Nam's request.

"(3) Increased Communist pressure brings increase U.S. support.

"(4) Air strikes on North Viet Nam reply to attack on U.S. ships.

"(5) Communists consistently reject U.S. efforts at negotiations.

"(6) Our goal in Viet Nam is to prove Communist aggression profitless."

[From Saturday Review, Apr. 15, 1967]

ON THE WAY TO 1984

(By Henry Steele Commager, professor of history, Amherst College)

George Orwell's Oceania had a vast and efficient information agency; its name was the Ministry of Truth and its purpose was to make every citizen of Oceania think the right thoughts. "The past is whatever the records agree upon," was its motto and it wrote, or rewrote, the records. Now the information agencies of our own State and Defense Departments, the USIA, and the CIA, seem bent on creating an American Ministry of Truth and imposing upon the American people a record of the past which they themselves write.

It is the CIA whose activities have been most insidious and are most notorious, but the CIA has no monopoly on brainwashing. Consider, for example, the film *Why Vietnam?* It is "one of our most popular films"; it is distributed free to high schools and colleges throughout the country, and to other groups who ask for it—as hundreds doubtless do. Its credentials are beyond reproach; it was produced by the Defense Department and sponsored by the State Department, and President Johnson, Secretary Rusk, and Secretary McNamara all pitch in to give it authenticity.

The USIA is not permitted to carry on propaganda within the United States, and the reason it is not is that the American people do not choose to give government authority to indoctrinate them. Government, they believe, already has every method of communication with the people that it can properly use. The President, members of the cabinet, the armed services—these can command attention for whatever they have to say, at any time. There is therefore no necessity, and no excuse, for government propaganda, no need for government to resort to subterfuge in its dealings with the people.

What we have always held objectionable is not overt publicity by government, but covert indoctrination. *Why Vietnam?* is, in fact, both. It is overt enough, but while it is clear to the sophisticated that it is a government production and therefore an official argument, the film is presented not as an argument, but as history. Needless to say it is not history. It is not even journalism.

It is propaganda, naked and unashamed. As the "fact sheet" which accompanies it states, it makes "four basic points," and makes them with the immense authority of the President: that the United States is in Vietnam "to fulfill a solemn pledge," that "appeasement is an invitation to aggression," that "the United States will not surrender or retreat," and that we—but alas not the other side—are always "ready to negotiate a settlement."

Government, which represents all the people and presumably all points of view, should have higher standards than private enterprise in the presentation of news or history. But *Why Vietnam?* is well below the standards of objectivity, accuracy, and impartiality which we are accustomed to in newspapers and on television; needless to say, as scholarship it is absurd. In simple, uncritical, and one-dimensional terms it presents the official view of the war in Vietnam with never a suggestion that there is or could be any other view. When Communists sponsor such propaganda, we call it "brainwashing."

Let us look briefly at this film, for it is doubtless a kind of dry run of what we will get increasingly in the future. It begins—we might have anticipated this—with a view of Hitler and Chamberlain at Munich, thus establishing at the very outset that "appeasement" is "a short cut to disaster." Because the free nations of the world failed to stop aggression in the Thirties, they almost lost their freedom and had to fight a gigantic war to survive; if we fail to stop "aggression" now we, too, may lose our freedom. For "we have learned at terrible cost that retreat does not bring safety and that weakness does not bring peace, and it is this lesson that has brought us to Vietnam."

Here, then, is the first distortion of history and it is a preview of what is to come throughout the film. The aggression of the great totalitarian powers in the Thirties in fact bears little analogy to the civil war in Vietnam, nor is the Geneva Agreement of 1954 to be equated with appeasement. The fact is almost precisely the opposite of that implied by *Why Vietnam?* One of President Roosevelt's objectives in the Second World War was to get the French out of Indochina; the Eisenhower objective of the Fifties was to keep them there. The French are out now and we are in, playing the role that the French played before Dienbienphu—and still fighting Ho Chi Minh.

But now the scene shifts to Vietnam. In 1954, says our narrator, "the long war is over, and the victorious Communists are moving in." It is a statement which has only the most fortuitous relation to reality. The long war was indeed over—the war between the Vietnamese and the French. But to label the Vietnamese who fought against the French "Communists" and to assume that somehow they "moved in" (they were already there) is a distortion of history. Yet there is worse to come. For next the camera is turned on to the Geneva Conference. It was, so we learn, "a victory for the Communist world," and there is no hint that we ourselves accepted the results of the Conference. Vietnam, we are told, was "divided at the 17th parallel" and there is no suggestion that the division was to be a purely temporary one. Nor is there any reminder that the Geneva Agreement called for an election, that President Eisenhower himself said that in such an election 80 per cent of the vote would have gone to Ho Chi Minh, and that we were chiefly responsible for putting off the election. No, what school children and students are given here is a one-dimensional story of a Communist conspiracy to destroy the peace of 1954. Worse yet, they are presented with the spectacle of a "reign of terror" in which "children are killed in their sleep." Clearly only Communists kill children; we don't kill children.

Now we are bemused by a scene of peace

and plenty, liberty and reform, in South Vietnam. It is Eden before the fall. But staggered by the success of the South, the Communists launch "a furtive and remorseless war against the people," and Secretary Rusk is dragged in to denounce this "cruel and sustained attack." Attack by whom? Presumably by Ho Chi Minh, though this is left, safely enough, to the imagination. Nowhere is there any mention of the Vietcong, nowhere any suggestion of a civil war, and nowhere any hint that until we began a substantial military buildup in Vietnam—in violation of the Geneva Agreement—there was no invasion from the North. And, as part of that corruption of the vocabulary familiar to students of Newspeak, words like North Vietnamese and Vietcong give way to the generic word, "Communist."

But still worse is to come. What is it the "Communists" want? Shadowy hints conjure up terrors that even the narrator is reluctant to name. "The prize the Communists are after . . . South Vietnam . . . standing at the gateway to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, East Pakistan." The imagination reels as it is, of course, meant to. For here, looming up before us, is the menace of China. Says our narrator, "Spurred by Communist China, North Vietnam's goal is to extend the Asiatic dominion of Communists." No wonder that in this phantasmagoric scene American "advisers" somehow become "fighting men," helping the outnumbered South Vietnamese resist Communist aggression. And if there are still any lingering doubts about the justice and the necessity of American participation, here are both President Johnson and Secretary McNamara to set the record straight.

Now, we have a new theme: peace. "Fifteen times," no less (it is doubtless thirty by now), we have tried to open negotiations and each time we have been rebuffed. All we want—there is a note of plaintiveness here—is free elections; curiously enough, just what the Geneva Agreements called for back in 1954. All we want is to limit the war. And how do the recalcitrant Communists meet our appeals? They attack us with "high explosives aimed at American air bases." They kill little girls (picture of little girl cruelly destroyed). They even attack the United States Embassy, clearly the crowning infamy. There is a kind of inarticulate assumption that we don't do anything as unsporting as using "high explosives."

Now we are invited to take a more philosophical view of the war. Why are Americans risking life and limb in this distant jungle? That is easy. To keep American promises—indeed, "to fulfill one of the most solemn pledges" in our history, a pledge made by three Presidents, no less. Needless to say, this is nonsense, President Eisenhower refused to make such a pledge; President Kennedy insisted that the Vietnamese should fight their own war. It is President Johnson who made the pledge (though not, it might be remembered, in the campaign of 1964), and who is now busy conferring retroactive solemnity upon it.

But there is still another reason why we are in Vietnam—self-defense. For if freedom is to endure in Chicago, Birmingham, and Dallas it must be vindicated in South Vietnam. What is more it must be vindicated by us, for the non-Communist countries of Asia cannot, by themselves, resist the grasping ambitions of the Communists. What we have here is pretty clearly a rationalization of intervention against Communism everywhere, for Communism is, by definition, "grasping and ambitious." And the reason we must take on this heavy responsibility is because "there is no one else." How does it happen that there is no one else? How does it happen that except for Thailand the other members of SEATO are not taking on any responsibilities? Deponent saith not.

There is one final reason for fighting in Vietnam and it is given us, again, by President Johnson. "We intend to convince the

Communists that we cannot be defeated." This has, at least, the merit of frankness; we are fighting a war to prove that we can't be defeated. It is all a bit like William James' Italian woman who stood on a street corner passing out cards saying that she had come over to America to raise money to pay her passage back to Italy, but not nearly so amusing.

We are almost through with *Why Vietnam?* Once again the audience is assured that we long for peace, once again that "as long as there are men who hate and destroy" we must keep on fighting. Perhaps even high school children are mature enough to wonder who it is who is doing the destroying. But are they mature enough to resist hate?

The dissemination of *Why Vietnam?* in high schools and colleges is no isolated episode in the manipulation of public opinion by government, but part of a larger pattern. We must view it in connection with the publication program of the USIA, the clandestine activities of the CIA, and the vendetta of the Passport Office against travel to unpopular countries, or by unpopular people, as part of an almost instinctive attempt (we cannot call it anything so formal as a program) to control American thinking about foreign relations. We had supposed, in our innocence, that this sort of thing was the special prerogative of totalitarian governments, but it is clear that we were mistaken.

Forbidden by law from carrying on propaganda in the United States, the USIA has managed to circumvent this prohibition. Not only does it sponsor books that give a benign view of American policies, it cooks up the books, finds the authors, provides the materials, and subsidizes the publication. "We control the things from the very idea down to the final edited manuscript," said Reed Harris of the USIA, his contempt showing through by the use of the term "things." The CIA—it, too, is forbidden by law from operating as an intelligence agency at home—engages in much the same kind of hanky-panky; thus the article in the distinguished journal *Foreign Affairs* defending the American role in Vietnam, by George Carver—an employee of the CIA who did not bother to make that connection known to the editors of the journal or to the public. How many other articles of this nature have been planted or insinuated in American magazines we do not know. One of the worst features of this clandestine activity is that it exposes the entire publishing and scholarly enterprise to suspicion.

It is, needless to say, not the sponsorship but the secrecy that is the pervasive and irremediable vice. If books and articles sponsored by government agencies were openly acknowledged for what they are, they could be judged on their merits, which are often substantial. In the absence of such acknowledgement they are a fraud upon the public. What is needed is a Truth in Packaging Act for the United States Government.

What is perhaps most surprising is that many of those involved in these subterranean activities seem unable to understand what is wrong about them. They defend them on the ground that, after all, the Communists use deception, too, and we must fight fire with fire. They seem, many of them, wholly unable to grasp the essential point: the corruption of the democratic process. All of these attempts to control the minds of the American people in order to win the cold war violate the two great Kantian moral imperatives: to conduct yourself so that your every act can be generalized into a universal principle, and to regard every human being as an end in himself, never as merely a means to an end.

Consider the first imperative. We can generalize the particular policies which the CIA, USIA, and Defense Department have adopted into three principles.

First, and most elementary, if government can indoctrinate schoolchildren, and their parents, about foreign policy it may, with equal logic, indoctrinate them about domestic

policy. If the USIA and the CIA can sponsor books and finance organizations to fight Communism they may, with equal justification, sponsor books and finance organizations to fight "socialism" or the "welfare state" or anything else that they think odious. Congress has quite deliberately withheld such powers from these and other organizations; if they circumvent these prohibitions will we not have an end to genuine freedom of choice in American politics?

Second, if government can carry war propaganda into the classroom—even without a formal war—may it not with equal logic carry any other propaganda into the classroom? And if it has this power, what will happen to the American principle that the national government has no control over the substance of what is taught in the schools? If the principle of indoctrination of schoolchildren is once firmly established, may we not end up with the Napoleonic philosophy of public education—that the overarching purpose of schools is to produce loyal patriots?

Third, if government can control the thinking of its citizens it can control everything else. Americans pride themselves on their tradition of "free enterprise," and some of them go so far as to equate free enterprise with "the American system." But the only free enterprise that counts, in the long run, is intellectual enterprise, for if that dries up all individual enterprise dries up. A government that can control the thinking of its citizens can silence criticism and destroy initiative, and a government that is exempt from the pressures of criticism and of political initiative is one that is in training for tyranny.

Governmental malpractices of thought control violate, just as clearly, the second categorical imperative: to treat all men as ends, never as means. For to exploit the integrity of school and university, science and scholarship, to the dubious ends of ideological conflict, is to subvert the very foundations of civilization and our moral order.

The reason we are trying to win the contest with Communism, and indeed with all forms of injustice and oppression, is because we believe in the virtue of freedom, of the open mind, of the unimpeded search for truth. These are not only our ultimate ends; they are, equally, the indispensable means whereby we hope to achieve these ends. If we corrupt all of this at the very source we may indeed win the immediate contest with "Communism" and lose the cause for which we are fighting. If we triumph over the enemy with the weapons of deceit and subversion we employ his weapons, embrace his standards, and absorb his principles.

Without intellectual freedom—uncontaminated, unimpeachable, and categorical—we cannot achieve the ends to which our society is dedicated. This is ultimately why we cannot tolerate activities of governmental agencies which, whatever their alleged justification, repudiate and paralyze the principles of freedom.

NASA'S NEW GAP: THE "OPTON" GAP—DO THE TAXPAYERS HAVE AN OPTION?

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on August 24, William Hines, in an article in the Washington Evening Star, added an interesting postscript to the appropriation proceedings which were concluded in the House on August 22 and included a cut

of approximately 10 percent in NASA's monumental \$5 billion plus budget. Mr. Hines' article, entitled "NASA Telegraphs Next Punch," includes several points worthy of interest.

Mr. Hines—referring to testimony taken by the Committee on Appropriations on August 15—points out first that NASA has no intention or expectation that the cost of the space program will decrease after the expensive lunar landing program is completed. On the contrary, Administrator Webb envisions, as scrutiny of the hearings does indeed show, a program which will spend as much, if not more, money than before, even though the means to do this have not yet been fully devised, nor the value of such spending demonstrated. It is clear only that program titles—such as the Apollo applications program—have been assigned under which advanced spending missions may be arranged and carried out, and that past investments are cited to justify future expenditures.

Mr. Hines also points out that Mr. Webb, lacking more positive suggestions to make at this time for continuing the space program at its current funding level, once again resorts to the main argument which has motivated NASA's space program from the beginning—the threat of a space gap with the Russians. Does Mr. Webb mean that the present budget emphasis on space is not supportable on its own merits? Perhaps without this basis for the space program, we would be able to find more positive reasons for the program and perhaps, thereby, achieve more positive benefits from our investigations in space.

In quoting the hearings, Mr. Hines includes this comment by Mr. Webb:

They (the Russians) are developing a very large number of options and maintaining the ability to select those that are most useful to them at a particular time and move rapidly with it and create the image that they are out in front with respect to all these modern technologies.

Thus we see that Mr. Webb, lest the traditional space-gap threat is wearing thin in face of a growing congressional and public skepticism, has introduced a new gap with which to alarm Congress—the option-gap.

In the conclusion of his article, Mr. Hines comments:

This is not merely a race, Kennedy said in an important message to Congress. "Space is open to us now; and our eagerness to share its meaning is not governed by the efforts of others."

It has become apparent in the ensuing six years that "the efforts of others"—and very little else—have governed the progress of the United States in space.

Congress could benefit, in regard to its future deliberations, from appreciating the implications of Mr. Hines' perceptive commentary.

Mr. Hines has used certain judicious quotes from the Appropriations Committee hearings in support of his views. I include here a fuller selection of quotations bearing on his article than Mr. Hines was able to include, after which follows the text of Mr. Hines' article. I commend his article to the attention of my colleagues in the House and to the Members of the Senate who will soon have the matter of NASA's appropriations before them.

Mr. Speaker, the following quotations are from the "Additional Hearings" before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development of the House Committee on Appropriations of August 15, 1967, entitled "National Aeronautics and Space Administration Appropriations for 1968":

(Page 8)

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Chairman, I would hope that this committee would support the full funding of the authorization as approved by the Congress. We are now at the point where, in our manned space flight program, we have invested \$4,834 million in the Apollo spacecraft and associated equipment. We have invested about \$940 million in the uprated Saturn system. We have invested about \$4,390 million in the Saturn V large booster system. We have spent about \$830 million in research and development effort with respect to all kinds of engines for use in space. We have developed a worldwide tracking and data acquisition network, an investment of over \$300 million.

We developed the operational capability, the systems engineering capability, and we have the facilities in place to proceed to do a job with this kind of equipment, *determining what men can do in space*. All of us associated with this program believe this will be an important factor in the future position of the United States in the world, both with respect to the kind of internal economic capability it has, its power to operate in the economic and any other field required beyond its borders. (Emphasis added.)

(Page 8-9).

We could spend the \$347 million, authorized for Apollo applications to begin to prepare the payloads and to buy the long lead-time items to *keep those (sic) big booster systems in operation*. (Emphasis added.)

(Page 9).

The cost to complete these systems after fiscal year 1968 is not large. To move forward to do the lunar landing would require in future years in the Apollo spacecraft system only something like \$1.2 billion, with the Saturn V about \$1.5 billion. *The operational capability of the network, and so forth, is there, and must be supported*. (Emphasis added.)

To delay the program for financial reasons at this time when we could go forward under the amount authorized would not be wise. Nor do I think it wise to refuse to go forward with the payload systems that we may use on boosters which either will come from the Apollo program because they may not be required if we have full success, or to *extend the long leadtime purchasing commitments necessary to keep these booster lines in production*. (Emphasis added.)

(Page 10).

Mr. EVINS. The lunar landing is the goal we have been working on. The Apollo applications are extensions beyond this and you feel that they should be funded in part at this time so you can plan ahead.

Mr. WEBB. *And so we can buy the long lead-time items* (emphasis added) . . . The Apollo applications is to develop payloads to fly on the uprated Saturn I's that we are producing for the Apollo program and for additional ones which we—

Mr. EVINS. Are the Apollo applications a part of the Apollo program?

Mr. WEBB. No, sir; it is the follow-on to the Apollo program, the production of hardware. (Emphasis added.)

(Page 11).

Dr. MUELLER. *Apollo applications are a program for using the Apollo hardware*. . . . It does, in fact, use the hardware that may be left over from the manned lunar landing . . . it has to go forward at this time or else you need a new program quite different. (Emphasis added.)

(Page 12).

Mr. JONAS. While you are on the subject of Apollo applications, I think it would be helpful to put in the record . . . what you expect to spend this \$347 million for . . .

Dr. MUELLER. We expect to spend \$23 million for the definition of experiments. These are the experiments that will be incorporated and carried out. . . . To define the experiments that will be flown on the Apollo applications program.

Mr. JONAS. I thought we already had those defined.

Dr. MUELLER. We do have some defined . . . (Page 15).

Dr. MUELLER. The next item is for production of the uprated Saturn and that is about \$62 million. This is for the long leadtime items and actually the purchase in 1968 of the four Saturn I's, four follow-on Saturn I's to the basic Apollo production. That is the \$62 million for 1968.

Mr. JONAS. Four uprated Saturns?

Dr. MUELLER. That is right. *That keeps the Chrysler portion of the Michoud plant open during 1968*. If we cut off the production of the uprated Saturn I's, we are building the last one right now, and it is in final assembly. (Emphasis added.)

Mr. JONAS. Are you telling us you want to spend this money to keep some plant operating?

Dr. MUELLER. No, sir. I am telling you that in order to have the benefit of the money we have invested in the Saturn I, we are going to have to keep that production line going. *If you do not spend the money then we will shut down the production line and you will have lost that billion dollars you have invested in the Saturn I*. (Emphasis added.)

(Page 19).

Mr. CORTRIGHT. It simply is not the most convenient year to make an adjustment to this program. It is very hard to do it efficiently.

Mr. GIAMMO. What you are saying is that you have some of these items near completion and ready to go and it would be a waste not to continue? . . . How badly would the damage be if a budget-conscious Congress were to cut?

Mr. CORTRIGHT. I feel not having the orbiting geophysical observatory and not providing the solar maximum coverage would seriously decrease the value of many millions of dollars we have invested in studying the magnetosphere for the past 7 years.

(Page 20).

Mr. TALCOTT. There is one thing that has not been explained well to me. Here is a program—physics and astronomy program—that is increasing \$20 million in a year with no new programs starting. It seems we are always increasing the amount of these programs, but adding nothing new. We seem to have to keep going because we have it started and we will lose some value from the projects we have started. They are continuously increasing enormously but whenever we ask questions there is nothing new.

Mr. EVINS. There are some new programs.

Mr. TALCOTT. Sunblazer was the only new project you mentioned.

Mr. CORTRIGHT. Yes, sir. I tried to talk to that by pointing out the orbiting solar observatory has increased in capacity very greatly from the initial design. That is the second item there. The orbiting astronomical observatory has a failure recovery plan in effect in order that the second mission will be successful. [In reality it is the fourth mission that is now planned—the first three having failed. It is these failures and the poor prognosis for future success that occasioned the House Committee on Science and Astronautics recommendation—in its report accompanying the authorizing legislation for the NASA FY 1968 budget—that the plans for a fourth attempt be dropped this year.] In addition the sounding rockets have become more complex in order to do astronomical work from them. (Comment in parentheses added.)

Mr. TALCOTT. How much of this \$147 million you have requested is for new projects?

Mr. CORTRIGHT. Only the \$2 million.

Mr. WEBB. Only \$2 million for Sunblazer.

Mr. TALCOTT. And yet it is \$20 million more than last year?

Mr. CORTRIGHT. Yes, sir. Your point is well taken. I have tried to explain it by the three items.

(Page 33).

Mr. WEBB. We are moving toward a point when large integrated systems are going to be the major capabilities that nations seek, plus propulsion power. There are very real grounds for saying that they (the Russians) wish to maintain the position of having bigger boosters than we have, and they are developing the capability to make that wish come true.

There is evidence they intend to use it as the image of the nation that will command in this new area in the future and apply the technologies developed back into many areas. There is evidence now, for instance, in a country like Brazil, where you don't build roads or railroads; instead, you have a radio and call for an airplane to come and get you when you want to go 600 to 700 miles. They are developing this kind of capability for their country and are beginning to indicate they would like to have the first worldwide systems and the image of doing it.

(Page 34).

Mr. WEBB. In the period after we have made the lunar landing we believe it would be wise to keep the budget approximately level, approximately at where it is now or even going up a half billion dollars a year, and use this capability for some further landings on the moon, for ability to move around, for synchronous orbital work with large stations using men for a multiplicity of other purposes related to the earth, and further studies in space, and more or less take up the reductions in increased use of systems where every dollar is worth more than the previous dollars because you are building on the base, and select from the options available to use those things that are of the greatest value to us. This is very much what the Russians are doing. They are developing a very large number of options and maintaining the ability to select those that are most useful to them at a particular time and move rapidly with it and create the image that they are out in front with respect to all these modern technologies. (Emphasis added.)

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 24, 1967]

NASA TELEGRAPHS NEXT PUNCH

(By William Hines)

Anyone who believes that the space effort will be reduced to a sensible funding level after the Apollo moon landing is living in a fool's paradise. This is apparent from testimony given last week at a closed-door session of a House Appropriations subcommittee dealing with NASA's budget for the new fiscal year.

James E. Webb, the space administrator, was asked about post-Apollo plans; that is, the agency's intentions for carrying on manned operations in space after the initial lunar touchdown. Webb's answer was a clear telegraphing of the NASA punch cocked at the taxpayer's solar plexus:

"In the period after we have made the lunar landing," he said, "we believe it would be wise to keep the budget approximately level at where it is now or going up a half billion dollars a year. . . ."

Thus it is clear that NASA has no intention of tapering off from the high level of expenditure required for the build-up to the moon program so hastily conceived after the 1961 embarrassments of the Bay of Pigs and Vostok 1. Rather, NASA would like to raise the ante 10 percent above the current spend-

ing level of approximately \$5 billion a year. And for what?

"... (To) use this capability for some further landings on the moon," Webb continued, "for ability to move around, for synchronous orbital work with large stations using men for a multiplicity of other purposes related to the earth, and further studies in space. . . ."

A \$5.5 billion budget level for the post-Apollo years would hardly be supportable on its own dubious merits; this Webb must realize. An external stimulus or justification is needed. In his testimony last week Webb freely used the ancient cry, "The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!"

"This (diversification in space) is very much what the Russians are doing," Webb told the subcommittee. "They are developing a very large number of options and maintaining the ability to select those that are most useful to them at a particular time and move rapidly with it and create the image that they are out in front with respect to all these modern technologies."

In assessing Russian plans and intentions in space, Webb is one-up on both Congress and the taxpayer in an important respect: No one outside the inner circle can possibly evaluate the validity of his testimony when he says—as earlier in the same hearing:

"There were four (Soviet) launches in the last 30 days of large spacecraft, larger in many ways than those that we have . . . I believe they are preparations for manned flights shortly to come. I believe they are flights to work out the difficulties that resulted in the death of their cosmonaut."

No one can successfully analyze his judgment because no one can examine his source material. For some reason undoubtedly related to the central government's unending war of nerves against the taxpayer, official U.S. knowledge of Soviet space accomplishments is a closely guarded secret.

Since Russian leaders obviously know what they are up to, and since our own officials supposedly do too, the only people left in the dark are those who pay the most and count the least—the ordinary citizens of the two great powers.

When Webb, or any other space official, states that the Soviet Union is about to do this or that, two questions immediately arise that are rarely asked aloud on Capitol Hill. The first is: "Is it true?" The second is: "So what?"

"We find ourselves," Webb told the subcommittee, "in the position where even with the Saturn 5 booster, with the rough equivalent power in the first stage of 6,000 Boeing 707 airplanes"—a gross exaggeration, incidentally—"the U.S.S.R. is building a larger booster and will shortly, I believe, in calendar year 1968, be flying (it) . . ."

This information is interesting if true, but even if true, more interesting than vital to this country's well being. By pitching his remarks to the dominant note of a space race, Webb cheapens the endeavor that the late President Kennedy set in motion on May 25, 1961.

"This is not merely a race," Kennedy said in an important message to Congress. "Space is open to us now, and our eagerness to share its meaning is not governed by the efforts of others."

It has become apparent in the ensuing six years that "the efforts of others"—and very little else—have governed the progress of the United States in space. That the space effort is still so governed is implicit in Webb's testimony, given in a high-tax time of war abroad and civil unrest at home.

HENRY J. KAISER: A GIANT AMONG MEN

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. I ask unanimous consent to extend my re-

marks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues, notably West Virginia's Senators RANDOLPH and BYRD, have reviewed the manifold achievements of a great man who died last week, Henry J. Kaiser. His was a life which packed in it enough accomplishments for a thousand ordinary men, and with it all he remained a deeply religious, unselfish and humble man.

In West Virginia's booming Ohio Valley, Henry J. Kaiser decided to locate an aluminum plant. The Ravenswood Works of the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. are located in my congressional district at Ravenswood, W. Va. One of West Virginia's largest employers, the Ravenswood Works has expanded to meet the dream which Henry Kaiser had for it.

The Nation owes many debts to Henry Kaiser. He has left many enduring monuments which America will never forget or overlook.

Under unanimous consent, I include an editorial which appeared in the August 26 issue of the Huntington Advertiser:

KAISER INDUSTRIAL GENIUS BUT MODEST MAN OF PEOPLE

The versatile industrial genius of Henry J. Kaiser, who died in Honolulu Thursday at the age of 85, served millions of people and scores of nations around the world.

Although he helped build the giant Hoover, Bonneville, Shasta and Grand Coulee dams, he became best known for his contribution to victory in World War II by producing 1,500 ships to carry men and supplies to the fighting fronts.

From these activities he turned after the war to numerous fields of industry, including the production and fabrication of aluminum.

In 1965 there were said to be 170 major Kaiser plants operating in 30 states and 40 foreign countries. Among his important industries is the aluminum plant at Ravenswood.

This operation has spurred the economy of a large agricultural area of West Virginia. It has also offered opportunities, now largely unexploited, for industrial development of other areas through the establishment of aluminum fabricating plants.

Mr. Kaiser's driving energy continued to advanced age, partly no doubt because he always looked forward to possible new achievements.

Even after he handed the reins of his giant \$2.7-billion empire to his son Edgar and moved to Hawaii in 1954, his lively imagination soon found an outlet there for his urge for progress.

He cleared the Waikiki slum for a plush hotel resort, put up a hospital, started a radio and television station, organized a company to distribute Hawaiian records and characteristically supplied a public need by providing a drive-it-yourself jeep service.

At the time of the beginning of his illness he was happily engaged in building the model community of Hawaii-Kai.

This was characteristic of actions demonstrating his concern for the public welfare, as was the building of a dozen hospitals to serve thousands of subscribers to the Kaiser plan for health care.

In spite of all his tremendous success, Mr. Kaiser remained a plain, unassuming genius who understood the thinking and the feelings of the common man.

Those who remember him on his visit to Ravenswood soon after locating his aluminum operation there will recall his modesty, his geniality and his frank and friendly responses to questions at his press conference.

His own character and disposition were typified by the lines with which he closed his address at a dinner there a dozen years or so ago:

"I sought to hear the voice of God—and climbed the highest steeple.—But then He said, 'Come down again.—I dwell among the people.'"

PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER PHYSICIAN REPORTS ON HEALTH CENTER IN ETHIOPIA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the African Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I am happy to report on the successful operation of the Gondar Public Health College and Training Center in Ethiopia.

I am extending my remarks to include the following letter from Thomas A. Dine of the Peace Corps with a report on the work in Ethiopia by Dr. William B. Mitchell, a Peace Corps volunteer physician:

PEACE CORPS,

Washington, D.C., July 26, 1967.

HON. BARRATT O'HARA,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: You will recall that on February 23, 1967, I accompanied Mr. David Berlew, Director of the Peace Corps program in Ethiopia, to your office to discuss recent progress in African developments.

At that time you requested information dealing with the Gondar Public Health College and Training Center in Gondar, Ethiopia. I am pleased to report to you that the program is a success, and that the college is a first-rate institution for training health workers who will in many ways be better adapted than medical graduates for the rural health services of this important region in Africa.

Teams composed of a health officer, a community nurse, and a sanitarian are being prepared to staff rural health centers. Their training emphasizes simple management of prevalent diseases and common medical emergencies, the approaches and techniques of preventive medicine, mass methods, control of environmental hazards, skills necessary to obtain community cooperation, and health education of the public.

The following information and attached article, supplied to me by Mr. Berlew, and Dr. William B. Mitchell, Peace Corps physician at the College, are for your perusal, which you, perhaps, could insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

THOMAS A. DINE,
Congressional Liaison.

REPORT FROM DR. WILLIAM B. MITCHELL, PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER PHYSICIAN, GONDAR PUBLIC HEALTH COLLEGE, GONDAR, ETHIOPIA

The Gondar Public Health College and Training Center was begun in 1954, under joint AID IEG/WHO sponsorship with the goal of training definitive health workers for the provincial needs of Ethiopia. The

realistic evaluation of the problems show that: 1. basic health services are practically non-existent; 2. physicians, as such, are not only expensive, and time consuming to train, but are unwilling to work in the field; 3. the major job to be done—more than 90% of the medical and public health needs—did not require the skills of a fully-trained physician. It was decided that in order to train personnel for this intermediate position as specifically to work in the field, a training facility must be developed which did not expose the rurally oriented Ethiopian to the embellishments of city life. Thus the semi-rural and relatively crude physical setting of the Gondar Public Health College in the calculated privation of the associated training health centers.

The personnel which would make up the health team to approach this need were:

Health Officers: "leaders" of the health team requires knowledge of public health, preventive medicine, health education, clinical diagnosis and treatment—geared to an atmosphere of practically no supervision, advice, or material support other than necessary drugs. This is a 12th grade graduate and the course is 4 years—a BS degree. The first two years are basic arts & sciences with the exception of a course in physical diagnosis during the second year. Beginning in the summer between the 2nd and 3rd year, the student begins clinical training in the hospital wards, out-patient department, and the field. It reserves about ½ of his time for lectures, both clinical and basic.

The 4th year is spent as a "intern" with about ¾ of his time in the field under able public health advisors and the remaining ¼ in the hospital taking moderate responsibility for patients under intensive clinical supervision. There is no training in major surgical technique.

When these students graduate they are well qualified to go to a "health center" which may or may not be on a passable road, has no electricity or telephone, and may or may not have other health workers in the same area. His responsibilities are to census and map the village indicating occupation, sex, latrines, water supply, etc., run a daily clinic—where he will see diseases ranging from typhus to gunshot wounds and burns in a number of patients ranging from 50 to 75 per day. He must make correct diagnosis and institute proper treatment. Further diseases of epidemiologic importance he must be prepared to recognize without delay and program and institute an appropriate plan of epidemic control. Whether it be mass DDT dusting, mass vaccination, or careful control of water supply and excreted disposal.

For those preventable diseases which are encountered so frequently—he must be prepared to recognize both cause and disease and direct measures to alleviate both—including intensive levels of health education. The level of his clinical ability have been carefully tailored to the conditions under which he must work. And those diagnoses that do not require elaborate laboratory or X-ray facilities, he is intensely trained—and probably has much more skill in using his senses than the average physician.

In summary, he is trained to do about 75% of the clinical and diagnosis work of the physician sacrificing unusual or difficult to diagnose diseases which have no epidemiological importance and usually no cure, and is also highly adapted to the specific diseases epidemiological and public health needs of an underdeveloped provincial center.

Community nurses: The community nurse is trained to be an assistant to the health officer to do home visits on recently sick persons or on those with long-term treatment programs. They do basic midwifery, and most importantly, health education in preventive medicine, prenatal and maternal and child care. She is also a great help in

the health center assisting in patient care and conducting classes on health education.

The training begins at the 10th grade and lasts three years. The training begins with basic college type courses in arts & sciences as well as basic professional courses in the first year. She also begins her first year on the hospital ward in general cleaning and basic nursing care. Her second year is about ½ time in clinical and field experience with emphasis on a complete range of nursing responsibilities in field work in course supervision. The remaining ½ of the time in class lectures and general arts and on professional subjects. The third year she is "intern" spending ½ of her year in the training health centers taking responsibility for her field in health center tasks, with periodic (1 to 2 times per week) supervision. The other ½ of the time she is in the hospital responsible for the ward and midwifery situations. With still moderately intense supervision.

In the course of her training the community nurse develops the ability to carry off most of the hospital and health center nursing tasks while still retaining a remarkable ease of relationship with the women of the community. She accepts this relationship without much question, and soon develops a strong sense of dedication with the community. Without which her job would be largely teaching without much tangible sign of progress over a short period of time.

Sanitarians: The sanitarian is trained to be an engineer. He will be expected to build brick buildings, develop water supplies, and disposal facilities ranging from single buildings to large buildings in provinces. He is a 10th grade graduate and his course is 3 years. The first year is a combination of basic arts & sciences along with other exercises to help develop manual dexterity. This latter aspect is a tremendous breakthrough here in Ethiopia. For the average person has very poor ability and no desire to produce quality work with his hands. This training consists of assembling and disassembling of pumps, faucets, latrines, mechanisms, as well as cutting and threading pipes, making stone and cheka walls, etc.

During his second year his time is spent in the field under fairly close supervision. He continues to carry an academic load, however, both in professional and general subjects.

During the third year, most of his time is spent in the field—mostly at the training health centers—where he works with one to two other students on projects on community support. Then he must plan his project submitting it to a board of supervisors for criticism. Following which, he will carry out the project to completion with periodic supervision. This latter step may include procuring materials, supervision of daily labor, and many other practical day-to-day problems. Upon graduation, this same list of tasks will be his responsibility.

This approach to problems of Ethiopia's basic health services should appropriate but the Health College suffers from the same high percentage of poorly motivated students and students who are changing goals, as in other colleges. This stems in part from the tendency of any student in a struggling economy to take advantage of any training opportunity before considering at length the moral and legal obligations they are assuming. But also with anticipation of spending their lives in isolated areas with impossible work loads. The latter problem should improve as the general economy of the country improves.

Many of the health officers want to go to medical school. But the percentage of those who ultimately complete the course will be small enough to not deplete the ranks of the health officers severely. If they do finish, they should make a good qualified provincial medical officer. Many of the community nurses marry and have families. But the

attraction of good wages seem to prevail in most of their work. In general, the majority seem to marry health officers and lead a health center life.

The long range problems for all classes will conceivably be greatest with respect with relationships to their counterparts who have a more advanced degree of education to do essentially the same job. These will be M.D.s with Public Health degrees, Public Health nurses, and sanitary engineers. I don't think that anyone can accurately project the way in which the transition will occur, but we do know that there are going to be many years of pushing back the frontiers of medicine and that the highly trained persons are going to be unwilling enough to work in the bush that the bulk of the responsibility in these areas will still be carried by our presently trained workers.

RED CHINA STEPS IN WHERE UNCLE SAM MISSED THE BOAT IN AFRICA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, rail transportation, if not completely transcontinental at least serving large areas and a number of countries, will contribute very much to the growth of Africa as it did to the Western States of our own country. As is well known to my colleagues interested in Africa, I long have advocated the construction of a railroad linking Zambia and Tanzania.

Unfortunately, a World Bank study was unfavorable to the project, which on the other hand was declared definitely viable by an Anglo-Canadian team. All this has led to another situation where our country may be missing the boat as far as Africa is concerned.

The article from the August 12, 1967, issue of the Economist, of London, would indicate that Red China is seeking to take full advantage of what would seem to me the unpardonable procrastination if not blindness of the United States.

The article from the Economist, of London, follows:

CHINA'S GOLD-TIPPED WAND HOVERS OVER EASTERN AFRICA

It is almost ten years since the proposal to build a railway linking the Rhodesian and east African systems was test mooted; the passing of time has produced little more than vast increases in the envisaged capital expenditure. Now, at long last, there are indications that the expensive dream may be granted with China as fairy godmother.

Last year Tanzania's then minister of commerce, Sheikh Abdulrahman Babu, uncharacteristically observed that Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence had not been without its silver lining for Tanzania. As Zambia severed its links to the south, it has turned more and more to Tanzania in the north for its trade outlets. Already a £16 million oil pipeline is under construction and some thousand trucks are operating on the Great North Road, better known as the "Hell Run," carrying fuel south and copper north. And the arguments in favour of a rail link have become stronger and stronger.

When Zambia's president, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, returned from a state visit to China in June he announced that Peking had offered to construct the rail link and finance

it to the extent of £100 million. While this offer went little further than a previous one to President Nyerere in 1965, the attitude of both Zambia and Tanzania towards the idea of China doing the job has changed. Both originally favoured a western consortium and tentative feelers were put out to Britain, America and West Germany. But all three countries fell back on the 1964 World Bank report which condemned the project as unviable and urged Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nyerere to concentrate on improved road links. Russia was also approached before the matter was finally put to Peking.

China, which specializes in long-term interest-free loans to "revolutionary" African countries, leapt at the chance. A survey team swiftly followed although their report, in Swahili and Chinese, turned out to be little help. Simultaneously, an Anglo-Canadian team was carrying out a study. This, contrary to the World Bank report, concluded that the project was indeed viable.

The Anglo-Canadian report is officially still secret but apparently it places the total capital cost at £126.3 million, plus a further £11.6 million for 10 more deepwater berths at Dar es Salaam to cope with an estimated additional two and a half million tons of cargo if the rail link is built by the early 1970s. Using this tonnage figure, the report predicts a surplus over operating costs of £11.4 million in 1971, and £18.5 million in 1981. This estimate is based on the belief that operational costs on the rail link in 1971 will be .83d per ton mile against 1.14d on the Rhodesian railway system. The team rejected the labour intensive construction method that the Chinese are thought to favour, stating it would put three years on the estimated construction period of four to five years.

With Peking in the field, the western attitude has shown a cautious change but there remain two distinct schools of thought. The first says that China cannot be allowed to win such a prestigious project; the second, which appears to have the most support, believes that China should be allowed to go ahead for it would tie up a great amount of its foreign aid budget in a single project. Apparently the two African governments are themselves somewhat in the dark about the Chinese offer and a team headed by the Tanzanian finance minister, Mr. Amir Jamal, and his Zambian counterpart, Mr. Arthur Wina, are expected to fly to Peking later this month.

The sort of questions they will want answered (for apparently the Chinese offer is not a detailed one) is whether the loan is interest-free, when the first repayments fall due, over what period will they be spread and in what form the loan will be made. They will also want to know what the Chinese proposals on the labour force are and how many experts they themselves would bring in, what the source of material and equipment would be and what construction period is envisaged.

For China the railway would be a valuable if expensive prize. It is the third biggest project in independent Africa (beaten only by the Aswan and Volta River dams) and would greatly strengthen the Chinese position in Tanzania—probably their most important one in Africa—while giving them a foothold in Zambia. President Kaunda until recently was definitely cool towards Peking's overtures and is even reported to have refused to allow the Chinese survey team to cross into Zambia. Certainly its report dealt only with the Tanzanian side of the link and was made at the invitation of the Tanzanian government only. Mr. Nyerere sees the rail link as the key that will unlock considerable agricultural and mineral wealth in the southern part of his country. This at present cannot be tapped because of poor communications. A survey has ascertained there is at least 300 million tons of coal to

the south of the area through which the railways would pass as well as 45 million tons of iron ore.

Britain and America are currently complaining that they had not been formally asked to undertake the project. But this is a red herring; any interest today is in large part attributable to China's offer. The point is that both the Tanzanian and Zambian governments are determined to see the railways built and there is a growing feeling that China will get the job. The next stage is the design and the Tanzanians would like to see this started by the end of the year.

ZAMBIA PLAGUED BY COMPUTER'S ERROR

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, when the foreign aid bill was under discussion in Committee of the Whole, I suggested that a study of the feasibility of the computer system in the operation of AID's activities should precede the positive instruction to the President to install such a system. This, it seemed to me, would have been the course of prudence, both because of the high cost of a computer, the rent of which runs as high as \$160,000 a month, and the questioned infallibility of the computer system.

I am extending my remarks to include a special dispatch to the reliable New York Times that relates the unhappy experience of that African country with a breakdown in computer programing which left that nation completely without official trade figures and the data required to check her balance-of-payments position.

The dispatch follows:

ZAMBIA COMPUTER PROGRAM COMES UP WITH AN ERROR

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, August 12.—A breakdown in computer programing has left Zambia without any official trade figures this year with which to gauge the progress of her sanctions campaign against Rhodesia or check her balance-of-payments position.

Informed sources here say the mistakes, which resulted in two sets of figures being added instead of subtracted, have resulted in figures for 1967 being scrapped and doubt being thrown on last year's figures.

A new staff has now been recruited and the whole import-export statistical program has been restarted.

No figures are expected to be available before the end of the year.

Zambia normally publishes import-export figures monthly to enable Government departments to arrange administrative controls in the program to cut off Rhodesian trade and also as a guide to the balance-of-payments position.

In a recent report, Zambia's Auditor General said he was "extremely perturbed" by the situation prevailing in the data-processing unit at the core of the Government's accounting system.

CONSTANT VIGILANCE REQUIRED

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for

1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the responsible members of our society are learning that constant vigilance is required if we are to preserve our American way of life. Responsible Americans will not tolerate mob violence, be it a riot mob or a lynch mob.

Mr. Pete Clark, editor of the Liberty County, Ga., Herald, in a recent issue, presented some very thought-provoking ideas on the problem and the solution in connection with recent disgraceful activities in some of our cities.

Those responsible for investigating the antics of Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown might do well to read this editorial:

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

(By Pete Clark)

It looks as though Uncle Sam is going to be in for it again when Fidel Castro comes to the United States next month to address the United Nations General Assembly. It is generally known in U.S. intelligence circles that Castro plans several meetings with Black Power militants including his new friend Stokely Carmichael.

Secret Service officials presently are studying remarks made by Carmichael during recent speeches for threats that he has made in public against the president of the United States. All we can do is hope that the Secret Service will delve into this matter with the utmost diligence and come about with a possible solution to stopping Mr. Carmichael from spreading his hate campaign throughout our country and the world.

If Mr. Carmichael doesn't like the way things are going here, he can always move.

We would like to see the United States make an example of Carmichael and do something besides spank his hand and tell him that he will have to rephrase some of his speech writing.

Our country explains to us that we are fighting in Viet Nam to stop the communist organization from taking over that part of the world. Yet, right here in the United States we allow persons like Carmichael and Castro say what they want to about the United States, her officials and use any type of language that happens to pass through their simple minds.

One sometimes thinks that the freedom of speech is carried a bit too far. Certainly the freedom of speech is one of our basic constitutional rights, but when some communistic nut advocates the overthrow of our government and our way of life, it's time for some sort of action that will throw water on their ideas.

Responsible citizens know that it will take a generation or so before any real progress is made in the civil rights legislation. By progress we mean the kind of peaceful progress that can be realized from the main intent of civil rights legislation.

It is our firm opinion and conviction that a house could be built from here to Savannah, filled with the most modern of furniture, and made elegant with the most elaborate of architecture and design, and you would still have certain families who threw their garbage out of the windows or emptied refuse on the stairs.

We are desperately in need of responsible leadership from the White House down to the local level. The American people are becoming most disturbed and concerned with the number of problems that face our nation, both internally and externally. Most of

us have learned from experience that you cannot spend your self out of debt. The American public is vastly concerned with the tremendous amount of money being spent in Viet Nam, on domestic problems, on foreign aid (especially to communist countries), and now we are faced with a possible tax increase.

The American people are not going to stand for this type of governing very much longer. Americans believe in our constitution and everything it stands for. We don't mind if you talk about us, but don't say things that are too malicious. Let's see if Fidel Castro and his little buddies urge guerrilla type warfare in our country. If these things are known now, then it's time for responsible action NOW. There's no need to turn on the water after the house has burned down.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT AUTHORITY SHOULD BE BROADENED

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, self-preservation is the first law of nature and, of course, it must also be made a law of nations who desire to survive.

I was appalled to hear press reports over the weekend stating that a fugitive from the United States by the name of Robert F. Williams is publishing in Peeking a propaganda pamphlet calling for the violent murder of American soldiers by other American soldiers, and for the violent disruption of our internal affairs.

Communist China, of course, does not have a free enterprise system; therefore, it is apparent that these publications were printed at the expense of the Chinese Government.

The most distressing fact is that according to the officials of our Post Office Department they must deliver this mail printed by a foreign alien government with the intent to cause murder of American citizens and soldiers and to bring about the disruption of our system of government.

According to the officials in the Post Office Department, they can only refuse to handle mail even from foreign governments if it advocates the murder of the President or the violent overthrow of the Government. Their reasons as stated are that the recent rulings of the Supreme Court, as related to freedom of speech, protects the right of such persons as the Chinese Communists or, in this instance, the fugitive from American justice, Williams, to flood our Nation with such hate propaganda calling for the murder of our citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I am today sending a letter to the Postmaster General urging him to refuse to accept this mail, for surely as he has the authority to refuse to handle mail calling for the murder of the President, he can likewise refuse to handle mail calling for the murder of any other American citizen.

Mr. Speaker, the right of free speech is one of the most precious rights which we enjoy. It is a right which must be

preserved, maintained and protected. However, this right does not grant a license to advocate murder, and the right of free speech must be exercised in light of other valid laws in the interest of our Government.

Certainly the most overwhelming right, though possibly not expressly proclaimed in print, granted to the American people by our Constitution and Bill of Rights is that right of the Republic of the United States to continue an existence, the right of self-preservation, and in the interest of preserving the domestic tranquillity and providing for the future welfare of our Nation, we have every right and indeed a duty to the American people to refuse to allow our mails to be used for the purpose of bringing about our destruction and setting one citizen against another for the purpose of murder. I deem this to be one of the inalienable rights granted to us by our forefathers and framers of our Constitution.

BYPASSING CONGRESS IN FIAT LOAN

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, it is shocking to learn that the administration apparently is moving brazenly ahead with its intentions to render assistance to the U.S.S.R. in the building of the Fiat automotive factory.

In spite of the fact that legislation which bears on the Fiat plant proposal is under active consideration in Congress at this very time, the Department of Commerce has given clearance to reexport American technical data from Italy to the Soviet Union for use in the manufacture of parts for Fiat automobiles. Information about this reexportation has just been released by the Department of Commerce in its list of "Export Licenses Approved and Reexportations Authorized for August 22, 1967."

As many Members of the House will recall, on May 4, 1967 I discussed in detail the reasons why in my opinion the United States should not render assistance on the Soviet-Fiat automotive factory. My statement appears on pages 11705-11707 of the May 4 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. To this date to my knowledge none of those reasons have become invalid and, in fact, today the reasons for denying any and all assistance related to the Soviet warmaking potential are even more imperative. Obviously vehicles of all kinds constitute warmaking potential.

As I pointed out in that statement, by early this year we had "destroyed or damaged over 9,000 trucks in North Vietnam," and that "thousands more remain." Those words seem to have been confirmed in the statement by the Secretary of Defense just last week when on August 25 he told of the large number of air strikes from January through July against the enemy. Among the targets

reported destroyed he said were "over 4,100 vehicles." To date therefore our airmen have risked their lives, and in some cases given their lives, to destroy or damage more than 13,000 enemy vehicles.

Can it be possible that the administration is ignoring Soviet involvement not only in Southeast Asia but elsewhere? Has it already brushed aside the events of last May and early June in the Middle East? The following headline appeared in the Los Angeles Times on May 22: "Egypt Orders Military Reservists Mobilized—Russian-Built Trucks Rumble Continuously Over Cairo Streets."

On May 4 I also stated that:

If the Soviets were required to design and build machine tools and equipment which closely approximate those they seek from abroad in the Fiat deal then they would probably have to use engineers, technicians and capital goods which otherwise could be employed in programs related to Soviet military and space endeavors.

That point of requiring the Soviets to design and engineer their own tools and equipment seems to directly relate to the action just taken by the Department of Commerce in authorizing reexportation of technical data for the Fiat plant that I would like here to reprint a statement from a letter written by the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Lt. Gen. John F. Carroll. General Carroll's April 25, 1967 letter to me states:

It is true that, if engineering and production resources were allocated to the design and fabrication of such machine tools and equipment, the resources would have to be taken from other programs, either military or civilian. In the past the Soviet Union has given priority to military programs over civil programs, and it is believed that—barring a major change in Soviet policy—this practice will continue.

The Department of Commerce certainly must be fully aware that the general issue of U.S. assistance to help construct a Fiat automobile plant in the U.S.S.R. is under active discussion at the present time in the Congress in connection with H.R. 6649 and S. 1155, relating to extending the life of the Export-Import Bank and increasing its lending authority.

The Department must also be aware that in acting on S. 1155, the Senate approved an amendment to prohibit the Bank from providing assistance to the Soviet Union or to any intermediary nations for the purchase of products which would aid the Soviet Union in constructing automobile manufacturing plants. While this legislation of course relates to Export-Import Bank financing and does not relate directly to the matter of issuance of export licenses or reexportation authorizations as such, obviously these are but two different aspects of the larger issue of assisting in the construction of an automotive manufacturing plant in the U.S.S.R.

In my opinion it is a matter of serious concern that the Department would go ahead and issue this reexportation authority at this time and I have today called on the Department of Commerce to rescind its action in this case in the interest of our national security and welfare.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S TOTAL APPROACH TO THE CITIES—CONGRESS MUST ENACT THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAMS FOR URBAN AMERICA

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago, speaking not far from the scene of this summer's Detroit riots, President Johnson reminded us of an important responsibility to the majority of Americans now living in urban America. Most important, he told America that the approach to the cities could no longer be piecemeal—only a total attack would solve the problems of our Nation's cities.

The violence and tragic events of this summer dramatically emphasize these responsibilities.

While there is no place in our society for lawlessness and anarchy, there is also no place for slums and human misery.

The President said in Ann Arbor, 3 years ago:

It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today. The catalogue of ills is long. . . . Our society will never be great until our cities are great.

In his first state of the Union message, just 6 weeks after taking office, President Johnson sounded the keynote of his urban policy:

The first step is to break old patterns—to begin to think and work and plan for the development of entire metropolitan areas.

President Johnson from the start cast aside the old view of urban affairs which concentrated only on housing. He saw the need to deal effectively with such problems as schooling, employment, transportation, pollution as well as urban renewal.

This total commitment to urban needs was reflected in Lyndon Johnson's first housing and community development message to Congress. He warned:

By 1970, we shall have to build at least two million new homes a year to keep up with the growth of our population. We will need many new classrooms, uncounted miles of new streets and utility lines, and an unprecedented volume of water and sewerage facilities. We will need stores and churches and libraries, distribution systems for goods, transportation systems for people and communications systems for ideas.

In each of the four messages on cities he has submitted to Congress during the past 4 years, President Johnson has warned that we cannot become two people—the suburban rich and the urban poor.

He urged us to begin planning and building today to keep pace with an urban population that will double in the next 40 years; and he emphasized that while we do not possess all of the answers to urban problems, we must move quickly to "make right what has taken generations to make wrong."

In his 1965 message on the cities, the President declared:

This modern city can be the most ruthless enemy of the good life, or it can be its

servant. The choice is up to this generation of Americans. For this is truly the time of decision for the American city.

In his 1966 message on the cities, the President asked:

Shall we make our cities livable for ourselves and our posterity? Or shall we by timidity and neglect damn them to fester and decay?

And this year, in his message on urban and rural poverty, the President said:

Many of our early efforts have revealed the dimensions of the work that remains to be done. For some, this has inspired a pessimism that challenges both the value of what has been accomplished and the capacity of our Federal democracy to complete the task. For others, it has inspired a sober determination to carry through with programs that show great promise, to improve their administration and to seek still more effective instruments of change.

Who are the doubters and who are the doers for urban America?

The record shows that the 36th President and the 89th Congress provided a new charter of hope for the American city.

This leadership created a Department of Housing and Urban Development to focus the needs of the cities in the high-council of government.

And 93 percent of House Republicans voted against this bill.

This leadership created the model cities program of 1966 and the rent supplement program of 1965—two pioneering concepts to speed new housing for the urban poor.

And 84 percent of the House Republicans voted against model cities, while 93 percent voted against rent supplements.

This leadership created a home rehabilitation program to assist low-income homeowners; an Urban Mass Transit Act to modernize transportation facilities in urban centers; and a relocation assistance program to help urban poor displaced by urban renewal.

Again, these programs passed against overwhelming Republican opposition.

This is the record. And those Republicans seeking political advantage from the tragic events of this summer cannot be allowed to bury the bones of their voting record on the cities in the Democratic backyard.

At this very moment, Congress has under consideration 14 pieces of major legislation to help our cities in the months and years ahead.

These proposals were submitted by President Johnson long before the riots, which have made the need for these programs even more compelling than they were even a few months ago.

The great tragedy growing out of the summer riots are the thousands of innocent victims who watched helplessly as their homes and businesses were destroyed. We cannot turn our backs on those who suffered the most at the hands of a few.

And we know, too, that the sins committed by a few cannot be charged against an overwhelming majority who are innocent.

The task of this Congress is clear. We must move forward from yesterday's destruction to tomorrow's rebuilding. We cannot abandon programs that have

just begun; and we cannot ignore the President's requests for further remedial action to reconstruct our cities so that they become the Nation's pride and not its tragedy.

Let me say to those who wish to help our cities: We already have an unfinished agenda of urban programs that, together with legislation already passed, comprises an unprecedented program of urban aid.

Those searching for new ways to combat old urban problems will find what they are looking for clogged in the congressional pipeline.

They will find it in the \$662 million President Johnson has requested for the model cities program this year.

They will find it in the \$40 million he has requested for the rent supplement program.

They will find it in the \$20 million he has requested for rat control.

They will find it in the requests for the poverty bill, the Teacher Corps, the crime control bill, the 20-percent increase proposed in the social security bill, and an \$80 million request for housing for the elderly.

These new programs focus on the problems of urban blight and social inequities that cause unrest and despair in city slums.

The city is the foundation upon which rests America's future greatness as a people and as a nation. Our metropolitan areas must provide attractive, wholesome, and safe environments for all Americans, no matter their race, creed, or economic status, for those who live, work, and visit in them.

As President Johnson said 2 years ago:

The problems of the city are problems of housing and education. They involve increasing employment and ending poverty. . . . They are, in large measure, the problems of American society itself. They call for a generosity of vision, a breadth of approach, a magnitude of effort which we have not yet brought to bear on the American city.

We know that city slums are symbols of a nation's indifference and neglect. But we also know there are no overnight miracles to right past wrongs and replace blight with progress.

Today, we are neither indifferent nor complacent. We cannot allow the voices or actions of a few extremists to embitter us or to close our minds and hearts to the plight of others.

America in the 1960's is at the turning point in its quest to develop the most enlightened and humane society the world has ever known. We possess the wealth and technology to succeed. And the only question remaining is: Do we possess the will to succeed?

I think that by its actions on the Nation's unfinished agenda, this Congress will take a long step toward answering this vital question.

And I hope and believe the answer shall be "Yes."

The dates of the major Presidential messages, speeches and statements on urban problems are as follows:

MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES, SPEECHES, AND STATEMENTS ON URBAN PROBLEMS

January 27, 1964: Special Message to the Congress on Housing and Community Development (Mass Transit program, and numerous housing and poverty programs).

May 22, 1964: Remarks at the University of Michigan.

July 9, 1964: Remarks upon Signing the Urban Mass Transportation Act.

September 2, 1964: Remarks upon Signing the Housing Act.

September 26, 1964: Statement by the President upon Making Public an FBI Report on the Recent Urban Riots.

January 4, 1965: State of the Union Message ("The first step is to break old patterns—to begin to think and work and plan for the development of entire metropolitan areas").

February 8, 1965: Special Message to the Congress on Conservation and Restoration of Natural Beauty (Urban Beautification Program).

March 2, 1965: Special Message to the Congress on the Nation's Cities (HUD, rent supplements, metropolitan development).

March 4, 1965: Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on High-Speed Interurban Ground Transportation.

June 15, 1965: Remarks to a Delegation from the American Institute of Architects and the Pan American Congress of Architects.

June 30, 1965: Statement by the President Following Passage of the Housing Bill by the House of Representatives.

August 10, 1965: Remarks at the Signing of the Housing and Urban Development Act.

September 9, 1965: Remarks at the Signing of Bill Establishing a Department of Housing and Urban Development.

October 23, 1965: Message to the Congress Transmitting 18th Annual Report of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

January 26, 1966: Message to the Congress on the Demonstration Cities Program.

August 11, 1966: Statement by the President Upon Signing Executive Order 11297 (Enabling the Secretary of HUD to coordinate urban programs).

August 19, 1966: Speech at Syracuse.

September 8, 1966: Remarks at the Signing of the Urban Mass Transportation Act.

November 3, 1966: Advance Text of the President's Remarks upon Signing Demonstration Cities and Clean Water Restoration Bills.

November 3, 1966: Text of the President's Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for the Demonstration Cities and Clean Water Restoration Bills.

January 12, 1967: Statement by the President on the Commission on Codes, Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards.

March 14, 1967: Special Message to the Congress: America's Unfinished Business: Urban and Rural Poverty.

April 17, 1967: President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the First Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

June 2, 1967: Statement by the President upon Appointing Members to the Committee to Rebuild America's Slums.

July 20, 1967: Statement by the President on Failure of the House to Act on the Rat Extermination Act.

August 16, 1967: Letter on the American City to Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield.

August 19, 1967: Statement by the President on Signing S. 1702, Extending the Urban Fellowship Program.

THE POAU ATTEMPTS TO TAKE CHRIST OUT OF THE CHRISTMAS STAMP

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

The SPEAKER. Is there objection

to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned by the recently publicized attempt by a small but vocal group to prevent the Post Office Department from again issuing a Christmas stamp which portrays the true meaning of our most important national holiday.

An organization called the Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State—POAU—has filed a nuisance suit in the U.S. courts to prevent Postmaster General O'Brien from issuing a Christmas stamp which produces a portion of Hans Memling's portrait of the "Madonna and Child With Angels."

Last year the Department printed 1.2 billion stamps from this 15th-century masterpiece which now hangs in the National Gallery.

The keen demand for this stamp during the 1966 holiday season illustrates how well it conveyed the true meaning of Christmas to millions of American families.

I was among those who had been critical of the Department for the design of Christmas stamps prior to 1966. As you will remember, Mr. Speaker, they depicted fir trees, holly branches, and other items which are extraneous to the real significance of Christmas.

Beginning with the 1965 stamp which depicted a heralding angel and the 1966 stamp which was taken from the Memling painting, the Department has met the requests of our citizens that the Christmas stamp be truly representative of Christmas.

Now the POAU charges that a constitutional question is involved. They allege that the Post Office is attempting to establish a religion in the United States by issuing a stamp that depicts one of the most famous paintings in the Western World.

I am confident that this organization does not speak for the vast majority of American Protestants. Churchgoing people of all denominations have backed the effort to restore the spiritual significance to our national celebration of the nativity.

The arguments which the POAU has put forward to support its case are patently specious ones.

They charge that a book which is shown in the Memling picture is of a type used by only one denomination. The book in question is, in truth, so noncommittal in appearance that the POAU must have employed extrasensory perception to discern its sectarian character.

Further, they have alleged that although no one is being forced to buy the stamp, taxpayers indirectly pay for it because the Post Office Department annually loses money and must be subsidized from general revenues. They have, therefore, set themselves up as aggrieved taxpayers in conducting their suit.

Their tortured reasoning ignores the point that regardless of what a stamp depicts, the cost of issuance is about the same.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that the 1967

Christmas stamp is no more an attempt by the Post Office Department to establish a religion than was the issuance of stamps some years ago depicting Greek and Roman goddesses an attempt to promote ancient forms of polytheism on the American scene.

This is not the first postage stamp which has been related to religious events. A stamp commemorating the Gutenberg Bible was issued in 1952. In 1948 the United States honored the four spiritual leaders giving space on liferafts during World War II with the four chaplains stamp.

I wonder if those who are opposed to this stamp realize that Christmas is an official Federal holiday? Perhaps they will soon be challenging our legal recognition of a holiday which commemorates the birth of Christ.

PROBLEMS OF THE CITY—PART II

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, now that we are able to appraise the urban renewal programs of America, and their effect upon city life, we can see their relationship to the critical problems of the central city. Far too many urban renewal programs have been directed to non-residential use. Homes were torn down—citizens were displaced and replacement housing was not provided.

The programs of Ohio are typical. Since the beginning of the urban renewal program, \$338,612,000 has been spent in Ohio to revitalize urban life. When we study the utilization of these resources, we find a cruel and disproportionate spending for land clearances and redevelopment for nonresidential reuse. For example, of the 67 urban renewal projects involving \$338,612,000 as of June 30, 1967, 44 projects for \$238,360,000, or 70.4 percent of the money spent was spent for predominantly non-residential reuse.

The city of Cincinnati, which has had a very active urban renewal program and spent \$85,362,386 in six projects, has spent 100 percent of its urban renewal funds on redevelopment for predominantly nonresidential reuse. Cleveland has an urban renewal program involving \$49,388,799, of which \$17,690,521 or 36 percent has been spent on predominantly nonresidential reuse. Toledo and Columbus have 38.3 and 21.6 percent of their urban renewal resources allotted to nonresidential reuse.

These ratios in Ohio and in Ohio's major cities are typical of the national residential and nonresidential reuse ratios. The orientation of the urban renewal program to buildings and not to people is a national problem. The responsibility for failure to provide adequately for the residential reuse of urban renewal lands to meet critical housing needs rests equally upon local com-

munities which so designed their plans and the Federal Government which approved them and provided the money.

This distortion of public purpose compounded with the inhumane shifting of ill-housed people from poor homes to worse homes or no homes help bring the displaced citizens into the streets in anger.

TESTIMONY BY U.S. REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM C. CRAMER, AUTHOR OF H.R. 421, BEFORE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE ANTIRIOT BILL

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, as the author of H.R. 421, the antiriot bill, I was privileged to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee and I include my remarks in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues.

TESTIMONY BY U.S. REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM C. CRAMER, AUTHOR OF H.R. 421, BEFORE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE ANTIRIOT BILL

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, this Congress has the responsibility to take whatever steps are reasonable and necessary to provide a deterrent against further outbreaks of the type of guerrilla urban warfare that this nation has experienced in recent summers. The Congress has the duty to enact laws to deal forcefully and quickly with those who would attempt to challenge our social order or our domestic tranquility by force and with arms. The bill before this committee, H.R. 421, would, in my judgment, be a positive step—and in fact is a necessary step—towards restoring the rule of law in America.

CONGRESSIONAL POWER

Mr. Chairman, I believe H.R. 421, which I authored, and which passed the House by a vote of 347 to 70, is a necessary and proper exercise of Congressional power under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution. Its purpose is to give federal authorities power to investigate and apprehend, as well as prosecute, those professional agitators and the members of their organizations who are using interstate commerce and interstate facilities to promote and carry on guerrilla warfare in many of the cities of America.

I emphasize at the outset that law abiding citizens who wish to exercise their constitutionally protected right of free speech, to peaceably assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances need have no fear that this legislation will diminish that right.

The bill has been carefully drafted to safeguard the precious first amendment guarantees. The bill specifically provides that the term "to incite a riot, or to organize, promote, encourage, or carry on a 'riot' shall not mean 'the mere advocacy of ideas or the mere expression of belief.'" The bill requires the government to demonstrate the accused harbored a specific intent to incite a riot.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

I would like to begin my testimony by discussing the objections, which I believe to be unfounded, that have been raised to the bill.

There have been a number of statements made to the effect that the legislation is

unconstitutional. The principal constitutional objection raised centers around the First Amendment, guarantee of free speech.

The specific first amendment objection raised is that the bill punishes speech. This objection erroneously assumes, apparently, that inciting to riot is a form of speech protected by the Constitution. In *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568, 571-72 (1942), the Supreme Court said:

"There are certain well-defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment of which have never been thought to raise any constitutional problem. These include . . . insulting or 'fighting' words—those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace. It has been well observed that such utterances are no essential part of any exposition of ideas, and are of such slight value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interests in order and morality."

These very principles were reiterated in *Beauharnais v. Illinois* 343 U.S. 250, 255-57 (1952).

The classic test to determine whether speech is outside the shield of the First Amendment is to ascertain in the language of *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 52 (1919), "whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent."

The language of H.R. 421 accurately mirrors those principles. Section 2102 (b) defines a riot as follows: "A riot is a public disturbance, involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons which poses an immediate danger of damage or injury to property or persons." Damage and injury to property and persons are "substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent." And one who incites a riot, as the term is defined in the bill, must pose an "immediate danger" that the evil will occur.

Incidentally, "acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons" is the Common Law definition of a "riot" and is the term used in many state statutes on the subject.

On this issue of the bill's constitutionality, I would like to mention that another Member of Congress made an inquiry to the American Law Division of the Library of Congress in which he requested an opinion of the constitutionality of the Anti-Riot Amendment which I introduced to the 1966 Civil Rights Bill, the bill which later died in this body. The American Law Division concluded that "although the Cramer Amendment may be made more definite (and therefore more invulnerable to challenges) in accordance with suggestions advanced by Mr. Doar, Assistant Attorney General, on October 5, 1966 it appears sufficiently definite in its present posture to successfully withstand a challenge on the First and Fifth Amendments grounds."

The bill presently before this Committee substantially incorporated Mr. Doar's suggestions which were submitted in 1966 to the House Judiciary Subcommittee and which is referred to in this Library of Congress brief. The incorporation of the substances of these suggestions surely makes the bill "more invulnerable to challenges." I am herewith submitting a copy of the Library of Congress report for the record of this Committee, as well as a copy of Mr. Doar's suggested draft.

There have also been suggestions to the effect that the bill usurps state and local law enforcement authority.

The bill specifically provides that Congress has no intention of preempting local riot prevention and control. Rather, the bill is intended to make it clear that rioting will not be condoned in America, to fill the gap that now exists in apprehending parties who

incite or participate in riots and then behind the protective shield of state borders as well as to give the FBI authority to investigate the riots.

On the House floor a non-preemption of state statutes amendment was added to further guarantee against improper federal encroachment on state law enforcement functions.

AUTHORITY TO INVESTIGATE BY FEDERAL AUTHORITIES IS PRESENTLY LIMITED

At the present time, the investigatory power of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is limited to determining if any existing federal laws are being violated. Because there is no Federal law outlawing interstate travel or the use of interstate facilities to incite a riot, the Justice Department has consistently maintained that the FBI has no existing authority to investigate the riots that are inflaming many of America's cities.

In President Johnson's announcement of the formation of a Commission to investigate these riots, he said that the Commission will have access to facts gathered by the FBI and that that agency "will continue to exercise its full authority to investigate these riots, in accordance with my standing instructions, and to continue to search for evidence of a conspiracy."

In commenting on this statement, the Washington Star of July 30th observed that "This is a somewhat ambiguous statement. As far as we know there has not been a full scale investigation of the riots, and, since the authority of the FBI is supposed to extend only to violations of Federal law, what did the President mean when he said the agency 'will continue to investigate the riots?'"

I share the Star's perplexity over the President's statement, for, until his television address on this subject in which he announced the formation of the Commission, the Justice Department had repeatedly denied the FBI has any authority to investigate this matter and further that the matter has not been made the subject of an FBI investigation.

In addition, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice has also admitted that it didn't make a study of these riots although the *Task Force on Crime and Its Impact* did have one chapter entitled "Riots and Crime." The report stated, however, that: "The Task Force did not attempt to gather data of its own about the riots." The Report also said that: ". . . existing data do not come close to providing a complete description or explanation of the riots . . ."

I emphasize these examples of Federal abstention in answer to those who claim that the outside "agitator" is a "myth" partially because no investigative Federal authority has so found. In fact, it is my contention that there is no solid evidence that riots have ever been the subject of needed Federal investigation.

RIOTS ARE PLANNED AND ORGANIZED

On the other hand, the information which lends credence to the position that riots in many instances are well planned, highly organized undertakings by certain groups or individuals who are using interstate travel and interstate facilities to carry on the business of inciting urban warfare is overwhelming.

One man who should know is the man most often associated with the riots, Stokely Carmichael. His presence has directly preceded riots in numerous cities and he has been blamed by many city officials with inciting people in these cities to riot. It now turns out that Carmichael's heroes are Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Carmichael and George Washington Ware, one of Carmichael's disciples, who recently reappeared in Nashville, Tennessee, attended a Latin

American Communist Conference held in Cuba recently.

Carmichael's statements reveal that the accusations that he helped instigate riots in many American cities are clearly warranted.

In reviewing the Cleveland riots of last year, with which he was associated, Carmichael said

"I understand the people in Cleveland are now replacing those windows we broke with Molotov cocktails with brick walls. We are coming back next time with dynamite."

Speaking before a large Negro crowd in Washington on May 16th, Carmichael was quoted as saying

"We are going to shoot the cops who are shooting our black brothers in the back in this country. That's where we're going."

According to a member of the staff of the *U.S. News & World Report* who watched Carmichael speak in Houston,

"Carmichael is extremely capable of inciting his audience to riot. There is no doubt in my mind that he (Carmichael) could have sent several hundreds of his listeners charging out of the auditorium to riot if he wanted to."

Mr. Avon Williams, a civil rights leader and a lawyer in the City of Nashville is quoted as saying

"Stokely Carmichael did not have to be present in this town when this started (referring to the Nashville riots). His bully boys were here and knew what he wanted."

Carmichael was in Nashville only days before the riot there.

Mr. Jack Nelson of the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times newspapers wrote on June 14, 1967, that:

"It would seem a strange coincidence to say that Carmichael just happened to speak in all but one of the cities in the six southern cities before violence broke out."

I concur in Mr. Nelson's conclusion. It would be the height of naivete to suggest that Carmichael's presence and for that matter the presence of H. Rap Brown in a city preceding a riot is a mere coincidence.

Carmichael is certainly not the only one with whom we should be concerned . . . he is merely a symptom of the cancer which is spreading throughout our cities. On May 16th in Madison, Wisconsin, for example, a man by the name of Forthune Humphrey, Jr., President of the Milwaukee Youth Council for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, picked up the Carmichael line. He threatened that unless their demands are met, violence would result.

"We will give you one month to do something about this. We have a little organization outside the Youth Council called the Black Avengers. If something is not done we're taking over Milwaukee. I mean that, man."

Three months after this statement was made, Milwaukee had a 3 day riot which required quelling by the National Guard (*Newsweek*, August 14, 1967).

One of Carmichael's disciples is H. Rap Brown, present Chairman of the so-called Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Brown's activities have been as seditious as Carmichael's if not more so.

In the Washington Post of July 7, 1967, Brown is quoted as telling a Cambridge, Maryland crowd who he is now charged with inciting to riot that:

"You better get some guns, brother. The only thing the honky respects is a gun. You give me a gun and tell me to shoot my enemy, I might shoot Lady Bird."

Brown has also been quoted as saying:

"We're not rioting—we're rebelling. That's what's going on." (*Star*, July 25, 1967)

Brown, like Carmichael, is an inveterate traveller who manages to be in cities before or during riots. According to reports he was in Newark a day before the riot broke out there.

While my testimony has thus far been di-

rected to the Carmichaels and the H. Rap Browns, I hasten to add that this bill would apply equally to the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. Indeed, the bill applies to anyone who travels in or uses a facility of interstate commerce with the intent of inciting a riot.

In addition to these men who have gained notoriety because of their open leadership in this area, there is a wealth of information which supports the theory that less prominent outsiders are playing a large part in stirring up civil disobedience.

As reported by columnist David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star of July 27th:

"The theory that the riots in Detroit are local was criticized by Sandra A. West, a UPI reporter who happens to be a Negro living in the neighborhood where violence occurred. She said: 'Many Negroes in the Detroit area now believe the riot was instigated by out-of-town forces. Some said that if the outstaters did not actually start the riots, they kept it going and have now returned to their home towns loaded with riches from Detroit, leaving us with destruction.' A great many of the cars I saw cruising the area during the height of the looting Sunday had Ohio and Illinois plates."

Numerous city officials have also blamed the riots in their respective cities on outside agitators. Mayor Frank A. Sedita of Buffalo, N.Y., as quoted in the July 10, 1967 issue of the *U.S. News & World Report*, said:

"Buffalo's trouble was fomented by outside agitators. People are paying youngsters for every window they break."

Mayor Daly of Chicago was quoted as saying on July 16th, 1966 that:

"Outsiders are responsible for fomenting the unrest that has led to violence and looting on Chicago's West Side."

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. placed the blame for the riots in that city on the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and the organization's then Chairman, Stokely Carmichael, who was in Atlanta during the riots.

The Mayor of Plainfield, N.J., Mayor Hetfield, charged the 1967 riot was the work of organized professionals.

"At first I thought it was spontaneous, but this seems too organized. There was some advance planning."

Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the Baptist Convention, the largest body of organized Negroes in the Nation, was quoted on July 16, 1966 as saying of the Chicago riots:

"I believe our young people are not vicious enough to attack a whole city. Some other forces are using our young people."

Dr. Jackson went on to blame outside interference.

In Cleveland, the safety director, John N. McCormick also blamed outside influences for the riots in that city last year. In a July 21, 1966 article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, he was quoted as saying:

"We are worried about outside influence from other parts of the country that may be playing a role in this disturbance."

It should be noted that a special Cleveland Grand Jury found that outside influences were responsible for perpetrating the riots in that city last year.

The Grand Jury Report on the Cleveland riots said the following:

"It was established before the jury that the leaders of the W.E.B. DuBois Club and the Communist Youth Party, with interchangeable officers and virtually identical concepts, arrived in Cleveland only a few days before the Hough area disorders. They took up residence at 1844 East 81st Street, only a short distance from the central point of origin of the Hough area troubles.

"These men, who came from Chicago, New York and Brooklyn, were Mike Bayer, otherwise known as Mike Davidow, Daniel Mack, Ronald Lucas and Steve Shreeter. They were seen constantly together. They made swift

contact with the JFK (Jomo Freedom Kenyatta House, headquarters for the rioters) House leadership, and with Phil Bart of Middlehurst Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and his wife, Connie, who, the evidence showed, are the leaders of the Communist Party throughout the Ohio Valley district, including Cleveland."

The Mayor of Erie, Pa., was reported as attributing the disturbances in that city to "outside agitators" from Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo. (*Tampa Tribune*, July 20, 1967)

In a story by Margaret Josten which appeared in the June 15, 1967 issue of the Cincinnati Inquirer, the following statements appeared.

"Among those who feel 'outsiders' are responsible is a respected Negro leader who is known to have detailed his fears to businessmen Wednesday. Neither he nor the businessmen wish to be identified.

"Another who feels this way is Clinton Evans, president of the Pendleton Street Block Club and a longtime worker for peace as well as better conditions in Negro neighborhoods.

"We know this thing has got to have outsiders in it because we have no people who believe in this kind of business," he said.

"Several others mentioned the 'strange presence' of expensive automobiles at some of the scenes of violence Monday and Tuesday.

"Others said many of the persons gathered at Rockdale Ave. and Reading Rd. Tuesday night were not recognized by the local Negro community. It was understood that a number of them came from Louisville, Hamilton, Dayton and Middletown.

"Mrs. Marjorie Parham, editor and publisher of the Cincinnati Herald, a newspaper headquartered in Avondale, said she had been given the names of some people who have come here from out of town to take part in the violence sweeping the city.

"I was told the element came here from Dayton," she asserted, adding, "If they did I'm sure they didn't come here for fun."

Mr. Milt Campbell, a 1958 Olympic Champion from Plainfield, New Jersey, flew back to his city to walk the streets talking peace. Campbell told newsmen "I believe this thing was agitated from the outside. These people had no organization whatsoever of their own."

Newark Mayor Hugh AdConzio contended that long standing problems of housing, education and jobs were pressed to riot proportions by "a rash of wild and extremists statements." He contended the statements came from outside agitators who were conspicuously absent once the trouble started (*Evening Star*, July 19, 1967)

The July 31, 1967 edition of *U.S. News & World Report* quoted Howard University officials as saying:

"We have definite information that students were sent here to stir up trouble. We cannot identify all of them but there is information that they were assigned to come here and other campuses. This is organized."

In House debate on the bill before this Committee, our distinguished colleague, Representative Charles W. Sandman, Jr. of New Jersey who was in Newark immediately following the riots stated—

"Many of those who were arrested were armed, many were instructed how to make and use Molotov cocktails, and 100 of those arrested were residents of the State of New York."

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that this is the clearest proof that outside agitators are using interstate commerce to incite or encourage riots and apparently on a planned, premeditated basis. It also indicates that the Browns, Wares, and Carmichaels are symbols of the revolution and rebellion that many others are preaching and practicing.

As an aside, Molotov cocktails seem to be a popular urban warfare weapon and ac-

cording to the New York Times of July 18, 1967. "A Molotov cocktail factory" was discovered in a vacant building in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn yesterday by two fire marshals cruising the area in search of arsonists.

"Fire Department officials said the fire bombs being manufactured in the vacant building at 238 Amboy Street were "very professional" and capable of exploding on impact "like napalm."

Writing in the Washington Post of August 7, 1967, columnist John Chamberlain brought out that the Grand Jury Report on the Cleveland riots of 1966 found that "instructions were given at the Jomo Freedom Kenyata House in the use of Molotov cocktails and how and when to throw them to obtain maximum effect."

Men who are using interstate facilities to incite riots should be put out of business by making such travel or other use of interstate facilities a federal offense. That is what the bill before this Committee will accomplish.

BILL GIVES FBI INVESTIGATORY POWER

There is, however, another aspect to this legislation. It is the power to investigate these riots it implicitly grants to the FBI.

I began my testimony by repeating the Justice Department's statement to me that the investigatory power of the FBI is limited to determining if any existing Federal laws are being violated. I pointed out that in President Johnson's announcement of the formation of a Commission to investigate these riots, he said that the Commission will have access to facts gathered by the FBI and that the FBI "will continue to exercise its full authority to investigate these riots . . ." I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that because there presently exists no Federal law outlawing interstate travel to incite a riot, the FBI's full authority" to investigate these riots is limited and that the President's assurance that the Commission will have access to the FBI's findings borders on being an empty gesture. This Congress gave the Commission the power to subpoena witnesses. This Congress should complete the job by giving the FBI authority to investigate these riots so that information necessary to fully comply with the President's purpose in establishing the Commission may be furnished to it and to law enforcement authorities by the FBI.

ANTI-RIOT BILL A NEEDED WEAPON IN U.S. "SAFE STREETS" ARSENAL

Despite the overwhelming evidence of outside influences in many of these riots, including statements by mayors, journalists who observed the riots, and others, it appears that some continue to adhere to the belief that the riots are parochial, and spontaneous, and that a Federal law making it an offense to travel in or use a facility of interstate commerce to incite a riot would be unnecessary, ineffective and an usurpation of state and local police powers.

Such an attitude ignores the two weapons available only to the Federal government in fighting this insurrection. It assumes, I believe falsely, that individuals who make it their business to travel from state to state for the purpose of stirring up urban warfare will be persuaded to halt their nefarious activities by stepped-up anti-poverty efforts or by effectuating long range, massive Federal-aid efforts, which if done would take time to get results, assuming they would be effective. While it is true that one weapon of the Federal arsenal should be directed towards responsible social programs, the other weapon must be the enactment of strong criminal penalties to get at the professional agitator whose goal is rebellion, insurrection and civil strife, not civil rights or social progress. These people are criminals, are a menace to our society, and must be dealt with as such.

That the measure is necessary has been best evidenced by the testimony before this Committee from police officials to the effect that they are unable to deal with individuals who travel in and out of their cities inciting people to violence.

In this connection, it is interesting to observe that Attorney General Ramsey Clark joined the District Commissioners in asking Congress to enact an anti-riot law in the District of Columbia. I say interesting because there has previously been widespread circulation by some of erroneous information that the District of Columbia already has an anti-riot law which, of course, it does not. Interesting also because the Administration has been opposed to the House-passed anti-riot bill presently before this Committee which, as a result of an amendment to the bill accepted by the House, specifically includes riots or inciting to riot in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Chairman, the states are pleading for Federal assistance in this area and Congress has a duty to respond.

ANTI-RIOT BILL WOULD BE EFFECTIVE

To those who suggest the bill would be ineffective in preventing riots, I point out that that objection could be equally argued relating to many criminal statutes. Would anyone suggest that premeditated murder with malice aforethought should not be a crime because the murderer cannot be tried until after he commits the offense? Would anyone suggest he should not be punished because of deprivations he suffered—say as a resident of a ghetto—or because society did not provide him with the habilitation needed to direct his energies into non-criminal channels? I submit that had this legislation been in effect, Carmichael, Brown and others who are traveling from one state to another to incite riots would have been tried and convicted long before Prattville, Cambridge, Atlanta and Nashville, as examples, became blotches on the complexion of America.

This bill is modeled after the anti-racketeering act of 1962, which I also co-sponsored. That Act makes it a Federal offense to travel in or use facilities of interstate commerce with the intent of aiding organized criminal activities. Under that Act, 199 convictions have been secured by the Justice Department according to information provided to me by the Justice Department and which I make available to this Committee. Neither the difficulty of proving intent nor the difficulty in demonstrating a violation of the proscribed offense has presented an insurmountable obstacle to enforcing this law. I believe such would be the case with this anti-riot law as well.

To this I add that the Attorney General has publicly stated that if the bill is passed, he will "vigorously enforce" it.

BILL REMOVES RIOTS FROM ARENA OF LEGITIMATE PROTEST

One more point should be made. In the recent past, even some of our nation's most respected leaders have suggested that violent revolution or "massive disobedience" in violation of the law is acceptable behavior and a legitimate weapon of protest. I would hope that such intemperate statements were made only in the heat of emotion and without careful thought. Nevertheless, the statements were made and well publicized. It is now up to Congress to say "No, Riots and violence are not legitimate forms of lawful protest!" It is up to Congress to take rioting out of the arena of accepted or condoned activity—no matter how noble the cause or the ends to which this rebellion is used as a means. The enactment of this bill will unequivocally express this to the entire nation. It will also provide a much needed deterrent to future Browns and Carmichaels, as well as to the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

Congress has a duty to make the streets of America truly safe and the homes of all Americans secure. To accomplish this, legislation must be enacted to put the agitators, the hate mongers, and exploiters of unrest out of business. The bill before this Committee would be of invaluable assistance in accomplishing this goal.

ARE SOME PART OF RIOTS A NATIONWIDE REPORT?

Evidence that these riots are part of a national effort to completely disrupt the tranquility of this country continues to come to light. The statements made by some of those involved strongly suggest this is the case. John Dotson of Newsweek Magazine reported in the August 7 issue of Newsweek that one of the rioters told him:

"Man, it took them three days in Watts to do as much damage as we did here (Detroit) in eight hours. We're as organized as the Viet Cong, baby."

Dotson went on to report:

"Indeed, I saw one group of cops sucked into an ambush as neatly as any Viet Cong guerrilla team could manage."

Further evidence of this are statements made by Carmichael who, speaking from Havana, was quoted as follows:

"In Newark we are applying the tactics of guerrilla warfare. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. This struggle is not going to be a mere street meeting. It is going to be a struggle to the death."

You will note that Carmichael used the term "we" and "groups" indicating that he has an undetermined number of comrades carrying on these odious offenses against America. You will also notice that he used the term "urban guerrilla."

COMMUNIST CUBA—WHAT PART DOES IT PLAY IN U.S. RIOTS?

Guerrilla warfare is the philosophy of the Guevara, one of Carmichael's Communist heroes. Carmichael was recently in Cuba attending a Latin American Communist meeting in which guerrilla warfare was the principal topic of discussion. An insight into what is taking place in the United States may be gained by examining resolutions adopted at last January's Tri-Continental Conference also held in Cuba.

That Conference, attended by 82 National Communist Party Delegations, including 34 delegates from Red China and 40 from the Soviet Union, resolved, among other things, to create a central headquarters for subversion and infiltration, and for the training of Communist agitators and guerrilla fighters. The Conference logically enough selected Cuba as the headquarters for this program. Another resolution was adopted calling for the creation of a continuing Latin American Solidarity Organization to "combat North American imperialism."

URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE

In writing on the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, in his book entitled "Guerrilla," Charles W. Thayer pointed out that:

"Unconventional urban warfare operations are by no means impossible . . . as the Polish Army discovered, a great city too can provide hidden paths through alleys and cellars, attics and rooftops, just as inaccessible to strangers as hidden jungle trail. . . ."

"To ignore the possibility of future guerrilla operations in thickly populated areas and to fail to provide adequate training and preparation to—counteract it would seem to be almost as shortsighted as Hitler's dismissal of the guerrilla problem in Russia with the order to 'liquidate them ruthlessly in combat or while trying to escape.'"

I believe that refusing to recognize the problem and passing this or a similar bill would be shortsighted on the part of this Congress. Numerous other books have been written on guerrilla warfare. The subject is

not a new one. Writing in the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," published in 1962, in an issue entitled "Unconventional Warfare," Dr. J. K. Zawodny of Stanford stated that:

"Undergrounds, obviously, are organized not by frustrated mobs but by leaders, who build a network of communications, initiate interaction, assign responsibilities, and define awards. Recruitment begins within that segment of society which feels most oppressed by the status quo; and in order to secure an influx of the rank and file, operational ideas must be kept broad enough to accommodate highly diversified latent aspirations."

An interesting statistic in this article is that according to Lawrence of Arabia, a great practitioner of guerrilla warfare, 2 percent of the population is sufficient to organize a revolution, as long as the rest of the population remains sympathetic. "Whether this numerical ratio would apply in all cultural settings is questionable," writes Zawodny, "but the validity of the thesis is beyond dispute."

A similar figure has been used to describe the percentage of Negroes actively involved in the riots in America.

I am not suggesting, Mr. Chairman, that urban guerrilla warfare would meet with ultimate success in the United States. On the contrary, because the vast majority of American citizens are opposed to any armed revolution, any attempt to take over this country by guerrilla warfare is doomed to failure. But, unless this government recognizes the very real possibility that subversive elements are active in at least exploiting some of the riots, if not instigating them, and that a pattern has been set and a blueprint being followed, we can expect many more years of violence and bloodshed in the streets of America. We cannot close our eyes to the clear evidence or organization in these riots, nor can we close our eyes to the philosophy of some of the riot leaders such as Carmichael and Brown.

Writing from Detroit, journalist Victor Riesel in an article which appeared in the August 5, 1967 Tampa Tribune, said that:

"The hard core of rioters are a new breed. This kind of warfare doesn't take manpower. It takes tightly knit disciplined cells. They're all over the big cities.

"Certainly few of the citizenry, white or Negro, have heard of tough little bands such as the Black Flag Anarchists, the Black Guard of the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Black United Action Front, the Black Liberation Commission or the Progressive Labor Party.

"They have a network of Maoist, Viet Cong literature. They distribute not only National Liberation Front motion pictures, but films of the Cuban Tri Continental Conference, especially on the Cuban militia and revolutionary struggles.

"There is even a publishing house in New York City which issues Robert Williams' 'Negroes With Guns.' Williams was Castro's favorite 'American Desk' broadcaster and now is lending his cataclysmic culture to Peking's transmitters.

"It doesn't take a national network to set such flying squads rolling towards inflamed cities. The cells roll on their own—by car, by train, even by air. The neo-revolutionists have money, plenty of it.

"If the President and his civil disorders committee seek an answer, they will have to concentrate on the new revolutionists and cage them before the cells coalesce and crush those who want to see the open blue sky as they reach upward—not the terrorists, snipers and clouds of smoke."

The Missile Crisis of 1962 demonstrated to the American people that Cuba could pose a military threat to the United States. Another dangerous threat to our existence is posed by long range subversion and infiltration, and by the training of guerrillas who can easily disrupt and destroy large seg-

ments of this country. The tactics used in these riots as well as the statements made by Carmichael in Cuba make it clear that we cannot discount the possibility that the workings of Che Guevara have been embraced by the misguided revolutionary leaders of the racial disorders that we are experiencing in this country.

In this connection, I invite the attention of this Committee to an article which appeared in the August 14th issue of U.S. News and World Report. Entitled: "Is Castro Behind Guerrilla War in U.S. Cities?", the article is a compilation of statements made by highly respected journalists, public officials, and a former communist leader and implies strongly that America may be on the threshold of insurrection. The article discusses the workings of one Robert Williams, among others. Williams is organizer of the Revolutionary Action Movement, a communist organization whose field director, Max Stanford, has been in frequent contact with Stokely Carmichael according to testimony by J. Edgar Hoover before a House Appropriations Subcommittee. Williams went to Cuba after fleeing the United States some years ago in order to evade prosecution on kidnapping charges and has been exhorting U.S. Negroes to violence through radio broadcasts beamed into the United States ever since. The latest information is that Williams is now in Red China.

According to U.S. News and World Report, Williams sent from Cuba to the U.S., for distribution through RAM and other channels, many thousands of leaflets calling upon U.S. Negroes to resort to violence. These leaflets, following Che Guevara's handbook in guerrilla tactics, give detailed instructions for the manufacture of homemade weapons.

According to an article which appeared in the August 24, 1967 Washington Post, Williams is telling U.S. Negroes through a 12-page folder how to clog sewer lines and highways, how to burn public facilities, and how to smash windows without getting caught.

Mr. Chairman, if this seditious information is allowed to flow through the U.S. Mails after it reaches the United States, or is being distributed in interstate commerce through other channels, and has its desired effect upon its recipients, Detroit and Newark will be minor incidents as compared to what could become a full blown war of sabotage and terrorism in America.

The specter of dozens of Detroit's igniting simultaneously makes one realize how vulnerable America could be to terrorist tactics. This legislation is essential to attack the problem now, before it gets so far out of hand as to make all laws meaningless and order unattainable. While I feel there is more than ample justification to enact this law today, it is a precautionary measure as well. If all that we hear and read about outside agitators travelling from state to state helping to incite riots is false, this bill will harm no one. If in fact what is being reported is true, this bill is absolutely essential to give federal authorities power to quash this movement in its inception. When one considers that Detroit, with a laudable anti-poverty program and a minimum of unemployment as well as a \$1.8 million rat extermination program that has virtually eliminated the incidents of rat bites and rat transmitted diseases—when one considers that that city could fall victim to a riot of such incredible proportions, it is incomprehensible to me how anyone could suggest that the cure to these riots is merely more money.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, as everyone knows, we have had a good deal of rain here in Washington during the past week. Last Thursday night an especially hard downpour hit part of Vir-

ginia. At about 9 p.m. that evening I began to worry about water in our basement, which has been a problem. I went home to find that it was coming in by the bucketfuls. Mrs. Schwengel and I were barely able to keep it under control.

At the time I left the House Chamber, the situation regarding adjournment was uncertain. I left word with the cloakroom that should the House stay in session and voting occur, I was to be called at once.

Through a mixup in the cloakroom, I was not called and, therefore, missed the three rollcall votes on the foreign aid authorization bill. I would like to state now how I would have voted.

On the Widnall amendment I would have voted "aye."

On the motion to recommit the bill I would have voted "nay."

On final passage I would have voted "aye."

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

HENRY J. KAISER IS DEAD

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Henry J. Kaiser is dead. A giant has gone forth from amongst us.

The country has lost one of its most astute and colorful industrialists—a man whose rise to power and wealth exemplified the American tradition of "rags to riches."

Henry J. Kaiser started life at \$1.50 a week as cashboy in a dry goods store in Utica, N.Y. The assets of the affiliated Kaiser companies that he founded and directed exceeded \$2.7 billion and were in operation in 33 States and more than 40 foreign countries.

The seedling operation of the Kaiser Co. was the Kaiser Sand & Gravel Co.—still the largest producer of aggregates in California and located in Livermore Valley.

Kaiser went on to become one of the biggest contractors in the West. He had the facility for putting together consortia that built some of the outstanding dams, bridges, and other physical features that helped develop the West.

When we got into World War II, Henry J. Kaiser turned to shipbuilding and although stylized shipbuilders of the era were critical of his methods because he broke with the past, that was his wont. He built ships on the west coast faster and cheaper than any other builder. Needing a vast supply of steel in this highly competitive market, he entered the steel business and at the end of the war used the profits from his shipbuilding operations to pay the Reconstruction Finance Corporation dollar for dollar on the loan advanced him to construct Fontana steel plant.

His company produced cement, gypsum, aluminum, magnesium, electronics, and above all, the know-how to put these materials to work or to assist those whom he supplied with them through the orga-

nization of Kaiser Engineers, one of the largest and most sophisticated engineering firms in the United States.

With all of his business astuteness, he was a humanitarian. Early in World War II, he established the Henry J. Kaiser Hospital Plan to serve those who needed it and had the foresight to accept it. The plan serves over 1½ million people. It is a nonprofit organization and has led the way in prepaid medical care in this country.

The Kaiser Steel Co. pioneered in a profit-sharing plan for its employees that set new standards in the steel industry.

Some years ago he turned the operations of Kaiser Enterprises over to his son, Edgar F. Kaiser, and retired to Hawaii. Although he was past the age when most men lead active lives, he developed land, built hospitals and hotels, and sponsored a \$350 million housing project in the islands.

Henry Kaiser once said:

Labor relations are no more than human relations. Man wants to be treated like a human being. He is jealous of his dignity and self respect. He resents either being exploited or neglected. He wants to be heard on issues that affect his well being. He wants to earn his way and to enjoy the fruits of labor. He wants some say as to the conditions and terms under which we may live and work.

He was not a miracle man nor was he a mystery man—he was just a man who tried to do a good job for the benefit of humanity. He knew men and once said:

I've got one employee who in 50 years has never agreed with me on anything. He's invaluable.

The loss of Henry Kaiser will be felt in this country but he built and turned his enterprises over to his efficient son who will carry on the work of a great father—not for the personal aggrandizement but for the benefit of all of us.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial that occurred in the Washington Post of August 26, 1967, and a clipping from that paper of August 25, 1967:

HENRY J. KAISER

Henry Kaiser possessed in extraordinary abundance that kind of exuberant vitality and zest for achievement which seems to be a secret of industrial pre-eminence. Robust and hearty in nature and physique, he went to work when he was 13 at \$1.50 a week and built out of that beginning an industrial empire reputed to have assets of more than \$2.7 billion with aggregate annual sales exceeding \$2.1 billion and with 190 plants and facilities scattered in 33 American cities and 40 foreign countries. This is a conspicuous success story in an old and honored American tradition.

There are numerous monuments to Henry Kaiser's creative and ebullient genius—the Hoover Dam, the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, levees, pipelines, cement, gypsum, steel and aluminum plants, shipbuilding yards, automobile factories. But perhaps the most striking, unusual and significant of his accomplishments was the founding of the world's largest private initiative system of hospitals and prepaid medical care. The nonprofit Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, emphasizing preventive medicine and comprehensive health care, has a membership today of 1.5 million served by 18 hospitals, with 8200 beds, and by more than 40 medical clinics. It is a felicitous irony that so inde-

pendent a private enterpriser should have showed the way to making socially supported, prepaid medical and hospital care feasible.

American strength and greatness have often been attributed to that curious, elusive quality called "know-how." Henry Kaiser was a contemporary practitioner and exemplar of it. "All my life I've been going against the wind," he said. It seems to have been what made him go.

INDUSTRIALIST HENRY J. KAISER IS DEAD AT 85

Henry John Kaiser, 85, who commanded an industrial empire worth more than \$2 billion, died of a circulatory ailment yesterday in his Honolulu home.

Mr. Kaiser, who left school at 13 to help support his family by working for \$1.50 a week as a cash boy in a dry goods store in Utica, N.Y., eventually oversaw 32 corporations and more than 50 active affiliated companies and subsidiaries.

He perhaps was best known to the public as a miracle-working shipbuilder during World War II, but his businesses also embraced steel, cement, aluminum, construction and hospitals.

A robust man of dynamic energy, Mr. Kaiser bulldozed his way to dazzling success with boundless drive, ambition, imagination and a tremendous capacity for work.

"IGNORANCE" ASSET

No building job was too big for him and a competitor once said of him that his greatest asset was his "ignorance . . . He never knew what he couldn't do."

Mr. Kaiser said of his various businesses, "I started each one of them because I needed it or the country needed it."

Thus, in 1939, having undertaken to supply 24 million bags of cement for a dam and having no cement plant of his own, he founded the Permanente Cement Co.

Born of German immigrant parents on May 9, 1882, at Sprout Brook, N.Y., he was one of four children. His father was a factory mechanic, his mother a practical nurse.

One of Mr. Kaiser's early business ventures was in photographic supplies in Upstate New York and he also worked for hardware and construction companies in the Pacific Northwest.

He established his first construction enterprise in 1914 and, in the next dozen years, handled millions of dollars worth of highway construction in British Columbia, Washington, Idaho and California. In 1921 he moved his company headquarters to Oakland, Calif., which is still the hub of Kaiser activities.

MASS PRODUCTION

From 1927 to 1933 Mr. Kaiser was engaged in mammoth building projects in Cuba, Mississippi and the Southwestern states and in 1931 was chairman of the executive committee that built the Hoover Dam.

He entered the shipbuilding industry in 1940. Using mass-production techniques, his men were able to assemble a prefabricated Liberty ship in less than five days.

In addition to accounting for nearly one-third of the entire American wartime production of merchant shipping, the Kaiser yards also built 50 aircraft carriers of 18,000 tons.

In response to another war need, Mr. Kaiser borrowed money from the Reconstruction Finance Corp. to build a magnesium plant that produced more than 20 million pounds of ultralight metal and more than 80 million pounds of incendiary material. With another RFC loan, he built at Fontana the first complete steel mill in California.

After expansion programs that made him the biggest steel producer west of the Mississippi, Mr. Kaiser bought an aircraft company which, after the war, was renamed Kaiser Metal Products Inc. Under the joint

ownership of Kaiser and Sears, Roebuck & Co., it manufactured kitchen and bathroom ware and aircraft and missile components.

Shortly after V-E Day in 1945, Mr. Kaiser met John W. Frazer, formed a corporation and, by January, 1946, was exhibiting the first Kaiser-Frazer automobiles in New York. By the end of 1948 the company was the fourth largest producer of autos in the United States. For various reasons, however, the operation became unprofitable and Kaiser-Frazer stopped making passenger cars in 1953.

Two of Mr. Kaiser's more recent ventures were a \$50 million complex of houses, hotels, hospitals and plants in Hawaii and a \$350 million resort-residential city on Oahu Island.

Mr. Kaiser, a holder of honorary degrees from seven American colleges, was the founder of a medical care program in the western United States. He established the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, which has more than a million members for self-sustaining hospitals and medical centers in California, Oregon, Washington and Hawaii.

In a pioneering innovation in human relations, Kaiser Steel and the United States Steelworkers of America developed a plan of sharing savings in production that has paid participating employees \$10.9 million in cash bonuses and set aside \$8.6 million in a wage and benefit reserve.

"It seems to me," Mr. Kaiser said in a lay sermon in 1949 at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York, "there are four simple, provable and practical secrets of capturing the greatest values out of life.

"They are: (1) Decide what you want most of all out of life; then write down your goals and a plan to reach them. (2) Use the great powers that you can tap through faith in God and the hidden energies of your soul. (3) Love people and serve them. (4) Work."

Mr. Kaiser is survived by his wife, Alyce, a nurse he married after the death of his first wife in 1951; his son, Edgar F., who has long held top executive positions in his father's enterprises; two sisters, Elizabeth Cummings of Los Angeles and Augusta Le Sesne of Daytona Beach, Fla., and nine grandchildren.

HENRY J. KAISER—BUILDER AND BENEFACTOR

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest examples of opportunity in America was Henry J. Kaiser. However, his was more than a career of rags to riches; he was not alone a builder, an industrialist with worldwide interests but also a person whose success was dedicated to seeing that others be assured hospital and medical care that as a poor family his mother was unable to receive.

Mr. Speaker, during my first term in Congress I became a member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. This committee made an intensive study of low-cost medical plans and as such, Mr. Kaiser was a prominent witness. His testimony impressed me greatly and ever since that time, when I first came to know him, I have greatly admired Henry Kaiser.

It was especially of interest to me that Mr. Kaiser first entered the construction and roadbuilding business in the Pacific

Northwest and my own State of Washington. But the sage of his success steadily expanded until he became a world figure.

Mr. Speaker, those of us who are members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and presently concerning ourselves with shortage and obsolescence of our maritime fleet need a Henry J. Kaiser to meet the problems of shipbuilding as Mr. Kaiser did in the 1940's when he and his associates operated 58 slipways at seven yards, built 1,490 badly needed ships during World War II, and some 50 aircraft carriers. The Kaiser shipyards averaged one new ship a day and an aircraft carrier a week. This record made Mr. Kaiser world famous.

Another of his feats was his establishing an aluminum business by leasing surplus plants after the war.

But when I think of his huge business empire and achievements of that nature too numerous to mention, I always come back in my mind to his favorite project which was his founding of the world's largest private initiative system of hospitals and prepaid medical care plans. As with his own mother in his youth, there was a need of the workers and their families for health protection and care of the nonprofit Kaiser Foundation Health Plan emphasizing preventative as well as medical care. This to me typifies the real measure of Mr. Kaiser's character and achievement. The membership and facilities include a million and a half members and 18 hospitals and 40 clinics.

Mr. Speaker, the honors and public recognition of Henry J. Kaiser are legion but, as I say, to me Mr. Kaiser's own accomplishments in pioneer voluntary medical care, are the greatest tribute to his life and service. I will always think back to that experience of mine on hearing Mr. Kaiser tell the members of my congressional committee about his health plan and the way in which he was able to see that working people and their families were assured of hospital and medical services.

Mr. Speaker, it was a great privilege to know Mr. Kaiser and it is with real regret I recently learned that his useful life came to an end at the advanced age of 85 years. Feeling the admiration for him that I do, I wanted today to convey my feeling to other Members of Congress and to the American people.

A great builder and creator of a vast business empire has left this world a better place for his sojourn here. Meanwhile, many of us who met him will remember the kindly smile and bright ways of friendship which passed our way.

TOTAL CONTRIBUTION OF OUR 37 ALLIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, some critics

of the administration's Vietnam policy argue that the war is becoming increasingly unpopular among the other nations of the world and for this reason is inimical to our best interests. The State Department in refuting this charge proudly proclaims that 37 nations have come to our assistance since 1964. However, this figure loses a good bit of its gloss upon close examination.

In an August 10 letter signed by Mr. Phillip H. Chadbourne, Jr., Special Assistant for East Asian and Pacific Affairs for the State Department, I was advised that these 37 countries have contributed a

Assistance provided to Vietnam by nations other than the United States as of December 15, 1965:

ARGENTINA

The Argentines have sent two observers to Viet-Nam to examine the possibilities for Argentine assistance.

AUSTRALIA

Australia is providing a wide and substantial range of aid to Viet-Nam under the Colombo Plan by direct bilateral assistance. Australia has provided approximately \$8 million in technical and economic aid.

1. 1 infantry battalion
2. 100 combat advisors (primarily specialists in jungle warfare)
3. A 73-man air force unit at Vung Tau with six Australian caribou planes which fly daily logistical transport missions in support of Vietnamese military forces.
4. An 8-man surgical team. This surgical team in addition to performing major operations has established a blood bank and is giving lessons in nursing.
5. A group of civil engineers are in Viet-Nam. These engineers are scheduled to work on water supply and road construction projects in Bien Hoa, and will survey the possibility of other projects such as building two canal bridges in the Port of Saigon.
6. Three experts in dairy and crop practices and radio techniques.
7. Training of 110 Vietnamese in Australia.
8. In goods and materials: 1,000,000 textbooks in Vietnamese for rural schools; 3,300 tons of corrugated roofing for Vietnamese military dependents, housing; 6 large community windmills; 15,750 sets of hand tools; 400 radio sets and 2,400 loudspeakers, 16,000 blankets and 14,000 cases of condensed milk.
9. A 50 kilowatt broadcasting station at Ban Me Thout (construction is well underway).

BELGIUM

Belgium has provided medicines.

BRAZIL

Brazil has provided coffee and medical supplies.

CANADA

Canada is providing

1. Personnel in Viet-Nam: A professor of orthopedics at Saigon University section of Cho Ray Hospital, Saigon.

grand total of \$50,886,000 toward South Vietnam, which by way of comparison is no more than what our contribution is in any given 8-hour period of any single day.

It is interesting to note further the individual contributions of these 37 nations that the State Department continues to make reference to, and I should like to place into the RECORD the comparison of those contributions from December 1965 to August 1967, the figures and the explanation being in the State Department's own words, furnished to me upon request.

Assistance provided to Vietnam by nations other than the United States as of July 1, 1967:

ARGENTINA

Argentina has contributed 5,000 tons of wheat.

AUSTRALIA

Australia is providing a wide and substantial range of aid to Viet-Nam under the Colombo Plan and by direct bilateral assistance.

Military aid consists of:

1. Approximately 6,300 combat troops including a brigade and support, a guided missile destroyer, and a squadron of 8 Canberra bombers.
2. 100 combat advisors (primarily specialists in jungle warfare).
3. A 73-man air force unit at Vung Tau with six Australian caribou planes which fly daily logistical transport missions in support of Vietnamese military forces.

Economic and technical assistance has totalled nearly \$10 million including:

1. Three surgical teams, totalling 37 personnel, in 3 provincial hospitals. These teams, in addition to performing major operations, have established a blood bank and are giving lessons in nursing.
2. A group of civil engineers working on water supply and road construction projects.
3. Three experts in dairy and crop practices and radio techniques.
4. Training of 130 Vietnamese in Australia.
5. In goods and materials: 1,250,000 textbooks in Vietnamese for rural schools; 3,300 tons of corrugated roofing for Vietnamese military dependents' housing; 6 large community windmills; 15,750 sets of hand tools; 400 radio sets and 2,400 loud-speakers; 16,000 blankets and 14,000 cases of condensed milk.
6. A 55 kilowatt broadcasting station at Ban Me Thout.

The Australian Government decided on February 1 to increase its non-military aid to Viet-Nam during FY 1967 to \$2 million. This will permit substantial enlargement of current medical and civic action programs and the undertaking of new projects such as providing equipment for refugee resettlement centers.

BELGIUM

Belgium has provided medicines and an ambulance and has given scholarships for 15 Vietnamese to study in Belgium.

BRAZIL

Brazil has sent a substantial quantity of medical supplies which was carried to Viet-Nam by a Brazilian Air Force plane and has also provided coffee.

CANADA

Almost \$6 million of development assistance to Viet-Nam has been provided by Canada.

1. Personnel in Viet-Nam: A Canadian

CANADA—continued

2. Vietnamese in Canada: About 130 on scholarships both academic and technical, most of them for about four to five years of training, many in engineering. About 65 more students will go this year.

3. \$150,000 worth of flour. Funds generated by sales are used for capital construction projects in Viet-Nam. Since 1958, Canada has provided \$850,000 worth of flour and butter for Viet-Nam.

4. A new science building for the medical faculty at the University of Hue, costing 17,000,000 piastres. Construction has passed the half-way mark, with completion expected this year.

They have agreed to construct an auditorium for the Faculty of Sciences at Hue University, scheduled to begin soon, costing 7,500,000 piastres.

REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Republic of China has provided

1. An 80-odd-man agricultural team
2. An 18-man military psychological warfare team
3. An 8-man electrical power mission under the leadership of Taipower.
4. A 10-man surgical team.

China is also providing training for more than 200 Vietnamese in Taiwan. In the way of goods and materials, they have provided 26 aluminum prefabricated warehouses, agricultural tools, seeds and fertilizers, 500,000 copies of mathematics textbooks and electrical power substations.

COSTA RICA

No aid reported.

DENMARK

Denmark has provided medical supplies and is willing to train Vietnamese nurses in Denmark.

ECUADOR

Ecuador has sent medical supplies to Viet-Nam.

WEST GERMANY

Personnel in Viet-Nam: Provided 12, agreed 14 more; total: 26.

Provided: Six Germans, a director and five instructors, in the German-taught vocational section at Cao Thang Technical High School in Saigon.

Agreed: In September, to transform the above section into the New Vietnamese-German Technical High School, under construction at Thu Duc near Saigon.

Provided: At Hue University, five experts: Three physicians in the Medical School, a professor of music, a professor of German language.

CANADA—continued

Supervisor has been at Quang Ngai supervising construction of a small TB Clinic which the Canadians are funding. The Canadians have sent two doctors and four nurses to staff the clinic. A professor of orthopedics is working at Cho Ray Hospital, Saigon, and there is a Canadian teacher at the University of Hue.

2. Vietnamese in Canada: 380 Colombo Plan trainees and a total of 463 trainees under all programs, including those sponsored by other agencies and third countries (as well as Colombo Plan), have been trained in Canada. There are currently 231 Vietnamese students in Canada.

3. Since 1958, Canada has provided \$850,000 worth of food aid for Viet-Nam. Funds generated by sales are used for capital construction projects in Viet-Nam.

4. A new science building for the medical faculty at the University of Hue is being built costing about \$333,000, drawn from counterpart funds generated by sales of food supplied by Canada. Construction has passed the half-way mark.

5. The Canadians have also agreed to construct an auditorium for the Faculty of Sciences at Hue University which will cost about \$125,000.

6. Canada has increased its aid to South Viet-Nam allocating \$1 million for medical assistance this fiscal year including providing ten 200-bed emergency hospital units. The first two units have arrived and have been installed at Phan Tiet and at Phu Tho near Saigon. A Canadian doctor and technician visited Viet-Nam in the fall to inspect potential sites. Canada has sent 650,000 doses of polio vaccine for Vietnamese school children and offered additional vaccines against polio, TB and smallpox. Consideration is being given to establishment of a children's rehabilitation center in Viet-Nam.

7. Canada is printing half a million copies of a social sciences textbook for Vietnamese grade school children.

REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Republic of China has provided:

1. An 80-man agricultural team.
2. An 18-man military psychological warfare team.
3. A 34-man electrical power mission under the leadership of Taipower.
4. A 16-man surgical team.

China has also provided training for more than 200 Vietnamese in Taiwan. In the way of goods and materials, they have provided 26 aluminum prefabricated warehouses, agricultural tools, seeds and fertilizers, 500,000 copies of mathematics textbooks and an electrical power substation.

COSTA RICA

Costa Rica is contributing an ambulance for use in Viet-Nam.

DENMARK

Denmark has provided medical supplies and has offered to train 12 Vietnamese nurses in Denmark.

ECUADOR

Ecuador has sent medical supplies to Viet-Nam.

WEST GERMANY

Personnel in Viet-Nam: Seven Germans, a director and six instructors, are teaching at the new Vietnamese-German Technical High School at Thu Duc near Saigon. At Hue University there are five Germans: three physicians in the Medical School, a professor of music, a professor of German language, and one expert in forestry is working at the Department of Rural Affairs, Saigon.

A 3,000-ton hospital ship, the "Helgoland" with 8 doctors, 30 other medical personnel and 145 beds is on duty in Viet-Nam.
Vietnamese in Germany: Forty Vietnam-

WEST GERMANY—continued

Agreed: Addition of about nine more experts for Hue Medical School.

Provided: An expert in forestry at the Department of Rural Affairs, Saigon.

Agreed: Two experts, in planning and in exportation.

Vietnamese in Germany: 40 provided, agreed 30 more, total: 70.

Provided: 40.

Agreed: 20 for 22 months training as future instructors in the technical high school. A considerable number have previously been trained.

Agreed: 10 for technical training for the An Hoa-Nong Son coal and chemical complex south of Danang.

Goods and materials:

Provided: 30 ambulances for Ministry of Health.

Provided: A commodity credit of DM 15 million for import of German products such as machine tools, fertilizer, etc. The plastre funds generated go to the National Office of Agricultural Credit to aid farmers, particularly with loans.

Provided: A credit of DM 50 million for development of the major industrial complex at An Hoa-Nong Son.

Provided: A credit of DM 20 million for construction of an abattoir at Saigon-Cholon, and for construction of three merchant ships.

Provided: A credit of DM 500,000 for construction of the Vietnamese-German Technical High School at Thu Duc.

Provided: A grant with a value of DM 1,000,000 to purchase batteries for receiver-transmitter radios for the Ministry of Information and Psychological Warfare, and of gasoline pumps for the Department of Rural Affairs.

GREECE

Greece has contributed medical supplies.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala has sent 15,000 doses of typhoid-paratyphoid serum for use in Viet-Nam.

HONDURAS

No aid reported.

IRAN

Iran has contributed 1,000 tons of petroleum products to Viet-Nam.

ITALY

Italy. The Italians have provided a 9-man surgical team and are providing science scholarships for the next several years.

JAPAN

Japan has provided over \$55 million worth of economic assistance to Viet-Nam, chiefly through reparations. Of the 90 Japanese personnel now in Viet-Nam, over 70 are connected with the construction of a large power dam across the Danhim River. Japan has also provided a 6-man medical team, considerable amounts of medical goods (4,544 cases), 20,000 transistor radios and 25 ambulances, an electrical transmission line and agreed to the construction of a bridge over the Mekong River near Vinh Long.

KOREA

Korea has provided:

1. 1 Combat Division Force
2. A 130-man Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (MASH)

3. 10 military instructors in Korean karate for training Vietnamese military in hand-to-hand combat

4. A 2,200-man Task Force Unit composed of the following elements:

- 1 Army engineer battalion.
- 1 Headquarters group.

WEST GERMANY—continued

ese are studying in Germany and the Germans have agreed to accept 30 more primarily for training as future instructors in the technical high school. A considerable number have previously been trained.

Goods and materials: The Germans have provided the following credits:

1) DM 15 million (\$3.75 million) for import of German products such as machine tools, fertilizer, etc. The piastre funds generated go to the National Office of Agricultural Credit to aid farmers, particularly with loans;

2) a credit of DM 50 million (\$12.5 million) for development of the major industrial complex at An Hoa-Nong Son;

3) a credit for DM 20 million (\$5 million) for construction of an abattoir at Saigon-Cholon, and three coastal vessels;

4) a credit of DM 500,000 (\$125,000) for equipment at the Vietnamese-German Technical High School at Thu Duc.

In April 1966, the Germans announced a gift of DM 17.5 million (\$4.4 million) worth of pharmaceuticals, the first shipments of which have arrived. Also in the medical field, they have provided two mobile dental clinics and 30 ambulances for the Ministry of Health.

In June 1966, the Cabinet voted DM 25 million (US \$6.25 million) for new aid to Viet-Nam including: 1) sending 25 experts to establish a refugee center; 2) building a home for wayward youths; 3) expansion of 8 social centers and construction of a ninth; 4) establishment of a training center for social workers, and 5) the gift of 100 buses and a maintenance and repair facility in Saigon. The Germans have also donated 260 tons of rice for refugee programs.

GREECE

Greece has contributed \$15,000 worth of medical supplies.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala has sent 15,000 doses of typhoid-paratyphoid serum for use in Viet-Nam.

HONDURAS

Honduras has contributed drugs and dry goods for refugees in Viet-Nam, flown there on a Honduras Air Force plane.

IRAN

Iran has contributed 1,000 tons of petroleum products to Viet-Nam and has dispatched a 20-man medical team to Viet-Nam.

ITALY

The Italians provided a 10-man surgical team and have offered science scholarships to 10 Vietnamese to study in Italy.

JAPAN

Japan has provided over \$55 million worth of economic assistance to Viet-Nam, chiefly through reparations. Japan has sent two medical teams, considerable amounts of medical goods (4,544 cases), 20,000 transistor radios and 25 ambulances. It has provided technical personnel and funds for the construction of a large power dam across the Da Nhim River and electrical transmission line and agreed to participate in the construction of a bridge over the Mekong River near Vinh Long.

KOREA

Korea has sent approximately 45,000 troops including:

- 2 combat divisions.
- A 130-man Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (MASH).
- 10 military instructors in Korean karate for training Vietnamese military in hand-to-hand combat.
- A 2,200-man Task Force Unit composed of the following elements:
 - 1 Army engineer battalion,

KOREA—continued

- 1 Army Transportation company.
- 1 Marine Corps Engineer company.
- 1 Infantry battalion.
- 1 LST and 2 LSM's.
- 1 Composite Support unit (communications, medical supplies, etc.).

LAOS

One million kip (\$4,167) for flood relief as of February, 1965.

LIBERIA

No aid reported in 1965.

LUXEMBOURG

Luxembourg has provided plasma and blood transfusion equipment.

MALAYSIA

Since 1962, Malaysia has trained about 2,000 Vietnamese military officers. Groups of 30-60 are regularly sent for about a month's training in counterinsurgency with Malaysian Police Special Constabulary. Malaysia plans to continue the program in 1965. Malaysia has previously provided substantial amounts of counterinsurgency materials, primarily military and police transport such as armored vehicles.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands: The Dutch have given antibiotics worth 200,000 piastres (November 1, 1964). They have sent two medical/surgical teams to Viet-Nam. Also one dredge now in Saigon.

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand decided to send an artillery battery. It also has provided a 25-man army engineer detachment, and a 6-man surgical team and a professor in English language for the University of Saigon. They are presently training 62 Vietnamese in New Zealand and have provided 7,500£ for equipment for a technical high school. They are also assisting by providing approximately \$200,000 for a science building at the University of Saigon.

PHILIPPINES

At present, the Philippines has 70 personnel in Viet-Nam. These consist of military and civilian medical teams and a military psychological warfare detachment.

SPAIN

Spain has provided 800 pounds of medicines, medical equipment and blankets.

THAILAND

The Thais have a 17-man military air detachment with 7 C-47 pilots, 1 navigator, and 9 maintenance men on duty flying operational transport missions for the Vietnamese forces. In addition, they have provided cement and zinc roofing materials.

KOREA—continued

- 1 Headquarters group.
- 1 Army Transportation company.
- 1 Marine Corps Engineer company.
- 1 Infantry battalion.
- 1 LST and 2 LSMs.
- 1 Composite Support unit (communications, medical supplies, etc.).

Korean military medical personnel are providing some medical care to the local population in areas where ROK troops are stationed. In addition, 7 civilian medical teams totalling 118 doctors, nurses and support personnel are working in provincial health programs.

LAOS

One million kip (\$4,167) for flood relief in 1965 and a small cash donation for refugees in 1966.

LIBERIA

A contribution of \$50,000 has been made by Liberia for the purchase of hospital equipment and other medical supplies for Viet-Nam.

LUXEMBOURG

Luxembourg has provided plasma and blood transfusion equipment.

MALAYSIA

Since 1963, Malaysia has trained over 2,000 Vietnamese military and police officers. Groups of 30-60 are regularly sent for about a month's training in counterinsurgency with Malaysian Police Special Constabulary. Malaysia has previously provided substantial amounts of counterinsurgency materials, primarily military and police transport such as armored vehicles. Medicines and relief supplies have also been donated.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Dutch have undertaken to build 5 tuberculosis centers in Saigon; sites for 3 have been selected. In August, the Netherlands announced a contribution of \$355,000 for a 4-year UN project in social welfare, part of the \$1 million they have earmarked for UN projects in Viet-Nam. In 1964, the Dutch gave antibiotics and 4 scholarships for Vietnamese. They previously provided a dredge.

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand has sent an artillery battery and an infantry company (approximately 360 men) and provided a 25-man army engineer detachment.

In *non-military aid*, New Zealand has sent a 15-man surgical team, and a professor in English language for the University of Saigon. A second 16-man medical team will be sent to Binh Dinh province. They are presently training 83 Vietnamese in New Zealand and have provided 7,500£ (\$21,000) for equipment for a technical high school. They are also assisting by providing approximately \$600,000 for a science building at the University of Saigon.

PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Government has sent a 2,000-man military engineering unit with security support personnel, a station hospital, and rural health and civic action teams.

In *non-military aid*, approximately 60 Philippine civic action personnel including military and civilian medical teams have been working in Viet-Nam for several years.

SPAIN

Spain has provided 800 pounds of medicines, medical equipment and blankets and has sent a 12-man medical team to Viet-Nam.

THAILAND

The Thai Government announced in January 1967 that it would send a ground force combat unit to Viet-Nam. It is expected that this will total 2,000-2,500 men. A 200-man Thai naval group manning an LST and PGM patron craft arrived in Viet-nam in Decem-

THAILAND—continued

ber 1966. A 35-man air force contingent has been flying operational transport missions for the Vietnamese forces. The Thais have also been providing jet training for Vietnamese pilots in Thailand.

In *non-military aid*, the Thais have provided rice for refugees and cement and zinc roofing materials. At the Manila Conference, the Thais offered the Vietnamese a \$20 million rice credit. The Thais have also announced they will send a medical unit to Viet-Nam.

TUNISIA

No aid reported in 1965.

TURKEY

Turkey has provided medicines and also offered to provide a substantial amount of cement.

UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom has provided six civilians for the British Advisory Mission and a Professor of English at Hue University. With eight Vietnamese already in training in the United Kingdom, Britain has agreed to provide for 12 more this year.

In 1963-64 the United Kingdom provided the following goods and materials:

Laboratory equipment for Saigon University; a typesetting machine for the Government Printing Office; a cobalt deep-ray therapy unit for the National Cancer Institute; various equipment for the Faculties of Medicine, Science and Pharmacy at Saigon University, the Meteorological Service and the Agricultural School at Saigon, and Atomic Research Establishment at Dalat and the Faculty of Education at Hue. The United Kingdom also agreed to provide 50,000 British pounds worth of roadbuilding equipment and 6,000 pounds worth of diesel fishing boat engines.

URUGUAY

Uruguay has promised to send foodstuffs and medicines to Viet-Nam.

VENEZUELA

No aid reported.

FRANCE

Since 1956, France has contributed \$111 million in assistance to South Viet-Nam.

France has nearly 500 persons serving in South Viet-Nam. Among them are 65 experts under France's program of economic and technical assistance, including 32 physicians, professors and other medical personnel. Under its cultural programs, France sent 417 professors to teach in Vietnamese universities and schools. There are 168 Vietnamese in France, 88 under fellowships for technical training and 80 academic fellowships.

France has provided low-interest credits of 100 million francs (20 million dollars) for financing imports of French equipment for Vietnamese industry, and a grant of 500,000 francs for equipment for L'Ecole Nationale d'Ingenieurs des Arts Industriels.

In 1960 France extended a low-interest credit of 70 million francs to aid construction of the major coal and chemical complex at An Hoa-Nong Son south Da Nang which is now well underway. It also provided a low-interest, five-year credit of 60 million francs for construction of Viet-Nam's largest cement-producing complex with plants at Hatien and Thu Duc. In 1964, France provided a 930,000 franc grant for the installation of a training center for electrical technicians.

TUNISIA

Tunisia has made available 15 to 20 scholarships for Vietnamese.

TURKEY

Turkey has provided medicines and also offered to provide a substantial amount of cement.

UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom has provided six civilians for the British Advisory Mission and a Professor of English at Hue University. Twenty-one Vietnamese are receiving training in the United Kingdom. A pediatric team of four British doctors and six nurses went to Viet-Nam in August, 1966.

In 1963-64, the United Kingdom provided the following goods and materials: Laboratory equipment for Saigon University; a typesetting machine for the Government Printing Office, a cobalt deep-ray therapy unit for the National Cancer Institute; various equipment for the faculties of Medicine, Science and Pharmacy at Saigon University, the Meteorological Service and the Agricultural School at Saigon, and Atomic Research Establishment at Dalat and the Faculty of Education at Hue. In 1965-66, British economic aid totaled \$81,000 (\$226,800) for road-building equipment, diesel fishing boat engines, and portable anesthetic machines. Total aid in British FY 1967 was \$184,000 and it is estimated \$238,000 will be expended in FY 1968.

URUGUAY

Uruguay has contributed \$21,500 for relief supplies and medicines for Viet-Nam.

VENEZUELA

Venezuela has provided 500 tons of rice for refugee relief, and two civilian doctors are working in Viet-Nam.

FRANCE

Since 1956, France has contributed about \$115 million in assistance to South Viet-Nam. Present aid is running at a rate of about \$4 million per year, largely in the cultural field.

In 1965 France had nearly 500 persons serving in South Viet-Nam. Among them were 65 experts under France's program of economic and technical assistance, including 32 physicians, professors and other medical personnel. Under its cultural programs, 471 professors (350 French and 121 Vietnamese) were teaching at 9 French-teaching institutions, and 30 French professors are at Vietnamese institutions. France provided in 1965 for Vietnamese to study in France, 55 fellowships for technical training and 85 academic fellowships. These programs are continuing on a somewhat reduced scale.

France has provided low-interest credits of 100 million francs (20 million dollars) for financing imports of French equipment for Vietnamese industry, a grant of 500,000 francs (\$100,000) for equipment for L'Ecole Nationale d'Ingenieurs des Arts Industriels.

In 1960 France extended a low-interest credit of 70 million francs (\$14 million) to aid construction of the major coal and chemical complex at An Hoa Nong Son south of Da Nang which is underway. It also provides a low-interest, five-year credit of 60 million francs (\$12 million) for construction of Viet-Nam's largest cement-producing complex with plants at Hatien and Thu Duc. In 1964,

IRELAND

The Irish people have contributed £1,000 to Viet-Nam through their Red Cross.

ISRAEL

Israel made a gift of pharmaceutical supplies and has offered to train Vietnamese in Israel in various fields.

NORWAY

No aid reported by State Dept. in 1965.

PAKISTAN

Pakistan has contributed financial relief assistance for flood victims and has also donated clothing.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss have provided microscopes for the University of Saigon.

INDIA

India has provided cloth for flood relief and has under study the creation in Viet-Nam of a factory for the preparation of tea and another for sugar, within the framework of a program of technical assistance and economic cooperation. India is also considering the provision of equipment necessary for a blood transfusion center.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Dominican Republic has offered cement for use in Vietnam.

AUSTRIA

Austria has agreed to supply medical supplies, blankets, tents, through the Austrian Red Cross.

U.N. AID TO VIETNAM

No aid reported by State Department.

FRANCE—continued

France provided a 930,000 francs (\$186,000) grant for the installation of a training center for electrical technicians and in 1965 a gift of 1.25 million francs (\$250,000) for teaching equipment, primarily in the medical field.

IRELAND

The Irish people have contributed £1,000 (\$2,800) for Vietnamese flood victims through their Red Cross.

ISRAEL

Israel made a gift of pharmaceutical supplies for flood victims and will train this year five Vietnamese in irrigation and animal husbandry.

NORWAY

Norway sent a contribution through the International Red Cross for flood victims in February 1965.

PAKISTAN

Pakistan made a financial contribution for assistance to flood victims and donated clothing for them.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss have provided microscopes for the University of Saigon. The Swiss Red Cross has sent an 11-man medical team through the International Committee of the Red Cross to work in a provincial hospital in the Central Highlands of South Viet-Nam.

INDIA

No aid reported by State Department.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Cement has been offered by the Dominican Republic for use in Viet-Nam.

AUSTRIA

Austria has offered to supply medical supplies, blankets, tents, through the Austrian Red Cross.

U.N. AID TO VIETNAM

The United Nations and its specialized agencies are also making a significant contribution to the social and economic development of Viet-Nam. Under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance of the UN Development Program, 15 technical assistance projects are scheduled for 1967 and 1968 at a cost of \$724,475. These projects range across such varied fields as maternal and child health, labor administration, educational planning, telecommunications, meteorology and civil aviation. Among the participating agencies are ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ICAO, ITU, WMO, and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the UN. In addition UNICEF has substantially expanded its health and child care programs with the 1967 program totaling \$562,000, an increase over the 1966 level of \$226,000.

Several major projects financed by the Special Fund of the UN Development Program are about to get underway. A National Technical Center (total international contribution approximately \$1.5 million), with UNESCO is becoming operational. The Special Fund in January approved a Fisheries Development Project including exploratory and experimental fishing in the waters of the South China Sea, to be executed by FAO at a cost of \$1.3 million. Also being negotiated is a Social Welfare Training Center to be executed by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the UN. ECAFE is pressing ahead with regional projects of benefit to the nations of the Mekong Basin and has undertaken surveys of irrigation, hydroelectric facilities and bridge construction projects in Viet-Nam.

LEGISLATION TO REMOVE TRAFFIC HAZARDS FROM OUR HIGHWAYS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, the Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program of the Committee on Public Works concluded the first phase of public hearings on highway safety, design, and operational efficiency. The opening phase was principally concerned with the problem of roadside hazards. The evidence heard by the subcommittee was explicit, far-reaching and disturbing.

The subcommittee learned that even on most modern highways—highways on the Interstate System open to traffic for only a few months—there are road sides which are cluttered with unnecessary obstacles and obstructions which can and do kill motorists when they are struck by a vehicle which leaves the paved portion of the highway. Some of these hazards include: guardrails that constitute hazards themselves because of improper location or installation; guardrails that protect highway structures from damage rather than motorists from death; culverts and bridge piers so located as to kill people who, perhaps momentarily, lose control of their car and leave the paved traveled way; ditches and cut and fill banks so steep and so close to the highway as to make it virtually impossible for a driver to avoid overturning if he leaves the traveled lanes; unnecessary signs—such as “no hitchhiking” signs—which can kill motorists who run into them; and, certain highway beautification “improvements,” such as the planting of trees, and the erection of “motorist service signs” inside the highway right of way.

The Bureau of Public Roads and the American Association of State Highway Officials have finally awakened to the problem of these unnecessary hazards and are attempting to find some solution to the problem. The American Association of State Highway Officials has published a report entitled, “Highway Design and Operational Practices Related to Highway Safety,” which identifies some of those aspects of highway design and operation which could be improved to increase safety and the quality of traffic service. The Bureau of Public Roads has adopted this American Association of State Highway Officials’ report as a policy and is urging all of the State highway departments to follow its recommendations for the improvement of existing highways, as well as for the construction of new highways.

I am confident that on highways to be constructed in the future these unnecessary hazards will be avoided to the greatest possible degree. The problem remains, however, as to how to eliminate these hazards on highways constructed in the

past. Removal of these hazards will be an expensive proposition. Mr. Francis C. Turner, Director, Bureau of Public Roads, testified pursuant to my interrogation that preliminary estimates indicated a probable cost in excess of \$1 billion. Under the present Federal-aid highway program, the money used to remove hazardous obstructions from existing highways must be taken from funds which otherwise could be used to construct badly needed new highways. What we must have in order to undertake the vitally necessary program of removing unnecessary roadside hazards from existing highways is: first, a source of funds; and second, an incentive to the State highway departments to prosecute this work.

Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which, in my opinion, will provide at least a partial solution to the problem.

This bill, if enacted into law, would accomplish the following: Federal-aid highway funds would be available to pay 100 percent of the cost of projects for eliminating or minimizing roadside hazards on highways open to public use prior to January 1, 1968. Not more than 10 percent of the total Federal-aid highway funds apportioned to each State for any fiscal year could be used for such 100-percent-financed highway projects, but Federal funds could not participate in the cost of acquiring rights of way for such projects. It is my feeling that these funds should not participate in the costs of right of way because I think the funds should be utilized for actual corrective action on existing highways, rather than for major highway improvements which should be financed at the regular Federal-State matching ratio.

This bill is patterned after section 130 of title 23, United States Code, originally enacted in 1944, which provides for 100 percent Federal-financing of projects for the elimination of hazards for railway-highway crossings.

Mr. Speaker, enactment of this bill would solve one additional problem which I believe is very serious. The Bureau of Public Roads has ruled that funds authorized for the Interstate System may be used to pay the cost of eliminating or minimizing roadside hazards on highways completed in the past and now open to traffic. While I agree that funds should be made available for this purpose, I believe a serious legal problem exists as to whether the Bureau’s ruling was correct under the existing law.

In January of 1961, the Comptroller General ruled that—

An Interstate highway once improved to Interstate System standards with the aid of Federal Interstate funds is not eligible for reconstruction with Federal Interstate funds.

It is true that this opinion was in response to a question regarding the use of Interstate funds for the reconstruction of a section of an Interstate highway which had been completed and was subsequently destroyed by a flood. Nevertheless, the principle seems equally applicable to the reconstruction or improvement of Interstate highways to eliminate hazards built into them under design standards then in effect.

As was pointed out in the opinion of the Comptroller General, the Federal-aid Highway Act of 1956 introduced a new concept into the Federal-aid highway program—that of providing for a completed highway system. The Comptroller General stated:

Therefore, the use of Interstate funds to rebuild a portion of Interstate highway in which Federal funds had previously participated would not accord with the basis upon which Interstate funds were provided.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would make it clear that Federal-aid highway funds—Interstate funds as well as regular Federal-aid funds—can be lawfully used to undertake projects for the elimination or minimizing of roadside hazards on highways completed in the past. I think my colleagues will agree with me that undertaking such projects is urgently and vitally important. I urge my colleagues to support my bill and to support my efforts to have early hearings and early enactment of the bill.

I insert the text of my bill to be printed at the close of my remarks:

H.R. 12633

A bill to amend title 23, United States Code, to provide for eliminating or minimizing roadside hazards

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 1 of title 23, United States Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 135. **ROADSIDE HAZARDS.**—Except as provided in subsection (h) of section 120 of this title, sums apportioned under section 104 of this title may be used to pay the entire cost of projects for eliminating or minimizing roadside hazards caused by highway appurtenances, design features, or other objects within the right of way of Federal-aid highways which were opened to public use prior to January 1, 1968."

(b) The analysis of chapter 1 of title 23, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"135. Roadside hazards."

Sec. 2. Section 120 of title 23, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(h) The Federal share payable on account of any project for eliminating or minimizing roadside hazards authorized by section 135 of this title may amount to 100 per centum of the cost thereof, except that (1) Federal funds shall not participate in the cost of acquiring rights-of-way for such project, and (2) not more than 10 per centum of all the sums apportioned for all the Federal-aid systems for any fiscal year in accordance with section 104 of this title shall be used under this subsection."

GOP WARNINGS OF INFLATION GO UNHEEDED

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on August 30, 1965, the Republican coordinating

committee of which I am a member, in its report entitled "The Balance of Payments, the Gold Drain and Your Dollar," warned on page 21:

The Administration's easy money policies have expanded credit twice as fast as the rise in real production . . . sooner or later credit inflation brings price inflation . . . Further credit inflation could involve the heavy risk of a boom and bust pattern . . .

The accuracy of this forecast of a rapidly rising cost of living due to administration policies is now apparent to all.

In April 1966 the Republican coordinating committee reiterated this warning.

In October 1966 it again reiterated the warning.

The committee made an extensive report on the matter in April 1967 and issued a further statement on July 24, 1967.

These predictions are borne out by an article in the New York Times of August 26, 1967. The July 24 statement of the coordinating committee is made a part of the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION AND YOU: HIGHER PRICES, MORE TAXES, GREATER DEFICITS

Spokesmen for the Democratic Administration have confirmed our prediction of April 3rd that the Federal Government's deficit for fiscal 1968 could run "from \$25 billion to \$30 billion or more." We repeat that "present fiscal policies are creating a time-bomb that can lead to serious economic trouble for the nation."

The central cause of the troubles is the massive annual increases in Federal Government spending. Although we are today engaged in the third largest war in the nation's history, thus increasing a defense expenditures by 68 percent since 1960, non-defense spending is up by 97 percent over the same period, and is, therefore, a major reason for the ballooning of the Federal budget. Non-defense spending has risen more than defense spending, and constitutes a larger proportion of the whole.

This spending has not achieved the results intended in terms of reducing poverty and unemployment and in fact has, through high costs of living, contributed further to the hardship of many of our citizens. Comparison of the Democratic record since 1961 with the Republican record of 1953-1960 shows that the number of families living in poverty has been decreasing at the same rate, average annual unemployment is higher and the average annual increase in the Consumer Price Index is greater.*

In so doing, they have been creating and stockpiling economic problems, the consequences of which are just beginning to be apparent.

As a by-product of the massive spending increases, the Government has run a budget deficit every year since 1961.

By July 1st, 1968, these deficits will have totaled over \$60 billion. Actual developments have already shown the projected deficits have been underestimated; worse is to be expected. They have required the ceiling on the National Debt to be raised 14 times in this period and increased the interest costs of the Government from \$9.2 billion to \$14.2 billion, an increase of 50 percent over the period, and an increase of 20 percent in just the last three years. Interest on the debt is the second largest category of Government expense, after Defense, and accounts for ten

*See Appendix 3.

cents out of every dollar of government expenditures.

The deficit of \$1.8 billion originally projected for 1967 now is some \$10 billion, the second largest since World War II.

The 1968 deficit, originally estimated at \$3.1 billion, it now appears will definitely be over \$20 billion. Treasury Secretary Fowler had admitted it may go as high as \$24 billion; House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills estimates it could exceed \$29 billion. In its latest request for lifting of the debt ceiling, the Administration asked for a \$29 billion increase, thereby revealing its considered judgment as to how much leeway is needed.

And these deficits do matter. To go into debt means to borrow. When the government borrows by selling debt paper to the Federal Reserve and commercial banks it adds to the money supply, inflating it and causing pressure to increase prices. When it borrows in the private financial markets, it competes with business for investment funds, decreasing the amount of risk capital available for economic growth and job creation. At the same time this competition for funds drives up interest rates.

Also, savings eroded at the rapid rate of between 3% and 4% last year.

As a result, under the Johnson Administration, the American people can look forward with dismay and apprehension to:

Renewed inflationary pressures
Higher interest rates and tight money
A record budget deficit

A tax increase substantial enough to reduce people's ability to pay higher prices, but not effective in preventing a monumental deficit, or in stemming inflation

A gold crisis requiring further reduction, if not complete withdrawal, of the gold backing of our currency

A period of profitless prosperity risking a recession severe in proportion to the extent of the impending inflation

Further deterioration of our position of world leadership as the economic base on which our diplomatic and military strength depend is increasingly eroded

The alarming prospects may not be obvious to the citizen who is hard put trying to make ends meet. But it is the role of political leadership to exercise vision in the conduct of public affairs and to shape policy to avoid the pitfalls ahead rather than offer glib explanations for failure afterward.

The course clearly called for, and repeatedly urged by the Republican Party, is one of restraining the growth of government spending to a sustainable level. This is the course of prudent progress. The record shows it produces better results at less risk for the individual and the nation.

THE REPUBLICAN REMEDIES

Our Task Force on Federal Fiscal and Monetary Policies has clearly set forth the Republican Recommendations for a safe and sane set of economic policies designed to achieve all the valid goals of economic policy at a sustainable rate with minimum risk. They are available in these publications:

The Balance of Payments, The Gold Drain and Your Dollar, August 1965. *The Rising Costs of Living*, April 1966. *A Call for New Fiscal Policies*, April 1967.

What the recommendations add up to is that America must live within its means. It must hold government spending in check. Even the richest nation cannot reach all its goals all at once without courting economic, social and political disaster.

We, therefore, call on the administration to submit a new budget for 1968 which reflects a new policy of postponing and restraining the growth of nondefense expenditures, in preference to raising taxes or allowing the hidden tax of inflation to finance its expenditures.

We believe moderation and restraint are a small price to pay to avoid such an awful risk.

APPENDIX 1.—FACTS ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING

GOVERNMENT SPENDING INCREASES

The following table is from our April Report "A Call for New Fiscal Policies." A fourth column estimating 1968 expenditures based on current estimates has been added.

EXPENDITURES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR 1960-1965, AND 1968 SHOWING PERCENTAGE INCREASES

[Dollar amounts in billions]

	1960, actual	1965, actual	1968, budget	1968, current estimates
Administrative budget.....	\$76.5	\$96.5	\$135.0	\$142.0
Increase over 1960.....		\$20.0	\$58.5	\$65.6
Percent increase over 1960.....		26.1	76.5	85.6
Increase over 1965.....			\$38.5	\$45.5
Percent increase over 1965.....			39.9	47.2
Cash budget.....	\$94.3	\$122.4	\$172.4	\$179.4
Increase over 1960.....		\$28.1	\$78.1	\$85.1
Percent increase over 1960.....		28.9	82.8	90.2
Increase over 1965.....			\$50.0	\$57.0
Percent increase over 1965.....			40.8	46.6

Source: Calculated from figures in the "Budget of the United States Government." Current 1968 estimates from National Industrial Conference Board figures.

It should be noted that the average annual increases in government spending since 1965 have been more than three times the average annual increase of the preceding ten years.

APPENDIX 2.—DEFENSE VERSUS NONDEFENSE SPENDING

The following table shows clearly that non-defense spending has risen more than defense spending, and constitutes a larger proportion of the whole:

DEFENSE VERSUS NONDEFENSE SPENDING AS PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING, 1960-68

[Dollars in billions]

Fiscal year	De-fense ¹	Non-de-fense ²	Total ³	Per-cent, de-fense	Per-cent, nonde-fense
1960.....	\$45.7	\$48.6	\$94.3	48.5	51.5
1961.....	47.5	52.0	99.5	47.7	52.3
1962.....	51.4	56.3	107.7	47.7	52.3
1963.....	53.4	60.4	113.8	46.9	53.1
1964.....	54.5	65.8	120.3	45.3	54.7
1965.....	53.4	69.0	122.4	43.6	56.4
1966.....	58.5	79.3	137.8	42.5	57.5
1967 (estimate)....	71.3	89.6	160.9	44.3	55.7
1968 (estimate)....	76.8	95.6	172.4	44.5	55.5

¹ Percent increase, 1960-68, 68; 1965-68, 44.
² Percent increase, 1960-68, 97; 1965-68, 39.
³ Percent increase, 1960-68, 83; 1965-68, 41.

Source: The Budget of the United States Government.

APPENDIX 3.—DECLINING PROPORTION OF FAMILIES LIVING ON \$3,000 PER YEAR OR LESS

1953-60: Average annual reduction: .75 percentage points.

1961-1965*: Average annual reduction: .76 percentage points.

Annual increase in living costs as measured by the Consumer Price Index (1957-59-100):

1953-1960: Average annual increase: 1.4%.
 1961-1966: Average annual increase: 1.9%.

Average annual unemployment as a percent of the work force:

1953-1960: 4.9%.
 1961-1966: 5.3%.

Source: Economic Report of The President, 1967.

* Latest figures available.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 26, 1967] INFLATION TREND FEARED AS PRICES RISE IN TWO SECTORS—WHOLESALE INDUSTRIAL INDEX CLIMBS AFTER A RECORD 5 MONTHS OF STABILITY—CONSUMER COSTS SPURT—ECONOMIC TREND EXPECTED TO STRENGTHEN JOHNSON'S CASE FOR TAX INCREASE

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, August 25.—Consumer prices rose substantially in July, a normal experience for the month, the Labor Department reported today.

More worrisome to Government economists was a companion report that industrial wholesale prices rose in August after a record-breaking five months of stability. This indicator is probably the most closely watched as a signal of inflation.

Both increases will help the Administration's case for an anti-inflation tax increase, now pending before Congress.

The consumer price increase for the month was four-tenths of 1 per cent. While this was the largest for a month this year, it was in line with the average experience for July during the last 20 years.

For various seasonal reasons, the Consumer Price Index always goes up in July, according to Arnold Chase, Assistant Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

The Consumer Price Index for July was 116.5, with average prices in the 1957-59 period taken as a base of 100. The June index was 116.0. Thus the index rose five-tenths of a point or four-tenths of 1 per cent in July.

The pace of price increases so far this year indicates a rise from the beginning to the end of the year of about 2.5 per cent or possibly slightly more, Mr. Chase said.

This is less than 3.3 per cent of last year, but is well above the gentle rise in prices that prevailed from 1958 through 1965.

FOOD PRICES CLIMB

Higher food prices accounted for about half the July increase, today's report said. In the food area the chief culprit was fresh fruits and vegetables, whose prices have been affected this year by short supplies because of bad weather in some parts of the country.

There were sizable July increases in apples, oranges, grapefruit, tomatoes, potatoes and lettuce.

Medical care costs rose sharply again, with hospital services up 20 per cent from a year ago. Other increases were recorded for used cars, cigarettes, some appliances, property taxes and transit fares in several cities. Mortgage interest rates rose slightly after drifting downward since the beginning of the year.

The rise in industrial wholesale prices in August, based on preliminary evidence, was three-tenths of 1 per cent to 106.3 on the index. This was still only 1 per cent above a year ago, however.

The farm and food part of the wholesale prices index declined sharply in August, however, resulting in an over-all decline to 106.1 from 106.5 in July.

The wholesale index had drifted up from 105.8 in May to 106.5 in July before the August decline. The dip in the farm and food sector may herald a drop in some retail food prices later this year, Mr. Chase said, particularly fruits and vegetables.

Industrial prices that rose in August included machinery and equipment, refined petroleum and building materials.

The rise in the Consumer Price Index for July brought wage increases ranging up to 3 cents an hour to 335,000 workers whose wages are tied to the index. The main beneficiaries were in the automobile and aerospace industries.

The rise in prices, together with some increase in Social Security taxes, has meant that "real" take-home pay of the average worker has not risen over the last year and remains below its peak of October, 1965.

However, this average picture is made up of

a sizable decline in "real" earnings of factory workers and a continued rise for other workers. Factory workers' weekly pay has been reduced this year by a sharp cut in overtime.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

UNITED STATES

[Bureau of Labor Statistics (1957-59=100)]

	Index for July 1967	Percentage change from—	Point change from
		June 1967	July 1966
All items.....	116.5	+0.4	+2.8
Food ¹	116.0	+ .8	+1.5
Housing ²	114.5	+ .4	+2.9
Apparel and upkeep ³	113.7	- .2	+4.1
Transportation.....	116.2	+ .4	+2.4
Health and recreation.....	123.9	+ .4	+7.2
Medical care.....	136.9	+ .4	+7.2
Personal care.....	115.5	+ .2	+2.7
Reading, recreation.....	119.8	+ .1	+2.2
Other goods and services.....	117.8	+ .8	+2.2

NEW YORK AREA

All items.....	119.1	+0.3	+2.4
Food ¹	116.5	+ .9	+1.2
Housing ²	117.6	- .3	+1.8
Apparel and upkeep ³	117.9	- .1	+5.7
Transportation.....	117.2	+ .5	+2.2
Health and recreation.....	128.5	+ .5	+3.0
Medical care.....	138.8	+ .4	+6.0
Personal care.....	112.0	- .4	+1.9
Reading, recreation.....	128.8	+ .3	+1.5
Other goods and services.....	126.4	+1.2	+2.4

¹ Includes restaurant meals.
² Includes hotel and motel rates, home purchase and other homeowner costs not shown separately.
³ Includes infants' wear, sewing materials, jewelry and apparel upkeep not shown separately.

NEW YORK PRICES UP 0.3 PERCENT

Prices for food, new and used cars and health and recreation rose in the New York area from June to July and were the chief factors in a 0.3 per cent increase in consumer prices here.

The regional office of the United States Department of Labor reported yesterday that prices in the metropolitan area were 2.4 per cent higher last month than in July, 1966. During the first seven months, consumer prices rose 1.3 per cent, compared with 2.5 per cent in the corresponding 1966 period.

The average housewife paid 4.6 per cent more in July than in June for fruits and vegetables and 0.4 per cent more for meats, poultry and fish.

Over the last 10 years, consumer prices in the New York area have risen nine times between June and July and declined one.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. WINN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, the greatest humanitarian venture ever attempted by any nation on earth is now 20 years old. This Nation's foreign assistance program has probably helped more people than any other governmental action in the history of any nation.

My vote against the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967 was not against the concept of this program, but against its current administration and the ill-conceived manner in which recipients of foreign aid are selected.

Time and again Republicans have supported positive foreign aid programs

which rendered assistance to less developed nations and nations facing crises. The relief program to Europe after World War I was led by Herbert Hoover. The point IV and Marshall plan were approved by the Republican, 80th Congress. The food-for-peace program was merely a new name tacked on to the Republican Public Law 480. The fact of the matter is that Republicans are very interested in foreign aid, but they want to see that the programs serve the purposes for which they were intended.

The foreign aid program, which began as an experiment, today involves a major expenditure of funds. In fiscal year 1966, foreign assistance expenditures totaled \$3.4 billion. This amounts to about 3.1 percent of the total Federal budget. If you include our agricultural surpluses distributed abroad, loans by the Export-Import Bank, and the U.S. portion of funds loaned to various multilateral agencies, the figure becomes much higher—closer to \$9 billion.

We are at one of the great, but subtle, turning points of history. Old conditions are changing—new and strange conditions are developing. These changing world realities require major changes in our foreign policy. These changes must also be reflected in our foreign aid programs.

Disenchantment with foreign aid has come about, not initially because of disagreement with its purposes, but because of mounting evidence of waste, misuse, and failure to recognize the realities of international politics. The point is that the foreign aid program was, and is, a great experiment. Based on past failures of the program, it must be improved. Those failures should not be expanded by pouring more of our taxpayers dollars into programs while hoping those dollars will serve as a cure.

It must be recognized that the concepts of economic development are entirely different than the economics of reconstruction. Adjustments have to be made, within foreign aid agencies, to account for these differences. The expectation of vast societal improvement, without the knowledge that generations will be needed for that change to occur, can be explosive to the fragile social structure of developing nations.

Congress, too, must share part of the blame. Each year, when the Foreign Assistance Act comes before Congress, it is studied in toto by the Foreign Affairs Committee and then come to the House floor for a vote. It does not have the careful, area by area or project by project, study devoted to public works bills, for example. It would not be unfeasible for the House to undertake extensive studies of each foreign aid proposal. Such a large segment of our budget deserves much more than cursory observation.

I think that if we look at the nations in the Middle East that have received aid from the United States, we might well have an argument for regional studies of aid authorization. In the last 20 years, we have supplied \$3,972 million to eight Arab Nations. Then the Middle East crisis came along, and, suddenly, we did not have relations with a good number of these Arab Nations. You won-

der if that four billion served any positive purpose.

What should be the thrust of American foreign aid programs?

Aid from the United States should be something more than just a gift or hand-out. The "no strings attached" sort of aid carries with it the remnants of a master-slave relationship. Psychologically, this sort of relationship blocks the ability of a nation to make any great social or technical gains. With this, the United States should extend help on a gratis basis only in rare cases.

In other instances, emphasis should be given to those nations which have established self-help programs. This sort of self-help could include anything from a national community development program to a family planning service.

We should rely more on private enterprise to encourage development abroad. The Watson report, several years ago, proposed a greater use of private enterprise in our foreign assistance program. Several specific proposals were made. Few were carried out. We must encourage our industry to impart their skills and techniques abroad in such a manner that it will stimulate indigenous investment capable of competing in the world market. Puerto Rico's progress under Operation Bootstrap is an outstanding example of what can be accomplished when a liberal, private investment climate is created in a developing area.

Finally, we should greatly expand our programs of technical assistance. When aid to underdeveloped nations was first proposed, experts stressed the need for technical aid, as opposed to large scale capital investments. Then, as now, the absorptive capacity of developing countries was definitely limited by a lack of administrative and technical skills.

I would like to present one further reason for voting against the foreign aid authorization. As all of my colleagues know, the Nation is facing the possibility of almost a \$30 billion deficit. The war in Vietnam continues. We are spending about \$2 billion a month on it. Unfortunately, there is no evidence or any prospect of its diminishing in scope in the foreseeable future. At a time when the economy is being placed under such a strain, it is necessary that we exercise restraint in the allocation of public funds.

I want to quote from a letter from my distinguished colleague, the Honorable OTTO E. PASSMAN, chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee:

New funds requested for foreign aid, all categories, first seven months of 1967: nine billion, 206 million, one hundred fifty-four thousand dollars. This does not include one billion, four hundred million dollars previously carried in mutual security now in the Defense Department appropriation. Neither does it include a request for four billion dollars to pay the interest on what we have already borrowed to give away.

Unliquidated funds on hand on June 30, 1967, from prior years' authorizations: sixteen billion, three hundred ninety-six million, seven hundred eighty-one thousand dollars. If the Congress approves all new funds requested by the President this year, there will be, on hand to be spent or obligated during the current fiscal year, the stag-

gering total of twenty-five billion, six hundred two million, nine hundred thirty-five thousand dollars.

Certainly we cannot afford the waste indicated by these figures while we face this grave financial crisis. When the administration moves to end the waste in this program and make it more cost-effective, I will be the first to reevaluate my position in terms of the improved program.

MISCALCULATION, UNDERESTIMATION, IRRESPONSIBILITY: THE PRELUDE TO THE TAX INCREASE PROPOSAL

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, how would the average American family feel to open the mail some morning and find a bill for \$500 that they did not even know they owed? That is exactly what these families are getting this year as their share of the anticipated \$29 billion deficit. And they will have to pay \$138 of it in cash if the President's tax proposal is passed.

The trouble with the President's proposal is that he wants the tax increase now, apparently to at least temporarily bail himself out of his sinking fiscal ship. But it should be obvious that it will not come even close to that objective. The administration is ignoring the only true solution to the problem. We ought to decide first where we can make spending cuts, and by what amounts. Then we can take a look at what additional revenues we might need. Only then can an increase in taxes be considered intelligently.

We must recognize just how we arrived at the point where a \$29 billion deficit can be anticipated. We need to know why such a deficit now threatens the economy, and why the money market has become critically strained, threatening another round of higher interest rates and tight money with which to operate the private sector of the economy.

We have only to look at the performance of the administration in the sixties to see what has happened and why. Our Government has experienced year after year unconscionably high deficits, which automatically dip into the available money supply as the Government borrows more and more in order to pay its bills. These continuing deficits have increased the amount of interest the Government has had to pay on the national debt. The resulting tightening of the money supply has raised interest rates, that in turn have cost both the Government and the private money borrowers more in interest payments. It has been a vicious and unending cycle.

A succession of yearly deficits have turned out far greater than predicted, which also influences the money market and interest rates. This last year alone

saw the anticipated deficit grow from \$1.8 billion to almost \$10 billion, and it would have been even larger except for a number of bookkeeping gimmicks that covered up part of the debt. In January of this year, the President's budget message anticipated a deficit for fiscal 1968 of \$8.1 billion. In a few short months, the estimate grew to \$29 billion.

When you study the succession of deficits since fiscal 1960, and the interest payments this Nation has made on the national debt, it becomes obvious that the Government has become the victim of its own folly.

For instance, the Budget Director was recently questioned by members of the Ways and Means Committee about the contributing factors that led to increased domestic spending. The Budget Director used two isolated fiscal years for comparison, 1965 and the projected budget for 1968, which began July 1. He mentioned that we will spend \$1.6 billion more for the antipoverty program than we did in fiscal 1965. He noted that public assistance will cost \$1.4 billion more this year than in 1965, and \$1.4 billion more for secondary and elementary education, just to name a few. But the one item that represented the largest increase of all in the domestic budget was the amount we pay in interest on the national debt. He said we will pay \$2.7 billion more for interest this year than we paid in fiscal 1965. That interest payment has now risen to over \$14 billion a year, compared to \$9 billion as recently as fiscal 1961. If you total the extra interest we have paid each year since 1961, the added burden on the budget comes to \$17.5 billion. But we are faced with a \$29 billion deficit instead, thanks to the spending policies of past years that resulted in the amassing of \$40.3 billion in deficits in the sixties. This is the price we pay for failing to balance our budgets. It is this constantly increasing Government borrowing that has caused interest rates to increase. The tax increase requested by the administration would still leave a deficit this year of over \$20 billion, which would still be the highest since World War II.

The Government is caught in its own web. It continues to borrow huge sums of money. The drain on the available money market causes interest rates to rise, and the Government ends up paying ever-increasing interest on its debts.

Mr. Speaker, faulty planning and a series of massive miscalculations have put us at today's crossroads. All of us are familiar with the supplemental appropriations bills we receive each January, when we arrive back in Washington from our home districts. These are billion-dollar supplementals, to finance the miscalculated budgets of the year before and keep the Government operating. The costs of the war in Vietnam have been consistently underestimated. The costs of the administration's new programs have grown like Topsy under the questionable theory that throwing money at a problem will automatically eliminate it.

This has been the story of the sixties—miscalculation, underestimation, and complete fiscal irresponsibility. It seems strange to now hear the President talk about "fiscal responsibility." His current

proposals would merely perpetuate the mistakes of the past.

The President's message ignored his past performance, and instead was filled with glowing promises of fiscal restraint at the Executive level. But nowhere were there any concrete recommendations for reducing his budget or of even supplying the Congress with any priorities. He says that as the Congress "completes each appropriations bill for fiscal 1968 expenditures, we will examine at once very, very carefully, the results of those actions and determine where, how, and by how much expenditures under these appropriations can be reduced." What the President forgets is that it is his budget that is being considered and that it is his political majority that is approving his requests. How much better it would be if the President gave Congress his priorities before the appropriations are made, as we suggested earlier this year, and in a number of years prior to this one. He could take his budget, item by item, and establish priorities. Or, he could join those of us who have attempted to slice a minimum of 5 percent from every departmental appropriation bill without impairing the operation of the Departments or the programs they administer. But he does not, has not in the past, and apparently never will. How much better if he had used fiscal restraint since taking office. The present problem would never have materialized.

Instead, he covers up past miscalculations and uses his professed economy statements as a political football. We have had enough promises. What the Federal budget needs now is a careful going over—small and large items alike—to see what can be delayed until our growing war commitments are no longer necessary.

Unfortunately, unless Congress stems the tide, the gigantic spending of the Great Society will continue unchecked, and uncontrolled. This becomes readily apparent from the President's tax message. All in one paragraph he did the complete about-face of contradiction by saying:

All actions we take to reduce Federal spending must, and will be carefully and compassionately weighed. For we cannot turn our backs on the great programs that have been begun, with such promise, in the past 3½ years.

Other sections of the presidential message also make puzzling reading. For instance, he says:

Failure to act promptly on these tax proposals and to restrain unnecessary spending could have the most serious consequences: The Nation could face a return of strong inflationary pressures and an intensified wage-price spiral which could rob the poor, the elderly, the millions with fixed incomes.

Mr. Speaker, administration policies over the past 6 years have already given us inflation, which is forcing Congress to again increase social security benefits this year to keep our elder citizens from being swept out to sea by the tides of inflation. "Return" of inflation? We have had it all along, brought on by the ever-rising deficits of the sixties. It is strange to hear this administration talk about restraining unnecessary spending. This is the same administration that has been assuring the Nation that the gross na-

tional product was so great that we need not worry about deficit spending. Apparently these new economists arrived at the wrong conclusion. It should be obvious that the theory of unlimited deficit spending has now been completely discredited.

The President also says:

Spiraling interest rates and severely tight money would return.

Return? It is already here, caused by the administration's faulty calculations.

He also says:

What the Government does not raise through taxes the Government must borrow.

Do not tell me this fact of life has just suddenly dawned on the administration. Until now, they have tried to tell us that the rising gross national product would take care of it. But it has not, because the deficits have continued to grow.

Mr. Speaker, the strained financial markets would experience further strain even if the income tax is increased. The President says that the deficit would still range between \$14 and \$18 billion if we provide these added revenues and "control expenditures" which he fails to identify. Even that would be twice as large a deficit as he predicted in January and would be greater than any deficit registered since he took office. It is obvious that the tax increase will not bail him out. We would still be going down the same ruinous road.

Earlier this year the administration's fiscal spokesmen were on Capitol Hill, asking for a \$29 billion hike in the national debt limit. It seems they do everything in units of \$29 billion these days. These spokesmen refused to even discuss either the proposed income tax increase or the priorities in spending many of us have repeatedly requested. Apparently it was "one thing at a time." Get the debt increase first to permit uncontrolled spending, then worry about paying the bill. Now, they are back on the Hill again, with long faces and moans about inflation and the need for increased taxes. But there is one glaring similarity about these appearances. They still refuse to discuss priorities in spending. Nor have they revealed the areas where the administration will cut spending. Apparently the same theory applies: Ignore the subject of cutting expenditures as much as you can and perhaps the problem will go away. But it will not.

The President said last September that he was asking each Department to cut nonessential costs. Whatever happened to that headline-getter? After the big announcement, he quietly reauthorized or released the funds. It appears that the whole endeavor has been forgotten, which gives us a clue to what will happen to his latest economy pronouncements.

I am intrigued, Mr. Speaker, by the Presidential reference to the 1964 tax reductions. He claims his proposed 10 percent increase would amount to less than half of the previous reduction. What he fails to mention is that inflation has already eaten up the gains from 1964. It is also interesting to recall the objectives of that reduction—to stimulate the economy, with the expectant stimulation to result in eventual increases in revenue to be used to balance

the budget and reduce the national debt. Revenues have increased, but uncontrolled spending by this administration has increased even faster, leading to the present chickens-come-home-to-roost situation. The unrealized benefits of the 1964 tax reduction are on a par with the President's promise that the latest proposed tax increase would be "temporary." There is no such animal.

If we expect the administration to produce realistic spending reductions, we in the Congress will have to force their hand. It is obvious from past experience that they will not do it on their own. It is time to tell this administration that there will be no increase in taxes until the administration submits concrete recommendations for budget cutting instead of euphemous pronouncements about "responsibility," a word they should have mastered 6 years ago. Unless spending is cut first, we might well find that the income tax increase would encourage increased Federal spending rather than reduce expenditures.

I recall a talk by former Budget Director Maurice Stans, who saw Government spending doubling in the seventies if the present forces are not checked. He said:

There are some possible antidotes. One is for government to abandon the "crash" approach to all the country's problems—the attitude that money in unlimited quantities will solve everything overnight. The maximum future of our country and its people will require the slow processes of education, training, research, and development of men and resources. There is no such thing as an instant tomorrow."

Mr. Speaker, it is time for Congress to let the executive branch in on the secret. There really is no instant tomorrow. If we cannot convince them of this fact, perhaps we can at least force them to reconsider by refusing to increase income taxes until they set realistic priorities.

First, we raised the debt limit. Now, we are asked to increase income taxes. Then, perhaps, someone will talk about holding down spending.

But, let us reverse the process.

THE CASE OF CARDINAL MINDSZENTY

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I am joining my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PATTEN] in discussing the case of Cardinal Mindszenty.

Cardinal Mindszenty, through his valiant struggles against totalitarian atheism has become a symbol not only for Roman Catholics, but all Christians defending their faith against the onslaught of atheism, and defending their human and civil freedoms against the all-pervading and controlling Communist state. His fight between 1945-48 against the

encroachments of the Communist Party and the Soviet occupiers in Hungary, his tragic pretrial investigation, his mock trial before a court that had made up its mind beforehand and could not even explain its sentence on the basis of prevailing law, his 10 years imprisonment, his liberation by the heroic freedom fighters of 1956, and his sad exile at the U.S. Embassy building since November 4, 1956, are history, and the story of a hero in God's as well as men's eyes.

Today, his presence at the Embassy is embarrassing to the Communist regime. Bridgebuilding has become the Communist slogan, parroted in the United States as well, and the memento of the cardinal who cannot exercise his ecclesiastical functions and is still under a life imprisonment sentence is painful to the propagandists of communism.

Unfortunately some of our news media seem also to believe that if only the cardinal would disappear to Rome all the unpleasantness would be over and the Hungarian churches and Government, the Hungarian and the American Governments could then "actively coexist." For his presence in Hungary is also demonstrating the undemocratic, totalitarian character of the regime.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that the cardinal is serving the cause of free and religious men everywhere by staying on in Hungary at the U.S. Embassy building and that he should be given the opportunity to do so until the Hungarian Communist Government will finally quash his sentence and permit him to resume his ecclesiastical functions.

RUNAWAY SPENDING—ANOTHER VIEW

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, more and more Americans are becoming concerned over the fiscal condition of this Nation. I receive many letters every week on this subject from individuals and organizations expressing concern over an income tax increase at a time when the Federal Government is showing little concern over wise and prudent spending.

Dr. C. G. Sheppard, of Le Sueur, Minn., has called to my attention a recent statement by the Minnesota Taxpayers Association. The statement is pertinent and to the point, and is recommended reading for all of us. I include it at this point in the RECORD:

FIRST-THINGS-FIRST POLICY URGED TO SLOW FEDERAL SPENDING

"Runaway spending" by the federal government is generating deep concern among citizen-taxpayer groups throughout the nation, according to Charles F. Stone, Executive Director of the Minnesota Taxpayers Association.

Stone returned recently from a conference in Chicago of taxpayer association executives from the middle states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Tennessee, Missouri,

Nebraska, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Texas. He cited the following policy statement adopted by the conference:

"We, the executives of the independent state taxpayer organizations in the Middle States area, concur in the following observations:

"1. The fiscal condition of the Federal government continues to deteriorate, with huge and troublesome budget deficits in prospect. This situation is due in large measure to the insistence upon pursuing expenditure policies which pile increases in domestic-civilian spending on top of Vietnam war costs which are becoming increasingly burdensome and tend to be consistently underestimated.

"2. Further, many recently enacted Federal programs, while launched with relatively modest outlays, seem certain to generate continued spending pressures in the period ahead.

"3. These problems are further complicated by the apparent inability of either the legislative or executive branches to exercise firm and continuing control over Federal spending; as a result we are now confronted with the prospect of a major tax increase. We are not convinced that such a tax increase can be justified, at least until more vigorous attempts have been made to reduce nonessential Federal spending.

"4. At the same time, employees and employers are also confronted with probable increases in the already burdensome social security taxes, to finance further increases in benefits and to meet the rising costs of the new medicare program. A cautious approach in this area seems clearly indicated.

"5. Under these circumstances it is particularly distressing to note that the Federal fiscal outlook tends to be more and more obscured and confused by the great complexity of the Federal budget and the growing use of a variety of complicated budget concepts and practices—all of which make it more difficult for citizens to ascertain and comprehend the true condition of Federal finances.

"6. A comprehensive and critical evaluation of the activities, programs, and functions of the Federal Government with a view to establishing some priorities which could aid in controlling expenditures is obviously badly needed. We urge that prompt consideration be given to establishment of a special commission of qualified experts from private life to make such an evaluation.

"7. A corollary necessity is for citizens and State-local officials to move vigorously and promptly to revitalize State and local governments and to accept responsibility for their own self-government and for its operation and financing."

DON H. CLAUSEN AND THE 4-H CLUBS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, there are many organizations in this country that concentrate their activities on serving the youth of the Nation, but none has contributed more to the young people in rural America than our 4-H clubs. Mrs. Langen and I have spent many years in 4-H work back in Minnesota and know firsthand of the value this organization has to the development of young leadership. That is why I was particularly pleased to note a recent speech by our

colleague, from California, Representative DON H. CLAUSEN, before the 4-H convention at the University of California at Davis. Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN displays a rare insight into the concerns of rural America and the young people who are growing up there. I commend his remarks to my colleagues, and include his remarks at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN DON H. CLAUSEN
TO THE 4-H CONVENTION AT UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA AT DAVIS, AUGUST 22, 1967

No doubt you are wondering what a Congressman from Washington could possibly have to say at a 4-H Convention? First, let me say, as a statement of my qualifications to speak to you, that I was born and raised on a farm and that I am a product of the 4-H system. In Humboldt and Del Norte Counties, where I have spent the better part of my life, and where I have served in both business and public service, I have literally grown up with the farmer and his problems. My first elective office was that of President of the Ferndale 4-H Club in Humboldt County.

Many of the concepts and principles on which my philosophy of government and life are based, were forged on my Father's dairy farm and in the rural atmosphere of Humboldt. And as a former County Supervisor in Del Norte County, I became intimately familiar with every phase of agriculture from beginning to end—or, you might say—from manure to marketing and that, I think, covers quite a broad spectrum.

This experience has been invaluable to me in Washington. As a Congressman representing the First Congressional District of California, it has been my great privilege to represent one of California's and, indeed, one of America's truly great agricultural areas. In Congress, I have worked closely with the agencies concerned, in an attempt to develop plentiful supplies of low-price agricultural water for our North Coastal counties. In addition, I have worked consistently to correct inequitable quotas on imports of foreign beef, poultry, dairy products, sugar, wines, lamb, wool and lumber. Mainly, however, I have devoted my efforts toward strengthening agricultural production in America which I have many times described as "The Backbone of Our Nation."

But, enough about me. What I really want to talk about today is agriculture and what I believe its role will be in the future—not only in California and throughout the Nation—but throughout the world.

In case you don't know it, many non-Californians are quite confused as to exactly what we do out here in the "Golden State". Many think our economy is based on making movies, or entertaining tourists, or in defense contracts. In fact many "out-of-staters" are, frankly, quite surprised to learn that our major industry in California is agriculture. For those of you who have not traveled far beyond our borders, I can tell you that, back East, we do not have an agriculture image here in California. But, what are the facts?

California agriculture, over the years, has set a record of productivity that is the envy of the world. This is so, mainly, because we have been able to operate units of sufficient size to make farm mechanization and farm technology feasible. We are proud of that record and we have every right to be proud. I regret to say, however, and I trust you will note this fact well—there is an effort underway at present to break up the very system which has made California's agricultural output the best in the world. I refer to the attempt by some misguided social planners in Washington to impose acreage limitations in large areas of California where Congress never intended them to be. To this end, a federal suit has been filed in the U.S.

District Court in San Diego to impose acreage limitations in the vast 500,000 acre Imperial Irrigation District. And similar actions are reported to be in the making in the one-million-acre area of the Kings River and in the 350,000 Kern River basin.

If successful, these court actions would have the effect of destroying some of the world's most productive farms by breaking up our highly efficient and highly successful units into small, subsistence size farms. Such "land reform myths", in light of progress made and the tremendous challenge of the future, just don't make sense! This type of thinking, moreover, represents a dangerous trend in American agriculture which we have been developing for some years.

Agriculture is still the major industry in California, in spite of the tremendous decrease in American farms in the past ten years. In fact, it appears obvious to me that soon we will need to develop a term to replace agriculture, such as "Urbiculture", for instance. Your own organization is, perhaps, the best example of this trend.

Of the 40,268 young people now enrolled in 4-H projects in California, only 12,547 actually live on farms—less than a third! As a matter of fact, more are listed as "urban" than "suburban". This means, quite simply, that the majority of you who are engaged in 4-H projects, actually live in towns and cities. I hasten to add, that this in no way is detrimental to 4-H; it merely points up the fact that there has, indeed, been a vast shift in our geographical distribution in America. In contrast to this, nearly 75% of those involved with 4-H work lived on farms when I was a youth. So, we see vividly what is happening to the farm picture in general in this country.

What does all this mean—this apparent "phasing out" of the American farmer and our capacity to produce agricultural products? This brings us to the crux of the problem in terms of your future, America's role in that future, and which way the world is going to go in the next 15 years.

As you well know, the world has many problems today. We bounce from one crisis to another—each seemingly threatening to "blow the lid off" any hope for peace we ever expected or dreamed of. And, like people in crisis, we have a problem of being "too close to the forest to see the trees"—as we say in the Redwood Empire. What I mean is, that we have become so accustomed to viewing everything with alarm—such as Vietnam and the riots—that we have completely overlooked an impending crisis more critical than Vietnam and more imminent than the dangerous threat of nuclear holocaust.

I submit to you today that, of all the world's problems, the awesome prospects of a world population explosion and the potential it holds for the year 1980, is, by far, the most critical.

What is at stake, quite frankly, is the fact that by 1980, the world is going to have five times more mouths to feed than it does now in 1967. With present world food problems and the curtailments which have predominated American agriculture in recent years—think for a moment what this means. In terms of escalating hunger, I see the world developing in three significant stages. The first is critical shortages of food in certain underdeveloped countries beginning in 1968. Unless this food crisis can be quickly met and resolved, the next stage will be widespread famine in about 1975. And, if we are not able to stem the initial stages, there will follow large scale hunger throughout the world accompanied by acute malnutrition and starvation of such magnitude as to stagger the imagination.

At this point, I want to say that I do not tell you this to frighten you but to "spur you on" to greater heights in 4-H work.

What I am telling you is the best judgment of experts in the field of population growth and world food resources. Two such experts are William and Paul Paddock who have written an excellent and authoritative book entitled "Famine 1975", which I commend to your reading. Last year, the Congress made extensive studies on the potentials of world hunger. The House Committee on Agriculture made its findings known in a 704-page report which they called "World War on Hunger—1966". From that title, I need not tell you what their specific findings were.

In view of these facts, what has been done to meet the awesome challenge that lies ahead? The President, several years ago, appeared concerned when he talked about "Food for Peace". In fact, he even appointed an Assistant Secretary of State for Food-for-Peace. Unfortunately, however, this man retired seven months ago and no successor has ever been named. In addition, the Administration has failed to make public its 1966 report on "Food-for-Peace", which it was supposed to do last April. This is tragic because President Eisenhower's "Food for Peace" program has been one of our most successful, in the field of foreign affairs.

The next logical question which arises, is, can we meet this challenge, based on our present capability and efforts in this regard? On July 29th, a House Task Force on Agriculture reported (and I quote): "... Unless the United States remains able to meet its own food needs without fear of scarcity, our Government will never be in a position to provide even token assistance to the hungry nations of the world." And, in "Famine 1975", the authors predict that by 1975, the United States, even with its huge productive capacity, will be unable to produce enough food to stave off famine in the underdeveloped nations.

At the present time, the underdeveloped nations of the world are capable of producing only about 650 million tons of food each year. To meet the population increase of those already born, these underdeveloped nations are going to require, by 1980, an additional 400 million tons each year—or more than half of what they are now capable of producing. To meet these minimum tonnage and nutritional requirements would require a capital investment of \$80 billion. That, in statistical terms, is the "long and short" of the problem.

Must America, however, in the face of such evidence try to pretend the problem doesn't exist? Should we, because of these findings, give up? When I think of a starving world pleading at America's doorstep for food to survive—my mind conjures up all of the challenges we have had to face in the past. The answer, my friends, is no—we must not give up in the face of this crisis and, indeed, we cannot unless we are prepared to fall victim to it ourselves. If you share that feeling with me, let us, then, examine ways to overcome it.

As farm-oriented people, you know that food cannot be grown or produced over night. Crops take time and, like any other industry, agriculture has to be "geared up" before mass production can be realized. We tried this in WW II when our farm industry was operating at peak capacity and, I would remind you, we encountered serious problems. To meet the needs of the 1940's we had to revert to food rationing and food substitutes on a National scale.

Today, although we have made great strides in food production techniques, we nevertheless have fewer farms and fewer farmers, and the potential food demand of the 1970's makes the needs of WW II seem like "chicken feed." The question then, is, "where is the food going to come from, to feed five times more people?" In search of that answer, it is first necessary to examine the nature of the problem.

In some respects, the picture is not all

black. Population growth need not continue to explode indefinitely even though those who will be 35 in the year 2000 are already born. Advancements of biomedical science have made family planning feasible and both the United States and the United Nations have made significant progress in the field of birth control. Decreasing the birth rate of the world is not the answer, nor the solution to this problem, alone, but it is a vital adjunct.

Quite honestly, I have long felt the need to completely overhaul our agricultural policies—it's time we "took the bit out of the mouth" of American agricultural production.

In the field of foreign assistance alone, we would be much better off to cut loose American agriculture and send our grain surpluses to hungry countries of the world rather than propping up some corrupt governments with U.S. funds—look what this would do to help our balance-of-payments problem.

All this money would be paid to American farmers—the dollars would remain in this country to re-circulate for the benefit of everyone.

We could then establish a phase-out of subsidies in this country and offset this unrealistic funding by permitting increased production.

As I've said many times, American agricultural genius and the food it produces can be the most effective weapon in our arsenal as we seek ways and means of beating the Communists in the Cold War.

The most critical aspect of this problem is the fact that a liveable world cannot long exist where two-thirds don't get enough to eat while the remaining third is overfed. It goes without saying, I think, that the future of all mankind is now being ground out in India. If man fails to solve this problem, all the world will live like India, where, today, people die in the streets from starvation.

From what we have said, thus far, it is obvious that the United States just is not capable of feeding the world. The key is helping them produce their own food, concentrating first on the underdeveloped countries. To this end, we can furnish assistance but with a lesser emphasis on dollars. If our foreign aid programs of the past have taught us anything at all, it is that *people can't eat money*. Together—helping them produce their own food coupled with technical assistance from us—we can rise to the challenge with some assurance of minimizing its devastating effects. That, realistically, is the best we can hope for, but it is a goal.

In spite of the Administration's neglect in facing the reality of tomorrow, there are some concerned members of Congress who are aware of the problem. Last month, for example, I had the pleasure of cosponsoring a bill in the House calling for establishing a "World Food Study and Coordinating Commission". This group of experts—the best minds we can find in this field—would examine every facet of an impending world food shortage and develop concrete plans to meet it, along the lines I have mentioned.

I have deliberately left for last, why it is so important that America rise to meet this challenge. If you remember anything I say here today—remember this: "Whoever controls the world's food supply will direct the destiny of man!"

For more than 20 years, man has been forced to accept a very inadequate substitute for peace. "Cold War" has been that substitute while man desperately ponders how to achieve true peace. During that period, we, in this country, have had some widely varying views on just where we "lost peace" and how to regain it. The fact that we have yet to find the answer is indicative of the means we have employed to achieve peace and, tragically, we are now "paying the price" in Vietnam. Some have said that the "Cold

War" is a battle to see whether Communism or Democracy can win the "hearts and minds of people everywhere". The "Cold War" in actuality is ideological warfare between free nations and the Communist states.

In the first instance, I would remind you that Communism has advanced only (and I stress only) in areas where people are truly hungry. As evidence of this, we need only recall the peasants of Cuba or the masses of China.

In the second instance, I submit that the "minds and hearts of men" can most effectively be won for freedom only after the pangs of hunger in his stomach have been stilled. The security that man seeks, begins with such basic needs as security from hunger and freedom from want. A hungry man cares very little about political idealism and the more hungry he becomes—the less he cares. Hitler proved this simple doctrine in "selling" Nazism to a hungry Germany after WWI and Communism has exploited this problem wherever they could. To me, it is inconceivable that we have failed to recognize this basic human factor and to employ it in the struggle against Communism.

In the final analysis, in my judgment, the country that can respond by 1980—not with promises but with food—for the general uplift of mankind everywhere, will truly win the hearts and minds of the people of the world. If America is that country and meets that challenge, Communism will fade like a "leaf in the Fall" and be exposed as the farce that it is. And that experience, in my view, will negate any need for guns and bombs being used to halt aggression.

This, then, is the challenge we face. No—on second thought, this is the challenge *you* face. Each of you here today, is in, an extremely unique position, to make a meaningful and previously undreamed of, contribution to American agriculture and to world peace. As you emerge from 4-H projects into the world of "human projects", I challenge you—based on what you have heard today—to "think big." As we enter the 1970's (and that's only three years away), we can no longer afford to think in terms of food supply and demand as we have previously known them. The fact of the matter is, the supply is low, the source is limited—and the demand defies our present capabilities.

What I am saying, really, is that in the future, you cannot be satisfied with just being a good farmer—or home economist—or agricultural specialist—or farm management analyst. To extend the genius of American Agriculture to a hungry world, you must be willing and able to go out into that world and communicate with the hungry and those who can do something about that hunger.

This requires us to tap another promise of the future—America's aviation genius. If we are to do the job for which we are being called—we must literally "Put Wings on American Agriculture." In a word—what we really need are "Flying Farmers", men and women with a bilingual capability who can go into the hungry corners of the world to work and talk with the people. This is the kind of an America I think we are capable of becoming.

It is true that we have our problems. Trying to do what's right in the face of insurmountable odds—always creates problems and that has been America's plight for too long. But make no mistake about it—America is a great country and great countries produce great people. Contrary to popular opinion in some circles, America has great faith in you—the youth of our Nation. This is a big order and a great challenge but I know you have what it takes to do the job that lies ahead.

In the long run, America has never "dropped the ball" and, so long as our freedoms remain intact, America *will* meet the

challenge, and grow greater than ever before. *You*, the 4-H Clubber, can contribute to this worthy goal today by "thinking big" about tomorrow and then setting your course to make the "best of America even better."

MEMORIAL HOSPITAL OF LONG BEACH PIONEERS BETTER PATIENT CARE AND MORE EFFECTIVE COST CONTROLS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it is of great concern to the American people and their representatives in Congress that the Nation's hospitals are confronted by critical, complex problems posed by inflation.

To some, these problems ominously loom as the horns of a dilemma: either we sit by wringing our hands in despair as the costs of hospitalization spiral ever upward and the quality of care drops or we ask government to step in and take over.

But there is no dilemma. There is a third alternative, an alternative in fitting with the best traditions of our free enterprise system.

And that alternative is for the hospitals, through independent and joint action and with imagination, innovation, and dedication to resolve many of the problems themselves at the State and local level.

This is not mere rhetoric. Nor is it wishful thinking. For there are within our Nation hospitals making signal progress in coping with inflation.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the laudatory example of one of these hospitals.

California's Memorial Hospital, of Long Beach, now the largest single non-Government hospital on the west coast, is showing us what can and must be done.

This is the medical center commended by the California State Senate for developing "an unexcelled system of patient care." This is the hospital cited in the American Medical Association's Today's Health magazine as "a hospital of tomorrow." This is a hospital that will observe its 60th anniversary in November.

At age 50, this was a good hospital but disease was setting in. At age 53, 7 years ago, a cure in the form of community subscriptions and donations helped build a completely new hospital. And at 60, an age sometimes considered old, Memorial Hospital of Long Beach stands as one of the most vital and modern hospitals in the country.

I am greatly impressed by what Memorial Hospital has done and is doing to fight inflation.

By giving leadership to efforts to promote cooperation among hospitals, Memorial Hospital, of Long Beach, has been promoting lower costs and elimination of needless duplication.

Memorial and 20 other hospitals around the country have joined together in the research and development institute which works with major industrial corporations in promoting development of low-cost modern hospital supplies, equipment, and services. This includes such firms as Automatic Retailers of America, Baxter Laboratories, Brunswick, Motorola, Johnson and Johnson, Eli Lilly, and Borg-Warner.

Memorial and three other Long Beach hospitals just recently established a cooperative program for utilization of their pathology laboratory facilities and equipment. This agreement is slashing costs of a number of important clinical laboratory tests by 50 to 75 percent while making available to doctors and their patients the full benefits of recent advances in technology. Savings are achieved in elimination of duplication of equipment and in performing the tests on a volume basis.

Memorial and four other hospitals from the Long Beach area are setting up a joint collection agency to reduce the cost of collecting overdue accounts and to achieve savings by eliminating duplication of efforts among the group.

And Memorial currently is engaged in a major campaign to provide a much-needed Children's Hospital Medical Center for the Long Beach area. Rather than just going ahead on its own, Memorial is seeking and securing the cooperation and participation of doctors, the hospitals, and children's clinics in the community. Under one roof will be many children's health services, sharing expensive equipment and ancillary services rather than duplicating them and providing convenience and improved care for the children. Another benefit to be gained from the program is the freeing of children's beds in the hospitals for desperately needed adult facilities. The cost of building the adult facilities would run many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

On another front, Memorial Hospital of Long Beach has saved well over \$300,000 over the past 6 years in work simplification programs. The program takes a leaf out of industry's book and ties into the hospital's unique retirement/savings sharing plan for employees. The sharing of cost savings is the incentive part of the retirement program. Employees understand, in essence: "You help us cut costs and we will share the savings in your retirement program." Since the hospital initiated the program 6 years ago, more than 150 work simplification projects have been performed.

Again following industry's example, Memorial makes use of the services of professional industrial engineers, including CASH—the Commission for Administrative Services in Hospitals. Funded in part by the Kellogg Foundation and in part by dues from member hospitals, such as Memorial, CASH has given the hospital a considerable amount of assistance in establishing the most effective nursing staffing pattern and providing for more efficient utilization of personnel.

It is significant to note that while administrative costs of operating hospitals have been rising throughout the Nation, the work simplification program and

method improvement coupled with efficient management have enabled Memorial to lower the administration's share of total costs from 14 to 10 percent in the past 7 years.

To deploy the latest weapons of technology against inflation, Memorial Hospital of Long Beach this year purchased a recently developed Control Data Corp. computer system with several firsts for American hospitals. With wages and salaries accounting for approximately 70 percent of hospital costs and increased demands for hospital services requiring more and more manpower, Memorial looks to the computer to free personnel from routine paperwork and to help meet the demands of a larger hospital without corresponding increases in the number of employees. Not only will the computer system help hold down costs, it also will be used to speed hospital admissions, reduce waiting time of patients for test results, provide substantial savings in time for physicians, and aid in medical research.

In yet another frontal attack on costs, Memorial has been a pacesetter in using larger nursing units with central nursing corps stations. The hospital achieved a lump sum savings of \$160,000 on space and equipment in this manner and annual savings in clerical costs is running \$75,000 and in the time of nursing and other professional personnel, \$50,000. Memorial's nursing units of 100-plus beds off central nursing corps stations are credited with assuring optimal care for patients and making better use of scarce registered nurses. In addition, it saves time for physicians visiting their patients in the hospital or checking with nurses.

Another savings of \$50,000 per year is being made as Memorial handles its own workmen's compensation insurance program on a self-insurance basis.

Memorial, one of the innovators among American hospitals in utilizing life income and annuity programs so successfully employed by colleges over the years, has raised more than \$1.5 million in contributions since 1960 to pay for needed equipment and facilities. This reduces the necessity of raising patient charges to pay for these needs.

A 25-percent reduction in charges for advanced-care patients was among the savings effected when Memorial last year built a special new unit to speed the recovery of those not acutely ill so that they can return to normal activities with a shorter period of hospitalization. The 86-bed unit also freed that many acute care beds in the main hospital. This was not false economy: even though the accommodations in the new unit are like those in a fine hotel—carpets, cultured marble sinks, bright decor, landscaped courtyard with heated walks, tiled private showers, lounge with color TV, in-room coffee—the hospital is able to charge 25 percent less because the patients are encouraged to be self-sufficient which speeds their rehabilitation.

Shorter stays in the hospital both save money for patients and free beds for people who require acute care. The physicians on the Memorial Hospital medical staff have been concerned that patients who no longer need hospitalization

are discharged. And the committee of physicians that reviews bed utilization in the hospital has been effective in discouraging needless short-term stays for diagnostic purposes.

The costs of providing services at Memorial Hospital of Long Beach, as a direct result of such efforts and programs as I have described, run 15 to 20 percent lower than the norm for the Long Beach-Los Angeles metropolitan area. Much of these savings helps the hospital buy the newest medical equipment and provides for new facilities to meet public demand. The savings also pay the costs of an extensive medical education program—more than \$600,000 per year.

The savings and contributions have gone into \$5 million worth of capital expenditures over the past 7 years. And just to provide for new and expanded services, not including pay raises, the hospital has had to increase its payroll by \$2.5 million and its supply orders by \$1 million since 1960.

During the same period, wages and salaries, particularly for nursing personnel, have increased drastically. The range for nurses 7 years ago was \$330 to \$390. Today it is \$570 to \$693.

Costs of supplies, equipment, and construction have also climbed and placed increasing pressure on hospitals.

Memorial and other hospitals are having to replace equipment which becomes obsolete before it has a chance to wear out. Memorial and other hospitals have to rebuild facilities to comply with safety standards and because they are old.

One of the greatest sources of pressure on hospital costs these days is the need to expand and meet increased public demand for hospitalization. It is not just normal population increases but also increased usage of hospitals by the public generally and sharply rising usage of hospitals by medicare and other Government aid recipients.

It is ironic that Memorial and other efficient and economic hospitals are hardest hit by the medicare formula which instead of fostering efficiency and economy tend to reward those facilities that operate less economically and have relatively higher costs. Medicare's reimbursement formula, providing what medicare considers the costs of hospitals plus 2 percent—often less than actual costs—does not provide for keeping up with technological advances, providing new and additional services as they are developed, replacing inadequate facilities or establishing new ones. As a result, if the formula is not revised to the realistic and accepted basis of paying billed charges, medicare threatens to contribute heavily to inflation in the costs of hospitalization and possibly to the deterioration of the quality of care given the public.

Another governmental contribution to rising costs at hospitals is the paperwork necessitated by medicare's complex and detailed rules. Memorial Hospital of Long Beach informs me that the average medicare bill takes 2½ times more work and time to process than that of the average insurance-covered patient and since medicare went into effect they have had to add five extra employees to the billing department alone.

Yet, despite these pressures, Memorial continues to do an excellent job of holding the line against inflation.

I credit the board of directors for sound policy decisions leading to lowered costs. The business and medical leaders who serve on this board have given ample testimony through their actions to the progress that can only be made under local control.

I credit the physicians of the Long Beach community who have given the hospital's cost savings efforts their support and cooperation and who have done so much to make Memorial one of the finest community medical centers in the country.

I credit the forward-looking and able management of the hospital for the implementation of programs to keep costs down while improving quality of care.

I credit the employees of Memorial Hospital who have been on the firing line in helping bring these goals to fruition.

And I hold the efforts of these men and women up as a model of the best being accomplished by our hospitals and as a prototype of what we should look for in the hospitals of today and tomorrow.

I think that Mr. Harry C. Hachmeister, the chairman of the board of directors of Memorial Hospital of Long Beach, spoke for all hospitals when he recently said:

The chief responsibility of this hospital's board of directors is to assure the best quality of hospital care to the citizens of the area and to keep fully abreast of developments in medical science while conserving every possible penny.

COMPELLING ARGUMENTS FOR THE ABM

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, with precise and powerful logic the American Security Council's Washington Report for August 21 raises new and restates familiar arguments in favor of deploying a U.S. antiballistic missile defense. The report, written by the highly respected strategy analyst, Dr. James D. Atkinson, follows:

COUNTER-DETERRENCE AND THE ABM (By Dr. James D. Atkinson)

That trenchant observer of the American scene, Will Rogers, once observed that in the field of disarmament Americans had a tendency to scrap battleships while their opponents tore up blueprints. Something of this American tendency of an almost extremist goodwill is in evidence today with reference to the question of anti-ballistic missile defense. We talk and talk in the hope that we can persuade the Soviet Union to dismantle its present anti-ballistic missile system and to refrain from going ahead with further missile defenses. The Soviets stall in the negotiations while continuing to build and deploy their ABMs.

SOVIET CAPABILITIES AND INTENTIONS

The recent study prepared by a special subcommittee of the National Security Council entitled *The Changing Strategic Military Balance: U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R.* has stated that "the preponderance of evidence points to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is succeeding in its massive drive toward strategic military superiority . . . (and that) the year 1967 falls in a crossover period with the U.S.S.R. estimates ranging between 16,000 and 37,000 (deliverable) megatons, to equal or exceed the U.S. estimated range of between 8,000 and 29,000 (deliverable) megatons." This study, with its graphic documentation of the Soviet thrust for military-technological superiority, has received, and continues to receive, widespread attention from leading editors and authorities in both the daily and the periodical press. The *New York Times*, for example, in a front page story on July 12, 1967, stated that ". . . the Defense Department did not directly contradict the study's findings, but argued that deliverable megatonnage was not an accurate indicator of 'true military capability'."

It has been argued in some quarters in the West, however, that Soviet capabilities as illustrated by the Soviet deployment of an ABM system need not be a cause for alarm since Soviet intentions are peaceful and the Cold War is, in fact, over.

But are the Soviet leaders mellowing? Unfortunately, the most recent evidence would appear to indicate that storm flags are flying in the Kremlin. Some storm signals are:

(1) The official pronouncement of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued June 25, 1967, in a summary of 50 years of Bolshevism. It stated that, "The domination of imperialism on the world scene has ended" because of the growth of Soviet military power. The statement also singled out the United States as the "main enemy" of the national liberation warfare movement and charged the state of Israel with aggression.

(2) Appointing (for the first time since Beria's execution in 1953) the Soviet secret police chief a member of the ruling Politburo. This is Yuri Andropov, whose promotion was announced June 22, 1967. Since the KGB (the Soviet secret police) have vast responsibilities for waging unconventional warfare around the world, it would appear that giving Andropov such power indicates stepped-up Cold War operations.

(3) Writing in the official Soviet Armed Forces newspaper, *Red Star*, on June 3, 1967, Bulgarian Minister of Defense, General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov said: "The Soviet Union has always been and will continue to be the main political and material base of the world revolutionary process." The general also went on to say that "The Soviet Union constitutes the main support of fighting Vietnam."

(4) Soviet escalation of the Vietnam war is another example of the Soviet's true intentions. Soviet shipping going into North Vietnamese ports has shown a marked increase this year over 1966. As of June 1967 the rate was eighteen per month with an additional 2 to 5 Soviet satellite ships per month. Indicative of this escalation is the Moscow Radio broadcast of July 28 which stated that Soviet ships "leave Odessa practically every day with cargoes for Vietnam."

(5) The recent hard-line in the Soviet press which continually attacks Israel, "Zionism," and the United States. In reporting this trend from Moscow, the Washington Post of August 8, 1967 stated that the press campaign was one which "to some senior diplomats here recall the worst days of the Cold War."

These indicators of increasingly "stormy cold war weather" indicate that Soviet strategists understand quite well that revolution-

ary agitation and propaganda, "peace marchers" in London and New York, guerrillas in Africa and Latin America are techniques of conflict on a par with guided missiles and nuclear submarines. But does it follow that these same Soviet strategists are unaware of the possibilities for nuclear blackmail of the West in the event that they attain strategic military-technological superiority? Indeed, one may well ask whether the present U.S. limitation on air strikes against military targets in North Viet Nam result from the steady accretion of Soviet military-technological power?

CHINESE COMMUNIST NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT

Even if it were possible to disregard the evidence of the Soviet deployment of an ABM system or systems and the counter-deterrence which this poses to the announced U.S. policy of deterrence, it would be still more difficult to close our minds to the ominous developments in China.

The Chinese Communists exploded their first H-bomb on June 17, 1967. It was apparently a sophisticated implosion type in the two-to-seven megaton range. The complicated electronic triggering and measuring devices that would appear to have been required, in this and other nuclear tests, would be of great assistance to the Chinese in this and other nuclear tests, would be of great assistance to the Chinese in building an intercontinental missile. Since the Chinese progress in nuclear weapons development has been faster and more effective than had been anticipated by Western sources, it may be that they will also develop a nuclear ICBM delivery capability sooner than the mid-1970's, which is the time phase previously estimated by Western sources. Moreover, the Chinese now possess the design capability for a multi-megaton thermonuclear weapon which can be delivered by aircraft.

The possibilities of the Chinese Communists exercising nuclear blackmail against Southeast Asian countries, Japan, or, indeed, against the United States are underscored in a report released August 3, 1967, by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The Committee said: "We believe that the Chinese will continue to place a high priority on thermonuclear weapons development. With continued testing we believe they will be able to develop a thermonuclear warhead in the ICBM weight class with a yield in the megaton range by about 1970. We believe that the Chinese can have an ICBM system ready for deployment in the early 1970's. On the basis of our present knowledge, we believe that the Chinese probably will achieve an operational ICBM capability before 1972. Conceivably, it could be ready as early as 1970-1971."

The Joint Committee then went on to sound a warning about the direct threat to U.S. national security posed by Chinese Communist nuclear weapons developments by pointing out that "Most significant for the United States is the fact that a low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communists against the United States by the early 1970's. At present we do not have an effective antiballistic-missile system which could repel such a suicidal (for the Chinese) but nevertheless possible strike."

THE STABILIZING VALUE OF A U.S. ABM SYSTEM

In the final analysis, the value of a system of deterrence is that which the enemy believes about it. If the Soviets believe that the U.S. deterrent offensive force can be neutralized by their ABM systems to a point at which the Soviet war-making capability will sustain only an acceptable level of damage (and, of course, their acceptable level may be much higher than ours), then they have achieved a counter-deterrence posture which may lead them to risk—at a given crisis in international relations—a nuclear war.

Equally, if at some future point the Chinese Communists should believe (in the absence of a U.S. ABM system) that there is somewhat more of a "suicidal" element for the United States than for them in a nuclear war, they might, in a given confrontation, launch a surprise nuclear attack on America.

The evidence of the post-World War II period suggests that it has been the stabilizing factor of U.S. military-technological power which has prevented a general war. Today, under the impact of both the Soviet and Chinese Communist military-technological thrust, that stability appears to be threatened. Would the production and deployment of a U.S. ABM system—perhaps even on a crash basis as a clear demonstration of credibility—have a definite stabilizing value on world politics? That it might well do so is indicated by the thoughtful and carefully measured words of the Senate Appropriations Committee. In reporting on the Defense Department Appropriation Bill for fiscal 1968 (August 4, 1967), the Committee said: "It is the view of the Committee that the deployment of the NIKE-X antiballistic missile system should be initiated immediately, and the Committee urges the executive branch of the Government to take action accordingly."

DEVELOPING THE C. & O. CANAL

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, an increasing number of families and individuals are discovering the attractions of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. This historic waterway, which stretches along the Potomac from Georgetown to Cumberland, 185 miles upstream, is not in entirely good repair, but still offers unlimited opportunities for hikers, bikers, riders, fishermen and campers. A trip along the C. & O. Canal is a journey through some of the most striking scenery in the East, and through a very vital segment of American history.

One of the latest discoverers of the canal is Mr. David Bird, who recently cycled the entire length of the canal from Cumberland to Washington. Mr. Bird summarized his trip, and the many and varied features of the canal, in an interesting article in the travel section of the New York Times on August 27.

The current pleasures of canal exploration, as outlined by Mr. Bird, can only hint to us the joys which will be available when the canal has been fully developed and extensively restored. A relatively small investment, as recommended in my bill (H.R. 7201), could make the canal not only a tremendous recreational asset in its own right, but also the backbone of future development and conservation of the Potomac River. Restoration of the Paw Paw Tunnel has shown us what can be done, and I deeply regret that the Interior Department has let another summer slip away without making a more extensive commitment to canal development.

I include in the RECORD, for the infor-

mation of my colleagues, Mr. Bird's article, and two discussions of the canal's potential, an editorial from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of July 8, and an article by Mr. Nelson I. Willingham, Jr., from the Howard County Times of August 4.

The material referred to follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 27, 1967]

RETRACING THE TOWPATH ALONG THE OLD C. & O.

(By David Bird)

CUMBERLAND, Md.—"It starts down there someplace," the railroad crossing guard said as he pointed toward a maze of crisscrossing tracks not far ahead. He was indicating a spot where we might find the towpath of the old Chesapeake & Ohio Canal.

A companion and I were about to begin a bicycle trip retracing the route of the abandoned canal, 184.5 twisting miles from here to Washington. The old C. & O. is a relic of the great canal-building era of the early 1800's. Its bed now is mostly dry, but the route is preserved as a national monument and the towpath is a challenge to the hiker or bicycle rider.

An earlier visit to a short restored section of the canal near Washington had stirred my interest. In that area, the towpath is carefully maintained, with a solid surface of fine crushed stone. I was told that the towpath was not necessarily this good all the way, but visions of going the full distance gripped me.

I had been gripped the same way about a dozen years before, when the last link was completed in the continuous turnpike system between New York and Chicago. That, too, was a trip I just had to make, and I did—in one day of driving from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M.

THIRTY MILES A DAY

The Chesapeake & Ohio towpath would be more leisurely, of course. This was an area steeped in nature and history, and there would be plenty of stopping to take it all in—as well as to rest middle-aged muscles. My bicycling had been limited to an hour or two at a time on the streets of lower Manhattan; yet, there we were, scheduled to pump more than 30 miles a day for six days.

We had rented lightweight English bicycles in Washington, loaded each of them with about 30 pounds of clothing and camping gear, and shipped them and ourselves by train to Cumberland.

The Cumberland end of the canal is un-restored and far different from the Washington end. We could find no marker indicating the start of the towpath. Moreover, the first mile of the canal had been filled in during a highway-building program, making path-finding even more difficult.

We followed the directions of the train-crossing guard, pushing our laden bicycles over tracks and ties. Finally, a fisherman on a bank of the Potomac River, which parallels the canal, confirmed that we were, indeed, on the beginning of the towpath.

One towpath is all this canal ever had. Two paths had been contemplated—one on each bank—but it became evident during construction that the railroads were going to get much of the business the canal had expected. So the sponsors settled for a system of single locks and a single towpath.

The canal barges were equipped with tillers. When two barges met in midchannel, one got the right of way. The other would drop her towline and maneuver to one side while the favored barge passed.

INTO THE WOODS

Soon after we got onto the towpath, it plunged into woods. Trees grew on either side and arched together over the top of the path. Sturdy trees had grown up in the bed

of the canal, which has not been used for water traffic since 1924.

At one point, two men on small motorcycles entered the towpath from a side road. (Officially, all motor vehicles are barred from the path, but there are no signs and few patrols on this far end of the canal.)

The motorcyclists whizzed past us, but we caught up with them when they stopped to check on a large turtle that was struggling across the path.

The motorcyclists soon left the path and we were left with the quiet of the woods unbroken, except for the singing of birds—and then the sound of thunder.

Then the rain came. At first, it was pleasant and the trees provided shelter. But gradually, the water began to soak through and we had to break out our ponchos.

Ten miles down the towpath, we came to the first of a series of "Hiker-Biker Overnights." These have been established at about 10-mile intervals along the 120-mile leg of the towpath from Cumberland to Harpers Ferry.

NO SHELTER

These are merely cleared places at the side of the path, with a hand-pump for water, an outhouse, a small fireplace and a garbage pail. But no shelter.

So we pushed on until we came to a lock—there are 75 along the canal—and took cover there on the porch of the lockkeeper's abandoned house. When the rain let up, we set out for Paw Paw, W. Va., where we put up in a tourist home for the night.

The Paw Paw Tunnel, a 3,000-foot unlighted hole that carries the canal and towpath under a mountain, was a change of pace the next day. The small light we had on one of the bicycles hardly pierced the dark, and we skinned our arms in brushes against the tunnel walls.

But we felt we were maintaining our pace, and that lifted our spirits considerably—until a boy strolling along the towpath asked us how far we had come and when we had left.

We told him, and he replied: "Taking it easy, huh?"

I suddenly felt tired, and pressed on. Although my muscles never really adjusted to the strain of pedaling at least 30 miles a day, the pain at least became bearable.

FEW HIKERS

Most of the time, we had the towpath completely to ourselves. During the six days, the only others we met who were "doing" the canal were a group of hiking Boy Scouts and a young man on a bicycle.

More often, we encountered local residents out for a short walk. In an automobile, we would have passed them by, but on bicycles it was easy to stop and chat—and rest. Some were slightly incredulous that we would attempt the entire canal, but all wished us good luck and one volunteered that the black snakes we might see were harmless.

There were also side attractions like the Antietam battlefield, where the bloodiest battle of the Civil War was fought, and Harpers Ferry, where John Brown staged his raid. Both had generous crowds of tourists, but we were the only ones who came by bicycle.

Near Harpers Ferry, we encountered one of the more spectacular washouts, where the water at one time broke through the canal's banks and carried the towpath away. A stream at this point was running rapidly in the canal bed, through the washout and into the Potomac River.

We had to maneuver our bicycles down a 10-foot embankment, through rocks and mud in the stream bed and then up the other side of the washout. There were also other washouts, but considerably less difficult.

By Harpers Ferry, we had completed two-thirds of our journey. The path started getting smoother and the going easier. We

began stopping for leisurely admiration of the several stone aqueducts that carry the canal and its towpath over streams and rivers feeding into the Potomac.

At Seneca, Md., 22 miles from Washington, we entered the last leg, where the canal is almost fully restored and filled with water. We passed a group of day-campers on a canoe trip. And we felt like hard-bitten veterans when we came to a group of bicyclists out for a short spin on the well-cared-for section of towpath.

JOURNEY'S END

Just outside of Washington, a barrier across the towpath warned us that it was officially closed because of a washout. But we ignored the sign because we were not about to abandon our journey so close to completion.

The washout turned out to be minor. The towpath and canal ended a little farther on, amid factories and warehouses in the Georgetown section of the District of Columbia.

We completed our journey and I got off my bicycle at the small sign that said Lock No. 1.

We pedaled the few blocks to the bicycle rental agency. The owner looked up as we rode in. He seemed surprised. I think he had expected to see us return the bicycles on the back of an automobile.

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald, July 8, 1967]

MOVE OVER, VENICE

Congressman Charles Mathias thinks the old Chesapeake and Ohio Canal can be developed into a waterway to equal the canals of Europe.

Mr. Mathias has a point, and his suggestion should be followed through although what he has in mind may take years to develop.

First of all, the 180-mile waterway from Georgetown to Cumberland would need water after the canal bed and the many locks have been restored to their original condition.

And of course the canal will need boats. Instead of countless Americans discovering the delights of inland waterway travel in Europe, here's an opportunity to reverse the trend.

While a more modern means of boat propulsion than mules may be necessary in the future, what would be more relaxing than a boat trip from Williamsport to Washington, even if it takes two days!

[From the Howard County (Md.) Times, Aug. 4, 1967]

MARYLAND'S OUTDOORS

(By Nelson L. Willingham, Jr.)

This past week-end was spent touring the Western part of Maryland with a fellow member of the Maryland Wildlife Federation, Donald R. Frush of Hagerstown acting as guide and host.

That Western Maryland abounds in historical landmarks is a well known fact, and though we were concerned with the part each one must play in the overall program of outdoor recreation, our primary interest was centered on the C. & O. Canal.

The C. & O. Canal is presently controlled by the Federal Park System and is maintained as a National Monument. As such, it has become a dormant piece of real estate that not only is unkept and unrecognizable, but will eventually be far past any stage of salvaging. To the people who live with this condition from year to year, anything that could be done to help would be a welcome relief from its present condition and until recently all efforts to enact an effective program have been like a cry in the wilderness.

Congressman Charles Mathias recently submitted H.R. 7201 which, if enacted, would place the C. & O. Canal in a National Park status, under which this historic site would be given a face lifting, restored to a presentable condition and most important, could be used and enjoyed by everyone. The Bill pro-

vides for recreational areas, hunting and fishing, camping and other forms of outdoor recreation as a part of the complete program. Mr. Mathias' reasoning, and the original purpose of the Bill, was to help provide these facilities for the people while restoring one of Maryland's most historic sites from an eyesore to something that we need not be ashamed to have tourists from other states visit.

It seems almost ridiculous to have our state agencies embark on a land acquisition program so that future generations might be assured a fair share of our natural resources, while we sit idly by and let the C. & O. Canal slowly waste away. Now we have an opportunity to help our own cause by supporting H.R. 7201. At last report this Bill was bogged down in Committee and inquiry has revealed that unless public support is forthcoming, it will remain in Committee indefinitely.

You can do your part as interested citizens by writing to Congressman Wayne Aspinall, Chairman Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Washington, D.C.

H.R. 7201 has the support of many organized citizens groups, the Maryland Wildlife Federation, Maryland Historical Society, Civic groups, local and state agencies and many other interested individuals, but even with all this support the Bill still remains in Committee.

We know from past experience the impact that letters and cards from interested individuals has on a situation of this kind and there is no question that if and when H.R. 7201 comes out of Committee, it will have been through the efforts of those interested enough to take the time to write to the Chairman of the Committee expressing their concern about the future of the C. & O. Canal.

AIR NATIONAL GUARD CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL WELFARE

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. LIPSCOMB] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, recently, Gen. J. P. McConnell, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, wrote to the adjutant general of California, Maj. Gen. Glenn C. Ames, concerning the outstanding contribution of the California Air National Guard in airlifting men and supplies to Southeast Asia.

I bring this message to the attention of the Congress so that the membership may be fully aware of how the California Air National Guard, and other Reserve components, have responded willingly and capably to the call for assistance in the interest of our national security and welfare.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the communication by General McConnell for inclusion in the RECORD:

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,
Washington, D.C., July 24, 1967.

Maj. Gen. GLENN C. AMES,
TAG California,
Sacramento, Calif.

DEAR GENERAL AMES: I wish to extend my appreciation to all members of your airlift units who have so unselfishly given of their time and effort to alleviate the many problems encountered as a result of accelerated airlift requirements generated by events in Southeast Asia.

The Air Force is especially proud of the manner in which the Air National Guard

airlift units have responded to the many exceptional demands which have been placed upon them. Without mobilization of the Air National Guard, airlift units have made available aircraft, active duty aircrews and support personnel for deployment to Vietnam and for many other tasks.

The overall contribution made by these units is unprecedented. I cannot overemphasize the importance of this ready force of volunteer personnel who continue to serve the Air Force and our Nation in time of need. When the airlift units of the Air National Guard are again called upon to assist the Active Establishment, I am fully confident that they will be as "ready and able" as they have always been.

Sincerely,

J. P. MCCONNELL,
General, USAF Chief of Staff.

THE JOHNSON TAX INCREASE

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. EDWARDS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, over these past months when I have joined with others in predicting great increases in the Federal budget deficit due to vast Government spending, some folks have been skeptical and unbelieving. Some have said, "Now, Congressman, be realistic with us and don't spin us some partisan false alarms."

Well, early last month President Johnson had to face some facts. He said that his January estimate of the 1968 budget deficit would have to be revised upward from \$8 billion. He said the new estimate for the deficit was \$23.6 billion and that it "could exceed \$28 billion."

And as L. B. J. himself said, high budget deficits mean serious problems to the Nation as a whole and to individuals: Ruinous inflation which hurts the lower-income people most of all, brutally high interest rates crippling the homebuyer, the homebuilder and others, and a worsening balance-of-payments problem.

The following table gives a picture of what has happened. It shows how the budget deficit has grown since the last year of surplus, 1960. Note also that total Government spending has virtually doubled since then. And keep in mind that the estimate for 1968 spending may well be low, just as all spending estimates in the past 4 years have proven to be low.

[In billions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Income	Spending	Surplus (+) or deficit (-)
1960	77.8	76.5	+1.2
1961	77.7	81.5	-3.9
1962	81.4	87.8	-6.4
1963	86.3	92.6	-6.3
1964	89.5	97.7	-8.2
1965	93.1	96.5	-3.4
1966	104.7	107.0	-2.3
1967	117.0	126.7	-9.7
1968 (estimated)	120.0	143.6	-23.6

To meet this critical situation the President proposes that individuals and

corporations pay more Federal income taxes. In effect he is admitting that the administration has got the country into a financial mess, and now he is asking the taxpayers to bail him out.

Specifically, he is asking three moves that together would mean about \$7.4 billion in added revenue to the Government in fiscal year 1968: a 10-percent surtax on the income tax we would otherwise pay, a speedup in collections of corporation taxes—the third such speedup since 1962—and postponement of the reductions he had earlier requested in the Federal excise taxes on telephone service and auto sales.

Of course the Treasury needs extra revenue, and a budget deficit of huge size presents grave problems to the entire economy. But there is no use pretending that L. B. J.'s tax increase by itself will do any more than chip at the problems. Obviously it will not balance the budget, but can only reduce the deficit by about one-fourth. It will pay for less than four months cost of the Vietnam war. It will not stop inflation and may well actually increase costs of living even faster. It will not reduce interest rates and will not ease the balance-of-payments problem.

The truth is that the compulsive domestic spending habits of the Johnson administration, continuing right along with the costs of war, are at the heart of the issue. If the L. B. J. administration had been prudent in its handling of the taxpayers money, then no tax increase would be required.

With all of this in mind many of us in Congress are demanding, just as we have been demanding, that the administration change its ways. All we ask is that L. B. J. cut back on wasteful domestic spending and give the public full and reliable information on where the money is going. Then and only then should we consider the L. B. J. request for added taxes.

BARBARIANS WITHIN THE CITY GATES

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the August 14 issue of U.S. News & World Report stated:

More than 100 (109) cities of the U.S. have been hit by Negro violence this year. At least 117 persons have been killed, thousands injured. Property damage has approached 1 billion dollars.

National Guardsmen have been called out more than 20 times to help police, and once, in Detroit, U.S. Army troops were used in addition to the National Guard.

This same edition gave the gruesome box score of riots by States which indicated that only 18 of the 50 States have avoided racial violence. New Jersey, Michigan, California, New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Florida have each had five

or more riots—14, 11, 11, 11, 10, nine and five respectively.

Each riot, in proportion to the degree of damage, has violated a basic principle of the American system of law and the very foundation of a capitalist economy, and done it on gigantic scale. This is the right to life and property.

A short but interesting treatment of the subject of "Barbarians Within the City Gates," was recently contained in the selection bulletin of the Conservative Book Club. There are alternatives to the present approaches which obviously have not worked. I submit this statement to show firm alternatives which could defend civilization.

The statement follows:

Speaking of civil rights, it has always been our old-fashioned notion that the basic one is the right to the protection of life and property. This has historically been the position of Anglo-Saxon justice, which used to provide the ultimate penalty for any number of crimes against person or property, whether committed on the sands of Arizona or the streets of London. The reasoning was simple enough. The civilized—those who respect the rights of others—are always at a disadvantage against planned or random violence. So society tried to restore the balance. Society saw, moreover, that every crime unpunished was an attack on every innocent person, was an invitation for the jungle to come back and again smother the cleared land, was a sin that cried to heaven for vengeance. Today society faces a new menace, without precedent in the history of civilized man.

The barbarians are within the city gates—and the elders of the city speak out not for the victims (including the Negro victims), but for the barbarians. The city guardians, spewing an acid called Liberalism that eats away at every edifice in the city, watch their walls crumbling—and can only call for urban renewal. More ominous still, our traditional political give-and-take seems all but paralyzed. Has lawlessness gone so far we are now traumatized? We think not, though it could reach that point. But society's organs are enfeebled by the Liberal poison. Political and opinion leaders, even those in the conservative opposition, are slow to identify the gravest domestic crisis in our country's history. The Liberals still jabber away, like senile idiots, or carnival con men, about more federal money to cool our ever-longer, ever-hotter summers.

Meanwhile, in the Newark riot, a neatly dressed couple were seen busily loading boxes of shoes into their 1967 Cadillac. How long before conservative leaders dare to tell the emperor that he has no clothes on? For openers, we commend these measures to federal and state legislators: 1) For anyone guilty of riots or burning or looting, the death penalty. (If this seems harsh, blame the Liberals who let things go so far. You don't cure smallpox with aspirin.) 2) Riot victims to be compensated for personal injury and property damage by having first claim on all personal property of any rioter or looter. 3) If victims are still owed more after this, further compensation to come out of welfare and poverty funds allocated to the riot area. 4) State police, local police and national guard units to be bolstered everywhere, paid better (they deserve it, and it's cheaper than Watts and Detroit and Newark and, God forbid, maybe your own town), trained intensively in crime prevention and, especially, in anti-riot tactics.

Beyond the legislative area, we urge political and citizen groups to spend their efforts in research and publicity to let voters know which politicians and judges are the bleeding hearts, which the defenders of civilization. Finally, Gresham's Law works in sociology

as in money. We hear so few responsible Negroes speak out not because they don't exist, but because whites have shrunk from defending orderly society. Decent Negroes, remember, are on the front lines, and they can hardly be blamed for wondering whether we'll defend them, when we don't even defend ourselves. When we can give evidence that riots do not pay, a different kind of Negro leader is likely to emerge. The lesson of foreign affairs applies to our cities; be firm, and barbarians will retreat.

THE MEGATONNAGE GAP

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have inserted in the RECORD material concerning this Nation's hesitancy to proceed with the construction of antiballistic missile systems here in the United States. As anyone knows who has been following this issue, the Soviet Union has deployed ABM systems in the Moscow and Leningrad areas.

In July of this year the House Armed Services Committee released a report compiled by the American Security Council, a highly respected research and educational organization in the area of national security, entitled "The Changing Strategic Military Balance—United States Versus U.S.S.R." This report has received wide coverage by newspapers here in the United States. For a small sampling of editorial comment on the report I wish to insert in the RECORD at this point editorials from the Evening Tribune of San Diego, Calif., dated July 21, 1967; the Elgin Courier News of Elgin, Ill., dated July 20, 1967; and the Youngstown, Ohio, Vindicator, of July 12, 1967.

The material referred to follows:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Evening Tribune, July 21, 1967]

UNITED STATES CANNOT AFFORD MEGATONNAGE GAP

There is great concern, and with good reason, that in the nuclear race with Russia, the Soviets are running and the United States is walking.

This means that despite the advantages of an early lead, the United States is being passed in the drive for strategic military superiority.

What the United States may be facing soon, if not already, is a serious megatonnage gap. Megatonnage is a summation of a nation's nuclear force, the total atomic power that can be delivered by strategic weapons.

When we are on the short side of a megatonnage gap, it means the Soviets can hit the United States with a larger nuclear destructive force than we can hit them.

At present there is a slight megatonnage gap. But not too long ago, we had the scales tilted heavily in our favor. It will not be long before the scales are weighted by some degree on the other side.

A group of 17 military experts, most of them retired high ranking officers of the armed forces, recently made a study of the changing strategic military balance between the United States and Russia.

The men compiling the report worked as a special subcommittee of the American Security Council, a non-profit association en-

gaged in national security research and education. The report was made at the request of the House Armed Services Committee and was based on unclassified information.

The report warns that "the United States has exchanged its goal of a war-winning strategic superiority for a strategy of mutual deterrence," whereas Russia "is driving hard toward a goal of overwhelming superiority in the decisive field of nuclear weaponry."

A contributing factor to the present situation, the committee found, was an inclination of officials in this country to discount Russian advances. There was the same inclination in regard to Russian space achievements until the Russians proved time and time again their advanced technology in a space program.

The report said, "the available evidence indicates that the Soviet Union has a goal of strategic superiority designed to win a nuclear war rather than merely deter one."

The report says that in this year the United States does not appear to have a superior position in deliverable strategic weapons.

The present situation need not be permanent. "There is still time to regain superiority," the report says, "but time is on the side of the one which uses it."

While there is still time, the United States must be the one to make full use of it.

[From the Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator, July 12, 1967]

RUSSIA GAINS GROUND

The proponents of developing an antiballistic missile defense for this country will gain strong support from the study made public today by the American Security Council. The report was prepared for the House Armed Services Committee by a special subcommittee of the council. The committee is one to command respect, for it is headed by Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, and includes such men as Vice Admiral Elton W. Grenfell, Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Dr. Edward Teller, and Admiral Ben Moreell.

The study is entitled, "The Changing Strategic Balance U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R." It emphasizes repeatedly that the Soviet Union is moving toward "overwhelming superiority in the decisive field of nuclear weaponry," while the American aim is for "a strategy of mutual deterrence."

The report estimates (all its information is from unclassified sources) that in 1962, the United States could have delivered between 25,000 and 50,000 megatons of nuclear destruction, while the Soviet Union's capability was between 6,000 and 12,000 megatons. By 1971, the experts believe, this country's capability will be between 6,000 and 15,000 megatons, while Russia will have between 30,000 and 50,000 megatons.

At several points, the study recalls that Russian leaders have said repeatedly that "Communism's ultimate goal is world domination." It indicates that American policymakers prefer not to listen, and it quotes Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara as saying "it will become increasingly probable that either side could destroy a sufficiently large portion of the other's strategic force . . . to preclude a devastating retaliatory load."

The committee shows concern over the growth of Soviet capacity which would warrant Moscow in trying for a "knockout nuclear first strike." Nuclear blackmail, with the threat of a rain of ICBMs or attack from orbiting space weapons (forbidden by treaty, of course) could leave the United States only the choice of firing its own nuclear weapons first, or of surrendering.

No one wants to add unnecessary expense to the heavy financial burden that war and defense already have laid on the country. On the other hand, a warning from a commit-

tee of this caliber must get careful consideration.

[From the Elgin (Ill.) Courier News, July 20, 1967]

WEAPONS RACE: A CAUSE FOR ALARM

The administration of Lyndon B. Johnson is frequently said to be politically astute because it keeps its "options" open.

It would be more astute if it followed the same policy in defense.

Comparing the strategic nuclear capability of the United States today with that of the Soviet Union, an expert panel of 18 defense specialists associated with the American Security Council reports:

" . . . Placing our sole reliance for deterrence on . . . missiles and the remaining manned bomber force, the United States places itself in the dangerous position of having only one option left if it is faced with a Soviet ultimatum to surrender."

It would be encouraging if the option we have were of such superior power that the Soviet Union would not think of challenging it.

Unfortunately, the Security Council experts found the opposite to be true. "The United States," it reported, "has exchanged its goals of a war-winning strategic superiority for a strategy of mutual deterrence," whereas the Soviet Union "is driving hard toward a goal of overwhelming superiority in the decisive field of nuclear weaponry."

The council's contention that the Soviet Union will have an unquestioned superiority in the tons of destruction it can rain on us is a matter for national alarm. The fact that our equality of strategic response is under question even today is fearsome.

When the Administration embarks on a policy of so-called "mutual deterrence" it must remember that it is a principle that takes the participation of two. So far it has been practiced by only one—the United States of America. While the cult of cost computers has been theorizing and disarming the United States since 1962, the Russians have been building up their vast complex of offensive weapons, still making clear that intention of world domination.

Unfortunately, we cannot retrieve time. Equally, it is important that we do not lose any more. As the Security Council points out, there still is time for the United States to regain strategic superiority—"but time is on the side of the one which uses it."

This is the critical year. To regain superiority by 1971; the United States must begin construction and deployment of its strategic forces build-up today.

High on the list of these is the anti-ballistic missile system, which the Soviet Union already has deployed around key cities. As Security Council experts point out, this system at least in the final analysis could "strengthen the hand of the President if he is confronted (with a Soviet ultimatum to surrender) and it might stay the hand of an enemy at a critical moment in history."

That critical moment in history is not in the future when missiles begin raining, but today. If the United States makes the wrong decision again in defense, the whole world might face slavery.

PIRATES ON THE BARBARY COAST

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the

events surrounding the kidnaping of Moise Tshombe are still vague and it is doubtful that the \$200,000 documentary, "Tshombe in Algeria," offered for sale by the Algerian Government will provide much substantiation. But it does tend to indicate that Algeria had some prior notice of events which brought the former Congolese Premier to capture there.

An editorial in the August 22, edition of the Chicago Tribune details the base "diplomacy" which has surrounded the imprisonment of Tshombe from the start.

It would appear that Tshombe is still being held, Algeria and Mobutu are still bickering over his diplomatic worth and hopefully, the President of the United States and Department of State officials are attempting to have justice prevail from behind the scenes, as was announced. With such acts as are outlined in the editorial, possibly the cause of justice would be advanced if the actions of our Government were made public along with their successes and failures. Public opinion should have the chance to be heard in the case of this friend of the United States and of worldwide freedom.

The editorial follows:

PIRATES ON THE BARBARY COAST

In one of the most impudent acts of diplomatic history, the Algerian government offered to sell for \$200,000 a half-hour film entitled "Tshombe in Algeria"—a film which begins, astonishingly enough, with the moment Tshombe landed in Algeria with his kidnapers. The British plane which the former Congolese premier had chartered to fly between two Spanish islands in the Mediterranean was hijacked and flown to Algiers.

Algeria has denied being a party to the kidnaping, yet a film crew seems to have been on hand at the airport to record the arrival of the hijacked plane. Was there time to make these unusual preparations after the pilot had notified the Algiers control tower of his predicament and asked permission to land? (He was told to land instead at a military airport 25 miles out of the city.)

Or did Algerian officials know all along what was afoot? This possibility cannot be dismissed, because Algeria's bias against Tshombe has been conspicuous thruout the incident and its behavior has been disgraceful.

It refused a visa to Mrs. Tshombe, who wanted to be with her husband. It refused to allow representatives of the Belgian government to see the Belgian citizens who were aboard Tshombe's plane. It held secret hearings on the matter of Tshombe's extradition to the Congo, where he has been sentenced in absentia to death for treason. It has been accused of using Tshombe as bait to win the Congo's vote in favor of a pro-Arab resolution against Israel in the United Nations. The Congo lent credence to this charge by voting as Algeria wanted it to, even tho its sympathies have normally been with Israel. The Congo's request for extradition was granted even tho the two countries have no diplomatic relations and even tho, under international usage, extradition is not applicable in political crimes.

Now comes the crowning insolence—Algeria's effort to pick up a few extra dollars on the side as a result of Tshombe's misfortune. This is reducing diplomacy to a mercenary level which makes the television quiz scandals look like Sunday school. It is a revival of the piracy which plagued American shipping on the Barbary coast more than a century ago. We trust that nobody in this

country will show any interest in Algeria's offer unless Tshombe himself comes with the film—and even that would amount to ransom.

BILLS INTRODUCED TO ASSIST RAILROADS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today two bills to provide assistance to railroads, and specifically, to the New Haven Railroad.

The first bill would extend the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission to guarantee loans to certain rail carriers to finance or refinance additions and betterments or other capital expenditures made after January 1, 1957, or to finance or refinance expenditures made for maintenance of property. The ICC's authority to guarantee such loans under a previous program expired in 1963.

The second bill would give the Department of Transportation authority to provide financial assistance to passenger railroads to aid them in preserving and improving essential passenger services and facilities. Assistance would be based upon an application indicating that a plan of action had been formulated by the State or States involved, and that those units, as well as local governments, were also prepared to support the railroad's essential services. Under the formula, Federal aid could not exceed whatever financial assistance is available from the States, including tax forgiveness.

Mr. Speaker, the problems of the New Haven are clear and immediate. The shortage of cash to meet operating expenses, continued pressure by creditors, and the uncertain status of the Penn-Central merger that would include the New Haven, point unmistakably to the need for prompt Federal action to assist the States of New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts in continuing the passenger service of the New Haven.

Following his meeting with the New England Governors last May, President Johnson asked Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd to coordinate Federal efforts that might be of help to the New Haven. As the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the principal sponsor of these measures in the other body, said:

That coordinating effort has now been underway for almost 3 months. It has produced a number of meetings, several ideas, many papers—and no action.

Prompt consideration of these bills would be one constructive way to demonstrate the administration's interest in the survival of the New Haven and the welfare of its passengers.

However, these bills would not meet the New Haven's immediate need for cash resources. Senator JAVRS and I met recently with representatives of several ex-

ecutive departments in an effort to establish a coordinated Federal program of emergency financing—on the order of \$5 to \$10 million—to carry the New Haven through until final court approval of the Penn-Central merger.

THE WARREN REPORT—IV

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, this is the fourth installment of the transcript from the CBS television documentary entitled, "CBS News Inquiry: The Warren Report."

ANNOUNCER. A CBS News Inquiry: "The Warren Report" continues. Here again is Walter Cronkite.

CRONKITE. In answer to our major question as to whether shots came from a direction other than the Book Depository Building, indicating other gunmen and a conspiracy, we have eye—or ear witnesses inside the building saying the shots came from there. Now, Mr. Holland who was on the railroad overpass, here, insists that he heard a shot from here. And in Mark Lane's book, "Rush to Judgment," he writes that 58 out of 90 people who were asked about the shots thought they came from the grassy knoll.

Now, expert opinions differ. All the experts agree that the shots could have come from the rear. But where some experts, such as Dr. Humes, say bluntly that they did, others—such as Dr. Wecht—find it highly unlikely.

CBS News concludes that the most reasonable answer is that the shots came from the Book Depository Building, behind the President and Governor Connally. But if the shots came from the rear, and if there were only three of them, can all the wounds be accounted for? The President was struck at least twice. Governor Connally was wounded in the chest, the wrist, and the thigh. One bullet was recovered intact, as well as two large fragments. The Warren Commission concluded that of the three bullets fired, one missed entirely, one struck the President's skull and fragmented, and the third—this one—passed through the President's neck and went on to inflict all the Governor's wounds. This is the single bullet theory. And so we must ask: Could a single bullet have wounded both President Kennedy and Governor Connally?

Now, this is what the Report says: "Although it is not necessary to any essential findings of the Commission to determine just which shot hit Governor Connally, there is very persuasive evidence from the experts to indicate that the same bullet which pierced the President's throat, also caused Governor Connally's wounds. However, Governor Connally's testimony and certain other factors have given rise to some difference of opinion as to this probability but there is no question in the minds of any member of the Commission that all the shots which caused the President's and Governor Connally's wounds were fired from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository."

Well, through the tortured English of that paragraph, a sentence that begins with "however," and has "but" in the middle, we can make out the Commission's struggling to paper over internal dissension. It's unfruitful to try to puzzle out the meaning of the statement.

Instead, we asked Arlen Specter, Assistant

Counsel to the Commission, and now District Attorney of Philadelphia, and the author of the single bullet theory.

SPECTER. The possibility of one bullet having inflicted the wounds on both the President's neck and the Governor's body came in a very gradual way. For example, the first insight was given when Dr. Humes testified, based on his autopsy findings. And at that time it was made clear for the first time that the bullet that went through the President's neck hit no bone, hit no solid muscle. And, according to Dr. Humes, came out with great velocity.

Now, it was at that juncture that we wondered for the first time what happened to the bullet. Where did the bullet go? The probability is that it went into Governor Connally, because it struck nothing else in the car. That is the single most convincing piece of evidence, that the one bullet hit both men, because looking down the trajectory, as I did through Oswald's own rifle, and others did too, the trajectory was such that it was almost certain that the bullet which came out of the President's neck with great velocity would have had to have hit either the car or someone in the car.

RATHER. It stated in the Warren Commission Report that belief in the single bullet theory is, quote, "not essential"—end of quotation—to support in the conclusion of the Warren Commission Report.

Now, can you describe for us any other theory, besides the single bullet theory, that would support the conclusions in the Report?

SPECTER. The Commission concluded that it was probable that one bullet inflicted the wound on the President's neck, and all of the wounds on Governor Connally. But you could have three separate bullets striking under the sequence as we know them. For example, the President could have been struck at frame 186 of the Zapruder film, which is a number given to the Zapruder film. Then Governor Connally could have been struck some 42 frames later, which would be a little over two and a quarter seconds at about frame 228 or 229; and then the third shot could have hit President Kennedy's head at frame 313, which was pretty clearly established. So that it is not indispensable to have the single bullet conclusion in order to come to the basic finding that Oswald was the sole assassin.

CRONKITE. The Commission's dilemma lay in the fact that it had to choose between two unpalatable alternatives in order to make its case stand up. Having decided that three shots were fired, and having three sets of wounds to explain, the Commission could only find either that all three shots hit their marks, or that one of the three bullets hit two men.

But, if all three shots hit, then one of them would have had to pass through the President's neck, emerge at 1800 feet per second, headed on a downward path toward the midst of the Presidential car and the six people in it, and vanish in mid air, hitting nothing and leaving no mark. Well, this was more than the Commission could stomach. Despite its own words, the single bullet theory is essential to its findings.

The bullet was found after it rolled off a stretcher at Parkland Hospital during the tumult that followed the arrival of the two wounded men. The man who found it was Darrell C. Tomlinson, senior engineer at Parkland.

DARRELL C. TOMLINSON. There was a doctor that went into the Doctors' Lounge and he had to pull this stretcher out, the one I'd taken off the elevator, and whenever he came out he failed to push it back up against the wall, so I just stepped over and gave it a little kick to get it back in line, and then I turned to walk away and I heard a rattle, and I turned around and looked. I didn't see anything at that time, but I walked back

over to the stretcher and there was this bullet layin' there. So, I picked it up, looked at it, put it in my pocket.

BARKER. Do you recall, was there any blood on the bullet, or was it—how did the bullet look?

TOMLINSON. Well, it was copper colored bullet and I couldn't tell whether it had blood on it or not. I—I really didn't look for it.

BARKER. It was a spent shell?

TOMLINSON. Yes.

BARKER. Well, now, as you think back, is there any doubt in your mind today that the stretcher on which you found that bullet was the stretcher that came off of the the elevator?

TOMLINSON. Well, I know that. That I know. I just don't know who was on that stretcher.

BARKER. But, the stretcher was on the elevator?

TOMLINSON. Right.

BARKER. And this was the elevator that Governor Connally would have taken, or would have been placed on to go to the operating room, is that right?

TOMLINSON. Yes, sir, that's—that's the one he went up on.

CRONKITE. Critics have claimed that in fact the bullet came from the President's stretcher, which would rule out the single bullet theory. But the President's stretcher was never in that elevator and consequently Mr. Tomlinson's recollection disposes of that particular dispute. It does not dispose of another claim, however, the claim that the bullet was planted on the Governor's stretcher as part of a plot to link Oswald to the assassination. And that claim can never be disproved.

The bullet is almost intact, only slightly flattened, with a little cone of lead missing from the rear end. Could such a bullet have penetrated successively, a human neck, a human torso, a wrist and a thigh, and emerged in this condition? The Commission used animal carcasses and blocks of gelatin to test the bullet's penetrating power, firing repeated shots from Oswald's rifle. Now, this is standard technique. But, because of the difficulty of lining up such a shot, the Commission experts fired their bullets separately through the various simulators. Each time they measured how much speed the bullet had lost from its initial 2,000 feet per second, and in the end, concluded that the bullet would have retained enough velocity to penetrate the Governor's thigh.

But, it seemed to us that the only completely valid test would be a single shot directly through a series of objects with the same thickness and density as the two bodies. We decided to make that shot.

RATHER. Dr. Alfred G. Olivier, Chief of Wound Ballistics at Edgewood Arsenal, who conducted the tests for the Warren Commission, served as consultant to CBS News in these experiments at the H. P. White Ballistics Laboratory. Dr. Olivier suggested using gelatin blocks to simulate human tissue. The main object was to line up targets simulating the President's neck and the Governor's chest, wrist and thigh, spaced as far apart as Mr. Zapruder's film indicated they were in the limousine, and then to see how far a 6.5 Mannlicher-Carcano bullet would penetrate.

Extensive research at Edgewood Arsenal has shown that gelatin, in a 20 percent concentration, gives a good simulation of human tissue. The first gelatin block was made five and a half inches thick to simulate the President's neck, with cloth added to represent his coat and shirt. Set two feet or so away was a 12 inch block representing the Governor's chest, also with appropriate clothing. This high speed sequence, taken at 22,000 frames a second, shows the chest simulation block and how the bullet, slightly unstable after passing through neck simulation, begins to turn off course as it tears through the gelatin, exiting in an attitude pointing down.

The wrist block was two and a half inches thick, inset with masonite to represent bone. Beyond was a fourth gelatin target representing the Governor's thigh. Dr. Olivier told reporter Walter Lister about the tests.

OLIVIER. When the bullet struck the simulated neck, it was perfectly stable, passed through making a small track in the gelatin. This—this very closely simulates the wound received by the President. It was a small entrance and a small exit, as described on the autopsy report.

WALTER LISTER. This is about the way it would look through human muscle tissue?

OLIVIER. Yes. After the bullet left this simulated neck, and passed from this dense medium into any, which is less dense, then it had a chance to start to tip and by the time it struck this block it was tipped, and you can see the difference: a much larger track in the gelatin block, which represents a more serious wound, as the Governor received. In his case, the bullet passed along the rib, fractured the rib, throwing fragments into the lung. Of course, we have no rib here, but it still simulates passing through the flesh.

By the time it had passed through here, it had lost considerable velocity, and entered the simulated wrist. In some cases, it passed through the wrist; in other cases, it lodged in the wrist. Behind this wrist, we had another gelatin block, representing the Governor's thigh. In none of the cases did this thing actually penetrate that, but it would have taken very little more velocity to have caused a similar wound.

LISTER. What do you think that these tests have indicated here?

OLIVIER. Well, that they—I think they very strongly show that this one bullet could have caused all the wounds.

LISTER. Did someone outline these experiments for you?

OLIVIER. No, I'm afraid I'm guilty of the whole business.

CRONKITE. Our tests confirm that a single bullet could indeed have wounded both men. But conceding that it is possible, we must also ask if it is probable. We asked two distinguished pathologists, both experienced in the study of wounds, to give us their best judgment. They are Dr. William F. Enos of Northern Virginia Doctors Hospital, who has studied wounds both as a military and civilian pathologist; and Dr. Cyril Wecht, from whom we heard earlier. First, Dr. Enos with Dan Rather:

ENOS. I have had cases in which the missiles have gone through relatively heavy bone and very little deformity. The fact that it went through two men is perfectly acceptable because of its velocity.

RATHER. Now, most of us have an idea that the minute a bullet hits a bone that it shatters that bullet.

ENOS. No, not necessarily. Again, it depends on the construction of the missile, of the bullet. If it's a full-jacketed bullet it can remain intact with very little or no deformity.

RATHER. Is it impossible that the bullet would have gone through President Kennedy, gone through Governor Connally and not suffered any more damage than is shown in this photograph?

ENOS. No, without hedging. In medicine we always fall back upon the trite expression; we never like to say that something is impossible. I—I would say that it is highly improbable. I—I—I would hesitate, really, to say that it's absolutely 100 percent impossible, but it is highly improbable. Another one, you see, another one of the very many highly improbables that we are asked to accept by the Warren Commission, if we are to accept the validity of their full Report.

CRONKITE. The most persuasive critic of the single bullet theory is the man who might be expected to know best, the victim himself, Texas Governor John Connally. Although he accepts the Warren Report's conclusion, that Oswald did all the shooting, he

has never believed that the first bullet could have hit both the President and himself.

CONNALLY. The only way that I could ever reconcile my memory of what happened and what occurred, with respect to the one bullet theory, is that it had to be the second bullet that might have hit us both.

BARKER. Do you believe, Governor Connally, that the first bullet could have missed, the second one hit both of you, and the third one hit President Kennedy?

CONNALLY. That's possible. That's possible. Now, the best witness I know doesn't believe that.

BARKER. Who is the best witness you know?

CONNALLY. Nellie was there, and she saw it. She believes the first bullet hit him, because she saw him after he was hit. She thinks the second bullet hit me, and the third bullet hit him.

Mrs. CONNALLY. The first sound, the first shot, I heard, and turned and looked right into the President's face. He was clutching his throat, and just slumped down. He just had a—a look of nothingness on his face. He—he didn't say anything. But that was the first shot.

The second shot, that hit John—well, of course, I could see him covered with—with blood, and his—his reaction to a second shot. The third shot, even though I didn't see the President, I felt the matter all over me, and I could see it all over the car.

So I'll just have to say that I think there were three shots, and that I had a reaction to three shots. And—that's just what I believe.

CONNALLY. Beyond any question, and I'll never change my opinion, the first bullet did not hit me. The second bullet did hit me. The third bullet did not hit me.

Now, so far as I'm concerned, all I can say with any finality is that if there is—if the single bullet theory is correct, then it had to be the second bullet that hit President Kennedy and me.

CRONKITE. The Governor insists that he heard a shot before he was struck, and that therefore he could not have been struck by the first bullet, as the Warren Commission supposes.

Those of you who were with us last night remember that we cited indications in the Zapruder film that it was Oswald's first shot, fired earlier than the Commission believed, which missed. Now if that is so, then the Governor could indeed have heard a shot and begun reacting to it before he himself was hit. We have, in fact, three theories to explain the same facts—the single bullet theory, the second assassin theory, the theory that all three bullets that were fired found their targets.

Our own view, on the evidence, is that it is difficult to believe the single bullet theory. But, to believe the other theories is even more difficult. If the Governor's wounds were caused by a separate bullet, then we must believe that a bullet passed through the President's neck, emerged at high velocity on a course that was taking it directly into the middle of the automobile, and then vanished without a trace.

Or, we can complicate matters even further, as some do, by adding a second assassin, who fires almost simultaneously with Oswald, and whose bullet travels miraculously a trajectory identical with Oswald's, and that second assassin, too, vanishes without a trace. Difficult to believe as the single bullet theory may be, it seems to be the least difficult of all those that are available. In the end, like the Commission, we are persuaded that a single bullet wounded both President Kennedy and Governor Connally.

The Warren Report's contention that there was only one assassin rests on the conviction that all the wounds suffered by both men were inflicted by no more than three shots, fired from behind and above them. We have heard Captain Humes, as well as other doctors and experts. We have looked hard at

the single bullet theory. The case is a strong one.

There is not a single item of hard evidence for a second assassin. No wound that can be attributed to him. No one who saw him, although he would have been firing in full view of a crowded plaza. No bullets. No cartridge cases. Nothing tangible.

If the demands for certainty that are made upon the Commission were applied to its critics, the theory of a second assassin would vanish before it was spoken.

As for the Governor, he now concedes he might have been struck by the bullet that pierced that President's throat. And our own investigation makes it likely that the bullet was the second, and not the first, that Oswald fired. The Governor's objections, which were the most troubling of all, now disappear. CBS News concludes, therefore, that Oswald was the sole assassin.

But was he truly alone? Or were there others in dark shadows behind him, co-authors of a plot in which Oswald was cast as a triggerman? Tomorrow we will look into those charges, and concern ourselves with Officer Tippit, with Jack Ruby, and the murky accounts and strange personages introduced into the case by District Attorney Jim Garrison in New Orleans.

GARRISON. He did not touch a gun on that day. He was a decoy at first, and then he was a patsy, and then he was a victim.

CRONKITE. We will hear Garrison, and some of those whom he has involved. And we will try to answer the third of our major questions: Was Lee Harvey Oswald part of a conspiracy?

HON. PATSY MINK SPEECH

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, one of our ablest—and certainly one of our most attractive—colleagues, the gentlewoman from Hawaii, Mrs. PATSY MINK, delivered a stirring address to members of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, meeting with their husbands in my home city of New Orleans last week.

In her inspirational speech to the ladies on August 22, Mrs. MINK said the women of America should join together in a massive volunteer effort "dedicated to the eradication of poverty, crime, dope addiction, juvenile delinquency, prejudice, and hate. That these remain in our country as unsolved problems is an enigma totally incompatible with our wealth, our intelligence, and our image."

Our lovely colleague pointed out to the VFW ladies that their good works can be particularly helpful and fruitful for the young people who are shackled by the bonds of poverty. She listed the many productive national programs now underway to improve the education, the health and the opportunities of so many young citizens whose parents and families have been ground down by the weight of poverty.

Said Mrs. MINK:

It may not be possible for us to save the poverty entrapped adults, but for the youth there is still time, and it is to them that the government's efforts are primarily directed:

headstart pre-school education, job training centers for the teenagers, neighborhood youth programs to keep the children from becoming school dropouts, halfway houses to help the young people overcome temptations to delinquency, school lunch programs to feed the hungry, housing programs, medical and dental services for the poor, part-time jobs during the school year, loans to go to college so that none need be denied the fullest opportunity to be educated, and many other deeply child-oriented national programs. All of these need your help and support.

Mrs. MINK's call for a nationwide Women's Corps to work for these goals is most noble and constructive, and I am proud to salute our colleague for her inspirational message to this national organization.

I would say, Mr. Speaker, that we in Congress have a duty and responsibility to assure the women of our country that these programs we have launched are sustained and expanded in the years ahead. In the past 4 years, we have taken herculean steps to provide the productive avenues through which our young people can enjoy to the fullness of their capabilities the abundant opportunities of this great land of ours. We must do our utmost to spread the opportunities of our Nation to more and more of our people—we must open the way to the youthful poor of our country so that they can emerge from their invisible station to partake of all the joys and benefits of the United States.

PATSY MINK, Mr. Speaker, has rendered a signal service by her address to the ladies auxiliary of the VFW, and I am pleased to call it to the attention of my colleagues. Her address follows:

SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE PATSY T. MINK BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE LADIES AUXILIARY OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS IN NEW ORLEANS, AUGUST 22, 1967

Madam President, delegates and members of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, it is a real pleasure and privilege for me to be able to participate in your 1967 National Convention here in New Orleans. I welcomed this opportunity to join you this morning to extend to you the special greetings of the people of my State of Hawaii who share with you your vital concerns for the future of our great country. We are at a particularly critical period in our nation's history, and the stage is set for a renewed effort and dedication by the women across this land to help towards the goals of a strengthened moral and spiritual fiber and fabric of our society towards which we, as women, are especially endowed with the gift of love and understanding.

We are a nation at war, and our husbands and sons are being asked once again to make the supreme sacrifice of family and of life itself. 15,000 young men have already given their lives in Vietnam over the years and if there is one shining symbol that stands as justification for their sacrifice for this nation, it is to preserve our way of life that those who will live on may enjoy the blessings of true liberty. Here is where we at home must not fall them. We have been asked and implored by our nation's leaders and by our President to help build a truly great America. We are daily being urged to understand and support the pursuits of the nation, to commit each citizen to programs which will help improve the conditions of life for Americans who have yet to enjoy either happiness or security. In a sense there are two wars being waged, one international, 10,000 miles away in a distant Vietnam, and the other right here in our home communities, in our states

and in our large cities. It is to the latter that I wish to address my few comments this morning, because it is the one to which each of us, you and I, can and must dedicate our fullest attention and energies, else we shall have consumed before our very eyes the values and virtues of a free nation.

I am confident that we are not unwilling as a people to make the necessary sacrifices to improve the conditions under which all free and equal men, women and children are entitled to live. I know that there are many in this audience today who in their own communities are leaders of various civic-minded efforts predicated upon the constant urgency for all to give freely and willingly of themselves to help those within our society who lack the basic necessities of life, an adequate education, a self-sustaining job, health facilities and services, and decent housing. For many millions today, these treasured goals are largely unattainable without our help and assistance. Those of us in the Congress who are working towards these ends through national legislation, realize that the larger effort must still come from the citizens themselves, and that government can only serve as a stimulus for local action if we are to meet the more urgent needs of these distressed and unfortunate, whose very presence is hard to contemplate.

In a generally affluent nation, it is difficult to discuss the questions of public sacrifice that is still required for greatness. Too many of us have forgotten the lessons of our own country's history, and the sacrifices that were made by our forefathers that this nation might be born. Patriotism is too often regarded only superficially, as reverence for the flag, in the songs sung about America, in our words of respect for our fighting men overseas, when the true meaning of patriotism and love of country is imbedded in the struggles and sacrifices of the great men who sought to create a land of the free and who established for us the code of liberty which is the true and shining glory of this republic.

Let me remind you about some of the great heroes of yesterday who sacrificed so much for the sake of an idea which has become today the essence of our democracy. Who were these signers of the Declaration of Independence and what sacrifices did they make?

First, do you remember Samuel Adams of Massachusetts? He was a leader of the Revolutionary Sons of Liberty whose words and actions led to the Boston Tea Party. He was hunted for treason, and in the end died in poverty.

Do you remember Charles Carroll of Maryland? He was then one of the three wealthiest men in America, who gladly risked his life and all of his property for the sake of freedom and independence. When he signed the Declaration, he knew that with the stroke of his pen he had surrendered his entire wealth and all his earthly possessions.

And did you know that John Hancock was one of the richest men in New England who also risked his entire fortune!

History records that William Ellery of Rhode Island acknowledged at the time of the signing of the Declaration that it was well accepted that each could well be signing his own death warrant!

Georgia's Lyman Hall saw his plantation home sacked and burned; William Floyd of New York had his home also burned to the ground; Benjamin Harrison, Speaker of the Virginia Legislature, fled from town to town to keep from being captured; Thomas Heyward, Jr., of South Carolina, was held a prisoner by the British for over a year, as was Arthur Middleton, also of South Carolina and many others. Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, whose immense wealth was given to George Washington's army, died in debtors' prison years later.

These are but a few of the men whose lives and sufferings have made the spirit of America so rich and so full! In our hurried lives today, we forget that the homage we pay to our country largely belongs to these men who built it with their irrevocable and total dedication to the noblest principles of mankind.

Nearly two hundred years later we are being called upon to give with that same fervor our utmost to achieve the goals which have yet to be attained for many of our fellow Americans. I join this call today in urging that for the women of America this is a special mission for which we are uniquely qualified.

Let us join together to bolster the family life of America, to help give our troubled youth today that deserving promise of a brighter future. Let us work to infuse in them that spirit of America which we take so much for granted and urge them to see that our heritage is truly still the most important single ideal around which the young people can seek the attainment of individual goals.

Let us not close our eyes, ever so warm and sympathetic to the cries and heartbreaks of our own children, to the outcries and despair of the countless other children who need our courageous voices to sustain them and to uplift them from their lonely and miserable existence.

Yes, inexplicably it does take courage today to express our concerns for our neighbor. And thousands of women today have demonstrated their capacity to love their neighbors. They have volunteered from all walks of life—they have started day care centers for the underprivileged—they have responded to the call for help in a great variety of neighborhood centers—they are serving in legal aid offices, in hospitals, in schools, in recreation centers, and in innumerable other service agencies in their home communities.

The women of America have accepted the responsibility and challenge for nurturing in their own children the moral character and integrity to become proud citizens of this great democracy. As we have not failed in our individual efforts with our own flesh, let us not fall as a group. Ours is the task to ply our patience and endurance to the work of this Nation in building human dignity through the meeting of the needs of the body and the mind and the spirit.

There is no better way I know that we can help than through our efforts as volunteers. We can serve as a massive Women's Corps dedicated to the eradication of poverty, crime, dope addiction, juvenile delinquency, prejudice and hate. That these remain in our country as unsolved problems is an enigma totally incompatible with our wealth, our intelligences and our image.

Have you ever stopped to consider that women are among the most severely hit by poverty and by unemployment? It is estimated that there are about 14 million women in this plight today. All too often we think only of the rich widow and the fact that a great part of the wealth of this country is in the hands of the women. But what of these others, who have just barely enough to feed their children, who must witness the deteriorating of their children's bodies from lack of proper food and medical attention, and who through their own lack of education, cannot appreciate the even greater stunting of their children's minds because they cannot give to them the offerings of music, the sound of a poem, or the mysteries of the storybook? Many of these women try, they go out to work for the lowest wages paid anyone, and leave their young children unattended or ill-cared for to play on the streets alone.

It may not be possible for us to save the poverty entrapped adults, but for the youth there is still time, and it is to them that the government's efforts are primarily directed;

headstart pre-school education, job training centers for the teenagers, neighborhood youth programs to keep the children from becoming school dropouts, halfway houses to help the young people overcome temptations to delinquency, school lunch programs to feed the hungry, housing programs, medical and dental services for the poor, part-time jobs during the school year, loans to go to college so that none need to be denied the fullest opportunity to be educated, and many other deeply child-oriented national programs. All of these need your help and support. I know that we can count on you to do your part to keep this effort meaningful and productive of a way of life rich and full of potential for our precious American youth!

President Johnson has time and again cited the women of America for their capacity to serve, for their perseverance, and for their compassion and understanding of human suffering. Let us respond to his call by giving of our hearts tenfold more than that required of us by duty alone.

I am confident that in this mission we will be enriching our own lives mindful of the fact that our efforts mean a better life for someone else. As a simple citizen of America, I humbly offer you this significant challenge and ask that you consider what you can give in the name of and for the sake of a fellow American.

THE PASSING OF A GREAT AMERICAN INDUSTRIALIST—HENRY J. KAISER

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS, Mr. Speaker, Cecil Rhodes, the great empire builder in Africa, once said, "So little done, so much to do."

These words were the philosophy not only of Mr. Rhodes, but also of the eminent American industrialist who passed away last week—Henry J. Kaiser. Mr. Kaiser's driving spirit and his activist life are to be found not only in the industrial empire which he left in our country, but also in the philosophy of a man who exemplified the very best of the American dream.

From the man who built Kaiser Industries and affiliated Kaiser companies into an organization with assets of more than \$2.7 billion and aggregate annual sales of over \$2.1 billion, and plants in 33 States and 40 other nations, we have many comments of his boundless energy and drive, such as:

Let's keep on being the kind of organization that's never satisfied with itself. I certainly haven't been a bit satisfied with myself. I ought to get more done when there's so much to do. Let's not stifle ideas by inaction. We can, if we will, keep forever building the tomorrow that is better than yesterday. We face stupendous changes, but we've never feared change. We've always relished the challenges.

These words are the hallmark of the imagination, intelligence, and spirit that was Henry Kaiser. I had the distinct honor and privilege, Mr. Speaker, to know this man, and his character was in the mold of the foremost Americans who

have forged a great country out of a wilderness—who have built the United States into the greatest Nation in the history of the world.

In the same manner as the forefathers of our Nation, Henry J. Kaiser built his industrial empire on the highest principles. He did not forsake the principles of honesty, integrity, and hard work. These traits were an integral part of his makeup, his nature. As he once said:

I have never felt it means much to earn money for money's sake.

Part and parcel of his personality, too, was his eternal optimism, and his consistent vision of the future. In the spirit of Robert Browning, who said:

A man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for.

Mr. Kaiser said:

I always have to dream up there against the stars. If I don't dream I'll make it, I won't even get close.

But Mr. Kaiser always put his vision to work. As he also said:

It is always good to get on high ground and see the vision. But I can never escape the urge to do something about it.

And do something about it he did. In forging a great industrial empire with assets of more than \$2.7 billion in the United States and abroad, Mr. Kaiser contributed significantly to the economic development and prosperity of our country and its people.

From my own observation, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Kaiser's contributions have been particularly significant in my home State of Louisiana. In the past 20 years since Kaiser industries began operations in Louisiana, more than \$450 million has been invested in the construction and expansion of five plants in my State. The total employment at these plants is about 4,200, and the total annual payroll exceeds \$42 million.

Today, Louisiana is third ranking among the Nation's 13 aluminum producing States, and the largest aluminum reduction plant in our country is located at Chalmette near New Orleans. In fact, 40 percent of our Nation's domestic aluminum is produced at the Chalmette plant—that is, 260,000 tons annually.

As a further note of the economic contribution which Kaiser works make to my State, Mr. Speaker, more than \$70 million is spent by the companies each year for the purchase of needed materials and services to keep the five plants in full operation. In the years 1964-67, Kaiser industries will spend a total of \$77 million for expansion and capital improvements to its Louisiana facilities. The largest of these investments for expansion and improvement—a total of \$25 million—was spent to triple the capacity of the alumina works plant at Gramercy, which produces about 620,000 tons of alumina annually.

Mr. Speaker, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., started operations in Louisiana in 1946 with the purchase of an alumina-producing plant at Baton Rouge. Today, that plant produces more than \$950,000 tons of alumina annually, and \$6.1 million is being spent to improve the facilities, including the construction of a new dock.

The opening of Kaiser operations at the Baton Rouge plant was followed in 1951 by the completion of the Chalmette works, America's largest aluminum reduction plant.

The Gramercy works, the company's second alumina producing plant, were opened in 1959. Two years later, the Kaiser chemicals plant at Gramercy was completed as the first industrial chemical works for Kaiser Industries in the United States. In 1965, a Kaiser calcined coke plant was opened at Norco, where 150,000 tons of calcined coke are produced each year.

As the industrial might of Louisiana continues to grow, the Kaiser Industries' contribution to the economy and prosperity of my State will march forward with Louisiana. There is no doubt that my State is indebted to the development of Kaiser Industries in Louisiana, and I am pleased to salute this great corporation and its affiliated companies, and their departed leader, Henry J. Kaiser.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment on a project which was dearest to Mr. Kaiser's heart. I refer to the world's largest private systems of hospitals and prepaid medical care. This comprehensive medical care program, which Mr. Kaiser organized and developed, was begun to provide his workers and their families with proper health care in the remote areas of the West. During World War II, the plan was extended to shipyard workers, and later, by public demand, it was opened up to other groups, industries, and individuals. Today, this program is serving a cross-section of citizens in California, Oregon, and Hawaii. Today this fine medical care program has a membership of some 1.8 million, of which only 5 percent are employees of Kaiser Industries and its affiliated companies. The system is growing at the rate of 10 percent a year, and its facilities include 18 hospitals, with 3,200 beds and more than 40 medical clinics in the three Western States. Professional services are provided by some 1,500 doctors who conduct their own partnerships.

This program is a splendid example of the humanitarian aspects of Mr. Kaiser's personality—and he is to be commended for establishing this fine medical care program.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a recent biographical sketch of the eventful and active life of Henry J. Kaiser, and four worthy editorials on the good works of this man from the Washington Post of August 26, 1967; the Washington Daily News; the Baltimore Sun, and the New York Times, all appearing on last Saturday, August 26, 1967. The biographical sketch and the editorials follow:

HENRY J. KAISER: 1967 BIOGRAPHY

Henry J. (John) Kaiser is an industrialist with world-wide interests, a builder, and a founder of hospitals and a medical care program.

As an industrialist Henry Kaiser is chairman of the board of Kaiser Industries Corporation and head of the affiliated Kaiser Companies that have assets exceeding \$2.7-billion in 33 states and more than 40 countries overseas.

As a builder he has constructed roads, dams, tunnels, ships and a dozen industries in a half-century.

As the founder of a medical care program in the western United States, he has worked with partnerships of physicians, built hospitals and clinics, established a nursing school and contributed to medical education.

Henry J. Kaiser was born on May 9, 1882 in a white frame farmhouse at Sprout Brook, New York, one of four children of Francis J. Kaiser, a shoemaker, and Mary Yops Kaiser, a practical nurse, both immigrants from Germany.

YOUNG KAISER BUILDS PHOTOGRAPHY BUSINESS

He left school at 13 to take a job at \$1.50 a week as a cash boy in a drygoods store at Utica in upstate New York, and boosted his income by taking photographs after working hours. Despite lack of formal education, he always was learning. His restless, driving spirit was constantly seeking new ways of doing things. Later, the same drive challenged his managers, engineers, and other employees in daring projects and new ventures.

Young Henry Kaiser traveled as a photographic salesman in upper New York. At Lake Placid, New York, he offered a Mr. Brownell, owner of a photographic shop, to work for nothing on condition that if he doubled the business in a year, he would receive a half interest. He trebled the business, became a junior partner at 22, bought out the business a year later and added new stores at Daytona Beach and Miami, Florida, and Nassau. Outside his first store he placed a prophetic sign: "Meet the Man With a Smile".

BUILDING CAREER STARTS IN WEST

Deciding to stake his future with the West, he moved to Spokane, Washington, in 1906 and was hired by a hardware company, later becoming sales manager. He went into construction in 1912 as a salesman and manager of road paving contracts in Washington and British Columbia.

It was in 1914 that he established his first company—Henry J. Kaiser Company, Ltd.—at Vancouver, B.C., and the first job was to pave a road two miles long in the Canadian city. He was then 32.

During the next seven years, he continued road paving work in Washington, Idaho and British Columbia and created a new way of doing the job by replacing mules with machinery. Doing jobs in better and faster new ways became a Kaiser trademark, and he saved his men many back-breaking hours by putting pneumatic tires on wheelbarrows and diesel engines in bulldozers.

He won his first job in California by jumping off a moving train. He wanted to bid on the job of building a 30-mile road between Red Bluff and Redding in northern California, but the train didn't stop at Redding. When it slowed down to drop off the mail, Henry Kaiser jumped off. He won the contract and in 1921 established his headquarters in Oakland, where it continues today in the 28-story Kaiser Center.

It was on this first California job that Henry Kaiser demonstrated another of his trademarks—speed. At that time the average progress for paving a road was two miles a month. Henry Kaiser tied five scrapers to a tractor, instead of one to a team of horses, and completed one mile every week.

He moved into the sand and gravel business in 1923 while he was paving a road between Livermore and Pleasanton in California. The aggregate plant developed into Kaiser Sand & Gravel, now one of the largest producers of aggregates in northern California. It was also Henry Kaiser's start in the business of mining and processing raw materials, a basic strength of the Kaiser companies today.

A CUBAN HIGHWAY LED TO WESTERN DAMS

The year 1927 was a turning point in Henry Kaiser's career when he went to Cuba to build a 200-mile, 500-bridge highway. It was a huge project for the young contractor,

and the principle of teamwork learned on this job guided his future work. He conceived the joint venture concept that led to partnerships and associations of contractors for cooperative construction of projects too large for a single builder.

It was in Cuba also that Henry Kaiser realized that a growing organization must develop its management from within itself. He went into the business of hiring young talent and training his future leaders—"building people" as he described it.

The Thirties was the era of the big dams—first Hoover, 726 feet high, then Bonneville and Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. Hoover Dam was constructed by a joint venture combine called Six Companies, Inc., of which Henry Kaiser was elected chairman of the executive committee. The dam was built in four years—two years ahead of schedule.

While the dams were being built, Kaiser's men were building piers for the world's longest bridge—the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, levees on the Mississippi River and pipelines in Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona and Montana. Up to the start of World War II, Kaiser and associated firms built some 1,000 projects totaling \$383-million.

Another dam started Henry Kaiser in his industrial era. Although he had no cement plant, he successfully bid to supply six-million barrels of cement to build Shasta Dam in northern California at a savings of \$1,683,866 under the next lowest bid. With the contract in hand, he built a cement plant at Permanente, California, in only seven months from start of construction to production. He also supplied 11-million tons of aggregates for the dam, and built a nine and one-half mile conveyor belt—then the world's longest—to transport the material through the mountains.

Today, Kaiser Cement & Gypsum Corporation is the largest cement company in the West with annual sales of \$99-million, 43 plants and facilities and assets of \$150 million.

SHIPBUILDING WINS WORLDWIDE RECOGNITION

In 1940 when the Allies desperately needed ships, Britain called on the Kaiser "know-how" at marshalling men and materials and contracted for Kaiser to build shipyards and 30 cargo ships—thus began the shipbuilding program that won world-wide recognition.

At the peak of the shipbuilding era, Henry Kaiser and his associates operated 58 shipyards at seven yards that built 1,490 ships during World War II—roughly 30 percent of the American production of merchant shipping in this period—plus 50 small aircraft carriers. The Kaiser shipyards established a reputation for speed, averaging one new ship a day and an aircraft carrier per week.

On November 15, 1942, the Robert E. Peary was launched—4 days and 15 hours after the keel was laid. The ship was complete with bath towels and sharpened pencils in the chart room. The Kaiser streamlined, mass production of ships was based on prefabrication of major units and assembly line fitting of the parts into the whole.

Today, a Kaiser company, National Steel and Shipbuilding in San Diego, California, continues the shipbuilding heritage and has a \$300-million backlog of work.

During World War II, Henry Kaiser also managed the largest artillery shell operation in the U.S. He built and operated two magnesium plants for the production of the light metal and "goop," the magnesium incendiary. He supplied all the bulk cement used by the United States to construct Pacific fortifications. He operated an aircraft and aircraft parts manufacturing plant.

One acute problem of the World War II shipbuilder was the availability of steel ship plate in the West, so Henry Kaiser built his own steel plant at Fontana in southern California—the first integrated steel plant in the

Western United States. Today, Kaiser Steel Corporation is the ninth largest in the United States with sales of \$365-million annually.

POSTWAR PERIOD LAUNCHES KAISER'S GREATEST GROWTH

During the war, Henry Kaiser looked to the future and studied the postwar needs. He was convinced that four essentials would be in great demand—metals, building materials, homes and automobiles. He anticipated a growth period needing steel, cement and sand and gravel, and he also saw promise in another material—aluminum.

In 1946, Henry Kaiser entered the aluminum business by leasing surplus plants from the War Assets Administration. Industry sources claimed that "aluminum will be running out of our ears"—so great had been the war-time expansion of capacity. One "expert" report listed 16 reasons why Kaiser's entry into aluminum was doomed to failure.

Within five years, Henry Kaiser and his team of energetic young managers were producing and marketing more aluminum than the entire U.S. annual output up to 1937, and in its first 20 years Kaiser Aluminum was destined to expand its capacity to approximately five times that pre-war level. How it was accomplished has been called one of America's greatest industrial success stories. Kaiser's constant search for new ideas anticipated the need for this light metal that would jump to 47 pounds per capita and 1966 from only 10 pounds in 1946. The four reduction plants in Louisiana, West Virginia and Washington have an annual capacity of 670,000 tons. Fabricating plants and rolling mills around the country serve the nation with literally thousands of aluminum products.

Also, the company is a substantial producer of industrial chemicals, refractories and agriculture fertilizers, operating nationwide. Recently, it has entered the nickel business. Its world-wide operations include primary aluminum plants in Africa and Australia, and fabricating plants in Europe, Japan, India, Australia, South America and Africa.

Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation today has assets in excess of \$1.1-billion and annual sales exceeding \$781-million. The fourth largest aluminum producer in the world, it has 88 plants and 27,500 employees.

MANUFACTURE OF AUTOMOBILES BECOMES WORLDWIDE

Believing his men, who produced ships faster and at lower cost than ever before, could make a contribution in the postwar production of automobiles, Henry Kaiser formed the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation in 1945. Starting from scratch, the auto manufacturing plant at Willow Run, Michigan, led the industry in producing the first all-new car since 1941. Pioneering the postwar styling, the new company overcame terrific shortages of materials in its first full year of operations. It produced its own engines, its own bodies, its own steering gears; it built a new dealer organization, and broke all records in the history of the industry for number of new cars produced by a starting company in a new plant.

Automobile manufacturing in the postwar period was an exceedingly competitive business. After 10 years of passenger car production in which 750,000 Kaiser cars rolled off the assembly line, Henry Kaiser withdrew from the passenger car market in the United States and concentrated on the production of the famous four-wheel-drive 'Jeep' utility vehicles in this country and overseas. In the early Fifties, he started complete manufacturing facilities of motor vehicles in South America, establishing Willys-Overland do Brasil and Industrias Kaiser Argentina.

Today, Kaiser Jeep Corporation manufactures a wide variety of sports and compact cars, station wagons and 'Jeep' utility vehicles in the United States and in 32 foreign countries, as well as producing numerous mil-

itary vehicles. Kaiser 'Jeep' sales totalled \$333-million in 1966, and the two South American companies produced 121,000 vehicles, not counting other 'Jeep' affiliates in more than 30 countries.

KAISER STEEL BUILDS THE WEST

In his life-long quest to "find a need and fill it," Henry Kaiser knew that the Western United States could not reach industrial maturity and provide jobs and products for vast population growth without having its own steel industry—"Steel, the Mother of Industries." Skeptics said the West Coast had neither the raw materials nor sufficient markets to gain its independence from the Eastern steel sources.

Mobilizing private capital and the Kaiser management team, Henry Kaiser founded the West's first and only fully integrated iron and steel industry in southern California at Fontana in 1941. Its iron ore deposits are mined only 164 miles away at Eagle Mountain, and coking coal mines are in the neighboring states of Utah and New Mexico.

In its first quarter of a century, Kaiser Steel has invested \$713 million in plants, equipment and other fixed assets, expanding steadily with each peace-time year. It has reached a capacity of three million ingot tons a year, and its multiple rolling mills and fabrication facilities produce the array of products required by the industrialization of the West. In its 25-year history, Kaiser Steel has produced 35-million tons of steel, sold products exceeding \$5-billion and paid its employees \$1.5-billion in wages.

In a pioneering innovation in human relations, Kaiser Steel and the United Steelworkers of America have developed a plan of sharing cost savings that has paid participating employees \$10.9-million in cash bonuses and set aside \$8.6-million more in a wage and benefit reserve. At the same time, employees are protected against technological displacement.

Kaiser Steel is 36 per cent owner of the Hamersley Iron project in western Australia, one of the world's greatest iron ore developments. This company has contracts approaching \$1 billion for sales of ore over a 16 year period to steel companies in Japan and Europe. The rich iron ore deposits of Mt. Tom Price, named for a life-time associate of Henry Kaiser, started shipments in August, 1966. Ore is hauled to the Coast on its own 182-mile railroad and bulk-shipped in 65,000-ton ore ships.

OTHER COMPANIES GROW UNDER HENRY KAISER

Kaiser Cement & Gypsum Company has grown to the ninth largest cement manufacturing company in the United States with an annual capacity to 19.7-million barrels. Its subsidiary, Kaiser Gypsum, distributes insulating and gypsum board products in 29 states and the Pacific Basin.

Kaiser Community Homes, formed in 1945 to meet the postwar housing shortage, has built 10,000 homes in California and led to other real estate development activities.

In Hawaii since 1955, Henry Kaiser directly supervised the building of the 1,146-room Hawaiian Village Hotel (sold to Hilton); the Kaiser Foundation Medical Center; a \$13½ million cement plant; and radio and television broadcasting facilities (also sold). Kaiser is now building the new community of Hawaii-Kal at Honolulu for an ultimate population of 60,000 residents.

Kaiser Broadcasting Corporation, which grew out of the Hawaiian facilities, is now developing UHF television stations in Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, southern California, San Francisco and Cleveland, and FM radio stations in San Francisco and Boston.

The engineers and managers who have "grown up" with Henry Kaiser and accomplished the so-called "impossible" projects operate Kaiser Engineers Division. A worldwide engineering and construction firm, it has a backlog of \$800-million of uncompleted work this year.

Kaiser Aerospace & Electronics Corporation develops and manufactures aircraft and missile components and electronic equipment. Its new Kaiser Flite-Path and radar converter systems promise improved safety concepts for the aviation industry.

HEALTH PLAN KAISER'S FAVORITE PROJECT

Closest to Henry Kaiser's heart has been the founding of the world's largest private initiative system of hospitals and pre-paid medical care. When he was 16 years old, his mother died in his arms for lack of medical care. He resolved, if he ever could, to help others protect and maintain their health.

Kaiser's opportunity to pioneer in meeting this great need came three decades ago when he was building pipelines and dams far removed from hospitals and doctors. The medical care program evolved from the need to provide workers and their families with health care in remote areas of the west. The plan was extended to the shipyard workers during the war, and, by public demand, was subsequently opened to other groups, industries and individuals. The program is now serving a cross-section of the public in California, Oregon and Hawaii.

The non-profit Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, emphasizing preventive medicine and comprehensive care, now has a membership of more than 1.5-million and is growing at the rate of 10 per cent a year. Facilities now include 18 hospitals, with 3,200 beds, and more than 40 medical clinics in the three western states. Professional services are provided by 1,500 doctors who conduct their own partnerships.

AWARDS ACCLAIM HENRY KAISER'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Honorary doctorate degrees conferred upon Henry Kaiser include: Hobart College, Washington State College, Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology, University of Nevada, Marshall College, St. Mary's College and University of California.

He has been decorated with France's Legion of Honor, Chevalier. Awards include the New Orleans' Cunningham Award for contributions to advancement of Latin America; International Broadcast Free Enterprise Award, as "distinguished citizen exemplifying that free enterprise is the true foundation of a free world"; Humanitarian Distinguished Community Service Award of International Association of Machinists; Success Unlimited Philosophy of American Achievement Award; Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. Medal of Merit for "contribution to human relations in industry"; American Society of Travel Agents Award; and City of Oakland and Alameda County, California, Kaiser Day and Award for "inspiring contribution to community progress and growth."

Partly because of his pioneering in medical care for all, in 1965 Henry Kaiser received the Murray-Green Humanitarian Award, "in recognition of notable accomplishments in voluntary medical care, housing and labor-management relations"—together with citation from President Lyndon B. Johnson stating this was "the first occasion on which the AFL-CIO selected an outstanding industrialist to receive their highest honor . . . Henry Kaiser epitomizes a departure from the past . . . a pioneer of the new breed of responsible businessmen . . ."

He was elected by students of U.S. colleges as favorite industrialist for 1963 Robbins Award of America for Inspiration to Youth; and recognized by Fortune magazine as a "Grand Old Man of Business," and that no man in the history of private enterprise had established as many varied industries.

In Hawaii during recent years, Henry Kaiser has been honored with Hawaii's Salesman of the Year Award; Order of the Splintered Paddle Award . . . "More than any American of this era a legend in his own lifetime—for contributions . . . through his vision, leadership, beliefs and his deep and abiding understanding of the need for good

human relations"; Honolulu Realty Board Honorary Membership; Hawaii's Father of the Year; Resolutions by three Hawaii legislatures hailing Kaiser contributions to Hawaiian Islands' development; Hawaii's Native-Born Citizen of the Year; Brotherhood Award as "Distinguished Builder of Society."

Still the pioneer in his 85th year, Henry J. Kaiser makes his home in Hawaii—a legend in his own lifetime—not only for his many accomplishments, but also for the way he has done them. The family of companies which he founded now exceeds the hundred mark. Their combined assets are more than \$2.7-billion. Aggregate annual sales exceed \$2.1 billion. Plants and facilities total 190 in 33 states and 40 countries overseas. The annual payroll for 90,000 employees exceeds \$630-million. Shareholders in the publicly-held companies total 140,000 investors.

HENRY J. KAISER HONORS AND MEMBERSHIPS

Doctor of Science (1943): Hobart College, Geneva, New York.

Doctor of Laws (1943): Washington State College, Pullman, Wash.

Doctor of Engineering (1944): Montana School of Mines, Butte, Montana.

Doctor of Laws (1948): University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada.

Doctor of Humane Letters (1955): Marshall College, Huntington, W. Virginia.

Doctor of Laws (1956): St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Calif.

Doctor of Laws (1961): University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

The LaSalle Medal (1944): LaSalle University, Philadelphia, Penn.

Cunningham Award (1957): International House, New Orleans, La.

Robbins Award of America (1963): Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

Degree of Chevalier, Legion of Honor (1952): Republic of France.

The Murray-Green Award (1965): The AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Order of the Splintered Paddle (1966): Honolulu Chamber of Commerce.

Member: Beta Gamma Sigma, national honorary business fraternity; The Beavers, Los Angeles, construction industry organization; Elks Club, Everett, Washington; Waialae Country Club, Honolulu, Hawaii; San Francisco Press Club, San Francisco, California (Honorary); Automobile Old Timers Club, New York; and Newcomen Society of North America.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 26, 1967]

HENRY J. KAISER

Henry Kaiser possessed in extraordinary abundance that kind of exuberant vitality and zest for achievement which seems to be a secret of industrial pre-eminence. Robust and hearty in nature and physique, he went to work when he was 13 at \$1.50 a week and built out of that beginning an industrial empire reputed to have assets of more than \$2.7 billion with aggregate annual sales exceeding \$2.1 billion and with 190 plants and facilities scattered in 33 American cities and 40 foreign countries. This is a conspicuous success story in an old and honored American tradition.

There are numerous monuments to Henry Kaiser's creative and ebullient genius—the Hoover Dam, the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, levees, pipelines, cement, gypsum, steel and aluminum plants, shipbuilding yards, automobile factories. But perhaps the most striking, unusual and significant of his accomplishments was the founding of the world's largest private initiative system of hospitals and prepaid medical care. The non-profit Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, emphasizing preventive medicine and comprehensive health care, has a membership today of 1.5 million served by 18 hospitals, with 3,200 beds, and by more than 40 medical clinics. It is a felicitous irony that so independent a private enterpriser should have

showed the way to making socially supported, prepaid medical and hospital care feasible.

American strength and greatness have often been attributed to that curious, elusive quality called "know-how." Henry Kaiser was a contemporary practitioner and exemplar of it. "All my life I've been going against the wind," he said. It seems to have been what made him go.

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 26, 1967]

HENRY J. KAISER, DREAMER

Henry J. Kaiser was truly cast in the epic American mold: from school dropout at age 13 to fabulously successful industrialist.

"I always have to dream up against the stars," he once said ambiguously.

It was the kind of thing that one likes to hear from a successful dreamer.

Paradoxically, the man who performed shipbuilding feats during World War II, and went on to greater industrial glories—steel, aluminum, cement and even urban renewal (Honolulu)—may be remembered by most people for his one great failure: Automobile.

After World War II he joined Joseph Frazer to manufacture the Kaiser, the Frazer and the Henry J., and failed. The compact Henry J. was just a few years ahead of its time.

Henry Kaiser died in Honolulu Thursday at age 85 with most of his American dreams having come true. It was this country's good fortune, as well as his own, that they did.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 26, 1967]

HENRY J. KAISER

Henry J. Kaiser's telephone bills would run to some \$300,000 a year, and the telephone company was merely a minor beneficiary of all that talk. For it was business talk, and every word sprouted employment for people, which in turn fructified in dams for the community at large, in steel mills and aluminum plants and levees on the Mississippi and ships—one third of all the American merchant ships built to win World War II—and, at the end, in a happy blaze of pink decor, hotels, hospitals and resort facilities wholesale on the flamboyant and storied isles of Hawaii.

This was the out-size performance of one of the very great tycoons, all but inconceivable beyond the United States of America, and yet a tycoon with a difference. When the old rigid Republican entrepreneuriat was still resisting Government encroachment—often with pretty good reason—Henry J. Kaiser was learning to go along. The ultimate test of the business genius, after all, is surmounting all difficulties, the easy ones imposed by simple things like topography and weather, the really tough ones created by the hopes, dreams and multiple cantankerousnesses of political man. Mr. Kaiser was equally good in both departments.

That may make him the first full-blown type of the new private enterpriser who deals on intimate terms with new big government and knows how to retain within the encircling tentacles of political solicitude and surveillance, the punch and daring and imagination which still get big things done. What would the Soviets, what would New Delhi, what would the old native home of industrialism, England herself, give for more men like Kaiser? We have been warned, to be sure, by those who know from experience, like Mr. Eisenhower, and those who conceptualize out of analysis, like Professor Galbraith, of the new age when big business and big government intertwine, and of the perils involved in the process. Henry J. Kaiser illustrated the process and exemplified the humane virtues which can at least temper and perhaps minimize the perils.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 26, 1967]

INDIVIDUALIST: NEW STYLE

Henry J. Kaiser was an industrial empire builder in a new mold. His companies built

dams, ships, cars, factories, resorts and hospitals. When the United States was at war it was the Kaiser shipyards that set records building everything afloat rapidly, from landing craft to aircraft carriers. He turned his hand to automobiles after the war, one of his few ventures that failed.

But Mr. Kaiser made a phenomenal recovery by building even firmer foundations for his good name. He helped to revolutionize medical care by setting up the Kaiser Foundation and a self-sufficient health plan. He turned a Wakiki slum into a resort and, at 85, he was developing a model community, Hawaii-Kai.

Unlike the industrial barons of old, his credo—in the words of an award bestowed on him by the A.F.L.-C.I.O.—was: "The worker is a human being." His own humane projects will outlive the monuments of cement and steel.

"THE NINTH CIRCLE," BY KIP SHAW

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely proud of the work that some of my interns and fellows have done under my auspices during the summer months.

This year, I was indeed privileged to have with me Mr. Charles Clifford "Kip" Shaw, Jr., as a fellow from Columbia University on my staff. Mr. Shaw is majoring in the field of government at Columbia and is slated for graduation in 1969. He maintains a B+ average and holds membership in the Blue Key Society and Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity. Mr. Shaw has worked on a part-time basis in the summer as an entertainer and as a reporter and photographer.

On my suggestion, asking him to study the question of the much publicized disturbances in such cities as Newark and Detroit, he made a study which I consider to be very valuable. There are some areas in which I am not completely in agreement, but, nevertheless, young Mr. Shaw has done a remarkable job, and I wish to share this with you.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place Mr. Shaw's study "The Ninth Circle: A Study of the Urban Negro Underclass," in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

THE NINTH CIRCLE: A STUDY OF THE URBAN NEGRO UNDERCLASS

(By Charles C. Shaw, Jr., for the Honorable HENRY B. GONZALEZ, August 18, 1967)

PREFACE

Urban Negroes rioted. This is what history will see when it looks back at the summer of 1967. But will it tell us why?

The scapegoat-hunters of today tell us that the whole problem stems from the existence of agitators wise to the methods of mob psychology. They argue that if only these agitators were jailed, the whole problem would go away.

This analysis implies that the urban Negro is in a similar, or at least similar enough, situation as many of the other social strata of our society; it implies this because of its foundation on the importance of mob psychology—arguing that everybody has

problems and all you need is someone to blow them out of proportion and you've got a riot.

The "outside agitator" school is not really worth discussing. Just as history has forgotten the petty individuals who somehow accused Eleanor Roosevelt for the Detroit race riot of 1943, so shall history diminish the importance of the "outside agitator" in the summer of 1967.

And history will most likely also dismiss the "bad physical conditions" school of thought—those who say that unemployment, poor housing, and poor education are the root problems. These are also only symptoms. To solve the situation permanently, the malady must be found and cured.

This study is an attempt to discover the reasons why the two factors of an urban environment and a Negro underclass, when found together, form a volatile situation.

The Negro underclass does not riot in the rural areas, as did some members of society during the depression, nor does the white underclass riot in the city. We must determine what unique factors of the Negro underclass and of the urban environment produce a riot.

There will be three parts to this study. The first, an attempt to ascertain some of the factors which have placed the Negro in a unique position in American society today. The second part is a study into some of the unique factors which affect the urban underclass. The third part is an attempt to determine why the combination of the first two unique groups of factors produced the urban Negro riots of 1967.

PART 1—WHY CAN'T THE NEGRO?—SOME REASONS FOR THE NEGRO'S UNIQUE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

I

It is a shame that riots are seemingly necessary to make us realize the plight of the Negro. What was only recently a void of apathy is now filled with myriad committees delving into the motivations behind civil disorder.

But if we are critical of the previous lack of concern, we can now be excited in knowing that meaningful conclusions will most likely be arrived at by all these committees.

I cannot keep from predicting that the basis of these conclusions will be answers which have already been realized for many years; once again we will be told that the tangible "eternal triangle" of poor housing, poor education and unemployment and the intangible evil of discrimination are all reasons for the Negro's plight and the consequent civil disorder.

We hear these conclusions today. Over and over again. These are very real problems and one does not have to be very perceptive to realize that they exist.

Why these problems exist is the question that must be answered. Why is the Negro in such a seemingly impossible situation? Why can't he get himself out of it? Why must the white man help him get jobs, houses and education? Why has the Negro failed in his fight for equality while other minority groups all around him have succeeded? These are the questions that we must answer.

We must answer them because the white middle-class citizen is not going to be truly concerned with the Negro's situation until these questions are answered. Lurking in the back of even the "liberal" white mind is often the thought, "Maybe the Negro is inferior." This thought is manifested in statements such as: "But the Negroes don't seem to want better housing. You give them new houses and they're slums in a few years." Or "I don't see why they can't help themselves. I don't see why they need all this welfare. Look at the Irish, or the Jews. They were discriminated against. Still are. And they bettered themselves. Why can't the Negro?"

The average citizen is not going to be truly sympathetic toward the Negro's plight

until he is told why that plight exists and why the Negro can't get out of it by himself—until he is told why the Negro is in a unique situation never before experienced by an ethnic minority in this country. Only when these answers are known and understood by every American citizen will a truly effective process of assimilation begin. And this process must begin, for this country cannot afford to wrestle with the forces of black separatism any longer. The toll is already too high.

Why is the Negro's situation unique? I would now like to offer some answers to that question. There are other answers. And the public must hear all of them if we are ever to achieve true unity in this country.

II

The Negro American has endured over 300 years of injustices with only three years of something approaching legal equality. This one fact alone is more than enough to prove the Negro's plight is indeed unique in American history. But there are other contributing factors. In fact, when viewed as a whole, it is truly amazing that the Negro has done as well as he has. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan has said: "That the Negro American has survived at all is extraordinary—a lesser people might simply have died out, as indeed others have."

To properly understand the Negro's unique situation today, it is necessary to realize what effects 200 years of slavery has had on the Negro American.

The only human beings ever to be commodities in the United States have been Negro. In fact, very few societies in world history have inflicted such an oppressive, lengthy system of slavery on an ethnic minority. The ramifications of that system not only affect the Negro American today, but will affect him for a long time to come.

Contrary to any other minority group, society forced the Negro to this country. When he arrived, society rudely split up his family, bought and sold him, deprived him of the right of religious observance unless given permission by his master; did not allow him to be taught to read or write; and often, as the many mulatto skins will attribute, not only bought and sold his women, but also violated them. The sociologist C. Eric Lincoln summarized the slavery system in America quite well:

"Slavery was not a unique experience. Still, although it existed for centuries in Africa as well as elsewhere, nowhere but in America was it accompanied by such devastation of personality. It was not the slavery *per se*, but the pitiless obliteration of the history and the culture of a people, the deliberate distortion of that history and culture."

It is amazing to think that the people of this country, after fighting a bloody civil war over states rights and slavery, were content to merely to set the Negro "free" and do nothing whatsoever, until 1954, to even begin to remedy the tremendous ills brought on by slavery. As we will see later, this lapse of 100 years has produced pathological sub-cultural characteristics in the Negro American which today are so ingrained that a tremendous amount of effort will be necessary to alleviate the situation.

The consequences of slavery upon the Negro were obviously all-pervading, but two effects stand above the others. The first we can call "dependence"; the second, the "deterioration of the family structure."

Dependence was the obvious concomitant of the Emancipation. Merely setting the Negro "free" in an alien world would be similar to society forcibly taking white men and their families to the jungles of Africa; keeping them and their offspring in a non-family system of bondage for two hundred years, and then setting them "free" in the jungle. Dependence upon the black man would obviously remain, not only physical

dependence but psychological dependence. Thomas Pettigrew has said:

"Psychologists point out that slavery in all its forms sharply lowered the need for achievement in slaves . . . Negroes in bondage, stripped of their African heritage, were placed in a completely dependent role. All of their rewards came, not from individual initiative and enterprise, but from absolute obedience—a situation that everly depresses the need for achievement among all peoples."

C. Eric Lincoln put this idea in sociological terms:

"The Negro in his yearnings to be free and equal, and everywhere observing that blacks were in servitude and whites were free, mistakenly equated whiteness as a necessary corollary to freedom, and blackness as the inevitable concomitant to bondage. Even the experience of emancipation, a rather qualified freedom, did not significantly change the black man's awe of the mystery of whiteness."

The white man was not sympathetic toward this dependence. He exploited it and developed it into an extension of the slavery system and nicknamed it "Jim Crow." The white man might have "loved" the Negro more after the Emancipation, but only if the Negro was a "Tom," only if he was subservient. The opposite of the "Tom" was the "uppity nigger" and the white man treated him with the little respect that is symbolized in the nickname he was given. This definitely was not equality and it is even difficult to argue that it was freedom.

Obviously, 200 years of slavery brought on a deeply ingrained dependence. But dependence is a characteristic of all ethnic minorities, and, if one wanted, it might be possible to argue that dependence, even as severe as that of the Negro American, was not a unique characteristic of that minority.

But the slave system's destruction of the Negro family is definitely a unique factor. Its ramifications not only still exist, but they have become so ingrained that we can now see them as seeming sub-cultural characteristics. (By "sub-cultural" I obviously do not mean "below culture," but instead, "culture within a culture.") If any one factor has kept the Negro from advancing, it is definitely the deterioration of his family structure. Pettigrew said:

"Most importantly of all, slavery vitiated family life . . . Since many slaveowners neither fostered Christian marriage among their slave couples nor hesitated to separate them on the auction block, the slave household often developed a fatherless matrifocal (mother-centered) pattern."

The Emancipation did little to remedy this situation. Jim Crow made the Negro male an inferior individual who looked small in the eyes of his wife and children. The years of forced separation had a much stronger, more ingrained effect upon the Negro family than any freedom brought on by the Emancipation.

The effect of a forced matrifocal pattern upon Negro society has been extremely pathogenic. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, in his classic study *The Negro Family*, said:

"At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro Society is the deterioration of the Negro family . . . There is probably no single fact of Negro American life so little understood by whites. The Negro situation is commonly perceived by whites in terms of the visible manifestation of discrimination and poverty, in part because Negro protest is directed against such obstacles . . . It is more difficult, however, for whites to perceive the effect that three centuries of exploitation have had on the fabric of Negro society itself . . . Here is where the true injury has occurred."

We will see later that the matriarchal pattern has not only disrupted the fabric of Negro Society, but has become a self-perpetuating, ever-expanding system.

III

The slave system's deteriorating effect upon Negro society is indeed pervading. But even if the white man had not forced the Negro into bondage for 200 years, unique problems would still confront the Negro as an ethnic minority.

The Negro minority constitutes a race, not a nationality. This one extremely important fact has tremendous ramifications. Even on the most superficial level it is important: the Negro looks different. Not only does he look different, he is, in a way, a physical antithesis: the *gemeinschaft* is white and he is black. None of the other minority races stand out so plainly from the majority in this country. All have fairer skin and more similar physical characteristics.

This difference between race and nationality is very important to remember when faced with the argument: "The Negro is inferior because he is unable to better himself as have the other ethnic minorities." Often, a comparison is drawn between the Negro and the Irishman, or the Negro and the Jew. Disregarding the factor of a history of slavery, a factor hard to disregard, this comparison is still very shoddy. Firstly, the majority of immigrant groups came from a European society—a society similar to ours. But more importantly, they were Caucasian. If the *gemeinschaft* did not accept them, it would at least accept their children or their children's children. An O'Brien or a Ginsberg daughter could marry a Harrison or a Smith and instant assimilation would take place. The Jew, if he wished, could have his nose bobbed and become a Quaker; the Italian could become an Episcopalian.

But what of the Negro? Could he marry a Caucasian? Hardly. And if he did, his child would not be white. He could change his name, or his religion, or anything he liked, but his skin would remain the same. Arnold Toynbee's observation of thirty years is still valid:

"The . . . (Negro) may have found spiritual salvation in the white man's faith; he may have acquired the white man's culture and learnt to speak his language with the tongue of an angel; he may have become adept in the white man's economic technique, and yet it profits him nothing if he has not changed his skin."

But the difference between a race and a nationality is more than skin deep. A tightly knit nationality group has much more in its favor when combating discrimination and alienation than does an entire race. A nationality group has much more of a sense of identity than do members of an entire race. German immigrants would have much more affinity for each other than for Welsh immigrants, for example. And yet, both groups are Caucasian. The Negro, on the other hand, cannot form an identity with any nationality group. White America separated him from his culture and forced him to become part of a dehumanizing slave system; obviously, the Negro, under those conditions could not form any identity with a particular nationality group among his racial brothers. C. Eric Lincoln said:

"There has been little unanimity in the Negro's search for his identity. The Negro slaves came from many tribes and many cultures. Even though the experience of slavery reduced them all to a common denominator, it did not fuse them into an ideological unit. Only attractive ideas and persuasive leadership could do that; the nature of slavery in America left little room for the development of either."

This sense of identity is not merely a luxury item; it is necessary for the process of assimilation. Cohesion can be instilled via different media—family, religion, politics, economics and so forth. Nevertheless, cohesion is a necessary step before assimilation, because without it, the aspiring group will be in too disadvantaged a position to find social

or economic opportunities—as is the case of the Negro.

Society has deprived the Negro of his family, of his religion, of his politics, and of his economics. Society has, in fact, deprived him of his culture. He has no basis for unity except the color of his skin. This is one reason for the Black Power movement; it is an attempt to unite the Negro and give him some kind of identity.

The problem of identity is indeed a unique phenomenon in American ethnic minority history. Every European immigrant group has a nationality, a culture, a religion to unite it—to give it identity. And so did even the Asian groups—members of another race. There was never one idiomatic term used in reference to all Asians, as there is with the term "nigger." The closest thing to an all-encompassing term for Asians was "little yellow bastards" but this always referred to one particular enemy in one particular war. The white American was always cognizant of Asian nationalities as his nicknames "Gook" and "Jap" will verify.

This absence of a nationality identity is specifically a hindrance to progress in a democratic system where the majority rules. In a democracy, a minority group always has a rough time of it, but the majority will usually listen to the minority group if it is united. As John Dewey said: "The minority is represented in the policy which it forces the majority to accept in order to be a majority."

But Dewey's observation is only true if that minority has one voice. If it is unorganized, which the Negro has been forced to be, it will remain unheard.

IV

I have briefly traced the historical and sociological reasons behind the Negro's unique situation in the United States today.

But what of the present? Have the recent legal advances and the War on Poverty been adequate in coping with the Negro's plight? Apparently not. After tracing the breakdown of the Negro family, Moynihan concludes: "The most difficult fact for white Americans to understand is that . . . the circumstances of the Negro American community in recent years has probably been getting worse, not better."

The reason for this backward trend is that the Negro's unique situation not only perpetuates itself, it augments itself. Moynihan pointed out the following facts in *The Negro Family*: (1) nearly one-quarter of urban Negro marriages are dissolved; (2) nearly one-quarter of Negro births are now illegitimate; (3) almost one-quarter of Negro families are headed by females.

With the above facts in mind, consider the following factors, also pointed out by Moynihan, which not only perpetuate the pattern but augment it: "A fundamental insight of psychoanalytic theory . . . is that the child learns a way of looking at life in his early years through which all later experience is viewed and which profoundly shapes his adult conduct," historically, in the matriarchal Negro society, mothers made sure that if one of their children had a chance for higher education the daughter was the one to pursue it; "the IQ's of children with fathers in the home are always higher than those who have no father in the home."

Also, the welfare system, in a way, perpetuates the matriarchal society. The AFDC federal welfare program, which benefits the majority of Negro children at one point or another in their childhood, benefits all children who are deprived of parental support because one of their parents is absent.

But the forced breakdown of the Negro family is only one of the factors which is plaguing the Negro today.

The construction of the huge, white, suburb complex has further isolated the Negro from American society. As the white moves to the suburb, the Negro acquires the

left-over city. Today, the so-called "liberal" white American daily drives his car around the ghetto—not through it. And as he drives, the radio in his car tells him that everything is getting better in the ghetto. And he drives on. White America sees a Civil Rights Act and a War on Poverty and it thinks that things are getting better.

There is now a feeling among the white middle class that the Negro should be able to "go it alone" now that he has attained his so-called legal rights. So, in a way, the legal advances in civil rights have hurt the Negro's situation; no longer is there the tremendous public concern of the early 60's. America is now consumed with Vietnam. The Negro has been left to fend for himself. The Reverend James Bevel said in August of 1965: "There is no more civil rights movement; President Johnson signed it out of existence when he signed the voting-rights bill." At that time, this statement was construed as being optimistic toward the future. But in light of what has happened since that statement was made, it takes on an extremely pessimistic tone.

What concerns today remains for the Negro's plight is often criticized as action without understanding. There is the whole intricate problem facing us of attempting to help the Negro without forcing him to sublimate his subcultural characteristics and thereby force him to accept the cultural characteristics of the *gemeinschaft*. The program of "busing" children has often been used as an example of this type of forced assimilation.

Another example often cited for action without understanding is the formulation of an unconcerned bureaucracy to cope with the Negro's plight. C. Eric Lincoln has said:

"By day the black ghetto is resplendent with sleek, fat professionals—Negro and white—striving mightily to re-mold the people in images they reject and despise; by night—the people gather on the street corners to contemplate the probabilities of black power, or the ecstasy of long, hot summers. Despite the ministrations of the professionals, the people are as hungry, as unemployed, and as hostile as before."

The civil rights movements do no good, the lack of real concern, discrimination, action without understanding all have produced in the Negro a tremendous feeling of despair—indeed almost a form of nihilism. Integration, or what passes for it, seems as repugnant as Jim Crow. More and more Negroes are agreeing with what Stokely Carmichael has said over and over again:

"Integration . . . speaks to the problem of blackness in a despicable way. As a goal it has been passed on complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education, blacks must move into a white neighborhood or send their children to a white school . . . This is why integration is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy."

The Negro today is perplexed. He has won a legal battle, but certainly not the war; we have supposedly solved his problems, but actually things are getting worse. So where does the Negro turn? Where does he begin?

V

I have tried to show in this article that the Negro indeed occupies a unique position among minorities—an untenable situation.

I have not discussed the usual topics of discrimination, or education, poor housing, and unemployment, because these problems have beset all ethnic minorities in one degree or another. Instead, I have tried to answer the question, "Why can't the Negro?"

But there is one thing I would like to make clear; by arguing that the Negro is in a unique situation, I am not implying that he is inferior. The many Negroes that have succeeded against the amazing odds are proof to that. But in a competitive system such as ours, it is a fact that it is impossible to

compete unless you have something close to an equal chance. The Negro has been denied this equal chance.

I have offered some reasons for his unique situation; I have given historical and sociological proof and I have shown that the problem is self-perpetuating and self-reproducing.

Only one thing remains to be discussed—the present environment.

There exists today two areas of concern: (1) the specific Negro situation and, relatedly, (2) the society in which that situation exists.

Kenneth Clark refers to this specific Negro plight as a "tangle of pathology." This description is quite correct, for the plight of the Negro is not merely a neat vicious circle which can be snipped anywhere and thereby clear up the whole situation. The problem must be tackled *en toto*, for if it isn't, the remaining part of the tangle will overwhelm the cleansed area. For example, poor housing can overwhelm the effects of a decent education; unemployment will remain if there is not prior training; good houses will soon be a slum if jobs and education are not available.

It is a tangle indeed. It is a tangle which only all-consuming public concern can unravel.

Is this public concern likely to appear? I doubt it. As C. Eric Lincoln has said: "An integrated society in which the common values of that society will be freely accessible to the general population regardless of color has not been realized, nor does it seem to be rapidly approaching." If anything, the reaction to the riots will be a violent backlash on the part of the white community.

We have produced, as did the ancient Greeks, a democratic state, but not a democratic society. From the founding of this country until 1865, citizens and leaders alike followed a blatant policy of racism. Even after World War II, while we condemned Hitler's racist policy, we let racism continue in this country for almost 10 years. Not until 1954 was the policy of "separate but equal" upset.

The sad fact is that even with our lofty mottoes, the United States for the vast part of its history—that is, all but thirteen years of it—followed a racist policy. And now we wonder why the Negro is discontent.

We have, in effect, today exchanged a universal system of *apartheid* for a selective system of *apartheid*. This is not progress and we cannot try to pass it off as such. We can no longer allow ourselves to believe in our rhetoric of equality when equality does not exist. We can no longer attempt to promise the Negro equality without producing results. We can no longer afford to be unconcerned with the pattern of action and despair which Claude Brown tells us of in *Manchild in the Promised Land*:

"Before the soreness of the cotton fields had left Mama's back, her knees were getting sore from scrubbing 'Goldberg's' floor. Nevertheless, she was better off; she had gone from the fire into the frying pan.

"The children of these disillusioned colored pioneers inherited the total lot of their parents—the disappointments, the anger. To add to their misery, they had little hope of deliverance. For where does one run to when he's already in the promised land?"

PART 2—THE UNDERCLASS MAN IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

I

Just as it said that the Negro has problems, so it is said of cities. But, as in the case of the Negro, there has been a proportionally small amount of meaningful discussion on *why* urban problems exist.

The previous section attempted to outline the uniqueness of the Negro's plight. This section is concerned with the plight of the city and its consequent effect on the urban population.

It is difficult today to talk in terms of the "city." Suburbia has welded country and town together so that there no longer exists a sharp demarcation between urban and rural environments. Population maps are now various shades of grey, blended together to produce anything but a black and white situation. Indeed, analysts inform us of the vast "megalopolis" stretching unbroken from Boston to Washington. This present situation forces us to find a new definition for the "city." Throughout this paper, therefore, the term "city" will refer to the "central-core" city, the area of the greatest population density, which conceived and gave birth to megalopolis.

Of course, this paper is not merely concerned with the Eastern seaboard phenomenon, but with central-core cities throughout the United States.

The central-core city obviously affects all of its inhabitants. However, a good portion of the urban ranks cope effectively with the city's influence; some even prosper by it. These fortunate individuals are not of interest here; we only recognize their existence and wish them well. The hapless individuals are with whom we should be concerned—those unable to effectively combat the city's pathological influences. Gunnar Myrdal has termed these unfortunates the "underclass"—a group which cannot even enter the class structure and begin Horatio Alger's famed upward climb. To the underclass, cause and effect become hopelessly indistinguishable.

Unfortunately, all too often the term "underclass" will be synonymous with "Negro." Through 300 years of oppression, white America has forced the Negro to accept this miserable position.

Even though there is an unfortunate correlation between the terms "underclass" and "Negro," this section is not concerned with the Negro *per se*; but, instead, with any individual who is unfortunate enough to be born into the underclass of urban America.

II

"Oh beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain;
For purple mountains' majesty . . ."

Some patriots have argued that the song which includes these lyrics should be decreed our National Anthem. The song would certainly not reflect the current American scene, but it certainly would typify the historical attitude toward the city. The true America, in the minds of many, is the rolling prairie, the ever-present frontier; the city is a tumor which just won't go away.

This is not merely an American attitude. We can trace its roots back through European culture to the ancient Greeks:

"A distaste for the 'mob' and the 'masses' has long been firmly entrenched in European thought. The precedent for such distaste can be found in Greek thought, especially in Plato."

Our American forefathers, aware of the unavoidable existence of the city, still hoped that somehow America could minimize its existence. "Jefferson despised the manners and morals of the urban crowd and prayed that they would not be imported to America, the home of the free and innocent farmer."

Emerson, often labeled the "American philosopher," grasped the contemporary anti-urban mumbblings and formulated them into a more specific concept:

"The Understanding, according to Emerson, 'tolls all the time, compares, contrives, adds, argues,' . . . while the Reason, which was for him the highest faculty of the soul 'never reasons, never proves; it simply perceives; it is vision.' . . . Reason, Emerson asserted, is characteristically exercised in the country, while the Understanding is an urban faculty."

The result of a century of anti-urbanism was Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis" which argued that the American

trend was away from the highly populated areas and onward to the open frontier. Horace Greeley reflected this thesis in his much quoted advice of "Go West, young man."

The effect of all this has been the development of an American attitude which speaks mainly of the city's liabilities. Very rarely does one hear of assets.

Only with Carl Sandburg, himself also a lover of the prairies, has this American attitude been popularly altered. The American Bard has said:

"For the City where the people ask bread
and want letters;
In the night the city lives too—the day is
not all.
In the night there are dancers dancing and
singers singing,
And the sailors and soldiers look for num-
bers on doors.
In the night the sea-winds take the city in
their arms."

Sandburg may have popularly altered the attitude toward the city somewhat, however, the idea remains of that "dirty, crowded place"—fit only for the very rich or the very poor.

This attitude is now founded in truth, for America has often ignored the city's assets and allowed its liabilities to reproduce.

III

But Turner's frontier could not last forever. As the frontier faded into homesteads, the people looked back to the city.

When Turner postulated his thesis near the turn of the century, about 65% of the population was rural. But after World War I, the United States had 52% of its inhabitants living in the cities. Of course, European migrants during World War I caused in part this rapid population shift. Nevertheless, much was due to a massive domestic migration.

And this movement toward the urban frontier has gone steadily onward; in 1960, 70% of all Americans were living in the cities. The Negro migration pattern is even more startling: "In the last generation more than 4 million Negroes migrated out of the South (into the Northern cities). If this migration occurred from outside the country it would have been considered a federal problem." In 1900, only 17% of the Negro population was urban; by 1950, the figure had jumped to 48%.

But why, in a country whose whole culture boasts of "amber waves of grain and purple mountains' majesty," did the city become the new frontier? Because the city had jobs; the city had money. Not for everybody, but it was worth taking a chance, they said.

For the Negro, in particular, the Northern city was the "promised land." But why did the Negro wait until 1915 to begin his massive migration northward? "One factor, during the summers of 1915 and 1916 the cotton boll weevil so greatly damaged the cotton crop throughout large areas in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia and Florida as to virtually ruin thousands of farmers." Also, prospects of the war economy induced the Negro northward. Of course, the Negro also had dreams that equality would greet him at the gates of the Northern city, but he needed an economic impetus to seek out that dream.

This economic opportunity is indeed a very important factor; it brings out the central thesis of this section; when we speak of the city today, we are referring to an industrial complex. We are speaking of an environment which emphasizes technology rather than residency. "The modern city differs from the ancient in one important respect. The ancient city grew up around a fortress; the modern city has grown up around a market."

The word "market" is important. It implies that the original population inhabited the city in search of employment opportu-

nities, not primarily in search for a better community. This legacy remains with us. The migration of minority groups to the city today might be affected by the prospect of less discrimination but it is primarily an economic motivation—a search for employment equality, rather than social equality, although in most cases the hope is that the one will bring on the other.

The city today is a workshop, not a community; much of it is vacant at night. Air pollution and congested traffic indicate who are the favored ones in the city.

And modern transportation has greatly added to this workshop environment; those who work in the city do not have to live in it. The city is more and more becoming a mecca for the wealthy and a trap for those that cannot escape. The city is drowning the human factor in a sea of industrial waste.

IV

This individualness, this rationality, of the city indeed makes for a unique environment. To be composed of nothing but man-made structures sharply distinguishes it from all other environments. "God made the country and man made the town." This unique situation makes unique demands and has unique consequences on the urban dweller, often causing the urbanite to seem strange to the outsider:

"The outsider doesn't understand why the city man will rush across the street in front of speeding traffic, darting here and there as though his life depended upon getting somewhere, and on the next block wait an hour to see a parade pass."

But rapidity of movement is only one characteristic of the urbanite. Neils Anderson, in his study, *Urban Sociology*, lists several more:

"(Along with the city's demands for) more rapid movements on the part of its inhabitants, it (also) increases the number and variety of contacts or physical stimulations with a corresponding increase of secondary social contacts; it calls for a varying quality in social relationships; the struggle for status intensifies competition; the city uses more of the learned and fewer of the native capacities; aggregate life necessitates changing standards and values."

In short, the city demands much; the city is a pulsating, quickly changing, often impersonal environment.

Perhaps its most significant demand is the last one Anderson cites: "aggregate life necessitates changing standards and values." This specific demand is the primary concern of the sociological theory of "functionalism." Lee Nelkin Robins has summarized this theory quite well and it is worthwhile to quote him at length:

"The most popular current image of society among sociologists grows out of a theory called functionalism that sees society as a set of interlocking social subsystems (the family, religion, the economy, the power structure), which intermesh more or less perfectly, so that one can predict the nature of one subsystem if one knows that nature of the others . . . In the long run, according to this theory, one subsystem tends to accommodate to the others until all function smoothly together. When there is a major change in one of these subsystems, a whole chain of readjustments is required, and the temporary poorness of fit between subsystems results in what we have chosen to call social problems. Since the most striking change in our society over the last century has been in the direction of industrialization and resultant urbanization, it is not surprising that the occurrence of social problems has been frequently laid at the doors of urban society and industrialization."

We must remember that the social change and population increase in our cities has been largely due to migration and not merely to an excess of births over deaths. This implies that social change is of necessity even more rapid and more profound.

We must also be aware that the effects of urbanization and industrialization will be largely felt by migrants and, specifically, the underclass because they are the ones who are neither accustomed to the city nor able to cope effectively with its damaging consequences.

But the American city is more than just a man-made environment; it is also a piecemeal affair. Indeed, the whole United States shares this quality. We are the only major country whose inhabitants are overwhelmingly migrants; you could almost argue that we are a synthetic nation. America has yet to form one culture; the melting pot still exists only in the future. This fact is reflected in our class structure—an ethnic class structure rather than an economic one.

Many critics have likened the American city to a tumor and in many respects, the analogy holds. America has allowed its urban areas to expand haphazardly, planning them with no where near the amount of attention with which a farmer lays out his land. With its specific ethnic areas and its conglomeration of architecture, the American city is symbolic of our piecemeal culture.

With this man-made, rapid, competitive, industrial, piecemeal environment constantly challenging one's standards and values, city life certainly becomes a harrowing experience for the underclass especially, which is unable to rise above the city's liabilities and enjoy its assets. We can divide the specific consequences of this experience into two areas: (1) the effect of the crowd and (2) the effect of the man-made environment.

V

Aristotle said "Man is a political animal." Since "city" in Greek is *polis*, Aristotle's observation usually is interpreted to mean "Man is a social animal." But Aristotle was of course also much concerned with the "Golden Mean", so I am sure that he would agree that man desires a social environment but also desires to maintain his identity. The contemporary city disregards this "Golden Mean." The city crowd does not allow the individual his privacy in conventional spatial concepts. The urban dweller has therefore unconsciously developed the phenomena of "social distance." An example of social distance can be found any weekday on the subway at about 5:15.

"The paradoxical fact of the subway crowd (now becoming symbolic of urban drive) is that very little communication takes place between its units. People ride so closely as to render individual movement impossible, but they do not speak."

The crowd denies you spatial privacy and so you replace it with social privacy. "Physical nearness coupled with social distance makes it necessary for urbanites to cultivate reserve and to disguise inner feelings. 'Sophistication' is the common term applied to people who acquire facility in this regard."

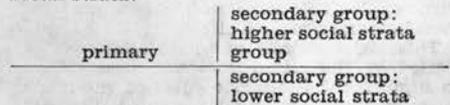
This "sophistication" however, is not prevalent in the urban dwellers' attitude toward all individuals. Intimate friends exist in the city just as they do in the country; therefore, it is necessary, when speaking of urban relationships, to draw the distinction between primary and secondary group relationships, and define the primary group as close acquaintances and the secondary group as those with whom you occasionally come in contact. The urban environment affects both, but in different ways. First, the primary group:

"This primary groups life differs in two important aspects from the similar contacts of his rural brother. It is to a large extent a social environment of (the urban dweller's) own choosing, and it requires a more conscious participation. In the village even the social environment of the adult is largely a predetermined environment. In the city the individual has a great many circles from which to choose, but he must win his right to

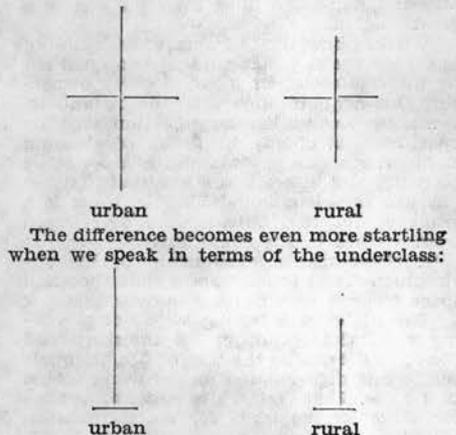
membership. His acceptance will more often depend on what he does than on what he is."

It is refreshing to note that in the city you are accepted for what you do, but this observation seems less significant when one realizes how difficult it is for the urbanite to have someone even notice him.

If we look at the urban dweller's primary and secondary relationships as a schematic drawing, it reveals certain interesting factors. Let us assume that a horizontal line signifies the primary-group relationships. The length of this line is insignificant. A vertical line bisects the horizontal and it signifies the secondary relationships. That segment of the vertical below the horizontal symbolizes secondary relationships with those of a lower social strata, and, therefore, the vertical segment above the horizontal symbolizes secondary relationships with those of a higher social strata:



If we now schematically compare the urban and rural environments, an interesting difference develops. Since the city has a broader social strata spectrum than does any specific rural area, we can say that the vertical line in the urban schematic drawing will be longer than that of the rural vertical:



When we consider the city's phenomena of "social distance" and how difficult it is to even form primary group relationships, the urban vertical line, if it does not become longer, it at least becomes more difficult to climb. The extreme distance of the underclass from the upper social strata becomes even more significant when one considers the process of "socialization"—by which one conforms to those around himself. The underclass in the city is not only blocked off from the upper social strata by his position in society, but also by the factor of social distance. It becomes almost impossible for those of the underclass to do anything but socialize to their specific surroundings, which only increases their plight.

So we can see that "social distance," when applied to the underclass, is merely a euphemism for "alienation."

"The cleavages between city-bred children and their parents, between city-influenced children and their rural-trained elders, are increasing. The existence of boys' predatory gangs, of high juvenile delinquency rates, and of crime waves in cities is an index of social distance. *Race riots are chiefly urban phenomena revealing social distance.* Descriptions of the large city as the 'loneliest spot anywhere' or as 'the most unsocial place in the world' are expressions of social distance."

This alienation implies a lack of awareness of the habits, desires, motivations—indeed, the whole way of life—of those removed from you. This, of course, breeds misunder-

standing. In terms of the Negro underclass, the "soul-brother syndrome" in part symbolizes this alienation and misunderstanding, (the practice of putting "soul brother" in the window of a Negro-owned store in times of rioting). The Negroes of course loot the white-owned store because of a hatred for the white system; but it is more than that. They also loot the store because a stranger owns it. One wonders what would happen to a white-owned store if the merchant lived in the community proper and was a member of various primary-group relationships in that community.

But what is more damaging is a misunderstanding on the part of the upperclass toward the underclass, for it is only the upper social classes that are in a position to change the situation.

So we can readily see that alienation feeds misunderstanding and misunderstanding in turn supplements alienation. The whole business becomes a vicious circle.

This vicious circle of social relationships caused by the crowd does not merely have to supplement itself; the effect of the man-made environment augments this pathological situation. To begin with, "An urban man feels and is insignificant because of the very size of the community in which he lives." The underclass man becomes relegated to part of the overwhelming rational system.

This system causes the underclass man to be less and less a member of the community and more and more merely a cog in a great machine:

"Witness how the tall apartment building has made the city man into a person marked by his disassociation from property ownership, his acquaintance with his 'neighbors' is meager because his identification with his apartment is chiefly in terms of sleeping and perhaps one or two meals. Most other activities and interests are localized in other physical establishments. That is, there is a tendency for the individual to be released from a place in the community."

In effect man's relationship to his environment is so cruelly upset that time and space become sometimes synonymous:

"The underlying feeling is one of marching with time, and, in its intensity and power to determine the way of life, it equals the feeling of belonging to and being rooted in a place. That is, the city substitutes time for place as the basis for social relationships."

The result of the effect of the crowd, of the rational environment, and of a historical lack of concern on the part of America towards its cities is horrifying, especially in terms of the Negro underclass who have been stripped of all weapons with which to fight the city. The result is massive anomie—massive social disorganization:

"Among American sociologists, social disorganization is used to describe the city in general, urban lower classes, more specifically. . . . Social disorganization is assumed to exist in an urban area and then bits and parts of urban life are listed as consequences of it—crime rates, suicide rates, alcoholic consumption rates, mental-disease rates, and so on. But these rates are themselves the defining characteristics of social disorganization, thus a circularity is introduced: disorganization is inferred from its consequences, but then these consequences are imputed to disorganization."

This is our situation today.

PART 3—THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

I

White America wrenched the Negro from his home and culture, tore his family apart, and then set him "free"; Jim Crow made the Negro bow low to the white God and kept him from forming any unity amongst his brethren; in search of the "promised land," the Negro migrated to the Northern cities during the last 50 years only to find himself

a cog in a huge, impersonal, competitive world where discrimination still existed—only in a subtler form.

And now Congress says the Negro should respect law and order, while it debates whether prosecution of "outside agitators" or strengthening the National Guard is the best way to check riots.

It seems as though we've reached an impasse. But to recognize it as such and move on to the next topic is hardly a sufficient solution. For the problem will not go away; indeed, it is going to get worse. As was shown in the previous sections of this study, the plight of the Negro urban underclass is a vicious circle—more than that—a pathological tangle. It is a self-perpetuating affair.

Modern America is replacing many unskilled workers with machinery; since a large number of Negroes hold these jobs, the effect is obvious:

"According to the national technology commission, the unemployment rate among the non-white population, now twice the white rate, could become five times the white rate by 1975, if the occupational distribution of nonwhite jobs does not change."

What jobs the Negro now occupies are largely wage-earner or salaried professional forms of employment; relatively few Negro business enterprises exist. The effect of this is self-perpetuating discrimination: the few Negro businesses means that the Negro is unable to hire other Negroes to build up the Negro economy. Consequently, he must rely on the white man for help, a very dubious prospect.

In fact, even the Congress of the United States doesn't know what to do. It is now paying the penalty for ignoring the problems of the city. It is now caught up in what sociologists term a "cultural lag," a phenomenon which occurs when:

"... our political knowledge and our common sense do not keep up with the actual changes that are taking place in our common life. The result is, perhaps, that as the public feels itself drifting, legislative enactments are multiplied, but actual control is decreased. Then as the public realizes the futility of legislative enactments, there is a demand for more drastic action, which expresses itself in ill-defined mass movements and, often, in mere mob violence.

The city, which causes the individual to be alienated from his surroundings, is an ideal spawning ground for the violent manifestations of the cultural lag:

"The community of which the city man belongs has become so large that it is ceased to be an immediate experience. This receding of the community from the actual daily life of the individual means a weakening of the immediate and spontaneous social restraints and a new form of social control by means of law."

Control by law is merely a stop-gap measure. We must attempt to cure the city of its impersonality if we truly want the volatile situation to disappear.

"But why violence in the city?" some ask. "Why don't those Negroes down in Mississippi riot—they're the ones who are supposed to be starving." This question brings up an unusual phenomena; it seems that despair does not breed violence; hope brings violence. The Negro sees a better life on television; his son comes back from the Army and talks of equality, and he begins to have hope. And hope is a powerful force:

"What seems to count more than possession of instruments of power is faith in the future . . . it does not seem to make any difference who it is that is seized with a wild hope . . . they all proceed recklessly with the present, wreck it if necessary, and create a new world."

It might seem strange that this irrationality, spawned by hope, would be prevalent in the city—an environment which is totally rational. But this overwhelming rationality

has a tendency to set off the opposite reaction in people.

"Depressions, wars, or any other threat to individual security create situations that can trigger large segments of the urban population into stampeding toward anyone who gives them a message of hope."

But we don't have a war today—at least not in this country. And we don't have a depression—at least not an economic one. But could we have a social depression?

II

A social depression would be a curious thing; we've never had one in this country, so we wouldn't know what to look for. The economic depression of 1929 was easy enough to spot: the stock market crashed.

But what would be the first manifestation of a social depression? Could it be that the most vulnerable class—the urban Negro underclass—would be the first to react under the weight of the depression?

Whether we care to label the present situation a social depression or not is really only a matter of semantics. What is important to realize is that the urban Negro underclass is in an untenable situation and no one seems to have a solution for it. We accuse those who argue that civil rights gains in the early 60's and outside agitators caused the riots as looking for scapegoats. And those that accuse them offer unemployment, poor housing, and poor education as the causes of riots. But these "liberals" that accuse the so-called scapegoats have done nothing more than find a subtler, more sophisticated scapegoat.

It is hard to isolate the symptoms from the malady. Are unemployment, bad education, and poor housing the symptoms of the malady? I think they are the symptoms. There is a form of nihilism developing in this country today—among the youth of black and white—a feeling of despair and loss of identity. We should not consider this merely a curious social phenomena, but a manifestation of something going on below the surface.

It seems that we just don't know where to turn for solutions. The mood of the country seems reflected in the words of Herbert Hoover on the last day of his Presidency: "We are at the end of our rope. There is nothing more we can do." But there must be something more we can do.

III

It might seem as if this study is implying that America has completely ignored its urban problems. This is not so; there definitely has been much time and much money spent in an attempt to cure urban blight; this paper only contends that the attempt has been made often in the wrong direction.

Our whole cultural heritage has stood in the way of urban renewal. City planners have too often believed that merely "ruralizing" the city would solve urban blight. Ebenezer Howard, the father of the "Garden Cities" school which has had profound influence upon contemporary city planners, has said:

"Yes . . . the key to the problem how to restore the people to the land—that beautiful land of ours, with its canopy of sky, the air that blows upon it, the sun that warms it, the rain and dew that moisten it."

To completely disregard the rational industrial nature of a city, as Howard did, is certainly the wrong approach. Jane Jacobs, author of the enlightening work, *The Death and Life of American Cities*, answers Howard quite well:

"Reformers have long observed city people loitering on busy corners, hanging around in candy stores and bars and drinking soda pop on stoops and have passed a judgment, the gist of which is: 'This is deplorable! If these people had decent homes and a more private or bosky outdoor place, they wouldn't be on the street!'

"This judgement represents a profound misunderstanding of cities. It makes no more

sense than to drop in at a testimonial banquet in a hotel and conclude that if these people had wives who could cook, they would give their parties at home."

That people want to live in small communities and want to get back to nature is by no means an established fact, yet the visionary frequently assumes it to be so.

American cities have grown and the government has in turn given them some more money. Money is supposed to solve the problem. The whole idea behind helping the city dweller these days is meeting expansion with expansion—adding on a new bureaucracy, a new community group or a new committee. It all seems to be an outgrowth of the turkey for the poor at Thanksgiving which itself is an outgrowth of the missionary practice—relatively uninvolved, enlightened self-interest. Granted, money is needed, but it by itself should not be looked on as a cure-all. A whole new approach is necessary.

IV

Certain specific suggestions are obvious. We should alter our AFDC welfare system so money doesn't only go to families with one parent missing. This system obviously perpetuates the matriarchal pattern.

Businesses should be integrated into the ghetto so as to develop it into a community, rather than a shoddy hotel.

The "high-rise" urban sacrilege, which stores everyone away in neat cubicles, should be stopped.

But this paper is not primarily concerned with specific programs that should be enacted. Its purpose has been to point out the unique factors affecting the Negro urban underclass today, and to also offer suggestions concerning a different approach to the situation.

We can no longer deal with urban blight in a detached fashion. Setting up protective committees and talking with the "responsible Negro leadership" (which is often just as out of touch) will no longer do any good by itself. Dr. John P. Spigal, Director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis has said in order to solve the present crisis, we must get in touch with the street leaders, yes—even the "outside agitators."

Congress can no longer bicker about guns and butter; it is time to get our priorities straight. When we are spending 40 billion dollars to get a man to the moon and 2 million dollars an hour in Vietnam, the anti-riot bill is a sorry excuse for a solution to urban blight.

The problem is that America has drowned the human factor under a sea of technology. Indeed, Congress is confronted with such a mass of statistical trivia that it cannot perceive the personal circumstances of a situation. Robert Weaver said in 1960:

"The very semantics of our approach is unrealistic . . . emphasis is placed upon the buildings in the slums and little attention is paid to the people who inhabit them or the reaction of the rest of the population to these people."

If we really want the riots to end permanently, we must allow the human factor to guide our programs. Perhaps this is what Ebenezer Howard was after in his Garden Cities concept. However, we cannot simply introduce a rural human factor into the city. We must recognize the city's uniqueness and deal with it in its own way. Perhaps John Dewey best summarized this much-needed approach:

"The revolution that had brought Bangkok and New York closer together had turned New York into a vast hotel in which neighbors did not communicate with each other in spite of having telephones in each room. And so the problem of America in 1927, according to Dewey, was that of converting the Great Society into a Great Community."

This observation seems even more applicable today.

SANDS POINT FETSCH COLLEGE FOR GIFTED STUDENTS, SANDS POINT, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to bring to the attention of our colleagues the remarkable program now underway at the Sands Point Academy and Country Day School, Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y. With little or no outside financial assistance, this school has emerged as one of the Nation's most important centers for the education of gifted children. It has received worldwide acclaim, and has attracted visitors from many States and foreign countries, to see how our talented young boys and girls can best be served.

Started in 1954 as a summer program, the school opened its doors in 1960 to a handful of elementary school pupils. Within 7 years, it has grown to be a full-scale academy, with an enrollment of 300 students and a faculty of 35 devoted and dedicated teachers. Although the emphasis is upon a well-rounded liberal arts education, many of its students are specializing in the natural sciences and mathematics—two fields of vital importance to our Nation's future welfare.

The seed has been planted for an educational center that will go far beyond Long Island, N.Y., far beyond the great State of New York, and even beyond the borders of our Nation. Plans are now underway to create a 4-year liberal arts college with emphasis on the gifted students, and with greater stress on the preparation of inspired teachers to work with talented pupils.

On January 31, 1967, Dr. Marie L. Fetsch, president and founder of the Sands Point Country Day School Academy, for Gifted Children, applied to the board of regents of the State of New York for a provisional charter for the purpose of establishing this proposed college. Dr. Fetsch also applied on May 26, 1967, to the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C.—Installations and Logistics—for a lease from the Department of the Navy. On June 22, 1967, the Honorable Edward J. Sheridan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense—Properties and Installations—submitted the recommendation of the Secretary of the U.S. Naval Device Center, Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., to the Sands Point Country Day School Academy. Dr. Fetsch is confident that both of the above-mentioned requests will be honored so that the Sands Point College will open its doors to gifted students for the semester of February 1968, as presently planned.

The sparkplug behind this extraordinary program is a pioneer woman, who with single-minded devotion and persistent effort has brought about a near miracle. Without any public funds and

with no help from private foundations or individuals. Dr. Fetsch has poured forth her strength, energy, and personal financial support to make this center possible.

May I respectfully invite the attention of our colleagues to the fact that I am a member of the Educational Council of the Sands Point Fetsch College for Gifted Students along with 40 distinguished educators and dedicated public-spirited citizens, including the great jurist, the Honorable Albert Conway, former Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, the Honorable Daniel Gutman, Dean of New York Law School, Col. Paul A. Akst, New York City Director of Selective Service, Dr. William Willner, Chief of the Office of University Affairs, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., Dr. E. Paul Torrance, Chairman of the Department of Educational Psychology, University of Georgia, the Honorable Theodore Fred Kuper, renowned educator and founder of the Fashion Institute of Technology and the famous Fannie Hurst.

You may recall that President Lyndon Johnson sent a special message to Congress on February 28, 1967, on health and education. The President emphasized, "that future historians, when they point to the extraordinary changes which have marked the 1960's, will identify a major movement forward in American education." The President went on to say that:

We cannot yet fully measure the results of this great movement in American Education. Our progress can be traced partially by listing some of the extraordinary bills I have signed into law:

- (1) The Higher Education Act of 1965,
- (2) The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1964,
- (3) The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963,
- (4) The Vocational Education Act of 1963.

The new Federal role in education, in alliance with America's states and local communities. In this alliance, the Federal Government continues to be a junior partner.

State and community education leaders have shouldered heavy new burdens as a result of recent increases in Federal programs. If these officials are to develop wise and long range plans for education, they must have more help.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has provided funds to strengthen State Departments of Education. But additional funds are needed—money to improve community, state and regional education plans. Nothing can do more to insure the effective use of Federal dollars.

Our work to enrich education finds its focus in a single person; the classroom teacher, who inspires each student to achieve his best.

In 1968, more than 170,000 new teachers will be needed to replace uncertified teachers, to fill vacancies and to meet rising student enrollments. Moreover,

(1) There are severe shortages of English, mathematics, sciences and elementary school teachers.

(2) More teachers are needed for our colleges and junior colleges.

(3) Well trained administrators at all levels are critically needed.

(4) New kinds of school personnel, such as teachers aides—are needed to help in the schools.

(5) By 1975 the nation's schools will need nearly 2 million more teachers.

I also recommend the Education Professions Act of 1967 which would (1) combine and expand many of the statutory authorities for teacher training assistance, (2) Provide new authority for training of school administrators, teacher aids and other education workers for schools and colleges.

For many years, America's colleges and universities have prepared men and women for careers involving travel, trade and service abroad. Today, when our world responsibilities are greater than ever before our institutions of higher learning need more support for international studies.

The 89th Congress, in its closing days, passed the International Education Act—an historic bill recognizing this nation's enduring belief that learning must transcend geographic boundaries. Through a program of grants under this Act, America's schools, colleges and universities can add a world dimension to their students' learning experience.

Dr. Marie L. Fetsch received her great inspiration for the creation of the Sands Point College for Gifted Students from a former schoolteacher, President Lyndon B. Johnson. It will be noted that throughout the years that he has been President he has done more in the field of education than most of his predecessors. In view of his dedication and inspiring leadership in the education of our students he has truly become the champion of education in our beloved country.

On June 17, 1966, the first graduating class of the Sands Point Academy and Country Day School heard an inspiring address by Dr. William Willner, Chief, Office of University Affairs, National Aeronautics and Space Administration. On June 17, 1967, the second graduating class of the Sands Point Academy and Country Day School heard Dr. E. Paul Torrance, Chairman, Department of Educational Psychology, University of Georgia.

Routine education has no place in this school. Only those children whose intelligence is markedly superior are considered eligible for admission. From the educational standpoint the gifted child requires an environment which recognizes his exceptional capacity for intellectual growth and allows him to move at a pace commensurate with his abilities.

The gifted child requires special understanding of the emotional factors which play a part in his total development as a human being. In philosophy and in practice the Sands Point institution is committed to these sound objectives.

Dr. Fetsch is now taking the next logical step in her educational program. The Sands Point Academy and Country Day School, has shown that the gifted and talented child needs a special type of education. Every one of its graduates has entered or been admitted to an accredited college or university. The students are going to such schools as the University of Pennsylvania, Cornell University, Connecticut College for Women, Franklin and Marshall College, Duke University, Brandeis University, Queens College of the City of New York, Dickinson University, and many other highly qualified institutions of higher learning. However, many of the students who graduate from the Sands Point and

Country Day School are young—several are only 15 years old. Some future students may complete their high school program at the age of 14. Many are too young to be accepted by the technical colleges or universities. What is needed is a college that will carry on the tradition of the Sands Point Academy and Country Day School.

Accordingly, Dr. Fetsch has made plans to establish the Sands Point Fetsch College for Gifted Students. This is to be a four year liberal arts college, with a major objective to train talented young men and women to be good citizens. Many will go into the physical sciences—chemistry, physics, mathematics, and other sciences. Others will enter the liberal arts field. Still others will embark on a teachers training program which is to be the heart of the new Fetsch College.

The Nation suffers from an overwhelming shortage of qualified teachers as clearly indicated by President Johnson in his special message to Congress on February 28, 1967. Last fall, school superintendents throughout the Nation sought desperately to fill their school needs with competent teachers. They were not available. New York City, for example, instituted a crash program, whereby persons who wanted to become teachers would take a special 6-week summer course and then be licensed to teach. It is difficult to see how a crash course of 6 weeks or even 6 months could qualify a person to embark upon the most exacting profession in the world—that of being a good teacher.

The need for more colleges is apparent. During the last 15 years the total college and university enrollment has more than doubled, increasing from 3 to 6 million. It will double again by 1980, according to all available statistics. Fifteen years ago 14 percent of all Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 years of age, were enrolled in our colleges and universities. It has reached 40 percent today and will increase to 60 percent by 1980. The rapid growth of college enrollment is continuing unabated. In the fall of 1966 1,500,000 freshmen entered our colleges. Within a decade, the number will increase to 3 million.

The need for higher educational facilities is evident both in New York State and in the Nation at large. High school enrollment has grown in the last 15 years, from 9 million to 16 million. The number of high school graduates has increased from 1,500,000 to 2,500,000. The pressures upon colleges and universities become greater each year.

Thousands of qualified high school graduates are turned away each year because of lack of facilities. Many colleges report from 5 to 10 applicants for each opening. This is true in all parts of the country. Because of the expense involved, the private colleges are not expanding; this leaves the public universities to bear the load. As a result, 65 percent of all students now attend public colleges. Within 10 years it is estimated that the private universities will enroll a bare 25 percent of all college students. It would be tragic if our private colleges became appendixes to our public institutions.

Few private colleges have been found-

ed in our country in the last decade. Here is an opportunity to prove to all Americans and to the world that private initiative is still alive, that the old pioneering spirit that has made our Nation great is still with us. Dr. Fetsch does not seek any glory. Indeed, she is modest and retiring, and prefers to work in the background. But she feels strongly that the Nation needs colleges where our brightest and most talented young minds can find a place to study and mature.

Unfortunately, something has gone wrong with higher education. We read of strikes, demonstrations, and riots. In too many institutions the close student-teacher relationship is missing. In others, teachers are not available. The new Fetsch College is seeking to remedy both of these omissions.

The U.S. Office of Education estimates that out of the total number of youngsters who will probably go to college this year, about 1 in 5 is likely to stay long enough to earn a degree. This is the way the Office of Education reads the future of the 3,800,000 young people now in the ninth grade:

About 2,900,000 or 77 percent may graduate from high school.

Approximately 1,700,000, or 44 percent will probably enter college.

Approximately 780,000 or 21 percent, may win a 4-year bachelor degree.

This means that of the 1,700,000 who will enter college, only 780,000 will remain to graduate—a dropout of 920,000; many of the dropouts are bright, talented, superior young men and women. Why do they not remain to graduate? Why is our Nation losing so much talent, when we are so desperately short of doctors, dentists, engineers, scientists, and mathematicians?

A study recently undertaken for the National Science Foundation indicated that of the top 30 percent of high school graduates, 75 percent of the boys and 70 percent of the girls do not complete college. The actual number of young persons in the top 10 percent of the population who did not complete college is a serious waste of talent. Even more serious is the fact that half of those in the top 10 percent are unable to prepare themselves for the high level pursuits that would otherwise be available to them.

What has gone wrong with our college training? A recent report by Dr. Hans Rosenhaupt, national director of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation points out, that "the academic idols of the hour are 'pay, prestige, and freedom from teaching.'" College teachers today seem to be caught in the treadmill of higher education, indifferently supplying knowledge, "to bored or even rebellious students," he notes.

Dr. Rosenhaupt criticizes student preoccupation with quantifiable aspects of education. He observes:

Today, too many students value not what they learn but the credits they assemble.

He blames the indifference of students and teachers alike on the "pervasive propaganda that the college is the indispensable passport to the good life—the good life being defined as material abundance."

The publish or perish thesis, so prevalent in colleges today, will not be acceptable at the Sands Point College. Here the goal will be to assemble a group of talented students, together with a corps of talented teachers. Together, they will make college a meaningful experience. Unrest will be eliminated. The students will receive the best possible education under optimum conditions. Emphasis will be placed upon moral, spiritual and ethical values, as well as intellectual attainment. The Fetsch College teachers will be interested in the development of all their students.

Sands Point Fetsch College will be equated with sound instruction, intellectual growth, superior standards of scholarship, moral values, and the maturity of the student in ideals and ideas.

A major objective of the Sands Point Fetsch College will be to promote outstanding classroom teaching at the undergraduate level. It will stress at all times, the student-teacher relationship. It will attempt to utilize the resources of the faculty and the community to improve and strengthen the character, moral, spiritual, and ethical standards of the student body.

Since the college will admit only the superior, talented, gifted student, it will have the enormous opportunity of achieving excellence in education. The college will emphasize the liberal arts, as well as the importance of teaching as a profession.

The Sands Point Fetsch College will stress excellence in education. It will have as its major objectives the development of its students and the ability to acquire academic skills. A high degree of integrity, moral, spiritual, and ethical values will be stressed at all times.

The major objectives of the admission policy will be to attract young men and women, who have the capacity for intellectual growth and who have the ability and motivation to achieve.

In order to equip the student with a knowledge of the world and of our Nation's relationship with the rest of the world, Fetsch College plans to introduce two features in its program:

First, as a requirement for graduation, each student will be required to spend one summer at a foreign university. Negotiations are presently proceeding to insure that this time will be of substantial benefit to the student.

Second, equipping its students to participate effectively in our democratic institutions. A survey is presently being made to catalog an opportunity for summer participation on such programs as NASA, the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the Office of Education and other Federal agencies. A similar comprehensive survey will be carried out among State and local government agencies.

The Fetsch department of education will help alleviate the teacher shortage, and at the same time, develop teachers with the highest ability to work with superior children.

The Fetsch College is designed to be small, in the sense that the student-teacher ratio will be low. It plans to limit enrollment to 150 to 200 students each year, until the full complement of 1,000

to 1,200 students is reached. It will of course, be an independent, nonprofit, nonsectarian coeducational institution.

Dr. Fetsch says:

The teacher shortage has reached alarming proportions. It is especially difficult to get good teachers who are able to work with gifted young boys and girls. We hope to fill that void.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the aforementioned facts, I urge all of our colleagues in the Congress to get behind the program so ably set forth by Dr. Fetsch and her associates. The opportunities available through the phasing out of the facilities of the U.S. Naval Device Center at Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., come once in a lifetime. It is only fitting that a part of this land, 65 acres, including the existing administration and engineering buildings, be dedicated to the development of this new Sands Point Fetsch College for Gifted Students.

"THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ACT: THE PROMISE AND THE PROSPECT," AN ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMÁS, AT NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK, N.Y., APRIL 14, 1967

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMÁS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I had the pleasure of addressing the national convention of the International Studies Association meeting in New York City. This association is composed primarily of college and university teachers of international affairs and of deans of schools of international studies at colleges and universities.

I insert the text of my address at this point in the RECORD:

THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ACT: THE PROMISE AND THE PROSPECT

I am deeply honored to be here at the eighth annual convention of the International Studies Association.

I want to speak to you this evening about three related topics: the International Education Act and its prospects; government support of private overseas and domestic educational activity; and the formulation of American foreign policy.

Let me begin with a status report on the International Education Act.

I have recently heard the Act described, admittedly by someone less dedicated to it than I, as the teeny-bopper of education. It is, he said, relatively pristine and intact, if not entirely virginal and pure. Full of potential and appeal, one is not quite sure how it will end up if someone doesn't hurry and send it to college!

In my judgment, few Federal programs hold greater promise than the International Education Act for helping American colleges and universities adapt to new conditions and responsibilities. We are familiar with the Morrill Act, which marshalled the resources of higher education with far-reaching effects on the American economy. Legislation creat-

ing the National Science Foundation helped bring American science, through government-university cooperation, to the position of pioneering leadership it occupies today. In like fashion, the International Education Act can help colleges and universities transform the international dimension of American higher education and adapt it to the new realities of the latter third of the Twentieth Century.

But we have a long road to travel before we can provide a truly international education for all Americans.

As you know, Congress last year passed the enabling legislation but failed to provide any money to carry out its mandate. The 90th Congress is now three months old and it has yet to provide a single penny of direct support for either planning or grants under the IEA.

I must warn you that my colleagues on the House and Senate Appropriations Committees might just decide not to provide any funds for this fiscal year—or the next fiscal year either. The Viet Nam budget squeeze coupled with the more conservative complexion of this Congress may leave the Act an empty shell.

Dr. Paul Miller, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—the Department with responsibility for administering the IEA—recently testified before the House Appropriations Committee, where he ably argued the case for the \$350,000 supplemental appropriation for this fiscal year for planning purposes. These funds are requested for the operation of the National Advisory Council on International Studies and the establishment of the Center for Educational Cooperation in HEW. He also testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee on the fiscal 1968 request of \$36.5 million. This amount would provide almost 19 million dollars for grants to colleges and universities to establish graduate centers of excellence and for the development of comprehensive programs of international studies at the undergraduate level.

DANGER OF LACK OF FUNDS

In the best of all possible worlds, the case for the IEA would stand or fall—and I firmly believe it would stand—on the persuasive arguments developed by Dr. Miller in his testimony and on the force of the hearings, reports and floor debates over the Act itself. But the likelihood is that without increased support from the academic community all the effort to date will have been wasted for lack of funds. In short, the success or failure of the Act is in large measure up to men and women like you.

Although HEW is without funds for a fully staffed planning effort, some persons drawn from the academic community and private educational organizations are making a significant effort to work with Paul Miller and his colleagues to determine the wisest pattern of investing what will clearly be limited grant monies. I understand that some 25 or 30 special papers are being written and discussed within the academic community, a process which should give this planning a genuine push forward.

The International Education Act, as you may recall, specifies that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must report to Congress on plans and recommendations for implementation of the program prior to full funding. Failure to win an appropriation last year has caused postponement of the report from the original April 30 deadline, but I am told that we can expect to have it in hand before the end of this fiscal year. The report will be an important milestone in bringing the full force of the program into play and I, for one, look forward eagerly to reading its recommendations.

Let me make a comment on the present situation from the vantage point of a practicing politician deeply concerned about the development of this program.

CAREFUL PLANNING WISE

The IEA holds forth great promise for all American colleges and universities.

At the same time, its immediate potential is far more limited. First, as I have already indicated, money is tight in Washington as well as on Wall Street. Even if funds were more abundant than they are, the need for rational, careful planning and the development of a national strategy for international education would dictate a moderate beginning and a more rapid build-up after the strategy emerges, is tested and modified by experience. This cautious pace, forced upon us by circumstance, can provide us with valuable time.

Limited funds will of course mean that many deserving institutions will miss out on the first round.

There are two points I want to stress in this connection. First, I believe that in the early years of the IEA program, it would be desirable to concentrate a healthy portion of the available funds on support to institutions which have taken at least the preliminary steps toward adding a significant international dimension to their faculty, curriculum and research. By this I do not mean "making the rich richer", or concentrating the funds available on a handful of prestigious universities and showcase liberal arts colleges. I cannot help feeling that those colleges and universities which have already demonstrated a sound commitment to developing their own international dimension, through the concentration of their own resources and leadership, may have some right to stand near the head of the line. And I hasten to point out that the record of some small and relatively poor independent colleges in this respect puts to shame a few of our biggest universities.

Second, I believe the limited funds available under the IEA make it all the more important that the institutions receiving grants in the early years of the Act make a systematic effort to evaluate their experience, both before and during the period when they receive support under the IEA. The ideas and insights derived from their experience may provide guidance both for their fellow institutions and for the administrators of the Act.

The modest beginning—and the potentially rich future—call for foresight and statesmanship on the part of all institutions of higher education. Cooperative ventures, clearly encouraged by the legislation, can maximize the value of limited funds.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ACT A DOMESTIC MEASURE

I now want to consider with you the related area of government support for private educational and other activity overseas. We must keep clearly in mind, however, that the International Education Act as conceived and enacted is a domestic measure, designed to strengthen American colleges and universities. It was not intended to support substantial overseas activity that was not part of a graduate or undergraduate program in international studies at an American institution of higher education.

Let me here take note of *Ramparts* magazine and its gadfly effort to track down the CIA, wherever the agency may venture. The recent disclosures of the farflung covert support by the CIA of a wide variety of private organizations, some of them educational, raise in a sharp relief a series of issues for higher education, particularly in international studies and research.

Before turning to specifics, let me make clear that I do not for a moment think that more than a minuscule number of educational institutions have participated in covert activities similar to the CIA-NSA relationship. My criticisms, warnings and recommendations must be understood in the light of that perception.

RUSK AND KATZENBACH COMMITTEES

I want to speak briefly, first of the two Presidential committees, the Katzenbach and Rusk groups, appointed to deal with the problem raised by the CIA issue, and then of the challenge faced by the Rusk Committee, and what all this means for the International Education Act.

As you know, the Katzenbach Committee—composed of the former Attorney General, the Secretary of HEW and the Director of the CIA—made two recommendations:

First, that the Federal government should no longer "provide any covert assistance or support, either direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or private voluntary organizations." President Johnson has accepted this recommendation, which is tantamount to an Executive Order to discontinue such activity.

Second, that President Johnson appoint a committee to "establish a public-private mechanism to provide funds for overseas activities which are judged deserving, in the national interest, of public support."

It is difficult to take serious issue with these recommendations as far as they go. One must assume in good faith that their careful wording is not designed to create technical loopholes for future hidden support or persuasion. In this regard, I share the sentiment expressed editorially by the *Washington Post* that the recommendation by the Katzenbach Committee of an exception for cases where the national security is involved is indeed "disquieting." The precise genesis of the present controversy, after all, is that one man's definition of "national security" is another man's view of unwarranted government intrusion and influence in the private sector.

To meet the second recommendation, President Johnson has appointed a committee, chaired by Secretary of State Rusk, members of the Executive, Members of Congress and men from various walks of private life. The education sector outside government is well represented by such men as Herman Wells from my own state of Indiana. Yet the obvious lack of a representative from either the Senate or House education committees is puzzling in view of the close relationship among the education committee, government policy and the health and integrity of our own educational institutions.

The Katzenbach report made only a brief, though plausible, argument for the need of continuing support with public funds of some overseas activities of private groups. The report did not shed much light on the general nature of the subsidized activities nor upon their relevance to American foreign policy. Many Congressmen, in my judgment, would feel considerably more confidence in this area if we had a good deal more information on what has been the substance of the activities carried on by the organizations subsidized by the CIA. I am not talking about lurid exposes nor minutely detailed accounts that would compromise individuals or organizations.

For example, a covertly CIA subsidized program for training Latin American journalists might not seem to Congress a wise instrument of anti-communist foreign policy but might be justifiable as an open facet of what we now comprehend as the "human resource development" component of our effort to help developing nations. Maybe so, maybe not. I fail to see however how I—and other Members of Congress—can make up our minds if we do not know with greater precision what has been going on. The Rusk Committee could render a substantial service by reporting the facts more fully.

In addition, the newspapers and magazines, which gave such extensive disclosures to when they were front page news, could help fill a gap in the knowledge of legislators and the public at large by following their

excellent reporting with some analysis of the kinds of activities which received support.

Previous disclosures of CIA activity have, of course, already had an effect on Congressional attitudes toward the International Education Act. The law and its legislative history contain, in large measure due to the wise insistence of Senator Wayne Morse, both strong prohibitions against government interference with the scholarly programs it supports. Also included in the law is a specific requirement that any cooperative arrangement which involves a governmental agency other than the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare must be fully published in advance in the Federal Register. Although this approach is not without problems, the provision serves as clear notice that IEA programs are off limits to any agency seeking to channel covert support to or through institutions of higher education.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ACT ADMINISTERED BY DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Indeed, the Act serves as a strong barrier to possible encroachments on the academic freedoms of open inquiry, debate and publication. Congress insisted that the IEA be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—the Cabinet Department with primary responsibility for education. Congress did not assign responsibility for administration of this act to the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and certainly not to the CIA!

As the Senate Committee report on the bill stated: "... the primary goal of this legislation is building, in this country, a strong base of international studies at the graduate level and, on the undergraduate level, giving a wide segment of our students a chance to learn more about the world and the customs and values of other countries."

I note that several Members of Congress and Senators have expressed an interest in or actually introduced legislation designed to make the IEA a vehicle for supporting the overseas educational activities of private groups. I would oppose these well-intentioned amendments for several reasons.

I have already alluded to the political difficulties which we face in obtaining an appropriation. By diluting the domestic focus of the Act, the difficulties would only be compounded. It is fair to say that some Members of Congress oppose the measure because they still mistakenly believe it to be a new source of educational foreign aid, and they therefore would certainly not condone such a program at a time when established and popular domestic legislation faces severe financial difficulties. Furthermore, the problems of administering this program are difficult enough without the complications attendant on financing the overseas activities of private groups.

The Fascell subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, in fact, will begin hearings on one measure to create a private-public corporation next week. This measure does not tie the new mechanism to the IEA.

I hope I have made it very clear that I regard the work of the Rusk Committee as vitally important. I have followed closely the public discussion of possible ways in which we may deal with the basic issues spotlighted by the CIA-NSA and related revelations.

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

My attention, like yours I am sure, has been drawn particularly to the question of how we as a nation can proceed in establishing new mechanisms, or expanding existing ones, to serve the required purposes. Tonight I would like, as a working congressman and as a citizen deeply concerned about the integrity of our educational institutions, to offer a few thoughts on this important issue.

I have no specific recommendations to offer at this point on the instrumentality or in-

strumentalities which we might develop. I do believe that in large measure "form must follow function", and that the crucial function served by an entity which evolves or is created is that of administering appropriated Federal funds under both *substantial* and *apparent* private control. Private control must be substantial for the plan to work. It must be apparent in order to convince.

From the perspective of a congressman, that is, I see the basic dilemma as that of private control versus public accountability and legislative oversight. Many people both inside and outside government, for instance, have suggested as useful parallels the National Science Foundation or the National Institutes of Health. They point out that these are actual agencies of government. The NSF is an independent agency whose Director reports to the President of the United States; the NIH is an integral part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The grant-making activities of both NSF and NIH are carried out under very substantial private oversight or control through the mechanism of advisory panels. These panels are composed entirely or predominantly of private citizens, whose recommendations both on broad policy questions and on the merits of individual grant applications are accorded the heaviest possible weight by the agency.

The NSF and NIH present appealing analogues, and I might say parenthetically that I hope their experience in utilizing expertise from the private academic and intellectual community will be drawn upon heavily by HEW and the Center for Educational Cooperation in the administration of the International Education Act. Yet the analogies are not exact for both NSF and NIH possess built-in advantages which we cannot assume will be inherent in our present area of interest, that is the role played by the United States in the world community of educational intellectual and cultural endeavor. First, the activities supported by NIH and NSF are clearly important to every Congressman and to his constituents. Second, the activities supported are generally those which the great majority of Congressmen have decided are too complex for them to master in terms of significant detailed understanding. They are areas in which Congress has long since accepted the necessity of relying heavily on the counsel of experts, many of whom are in private life.

We are faced, therefore, with the prospect of considerable difficulty in achieving the degree of private control which exists at NSF and NIH. I would suggest further that the functions we are speaking of might best not be carried on within a government agency at all, for the simple reason that the more directly any proposed entity is connected with the formal structure of our government, the less acceptable will be its activities or indirect presence overseas. To use my earlier phrase, the private control might be *substantial*—but to a foreigner, at least, I doubt that it would be *apparent*.

A NEW MECHANISM?

How, then, do we proceed? First, I think it fair to assume that there is a genuine desire to carry on a number of facets of our intellectual and educational interaction with the rest of the world under truly private auspices and control and that this sense is shared by responsible leadership in both parties and both Houses of the Congress.

Second, if this awareness does exist—and I believe it does—we ought to be able to design an instrumentality under both genuine and apparent private control which will operate in such a way that our national legislators will believe themselves justified, in terms both of their personal convictions and of their relationship with their constituencies, in committing reasonable amounts of public funds to activities some of which may be controversial and all of which will be

carried on somewhat outside the usual structures of Congressional control.

But there are other aspects of this problem I want to discuss. First, I doubt the suitability of any existing organization, public or private, to carry on the full spectrum of activities which might be carried out by a new institution. Whatever the mechanism, it should probably be able to make grants to private organizations concerned with a much broader range of activities than those related to what we might call the CIA legacy. The new mechanism ought also to be able itself to carry on certain overseas activities where appropriate. More important, the new entity should be authorized and equipped to examine and assess the ways in which our own society and its institutions can participate in international activities with their foreign counterparts.

My own feeling, as of now, is that we are faced with the necessity of creating something new under the sun. The private control versus public accountability dilemma might best be solved by having a basically private organization with a Federal charter; some of the obvious analogues here are the Smithsonian Institution, the American National Red Cross, and the National Academy of Sciences. We should consider the possibility that the basic legislation for this institution would contain a permanent authorization for the appropriation of Federal funds, such as NSF now enjoys.

Yet legal structure alone will not suffice to resolve the public-private dilemma, either as viewed by Congress or from abroad. The crucial factor, in my mind, is the selection of a highly distinguished Board of Regents or Trustees—numbering among its membership representatives from the Executive Branch and from both houses of Congress, perhaps, but with private citizens in the clear majority, and with policy control effectively in their hands. If membership on this Board could involve a sufficiently challenging intellectual experience, quite aside from any honorific aspects, the very best men in our society would be eager to serve on it and to become committed to its work and to guiding its operations. We might then have taken a long step toward resolving the public-private dilemma.

SOME AREAS OF POTENTIAL CONDUCT

Assuming for the moment that the new entity were formed along the lines I have tentatively suggested, there are at least three major areas of potential jurisdictional conflicts with other agencies. I think first of the Center for Educational Cooperation within HEW, with its dual responsibilities for administering grant programs relating to U.S. colleges and universities and carrying on direct program activities. I cite second, existing grant-making and other activities related to international educational and cultural cooperation now lodged within the Department of State, AID and USIA.

I list third, the whole area of research in or on foreign areas and international affairs, particularly where government support is involved. Each of these areas of existing activity presents problems and opportunities for any new organization.

With regard to its relation to the Center of Educational Cooperation and the IEA, I have indicated that I think the Act should not be turned into a vehicle either for educational foreign aid overseas or for the kinds of activities formerly supported covertly by the CIA. A new entity, however, would be more concerned with the overseas operations of private American institutions and organizations than with strengthening American colleges and universities.

On the second point, it might be useful to consider the new institution as an eventual home for some of our existing government international education or cultural activities, precisely because the agencies presently involved are inevitably instruments of our

government's foreign policy. Yet such an approach is by no means central to the immediate concerns of the Rusk Committee.

The third area is research. Some consideration may well be given to lodging substantial research funding capacity in a new organization in order to remove any stigma attached to government support of research in foreign countries. In my judgment, such a role should be assigned only with great caution. An artificial dissociation of foreign area research activities from domestic research in general, or from the process of foreign policy formulation or—in the overseas setting—from the problems of strengthening the resources and institutions of other nations might well produce more harm than good.

I have given the briefest attention to each of these areas, not merely because time presses, but because I believe they are complex, important and largely unsolved issues. I hope that they are very much on the minds of the Rusk Committee and its staff.

GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

Before closing this evening, I want to touch briefly upon two areas of general and far-reaching concern. They encompass several crucial issues broached by the CIA-NSA disclosures, although by no means all of them, and they are fundamental to understanding the long-term importance of the International Education Act.

Coming not long after the Michigan State and Project Camelot disclosures, the most recent revelations of covert government involvement in educational activities have tarnished the reputation for integrity of an unfortunately wide range of institutions. James Reston wrote earlier this year that the opening weeks of 1967 "have been hard on the capital of the United States because they have shaken its confidence in itself." They have "produced", he accurately reported, "not only policy doubt but moral doubt, and even self-doubt."

Or, as one NSA member who was not "witting", that is did not know of the CIA subsidy, remarked to me: "I'll believe anything now. It's all done with mirrors."

Justified or unjustified, the activities of the nation's intelligence gathering agencies have led to a sometimes quiet, sometimes not so quiet, crisis of confidence in the degree to which the free flow of ideas among students, educational institutions and other organizations have been tainted by undisclosed interests. At worst, there is deep cynicism and speculation that the government is intentionally exercising considerable and undue influence upon educational organizations, including colleges and universities. And, I might add, the cynics condemn the institutions for being willing partners in the subterfuge.

I am sympathetic to what Senator J. William Fulbright wrote recently on the relationship of government and the universities. He wrote:

"Whatever the circumstances of the moment, whatever the demands of government and industry on the universities—and whatever the rewards for meeting those demands—the highest function of higher education is what might be called the teachings of things in perspective, toward the purpose of enriching the life of the individual, cultivating the free and inquiring mind, and advancing the effort to bring reason, justice, and humanity into the relations of men and nations—Only insofar as the university is a place where ideas are valued above their practical application, in which there is a greater interest in contributing to the sum of human knowledge than in helping a government agency to resolve some practical problem, is the university meeting its academic responsibility to the students and its patriotic responsibility to the country."

I do not mean, of course, that universities cannot or should not help societies in general

and government in particular solve problems. Indeed, most of our colleges and universities receive from Federal and State governments a good part of the financial resources they must have to operate. Education makes substantial claims upon our limited resources and it too must stand the tests of priority with other public endeavors. Yet to say that education must make its claim along with other institutions for a share of limited funds gives no government agency—State, local or Federal—any mandate to twist or distort the process of education.

In the critical field of international studies, scholarship lies perilously close to immediate, practical and pivotal policy concerns. The potential advantages to be gained from manipulation may often appear great. The opportunity to mobilize forces of intelligence and persuasion behind the shield of apparently legitimate, disinterested study and exchange of ideas has evidently proved difficult to resist.

Yet it is equally clear that in the vital fields of international affairs, where the stakes are so high and the temptations so alluring, we must erase even the slightest cause for suspicion that education and research in international studies are not what they seem.

FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY IN A FREE SOCIETY

The International Education Act, as I have already suggested, can play an important role in providing the needed assurance.

The International Education Act also has important long-term implications for the formulation of foreign policy in a free and open society such as ours.

Foreign policy is no longer conducted simply from government to government. Rather it is a continuing day-to-day process carried on by hundreds of institutions, public and private, and thousands of individuals scattered all over the globe. American students in Paris, large corporations in Latin America, voluntary associations working in underdeveloped countries—all are daily shaping the contours of our relationship to the rest of the world.

This wide variety of activity is likely to expand as communications and transportation become faster and cheaper.

This proliferation of active players in the drama of foreign policy requires a significant degree of sophistication and knowledge about the other countries of the world, particularly the non-Western world. There is, of course, no substitute for actual experience with foreign cultures, but education from the earliest years—and particularly at the college and university level—must prepare Americans for their new roles in world affairs.

In addition to this new dimension of foreign policy, in a democratic society such as ours the formulation of foreign policy—the development and comprehension of purposes and alternatives—demands special attention.

The recent revelations about the clandestine activities of the CIA, for example, are disturbing partly because they have cast a shadow on the integrity of respected educational and other institutions. But the covert support is also disturbing because it is an unfortunate chapter in a long history of inadequate dialogue between the government and the informed, interested citizen on foreign policy matters. The reluctance of the CIA and other top officials to make a case for supporting the overseas activities of private groups is indicative of a feeling of wariness on the part of appointed officials—sometimes quite justified, I admit—of the ability and desire of elected officials and interested segments of the population to appreciate the complexities and necessities of foreign affairs. From this point of view, at least, the acquiescence of top government officials outside the CIA in the

covert subsidies is not a defense of the practice. It is rather an admission of the pervasive feeling of wariness to which I refer.

POPULAR CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY

We are all familiar with the defects that Walter Lippmann has found in the popular control of foreign policy. They are fully set forth in *The Public Philosophy*. Yet Lippmann has also written in *The Phantom Public*: "The private citizen", he said, "has come to feel rather like a deaf spectator in the back row, who ought to keep his mind on the mystery out there, but cannot quite manage to keep awake. He knows he is somehow affected by what is going on . . . Yet these public affairs are in no convincing way his affairs. They are for the most part invisible. They are managed, if at all, at distant centers, from behind the scenes, by unnamed powers. As a private person, he does not know for certain what is going on, or who is doing it, or where he is being carried. No newspaper reports his environment so he can grasp it; no school has taught him how to imagine it; his ideals, often, do not fit with it; listening to speeches, uttering opinions, and voting do not, he finds, enable him to govern it. He lives in a world he cannot see, does not understand, and is unable to direct."

James Reston, who quotes Mr. Lippmann, has written more recently and most persuasively on the same theme in his book, *The Artillery of the Press*. "The basis of our governments," Mr. Reston begins his book by quoting Thomas Jefferson as saying, "being the opinion of the people, the very first objective should be to keep that right . . ." Mr. Reston later calls for an increased flow of information and analysis, a richer dialogue, if you will, in order to reach what Lord Bryce terms the "educated remnant" of society—the men and women who concern themselves with the intricacies of public affairs.

I think Mr. Reston is right and I also think that the International Education Act can help to enrich that dialogue.

Foreign policy is perhaps the most difficult area of government to submit to popular, democratic control. More than most areas of decision-making, foreign policy depends upon an educated electorate, sensitive to a wide array of complex considerations. The International Education Act will, over the long run, help to develop a solid base of educated men and women, attuned to the complexities of the world beyond our borders. It is to these people, the "educated remnant", that we must ultimately turn in the effort to establish a wide dialogue between government officials and the public in the development of American foreign policy.

This work, as John F. Kennedy said, will not be done in a hundred days or even a thousand. But let us begin.

REPLY TO UNTRUE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, recent correspondence from some of my constituents in the Third Indiana District has indicated that untrue allegations have been circulated concerning H.R.

12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967, which was passed by the House of Representatives on August 17, 1967.

The provisions of H.R. 12080 do not in any way represent a serious departure from the present social security program. In fact, the basic principles underlying the program would be strengthened, not undermined, by this measure.

In particular, Mr. Speaker, H.R. 12080 would not by any means change social security into a "relief program," or a "war on poverty tool," as has been alleged. Social security would remain the basic income insurance program of the American people, that insures against the risk of loss of earned income due to a worker's retirement, disability, or death. The worker earns his right to benefits by his work in covered employment and he helps to pay for them by his social security contributions based on his earnings from that work. H.R. 12080 would not infringe or qualify these earned rights in any manner. Under the bill, the worker's right to benefits and the amount of his benefits would be paid as a matter of earned right, as they always have been, and without any test of need—that is, regardless of a person's nonwork income, resources, or any other assets.

Some people have asserted that an 8-percent benefit increase, which would equal the rise in the cost of living since the last benefit increase, is all that should be enacted this year or in fact, is all that is needed. Just restoring the erosion of the value of the benefits due to the higher cost of living is certainly not enough. We must improve the protection provided by the program. While I would have liked to have seen an even larger benefit increase than the 12½-percent increase provided for in H.R. 12080, this bill would be a much needed move in the right direction and certainly more realistic than an 8-percent increase in view of the pressing needs of beneficiaries.

Mr. Speaker, social security benefits are now virtually the sole income of half the beneficiaries and the major income of almost all beneficiaries. In fact, 5.7 million aged social security beneficiaries would fall below the line of poverty if they did not have social security benefits.

Yet the average benefit for all retired workers is \$84 a month; the average benefit for aged widows is \$74 a month; for aged couples, \$143 a month. These benefit amounts are obviously too low to assure satisfactory continuing income for those who must rely on them for support.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that H.R. 12080 will be a significant step forward in helping us fulfill our responsibility toward those who are no longer able to support themselves by working.

THE TAX SURCHARGE AND THE MONEY MARKETS

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection

to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the state of the Nation's money and credit markets provide an overriding reason for the tax surcharge and other tax actions proposed by the President. This is simply a matter of the size of credit demands and the size of credit supplies. What the Treasury does not take in through taxes it must borrow from the money markets, and it must compete there for supplies of credit which are large in the aggregate but are not—and should not be—unlimited.

First, let us dispose of one tempting but quite erroneous approach—the suggestion that whatever the Federal Government needs in the way of additional credit should simply be provided by an acquiescent, supine credit market. After all, the argument runs, did we not finance World War II with very heavy borrowing at 2½ percent? And even in the Korean war period, interest rates came nowhere near as high as they are now.

But look again at World War II. There was heavy borrowing at low rates by the Federal Government. There was also a complex network of centralized direct controls that blanketed the entire economy, suppressing demands on the economy's resources that were not directly essential for the war effort. And even with those direct controls, and very high tax rates, there was a considerable inflation. The military effort then was, of course, far greater in proportion to the size of the economy than it is now, but the point still holds that there is no simple alternative to a tax increase to be found in the prescription of those who would say "just expand credit some more"—because the certain result of that course would be a bad case of inflation.

As for Korea, while it is true that interest rates did not rise sharply then, it is also true that there were substantial tax increases; the Korean military effort was not financed on a big deficit, and in fact if the administration were asking now for a tax rise comparable to that imposed in the Korean period we would be talking about a 30-percent tax surcharge rather than a moderate 10-percent surcharge. Also, let us not forget the direct credit controls and allocation procedures set up during the Korean period. In addition to allocations of strategic raw materials, and limited wage controls, there were regulations limiting the use of mortgage credit and consumer installment credit.

We have managed to avoid cumbersome bureaucratic controls in the present situation, and it is certainly preferable to continue avoiding them just as long as we can. But our ability to do so will depend on how well and wisely we can use the broad general influence of fiscal and monetary policy to keep a healthy balance in the economy.

There is no getting around the fact that the Federal Government is going to have a big deficit this year. The administration says so, its critics say so, and that is also the uniform view of professional economic and financial analysts. The question is "how big" and "what effect will the financing of that deficit

have on the Nation's credit markets and all the other areas of the economy that depend on those markets?"

The President has estimated that if his tax proposals are promptly enacted, and if expenditures are rigorously controlled, the administrative budget deficit can be brought down to a range of \$14 billion to \$18 billion. That is still a big deficit. Let us not lull ourselves into any sense of complacency on that point. And if we add in the sales of participation certificates in federally owned financial assets which are assumed in reaching that deficit range, and also allow for some increase in Federal agency securities outstanding, we are talking about a financing job of some \$20 billion to \$25 billion. And that is with the tax increase recommended by the Administration.

Fortunately, not all of that amount needs to be financed in the private sector of the economy. The Government trust funds and other Government investment accounts can be counted on to take up some of that, and the Federal Reserve can be counted on to take some. The amount remaining for the private sector might be brought down to \$10 to \$15 billion in that way. That is still a lot, but it is an amount that can be reasonably handled in the market provided there is a continuing good supply of credit. In turn, the prospects for that supply of credit depend on the savings generated by business and consumers, and most especially on the growth of bank credit. Bank credit has in fact grown quite rapidly since late in 1966, and it should continue to grow at a fairly good rate as long as pressures of total demand in the economy do not threaten to become excessive. If those excesses do become a threat, it is only reasonable to expect that the monetary authorities would want to slow down a bit in the creation of new bank credit.

Indeed, they would not be doing a responsible job of financial management and economic stabilization policy if they failed to slow down bank credit growth in those circumstances.

Of course, you have to look not just at Federal Government demands on the credit market, but at private demands, too. If we were in a particularly slack period for private demands, there would be more room for the credit markets to accommodate an extra large volume of Federal borrowing. The fact is that private demands have been large and show no particular sign of letting up, in the aggregate.

Last year, corporate bond offerings set a new alltime record—over \$17 billion of new issues. So far this year the pace is even heavier—\$13.5 billion in the first 7 months of this year, or 23 percent over the year ago level in these same months. One reason for the heavy borrowing seems to be the deep concern in the financial community that if the Federal Government's deficit is excessively big then the market could be heading for another period of great credit stringency—similar to that of last summer and perhaps much worse. With that in mind, corporate borrowers have been willing to pay very high rates—equal to the highest paid a year ago—just to make sure they can get hold of the money they

need or expect to need. Last year, even some of the biggest corporate borrowers learned the hard way that bank credit might not always be available when they want it, and that experience left a deep impression.

States and municipalities have also been into the capital markets in record volume this year, for pretty much the same reasons. Their borrowing in the first 7 months this year is up 28 percent from the same period in 1966, and that was a record year.

Once corporations and State and local governments are reassured that the Federal deficit will be held to manageable proportions, their own demands may be moderated. That will make it easier for the Federal deficit to be financed. It will also make it easier to finance a recovery in the flow of credit to the mortgage market, which has been relatively low in the first half of this year but should pick up as the year goes along and homebuilding continues to recover from last year's slump.

Now, that is a picture of how things could develop in the financial markets with a program of restraint on Federal spending and a tax increase to hold the deficit in the \$14 to \$18 billion range. And let me just say parenthetically that the expenditure restraint part of this program is an essential component, but not a sufficient component to do the whole job of holding the deficit to manageable size; we need both the expenditure restraint and the tax surcharge. Given Vietnam, there just is not room for making sufficient cuts in spending without a senseless butchering of needed domestic programs; but again, that is not to say that tax increases should do the whole job either.

This is not necessarily an ideal picture. A deficit of \$14 to \$18 billion is still pretty big. Hopefully it would be down near the lower end of that range. Even more hopefully it would come out below the lower end of that range. But we should not generate false optimism here. The \$14 to \$18 billion range is a feasible objective and would leave us with a deficit which, while not exactly desirable, would be tolerable. At the midpoint of that range, a \$16 billion deficit would amount to about 2 percent of the gross national product. Back in fiscal year 1959, the \$12.4 billion deficit was 2.6 percent of the GNP at that time.

Nor should we build up false hopes about a big decline in interest rates, if the deficit is held down close to \$14 billion. It would be reasonable to look for some decline, because the markets have already been anticipating a deficit at least that large. But there would still be a lot of borrowing to do, by the Federal Government and by the private sectors of the economy—so we need not expect miracles when it comes to interest rates.

Suppose we imagine now how the credit markets might look without the tax measures recommended by the President. The administrative budget deficit would not be in a \$14 to \$18 billion range, but in a \$21 to \$25 billion range—and it could run as high as \$29 billion if the recommended expenditure restraints were not implemented. The demands of

the Federal sector on the private credit markets—allowing for the sales of participation issues and agency securities, but also allowing for the mitigating effect of trust fund and Federal Reserve purchases, would far exceed the \$10 to \$15 billion range of net demands we spoke about before. Just adding back the \$7 billion that would have been raised by the tax measures puts the net demand up around \$17 to \$22 billion. If on top of that, expenditure restraint is ineffective and if, as would be likely, there would be greater demands for assistance from Federal credit agencies such as the Federal Home Loan Banks, then it is easy to envisage a net Federal sector demand on the private credit markets somewhere around \$20 billion to \$25 billion.

Is there really so much difference between Federal Government credit demands of \$10 to \$15 billion, and Federal credit demands of \$20 to \$25 billion—especially since that net demand was zero or even negative in the year that ended last June 30? The answer is emphatically "Yes." The smaller range of figures, which presupposes a tax increase, is within the market's capabilities. It will not be an easy financing job, but with a good sized rise in bank credit it could be managed. Bank credit was up only \$15 billion in the year that ended last June 30. It is certainly in the realm of reasonable possibility and probability that it would grow by \$25 billion or even \$30 billion in the current year. That would make the crucial difference in being able to accommodate in the financial markets a net demand of \$10 or \$15 billion from the Federal Government.

But a net Federal credit demand of \$20 or \$25 billion is another matter altogether. To meet that kind of demand, unless other demands were shouldered aside, would take a mammoth-sized growth in bank credit of something like \$40 billion in a year. That just is not in the cards. It would mean that the monetary authorities would be supplying reserves more liberally in the absence of a tax increase than if the tax increase was in effect—and that is simply not a reasonable expectation. If it did happen it would be at the expense of a terrible inflation, a printing press type of inflation that has no place at all in our economy. The more reasonable expectation is that bank credit would grow somewhat less in the absence of a tax increase.

In that case, the extra-large Federal credit demands would be only at the expense of shouldering aside a substantial part of the private credit demands. Many of those demands would go unmet. And the ones that were met would be at substantially higher interest rates than we see around us today.

How high the rates might go is anybody's guess. They would have to go high enough so that sufficient demands would be shut out for supplies and demands to be in balance. One way this works is through the outflow of savings deposits from thrift institutions, which are the main source of funds for the mortgage market. If it needs the money badly enough, for example, the Treasury would have to pay 6 percent or more on its

short-term borrowings. That would attract a good deal of the money held in savings and loan associations and savings banks, leaving those institutions unable to put funds to work in the mortgage market. It would be 1966 all over again, but maybe worse. From the high point to the low point last year, the rate of new housing starts fell by one-half. That is a punishing decline any way you look at it.

Small business would suffer, too. Banks would be offered such irresistibly high yields on Government securities that they would have less money available for loans, and when it came to rationing between big and small customers there would inevitably be some favoring of the large well-established firm over the smaller, newer ones. Even if the banks were perfectly evenhanded in applying restraints, the big firms would have an edge because they would have some alternative sources of raising funds—the bond market and commercial paper market.

Farmers would also find credit very hard to get, and costly when it was available at all. Banks and other farm lenders would face insistent demands from other borrowers who would often be in a better position to pay more than the farmer could afford for interest.

Even the tax-exempt State and local government borrowers would see their source of credit supply shrink, for Federal demands would use up more of the available room in bank portfolios—at a costly price—and leave less room for the state and local government obligations—again, unless a much higher rate was paid.

Who would get the credit that is available? The Federal Government would take a big share, and so would big businesses. It would be costly, but these are the borrowers who have the market power to get their demands satisfied while others wait in line. And of course there would be different degrees of deprivation within the broad groups of borrowers. Within the tax-exempt group, for example, stronger state and city borrowers would stand a better chance of having their needs filled than would smaller cities and towns—but all would pay a lot more for whatever money they got.

Disagreeable as this description is, it cannot convey the sense of disorder, and possibly of crisis, that would envelop malfunctioning credit markets. Adjustments of the size and scope that would have to take place, in the process of sorting out the weaker and stronger demands, do not run smoothly. There are lumps and bumps, abortive rallies, and losses sustained in the process of distributing securities that perhaps put some firms out of business and impair the Nation's credit market machinery for a long time to come.

Our credit markets, which mobilize savings efficiently and, relative to other countries, quite cheaply, are an important national asset—not to be thoughtlessly squandered in a vain attempt to have our cake and eat it, too. Rebuilding these markets, to serve again the major economic sectors that depend on them, could take years. The moder-

ate, knowable cost of a tax increase is surely preferable to this destructive and largely unknown alternative of chaotic credit markets.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Young] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, during my tenure in the House there have been few times when I felt that the marking of an anniversary of a governmental agency was a moment of particular merit.

Today, I am pleased to say, I have an exception. It was just 2 years ago that President Johnson signed into law the Public Works and Economic Development Act which created the Economic Development Administration.

I know of no other agency whose accomplishments have been done more smoothly—or with so little public fanfare as the Economic Development Administration.

Yet here is an agency which is charged with the task of—

Taking unskilled and unemployable individuals and making them productive members of society;

Providing loans and grants for public works and developmental facilities in areas where there is sore public need;

Assisting business with loans and technical aid when such aid will help a community that is crying to provide a living wage for its citizens;

Using the talents and skills of its remarkable staff of experts to plan, develop and instigate projects—wanted and needed—by a local community.

In the course of less than 2 years the Economic Development Administration has handled more than 1,856 applications and has utilized the power of more than \$600 million to meet the age-old problems of chronic underemployed and unemployment.

Further, it plans for the future with such projects as the Coastal Bend Economic Development District in my 14th Congressional District in Texas.

I have been notably impressed by the professional attitude and skills of the Southwestern Area Office of the Economic Development Administration located in Austin, Tex. Under the direction of Mr. Richard R. Morrison, it is a credit to the overall operation of the whole Economic Development Administration under Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Ross D. Davis.

I am particularly proud of the cooperation and foresight shown by the Economic Development Administration in the grant of public works funds to an area which has problems unique to its location. My district is located in the great gulf coast area of south Texas and as such there is much interest in

the development of our natural asset, the gulf shoreline. Three projects are doing just that and providing much needed employment and experience to our citizens in the process. One project aims at the development of a deep sea oil terminal, another at a water industrial park and the third at an ocean science engineering research facility. This facility alone will be an outstanding contribution to a growing field of investigation which may point the way to our most unlimited natural resource—the ocean.

The Ocean Science-Engineering-Research Facility in Corpus Christi, which will enable the important scientific and research development of sea food farming, undersea exploration, mineral extraction, ocean and geological science and many other activities. The findings brought about by this Facility will provide vital information not only to the immediate area, but to the Nation and the world as well.

The deep sea oil tanker terminal will operate for the export of crude and related petrochemicals to the rest of the world and will inject a huge amount of new dollars into a 20-country area.

The third project, a marine industrial park, will service the big, growing offshore drilling industry and related industries. Two hundred and fifty immediate jobs, 500 spin-off jobs, and 500 potential jobs will be the fruits of this endeavor.

It may seem strange that what was once thought of as public works—usually meaning men with pick and shovels doing very little and doing it for very little reason—could change to something as academically oriented as Ocean Science Engineering Research.

To me that is the strength of the Economic Development Administration. It has a modern approach to helping Americans who need help by enabling them to help themselves, then help the common good as well.

The Economic Development Administration represents not a public dole, but a public trust that with its creative and professional staff can help develop solutions that are far reaching as well as practical to the immediate need.

In passing the Public Works and Economic Development Act in 1965, I feel that what the House envisioned then is what the Economic Development Administration is doing so well today. To the Economic Development Administration I can but say—happy anniversary and keep up the good work.

BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WRIGHT PATMAN INTRODUCES BILL TO STOP WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTION OF UNSOLICITED CREDIT CARDS BY FEDERALLY INSURED BANKS

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill which would prohibit a dangerously unsafe and unsound banking practice, the large-scale issuance of unsolicited, open-end credit cards by numerous banks.

This abusive gimmick, which is an insult to the intelligence and the thrift of our citizens, also threatens the Federal Deposit Insurance Fund. The FDIC insurance fund consists of about 85 cents of insurance reserves for each \$100 of bank deposits. So when federally insured banks, even State-chartered banks, engage in practices inimical to sound banking and to the insurance fund itself, it is clearly time for Congress to step into the picture.

Credit cards are of doubtful legality for national banks to issue. But the irresponsible manner in which they are being distributed makes the credit card device a dangerous instrument—not just for national banks, but for all our banks. The reasons behind their illegality are the same reasons rendering them so inherently unsafe. Deposit institutions with a great portion of their liabilities payable on demand or in 30 days should not incur additional liabilities via the credit card or otherwise, which are not definitely known and in an amount certain. There is a fundamental difference between lending money and lending credit. As opposed to the latter, when you lend your credit, you never know until if and when called upon what your total obligations may be. This means that a bank which issues credit cards does not know what its liquidity and reserve position is at any given time, including whether it is sufficiently liquid to pay off its depositors. You just cannot conduct a sound banking business in the dark; that is all there is to it. In fact, several insured banks went broke recently for this very reason.

Despite repeated pronouncements of grave concern, the Federal Reserve Board states that if it does anything at all about the bank card craze, it will be some time next year. And, of course, the supervisory philosophy of the Comptroller of the Currency, who is charged with maintaining the soundness of our national banks, continues to be "anything goes."

As I have mentioned earlier, the questionable legality of the credit cards raises the possibility that bank directors may be personally liable for any losses to their institutions due to loan losses or to stolen or fraudulently used credit cards. This practice also raises a question of liability for the holder of the credit card in cases where the liquidity of the banks might be affected.

The bill I am introducing today, which prohibits the issuance of unsolicited cards and cards without a specific credit limit, should in no way be construed to add legitimacy to any otherwise illegal activity for national banks in connection with credit cards.

The bill would prohibit any bank insured by the FDIC from issuing an unsolicited credit card. My bill would also prohibit the issuance of any cards without a specific written agreement as to the

dollar amount of credit that could be granted through the use of the card.

The text of my bill follows:

H.R. 12646

A bill to prohibit federally insured banks from making unsolicited commitments to extend credit, and for other purposes

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

SECTION 1. The Federal Deposit Insurance Act is amended by adding the following new section at the end:

"Sec. 22. (a) No insured bank may issue any credit card unless—

"(1) the person to whom the card is issued has requested that it be issued to him; and

"(2) the amount of credit which may be outstanding at any time as a result of transactions involving the card is limited to a maximum dollar amount specified in a written agreement between the issuing bank and the person to whom the card is issued."

HENRY J. KAISER—THE MAGNIFICENT AMERICAN

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a giant has walked among us. The passing of one of the greatest Americans in history, Henry J. Kaiser, has deprived America and the world of one of the most creative, imaginative, humanitarian industrialists who ever lived.

In attempting to describe the mark made upon our era by Henry Kaiser, one must think in terms larger than life—he is like a Paul Bunyan of the 20th century, doing things that are stupendous, that catch and enthrall the imagination. The record of his great deeds, his interests, his gigantic imagining is the record of each day and hour of a tremendously productive life—even during periods of relaxation his brain was fertile with ideas, to build, to construct, to put things together and make them work for the benefit of mankind. The superlative skill of this inspired entrepreneur has given his Nation a significant advantage in times of grave crisis.

His achievements will live forever in the hearts and minds of mankind everywhere—the imprint of his giant steps will not be erased by the passage of time, for the world he served and sought to improve by his every thought, word, and deed will be always in his debt and thankful that he lived. For this I honor him by standing humbly before the literally massive inventory of his immense works for freedom and progress. As final services are held today, Mr. Speaker, we all bow our heads in deference, in respect, and in profound and affectionate acknowledgment.

Mr. Speaker, on May 20, 1963, I was privileged and honored to pay personal tribute to my friend, Henry Kaiser, in a speech on the floor of the House on the

occasion of his 81st birthday. Later he wrote to me in part as follows:

I am non-plussed to know where your research dug up some of the little known facts . . . some of which even were a reminder to me, since I haven't yet gotten old enough to look back much on the past . . . Too much to do today and tomorrow, and I like to quote this from 'Music Man':

"You pile up enough tomorrows—
and you'll find you have collected nothing but a lot of empty yesterdays.

"I don't know about you—
but I'd like to make today worth remembering."

Yes, Mr. Speaker, there were no "yesterdays" in the life of Henry Kaiser—only "today's" and dreams of "tomorrows."

That the spirit of Henry J. Kaiser and his remarkable family of industries lives on is apparent from the words of his gifted son, Edgar F. Kaiser, president, Kaiser Industries Corp., who described his father as follows:

His zest for the future made him impatient with those who dwell upon the past. However, I think Henry Kaiser would understand if the people of his organization broke stride for a moment and devoted their thoughts to him.

He was a man larger than life who crammed many worthwhile lifetimes into his allotted years. Yet he had a singleness of purpose that enabled him to concentrate unwaveringly on each of his hundreds of projects in his relentless drive to fill mankind's needs.

He was not a complicated man—far from it. He brought the same motivation to every one of the dramatic, difficult and sometimes controversial enterprises he conceived and achieved.

The legend of Henry Kaiser—and it is not given to many men to be a legend in their own lifetime—is based not so much on his strength, although he was a strong man. More, it is based on his faith in the decency and strength of others.

It is not based so much on the great things he built, though he was a builder, first, last and always. More, it is based on his moral courage to do the right thing, no matter what the obstacles or criticisms.

The legend is based not so much on his giving leadership to his thousands of sons—this one included—although he was a great teacher. More, it is based on his confidence that the future would be as bright as people dared dream it to be—and dared, in turn, to meet the challenge of their dreams.

Henry Kaiser leaves us many things, and as we mourn his passing, let us pay our respects in the only way he would want.

Let us rededicate ourselves to the achievement of his goals—through the companies which bear his name, in his honor, because he loved hard work.

Let us rededicate ourselves to building human beings, because to him people were more important than dollars and metals, and bricks and mortar which are their tools.

And, most importantly, let us remember him by rededicating ourselves to the service of our fellowmen around the world, because in service to mankind, Henry Kaiser found his mission, and lived his life.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, it can accurately be said of this man—his life has been, and will be through the foreseeable future, a calculable part of the strength and prestige of the world's most powerful nation. His true epitaph is the greatness of America, with all humility and trust in God, now and forever.

CONGRESSMAN GONZALEZ SPEAKS ON SPANISH-SURNAMED AMERICANS

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, few persons have written with the poignancy and clarity of my esteemed colleague from Texas, the Honorable HENRY B. GONZALEZ.

Moreover, I know of no one more or better versed on the subject of the conditions and attitudes of our Spanish-surnamed population than the Congressman from Texas. In this respect, I am hopeful that the entire membership of this body will avail themselves of the message which Congressman GONZALEZ sets forth in the June 1967 issue of the *Federationist*.

There is much to be learned from the article, entitled "Hope and Promise: Americans of Spanish Surname." I am confident that my colleagues will agree with me after reading the article which follows:

HOPE AND PROMISE: AMERICANS OF SPANISH SURNAME

(By Representative HENRY B. GONZALEZ)

If you are hungry, hope itself is a distant thing; and if you are defeated, promises of better things to come ring empty. If yours is a world of dirt floors and tin roofs, tomorrow holds no promises and your greatest ambition is to live through today. For 5 million Americans of Spanish surname, all too many live in such a world, far removed from the American dream.

Wherever there are people who are poor, there is tragic waste. The poor lead short lives and their hopes and dreams prove illusory. Society has never cared much about the poor because they have always been there, and there has never been much reason to believe that poverty could be or even should be eradicated. Somehow society decided, by and large, that a poor man is poor only because of his own failure and that he deserves his fate.

But in recent years there has been a happy change in this old attitude. We have realized that, in fact, the American dream is not open to everyone; we have been able to understand the terrible waste of poverty and that it can be ended. We have come to realize that some men are poor because society has denied them the chance to be anything else and that the poor should not and need not be despised and forgotten.

We have begun to try to find out why men are poor and what can be done about it. We have started to seek ways and means of giving poor men more in life besides a determination to survive against high odds.

One of the biggest and least known groups of poor people is concentrated in the Southwest. Only one-sixth of the population of this country lives in the five southwestern states, but one-fourth of America's poor live there. In Texas alone, there are 63 counties—a quarter of the state's total—where half the people live on incomes of less than \$3,000 a year.

In Bexar County, which I represent in Congress, more than a fourth of the population is classified as poor; 115,000 people there live in substandard housing. The overwhelming

number of these ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-fed people are of Spanish surname.

The official rate of unemployment in Bexar County is usually about 4 percent; but for the poor, for the Spanish-surnamed, it is twice that. The average educational attainment of the county population is 11 grades, but for the Spanish-surnamed it is half that.

In the poor areas of the city of San Antonio, where most of the Spanish-surnamed population lives, the Department of Labor estimates that half of the people who are employed earn less than \$60 a week. Of those who work and who live in this poor part of the city, 20 percent work part-time only. The pattern in Bexar County is repeated again and again throughout the Southwest.

Seventy percent of the unemployed slum-dwellers of San Antonio in November of 1966 did not have a high school education. Forty-eight percent of them did not even have an eighth-grade education. And 6.5 percent of the unemployed in the slums never went to school at all.

These people know all too well what their handicaps are; they know that even when opportunity comes along they do not have the education or the skills to take advantage of it. They need help and they usually want it. They have not necessarily failed society; society may have failed them.

Despite our knowledge of all this, the schools are still turning out people who lack marketable skills or even a good education. All too often in the Southwest, children of Spanish surname emerge from school illiterate in English as well as Spanish, and whose time and talents have been squandered, whose ambitions have been blunted and shorn away and who see in the future only an unskilled job, a tiny paycheck if any at all, and blessed relief in the neighborhood tavern.

WHEREIN LIES THE FAULT?

What must or what can be done to arouse hopes, to build dreams and to bring into the realm of possible achievement the ambitions for tomorrow. Moreover, how are we to attack this problem which, in fact, we can understand only dimly? What should society set as its goals and what goals should the poor set for themselves? What should be the dream of the American of Spanish surname who finds himself trapped by discrimination, by poor education and by a poverty so abject that tomorrow is made too far away to see?

The Spanish-surnamed American has a unique problem and it demands unique action.

In the first place, there is the problem of definition. There is not even a generally accepted name for this minority group. Americans of Spanish surname are called Mexicans, Mexicanos, Latinos, Latinos, Latin Americans, Mexican Americans and Hispanic Americans; not one of these labels is accepted everywhere. A name accepted in one place is enough to produce violence elsewhere.

I prefer to think of the group as Americans of Spanish surname because, after all, they are Americans and they all have Spanish surnames. Any other label would be inadequate because this group has such diverse origins. Some were born here and some have immigrated only recently. Some come from families that have lived in the Southwest for more than 200 years and are of Spanish descent. Others have origins in Mexico or parentage ranging from Indian tribes to English gentry. There is no term, perhaps even one so tentative as Spanish-surnamed American, that adequately describes a group so conglomerate as this.

This group of people is so scattered about the land and so disparate in its origins that it has problems defining itself, just as the government has problems in defining it. No matter what you call this vast number of people, there is no doubt about one thing: they have common problems.

We can understand what the problems are, at least vaguely, by reciting the tragic statis-

tics of poverty, unemployment, sickness and illiteracy, but these are only the tangible aspects of the matter and give us no real understanding of the political and psychic problems of the Spanish-surnamed American.

The Spanish-surnamed American group has problems in setting forth cogent goals, just as it does in finding an all-inclusive label. The group possesses no single program, no national goals and has not so far been able to coalesce into a single, meaningful whole capable of speaking with a united voice. There is no national organization of Spanish-surnamed Americans that could be considered comparable to the NAACP.

There are organizations that consider themselves national and which, indeed, have members in several states, but not one of these has a full-time paid executive or staff devoted to looking out for its interests, defining problems, setting goals and otherwise acting as an effective national spokesman. There is always the possibility that a truly national and effective organization will come about, but there is no such group now. There have been many attempts to create a national organization, but they have failed for one reason or another: the time has been wrong, the leadership ineffective or a combination of problems has barred the way, preventing effective political organization of this far-flung minority.

I think this situation is both cause and result. There is no national organization because there is no national goal; and there is no goal because there is no agreement on so elemental a thing as what this conglomeration of people should call itself. Lacking cohesiveness, the group cannot establish goals; and lacking goals, it cannot bind itself together.

The Spanish-surnamed American is unique from other minorities in still other ways. His is not a single origin. He has come from different places, at different times and for different reasons. He is different from other immigrant groups because his homeland, his mother country, is not across the sea. There is no ocean between his cultural home of Mexico and America; Mexico is but a short drive away.

There are everywhere Spanish language movies, television stations and radio stations and Spanish is spoken throughout the Southwest. Up until 1957, there was a Spanish language daily newspaper in San Antonio and even today the daily papers carry sections printed in Spanish. In the Southwest, even the dominant Anglo community strives to preserve the culture of Mexico and Spain because it gives the area a certain charm and a cosmopolitan air that cannot be found elsewhere.

The result is that we have in the Southwest a community that is distinctly foreign and yet American; we have a group that is cast aside and discriminated against because it is foreign and different; and yet it is a group whose culture the majority find powerfully attractive. It is a group that the dominant Anglos have taken from and whose culture they would preserve, but which they discriminate against because of its foreign nature.

Here is a minority drawn between the powerful forces of conflict, the one demanding a preservation of its art, music, culture, language, architecture and dress; and the other telling it to get Anglicized or lose out in the race of life.

For if a man stays within his cultural minority and retains its customs, he has little chance to succeed in a world which expects him to adopt its ways. He cannot get a job with only Spanish as a language and he cannot expect anything but animosity if he fails to adopt the ways of the majority. So, caught between the powerful forces demanding assimilation and a tightly knit and kept minority status, assailed by demands to Anglicize and appeals for staying "for-

eign," the Spanish-surnamed American is attempting to find a *modus vivendi*—a way to live somewhere between the intolerable extremes.

The most crucial issue confronting any minority group is whether it should attempt to preserve itself as a cohesive and well-defined culture, or whether it should disband and its members assimilate into the majority, losing their cultural identity. Either a minority lives together, speaks its own language, maintains its own way of life, or it must break up and be absorbed into the community at large. In the case of the Spanish-surnamed American minority, there has been no decision.

In Africa, there has been considerable experience in decision-making of this kind. When the Europeans colonized Africa, they expected the Africans to adopt European languages and customs. Sometimes force would be used to break up traditional ways of life. For instance, to establish a mining operation in Katanga, the Belgians had to get Africans to change from hunters and farmers into industrial workers, a change which meant moving from a primitive life into the discipline of a complicated industrial order.

Changes like these are jarring and did not come easily, and the process was repeated time and again. New values were imposed on Africa, new languages, new governments and new boundaries. All of this meant hard choices for those who had to abandon their culture and among the Basuto people there is this proverb:

"If a man does away with his traditional way of living and throws away his good customs, he had first better be certain that he has something of value to replace them."

This is the dilemma every minority must face. Eric Hoffer, writing in his work, "The True Believer," put the problem in these words:

"A minority is in a precarious position, however protected it be by law or force. The frustration engendered by the unavoidable sense of insecurity is less intense in a minority intent on preserving its identity than in one bent on assimilating with the majority. A minority which preserves its identity is inevitably a compact whole which shelters the individual, gives him a sense of belonging and immunizes him against frustration. On the other hand, in a minority bent on assimilation, the individual stands alone, pitted against prejudice and discrimination. He is also burdened with a sense of guilt, however vague, of a renegade."

If the man with a Spanish surname elects to stay within his group, he can be sure that he has friends and he can be certain of having a place to go. But if he elects to compete with the majority on its own terms, then he must abandon all of this and he becomes an outsider both to his own group and to the majority. He has abandoned the one and is seeking to invade the other.

The choice facing the Spanish-surnamed American is not an easy one and it is only natural that he is seeking some middle way between maintaining a cultural entity that binds him to remaining outside the pale and rejecting everything in the hope of finding success in a hostile world. It is too much to expect that the group as a whole will make a decision on whether to take one part or the other, because the choices are so painful and radical that few men even care to contemplate them. The decisions must be made by individuals, alone and unaided, and it will take a long time to know the end result of their actions.

So the Spanish-surnamed minority, imbued with special circumstances, endowed with a rich and strong culture, and given a much to be desired and beautiful language, must decide, each and every one: is it best to keep what I have and love, and follow a way of life inherited from my father, or leave

it all. It is a cruel choice and not one that many men will make willingly and most men will make no choice at all.

It is the responsibility of the majority to permit the minority to make its own decisions about what it will do. It is cruel and unthinkable to suppress or eradicate a culture in hopes of speedily eradicating the cruel dilemma of the Spanish-surnamed or other "alien" poor.

A culture is too precious a thing to destroy; it must be permitted to make its own contribution to society, especially one like ours. For Americans are many things and that is the secret of our strength. It would be a mistake to think that the diversity which the Spanish-surnamed people offer is anything other than a potential gift to our already rich heritage.

Educators especially must be aware of the problems facing the Spanish-surnamed. For it is the schools which are the first front in the war on poverty. It is the schools which turn out men and women who are either equipped for life or are not.

In the case of the Spanish-surnamed, the schools have been failing. Instead of leaving school well-equipped to face life, the Spanish-surnamed have been leaving school in droves because it offers nothing to meet their needs and these children have been finding that the dubious choice of no education at all is better than one which is meaningless.

Educators, happily, are beginning to understand this and do something about it. They realize that the child who enters school the first day represents a promise and their responsibility as teachers is to turn that promising child into a successful adult.

Up until now, though, the sad fact is that the schools have been losing the promise of the Spanish-surnamed child somewhere between the first grade and high school graduation; and all too many do not stay around long enough to finish high school because of it.

I do not believe that it is the place of the schools to force a choice of cultures on children or suppress their native heritage. Great injury is done whenever this is attempted and we know this all too well. In our history, the schools have ignored the achievements of the Negro and have presented him as a problem and a blight on society while ignoring his considerable achievements and contributions. Belatedly, this is changing. It is a mistake which should not be repeated with the Spanish-surnamed American, for he also has his heroes and he also has played a part in our history that cannot be overlooked. He lives and he exists and he knows it and the textbooks must recognize this fact; nothing left out of the books will eliminate what is real.

I believe the schools must make an effort to capitalize on the special talents and attributes of the Spanish-surnamed American. This will make his education meaningful and will do more than anything else to help him realize his full potential. His special educational problems need to be solved and his assets refined. After all of this is done, he will be ready to decide which way to go and what life to lead.

I believe that, more than anything else, improved educational opportunity will help the Spanish-surnamed American find his place in society and make his best contribution to it. From this will flow hope, ambition and the skill to realize it. Without better education, hopes kindled by the war on poverty will be shortlived and the promises made can never be turned into realities.

Everyone who knows about the Spanish-surnamed community knows that its condition is one of poverty, even abject poverty. They ask why, in the midst of all this misery, is there not more restlessness, more revolt? The answers are at once simple and complex. Simple because poverty and misery do not

necessarily breed revolt; complex because this group is complex.

If a man is so poor that he must struggle to earn his daily bread, he probably does not have much time to conjure up visions of better things. His concern is whether he can eat today, not whether he can eat next week. His consuming passion is whether he can scrape up enough to pay the rent next week or the school fees to keep his child enrolled or keep the gas from being cut off.

His horizon is limited by the necessity of staying alive and his dreams, if he has any, will be of a good meal and a new pair of shoes. His future is so far away that he dares not think of it; it may be too grim.

Hoffer has written, "where people toil from sunrise to sunset for a bare living, they nurse no grievances and dream no dreams" and how right he is.

On the other hand, if a man lives in what you might call a state of bearable misery, he is free to see a little longer into the future and he can begin to think about a better way of life.

When a man's condition is improved to the point that he can see the ideal life ahead, he becomes restless with what he has and strives for tomorrow. For him, the present is not a happy time because the future, if he can but grasp it, is what will bring happiness.

Alexis deTocqueville observed: "a grievance is most poignant just before it is redressed." The taste of better things is what breeds discontent and fires ambition.

The Spanish-surnamed community has, by and large, been so submerged in misery that hope has been too far away to fire many dreams. This may be changing. I believe the campaign against poverty will, in fact, give large numbers of people that essential taste of better things and lead to rising expectations.

I do not view the future as hopeless. It may be that the Spanish-surnamed community today is filled with poor and even some hopeless people but, after all, it was just such people who came to this country and filled it up and just such people who have given our land its strength and wealth. It was not successful people who came to these shores, but people who had failed elsewhere. They were driven here and they made this a mighty land. They had nothing to lose and everything to gain. This is still true. These poor people who today suffer innumerable and complicated problems and ills, and whose burdens we cannot imagine, will one day rise up and build for themselves a new world and, for all of us, a new Southwest.

In numberless southwestern shacks with tin roofs and dirt floors, along forgotten streets without water lines, in a world without comfort, is a people who have hope for tomorrow and one day they will claim it. Then ours will be a new and better world because these folk will have given their splendid best.

RATS IN THE HOUSE

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MURPHY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in the 89th Congress more social legislation was passed than in any other Congress in history. This legislation touched on every major aspect of American life, and included:

Medicare;

Voting Rights Act of 1965;

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965;

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965;

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965;

Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1965;

Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Acts;

Department of Transportation with a Secretary of Cabinet rank;

Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966;

Cold war GI bill; and

Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966.

The 89th Congress can be proud of its excellent record. But what is being done to secure those past accomplishments and what remains to be accomplished in the future?

Many of the programs of the 89th presented new approaches to problem solving. As is the case with any new program, it takes time to find the most effective methods of operation; there is a period of trial and error. Much of the work of this Congress will be to evaluate the last few years, to strengthen good programs and change or eliminate bad ones.

The danger, however, is that opponents to progress will use this evaluation period to inflate the errors that have been made and ignore the many successes. In particular, the Republicans are showing a strong inclination in this Congress to destroy entire programs under the guise of evaluation and constructive criticism.

The Republicans, of course, profess a desire to solve the problems of the 20th century—they will do anything to get elected; but the gap between their words and their votes in Congress is as wide as the gap between this century and the last. Let me be specific:

In their 1964 platform the Republicans pledged "(to) assist the individual in surmounting urgent problems beyond his own power and responsibility to control." In the 89th Congress 90 percent of the House Republicans voted to recommit the antipoverty bill—82 percent voted against final passage.

On education, the platform pledged "to establish realistic priorities for the concentration of Federal spending in the most productive and creative areas, such as education." Seventy-three percent of the House Republicans voted against the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The Republicans pledged "an especially determined effort to help strengthen the ability of State and local governments to meet the broad range of needs facing the Nation's urban and suburban communities." Ninety-three percent of the House Republicans voted against the Department of Housing and Urban Development bill.

They also stated:

America must advance freedom throughout the world as a vital condition of orderly human progress, universal justice, and the security of the American people . . . America must assist young and underdeveloped nations.

Eighty-nine percent of the House Republicans voted to recommit the Foreign

Assistance Act and 66 percent voted against final passage.

There are two lessons to be learned from this record of opposition to progress. One is that a party should not be judged on its words, but on its deeds. Regardless of what the Republicans might say in order to get votes, their own record is clearly one of opposition to social progress and constructive change.

The second lesson is that we can expect more opposition in the future. This second point is especially significant because of the present composition of the 90th Congress. In the 89th, the Democrats controlled the House 295 to 140; in the 90th, that margin has been reduced to 247 to 187. A loss of 47 seats means a change of 94 votes. Many of the programs passed over Republican opposition in the 89th are being threatened in the 90th.

In fact, the Republican hatchetmen have already dismembered some of our most successful social programs in this Congress. They have knocked out the rent supplement appropriations and greatly weakened other Housing and Urban Development programs, including the demonstration cities program. There were 52 Republican Members voting against this bill, even though they represented districts which had submitted applications for model cities funds.

On July 20 the House was voting to take up a bill to authorize a total of \$40 million to be administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the control of rats. The committee report clearly showed that over \$1 billion worth of damage a year was caused by a rat population in the United States of some 80 million, principally centered in the urban areas.

The Republicans introduced levity to the debate by asking for assistance for the country rats as well as equal time for cat lovers. The smiles faded when it was pointed out that the rat is the greatest killer in the history of mankind, outdoing Ghengis Khan and Hitler. The smiles vanished when they looked at pictures of little children seriously bitten and, in many cases, killed by rats.

The smiles turned to frowns when it was pointed out that some of the restaurants in which the Members eat have rat-infested storerooms. The frowns deepened when it was pointed out that rats carry bubonic plague, amoebic dysentery, and some 30 other mass killers.

Yet, 148 Republicans voted against this piece of legislation.

There is no justification for such irresponsibility toward solving this country's problems. And let there be no mistake about it, these problems are growing. The recent ghetto riots will continue unless something is done to solve the problems of our urban slums. I am strongly opposed to such violence. We must maintain order because order is a necessary prerequisite for society. But let us be as concerned about solving the ghetto problems as we are about keeping order. Order without justice is a mockery of our system of government. The problems will not be solved by violence, but they can and must be solved by lawful means. If we do not have the vision

and determination to solve them now, we and our children will pay the price of our failure and that price is rising steadily. There can be no partisan politics when the question is one of giving all of our children a decent education, or cleaning our air and water, or alleviating human misery and despair and restoring human dignity. We all have a stake in the health of this society, and the thoughtless, shortsighted, irresponsible action on behalf of the Republican Party is threatening that health.

In the final analysis, our Government and society are only as good as we make them. If we work now to strengthen the Democratic Party our success will be seen in a better America, a better place to live and raise our families.

IF POVERTY PROGRAM SLASHED, NATION'S CITIES WILL BE LOSERS

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it sometimes seems that some of my colleagues react with joy whenever we hear a vague allegation or rumor that a nickel of antipoverity money may have been misused. Rather than enlisting in the war on poverty they seem content to sit on the sidelines and snipe away at those who are on the front lines fighting to bring the opportunity of a decent life to the 30 million economically deprived Americans.

They seem to think that this is simply OEO's fight, but they are wrong. It is America's fight. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a column by Wayne Whitt which recently appeared in the Nashville Tennessean. Although directed to the people of Nashville, the column could have been for the Congress, and the American people. Mr. Whitt is only partially correct, however, when he says that if the poverty program is slashed the Nation's cities will be the losers. For it is the entire Nation, urban and rural areas alike, which will suffer if we do not speedily allow the Office of Economic Opportunity to continue with its efforts to fight poverty. The column follows:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Aug. 13, 1967]

IF POVERTY PROGRAM SLASHED, NATION'S CITIES WILL BE LOSERS

Some people here—and in Washington—who have opposed the war on poverty all along have seized the "liberation school" controversy and are trying to use it as a springboard to junk the whole program.

If they are successful, this city and cities across the nation will be the losers. If all they can do is blunt the effort, there still will be a loss in direct ratio to how much they can weaken the program.

No city, and most certainly not Nashville with its financial programs, is able to underwrite the war to eliminate poverty on its own.

Assuredly there have been abuses, but this is no excuse for wrecking a program designed to help relieve frustrations and tensions in the nation's cities. Occasionally a policeman abuses his authority, but one does not do away with the police department because of this.

Rather than weakening the war on poverty, constructive steps to strengthen it are desperately needed.

This was recognized by the more than 2,000 municipal officials who attended the recent conference of the National League of Cities in Boston. Without any real opposition, the NLC, which speaks for 14,300 municipalities in all 50 states, went on record in favor of the full funding of programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the federal agency which directs the war on poverty.

The NLC also expressed strong opposition to efforts in Washington to take some of the responsibilities away from the OEO and assign them to other agencies.

OEO programs such as Head Start, on the job training and the neighborhood youth corps were endorsed by name at the Boston meeting.

Among those joining with the NLC in its endorsement of the war on poverty were a host of Tennesseans, including Mayor Beverly Briley of Nashville.

If the program here is damaged over the "liberation school" controversy, it could result in the increasing of frustrations in poverty-stricken sections of Nashville. Frustrations add to unrest.

Because of OEO programs, people who just a short time ago had no hope of escaping severe poverty now have hope. They have a little money in their pockets. If this is taken away, however, they will be more frustrated than before. What has been accomplished may well be overshadowed if worthwhile efforts are not to be pushed to conclusion.

A good example of helping people here is the on-the-job training of workers. About 1,800 persons have benefitted under this program. It is estimated that 90% of those 1,800 are still on the job, and many have been promoted to supervisory positions.

Some of the youths being helped through the war on poverty have spent 12 years in slums. They have been shown there is a different way of life.

If the lid is to be slammed on them now, they are going to feel betrayed. They aren't likely to trust anyone in the future. There will be more unrest than there is now, and there won't be any effective program underway for lessening the tensions.

Abuses of any program should be eliminated. By the same token, the community should build on that which is meaningful and worthwhile.

Rather than wrecking the OEO programs, ways should be found to strengthen them. The war on poverty cannot be won overnight. It will take years for final victory.

There is a need for the government to commit itself to long-term projects that will take the young people out of the slums.

MEDICARE GAINS WITH INDUSTRY

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including an article from the Denver Post, of August 14, 1967. I

am delighted to see that the Federal Government and industry are developing mutually beneficial arrangements in the administration of medicare and other programs. The article follows:

[From the Denver Post, Aug. 14, 1967]

MEDICARE GAINS WITH INDUSTRY

Nowhere is the ever-changing business-government relationship more evident than in the position that much of the insurance industry now takes toward Medicare, according to an Associated Press survey.

Ten years ago Medicare was considered a terrible threat. Now some of the country's largest insurers are using their administrative skills and computers to handle much of Medicare's paper work under government contract, AP reports.

To some extent this attitude is merely grudging recognition that Medicare is here to stay. But it also reflects new attitudes by insurers, and changes in American social and political customs.

Just a decade or so ago, insurance companies had two criteria for investing policyholders' money: (1) the soundness of the investment and (2) the yield, or return on the invested money.

Now a third has been added.

This new criterion, said James Oates, chairman of Equitable Life Assurance, means that "if you are going to be in business for the long term and be effective, then you must invest in the public interest."

This change in a corporation's view of itself is more recent than many people realize. "In 1948, when I was in the practice of law," said Oates in an interview, "nobody had a concern with corporate citizenship."

But the concept of corporate participation in local and national goals is gaining more acceptance. Companies that once thought their only obligation was to stockholders are now declaring that the stockholder is best served by aligning the corporate goal with social goals.

This concept is still only broadly defined. In some companies it means greater participation in community affairs: Spending money on education, cooperating on urban projects among deprived citizens and the like.

Increasingly, in the past two or three years, it is an awareness that profits can be made as well as social goals accomplished in areas such as pollution control, urban renewal, education and health often under government contract.

Reflecting on these changes, Oates said life and health insurance "while it had a good record of progress in covering the needs of old people was not so alert as we, in hindsight, might have been."

This record shows that very few health policies existed for those over 65 in the late 1950s. A few years later, as Medicare threatened, the number rose.

"But it was too late," Oates recalled. "Processes were in motion and Medicare passed." And Medicare took over most of the private "over 65" health insurance business.

"This was a definite entry of the government into subsidized insurance," Oates said, "so the question was, 'What should we do in view of this usurpation of our business?'"

In seeking an answer, three principles were developed:

—"No corporation, no citizen, has any right in the public interest to say 'no.' It (administering insurance programs) is our field of competence."

—"We've had great areas of experience—relationships with doctors, their associations, their reputations. We have something to offer."

—"Less tangible, but very real: We will gain by our relationship with government. We'll understand, observe and learn about other trends."

As a result, reports the AP, Equitable now administers in four states Part B of Medicare, the plan which pays physicians' and certain other charges. It does so at cost.

FULFILLMENT OF A PROMISE

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, we will shortly bring to the floor for the consideration of the House, the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. Among this bill's several excellent provisions is one which, I believe, will bring us considerably closer to realizing the potential of radio and television as media for the cultural and educational enrichment of our Nation.

The provision of which I speak is contained in title II of the proposed act. It would bring to reality a proposal of the Carnegie Commission that a nonprofit corporation, free of political or governmental control, be established to help develop and disseminate educational and cultural programs of high quality.

This corporation, using public funds, would assist noncommercial stations by contract and grant, by providing information on broadcasting, and by helping to establish networks to make possible wide dissemination of cultural and educational programs.

The provisions of the bill give ample assurance that the corporation would be free to act independently and free of political pressure, and that there would be no Government control of programming.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this proposal also will provide the artistic and financial climate needed to attract the talent which alone can insure excellence in cultural and educational offerings. And it offers us a way to overcome the limitations now imposed on development of public television by the increasing cost of technical facilities.

I am most happy to see that the wise and farsighted proposals of the Carnegie Corporation have been embodied in this pending legislation. For although we have helped public television considerably through the programs of the Educational Television Act, there still remains much to be done in this area.

I strongly urge all my colleagues to join in support of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

HENRY J. KAISER: MASTER BUILDER

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the American dream has lost one of its greatest living proponents with the death of Henry J. Kaiser. This giant of industry, this humanitarian, this dreamer of dreams, this American led a life of such proportions that no single statement can encompass its variety.

Henry Kaiser truly represented the possibilities of this country. The son of immigrant parents, he went on to become the president of an industrial complex that produces 300 kinds of products in 180 plants in 41 countries. Were this his only accomplishment, Henry Kaiser would have won his place in the history of this century. This, however, is only part of his long and brilliant career. Henry Kaiser was chairman of the executive committee that built Hoover Dam; he worked in highway construction that spanned the Pacific Northwest; he worked in building projects in Mississippi, and the Southwestern States; he was a leader of the wartime shipbuilding industry—the list could go on. Perhaps the accomplishment that best demonstrates his compassion, his human warmth, was the establishment of the Kaiser Health Foundation that provides medical services through 18 hospitals and 40 clinics for 1,500,000 members on the west coast.

Henry Kaiser believed in this country and he believed in himself. He succeeded because he had a dream and he never tired of urging others to follow their dreams. As he said:

My words of advice to all young people are "Make up your mind to achieve the best within you. With a goal you can realize your greatest joy in working. And above all pursue your dream."

This ability to dream characterized the man and his work.

Henry Kaiser never forgot that his parents were immigrants, that his education was uncompleted, and that his success was due to a willingness to work. Even when he gained national and international prominence as an industrial leader, he referred to himself simply as a builder. At one time, he was even considered as a presidential candidate, but Henry Kaiser would have none of that; he was a builder.

In his later years the command of Kaiser Industries passed to his son Edgar, but Henry Kaiser did not retire, or perhaps he retired in the only way he could and that was with more work, more building and more growing. He settled in Hawaii where he worked on developments that include a hotel, a \$50-million complex of houses, hotels, hospitals, and plants and a \$350-million resort-residential city on Oahu Island.

Henry Kaiser left a legacy of such vastness that none of us can begin to see its limits. And it is a legacy that will continue to grow. And yet for those of us who were privileged to know Henry Kaiser, the loss goes deeper than his industrial genius for it is the loss of a great and compassionate friend—a man whose kindness touched many and will not be forgotten. I speak for many when I remember his great and good heart, his compassion and warmth.

He said.

Find a need and fill it.

And he did. We will be a long time filling his void, if we ever can.

TO SAVE AMERICA'S SMALL LAKES

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. HANLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the Government Operations Committee on its recent report entitled "To Save America's Small Lakes." I believe that this report will have a great impact on efforts in my congressional district to stimulate a program for the rehabilitation of Onondaga Lake.

When I first came to the Congress in January of 1965, I considered the restoration of Onondaga Lake one of the principal tasks I would work on. Prof. Daniel Jackson, of the Syracuse University's department of civil engineering, has expressed his belief many times that there are three basic reasons why efforts to clean up the lake have failed in the past: First, apathy and lack of belief that the lake can be clean; second, lack of technological knowledge and techniques to accomplish the task; and third, money.

I felt that the Federal Government was neither aware of nor concerned with the problems of Onondaga Lake, and so my first task was to bring our local situation to the attention of Federal officials. I was aware of the work of the Natural Resources and Power Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee in bringing to light various problems associated with water pollution control and abatement. I asked the chairman of this subcommittee to bring his group to Syracuse to make a firsthand investigation of Onondaga Lake. The Natural Resources Subcommittee spent 2 days in Syracuse in August of last year holding hearings and conducting an inspection trip on Onondaga Lake.

One of the ideas extensively discussed during the subcommittee's visit was the consideration that even the best application of existing water pollution control and abatement procedures would not substantially improve the water quality of the lake to the point where we could consider it restored. In other words, severely damaged lakes have special qualities and problems which would demand special techniques and solutions.

The department of civil engineering at Syracuse University went to work on putting together a number of proposed studies outlining needed areas of study and demonstration aimed at making Onondaga Lake a first-class natural resource. The Natural Resources Subcommittee issued a report last Friday, entitled, "To Save America's Small Lakes." The information obtained at the Syracuse hearings and the university's material playing a significant role in shaping the conclusions and recommendations of the subcommittee's report.

Earlier this year, I introduced a bill, H.R. 10751, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake a research and demonstration program for the improvement of the quality of the Nation's lake waters. The idea for this bill came directly from the information gathered at the Syracuse pollution hearings and also from the valuable advice and counsel of the professors at the department of civil engineering. My bill is pending before the House Public Works Committee, and I am pleased to report that the Department of the Interior has endorsed my proposal. This endorsement came as a result of meetings I held with the Secretary of the Interior and the chief officials of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

I am also pleased to report that the Natural Resources Subcommittee has also endorsed my bill and recommended in its report on small lakes that amendments such as I have proposed be enacted into law in order to intensify the Federal effort to restore the Nation's lakes.

I believe that these developments are clear indications that the Federal Government, both the legislative and executive branches, is now aware of the existence of Onondaga Lake and the nature of its problems. In addition to this, I believe that the Federal Government wants to participate with local government in a program of restoration of Onondaga Lake. The committee report ends with the recommendation that the early rehabilitation of Onondaga Lake serve as a demonstration model for the restoration and safeguarding of all of America's small lakes.

As I see it, my next step will be to secure the enactment of the legislation I have proposed for research and demonstration projects for lakes. I am confident that our community is solidly and steadily moving in the direction of taking the steps necessary to restore Onondaga Lake. We must continue in our determination to want a clean lake we can use for swimming, fishing and boating, along with a pleasing and beautiful shoreline. These are attainable goals.

DISASTER ON FOREIGN AID

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PATTEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the New York Times of Saturday, August 26, 1967, called "Disaster on Foreign Aid," made several thought-provoking comments on the recent debate on foreign aid.

I agree with the editorial and insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with the hope that it will help convince some skeptics of the importance of providing adequate foreign aid.

The New York Times editorial not only cited what inadequate foreign aid means to "hungry peoples and struggling new

nations," but also pointed out that it would be "an even greater disaster for the stature, the good faith, and humanitarianism of the United States."

I hope this editorial will move some of my colleagues as it moved me.

The editorial follows:

DISASTER ON FOREIGN AID

Not for a long time has the Congress of the United States behaved with the callous irresponsibility and indifference to the country's true interests that both houses displayed in the foreign-aid debate. Whatever happens now in Senate-House conference, the aid authorization for 1968 will be a disaster—a disaster for hungry peoples and struggling new nations; an even greater disaster for the stature, the good faith and humanitarianism of the United States.

The aid bill would be a disaster even if House and Senate Appropriations Committees were to vote every cent it authorizes, but this will not happen. Further slashes at that stage are inevitable, as every member of Congress is aware.

The sickening spectacle of Iowa's incredible H. R. Gross, riding high after earlier victories with meat-ax amendments to an already inadequate bill, mustering 98 votes for a move to abolish American foreign aid altogether, will stand as an apt commentary on the House attitude.

Every vital category except supporting assistance—economic aid linked to military use—was taken to the guillotine by the revived coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. The House outdid the Senate by cutting another \$150 million from its own committee's recommendation for development loans. It matched Senate cuts in the Alliance for Progress and technical assistance, thereby freezing those inadequate sums for the conference committee deliberations.

In perhaps the most hurtful action of all, the House followed the Senate in boosting interest on development loans from 1 to 2 percent for the first ten-year grace period. This will insure that some of the neediest of countries, already burdened with debt-carrying charges, cannot accept American loans.

No one emerges from this sordid debate with credit. Senators who have never shown any zeal for improving life in our ghettos suddenly cited the needs of our exploding cities as a reason for gutting a modest foreign-aid program. Congressmen demanded to know why other developed countries do not pick up a share of the aid burden, evidently ignorant of the fact that most of them are now making a greater proportional effort than the United States.

The Republicans seem determined to prove again, fifteen months before a national election, that all they stand for as a party in Congress is the obstructionist role they have played so long in company with Southern Democrats. The House Democratic leadership, routed monotonously by the coalition, demonstrates only how badly it needs to be overhauled.

BUSINESS LENDERS SUPPORT OEO

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLLAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, as a liberal, as a Democrat, and as a Member who has always been sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of working people,

I am not accustomed to reading full-page ads in the chamber of commerce national publication, Nation's Business, which take the same views I do. But I have never succumbed to the knee-jerk reaction that says that the business community is always wrong.

When this Nation is faced with fundamental crises, as in a time of war, or in times like today, when internal domestic problems are so grave as to call into question the very viability of the system, the business community is as likely as any segment of the Nation to look beyond its own immediate objectives and get to the heart of the matter. This is increasingly the case with the severe problem of poverty. While the ultraconservatives who think they are speaking for the business community use their time and talent to defend the views of William McKinley and his times, the businessmen themselves are speaking out for what the Nation truly needs.

I received a letter today from Walker L. Cisler, chairman of the board of Detroit Edison, of the Office of Economic Opportunity and in forthright opposition to the program of slicing up OEO and scattering its fragments to the wolves which is the major task taken by those who have a "no win" policy in the war on poverty. Mr. Cisler's letter also contained an advertisement from Nation's Business, signed by 30 top executives of major business firms. Before our conservative friends convince themselves they are speaking for the business community in their campaign to dismember OEO, they would do well to read Mr. Cisler's letter and the attached advertisement. Under unanimous consent I include both at this point in the RECORD.

THE DETROIT EDISON CO.,
Detroit Mich., August 25, 1967.

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND,
Member, House Education and Labor Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOLLAND: I am writing to you of my deep concern for the Economic Opportunity Act of 1967 and related appropriation requests now being considered in the Congress.

It has been my valued privilege to have served for the past two years as Chairman of the Business Leadership Advisory Council for the Office of Economic Opportunity. This group of key executives of many leading corporations for all sections of the United States consults with and advises the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Sargent Shriver, and participates actively in the planning and evaluation of the programs of that office.

As business and community leaders deeply concerned with the causes and effects of poverty in our society and as citizens who have been privileged to assist those directly responsible for the work of O.E.O., we know full well of the many problems which must be faced and overcome if meaningful progress is to be made. I and other members of the Council have personally visited and seen firsthand the work of many of the organizations and establishments associated with the endeavors of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Our approval of the beginning which has been made and our confidence in the organization and the leadership to which this great task has been assigned is well expressed in a resolution adopted at our recent meeting on May 10 in Washington, D.C., at which time we also met with President Johnson to tell him of our support for the Poverty Program.

Introduced by Mr. R. H. Carter, President of the Fostoria Corporation, the following resolution had the unanimous support of Council members.

"Whereas, the Business Leadership Advisory Council, which includes members of both political parties, reaffirms its support for the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which the Council believes are being effectively administered in the interests of our country, and

"Whereas, the Council believes that the success of the O.E.O. programs has been made possible by its organization as a central command post in the War on Poverty which enables it to coordinate a broad spectrum of programs that represent many needs and touch many age levels with strong thrust of purpose, be it

"Resolved, that the Council be on record that it believes the Office of Economic Opportunity should remain as presently structured, retaining the overall administrative responsibility of the scope of the entire Poverty Program, and that dispersal of its programs with divided responsibility would seriously deter the impact of the total campaign that is now the charge and responsibility of the Office of Economic Opportunity."

This position has been further endorsed by a number of chief executives of major corporations in a statement which will appear in the September Nation's Business. A reprint is enclosed for your information.

As with all citizens, I have been deeply concerned with recent unfortunate events in many of our cities, including my own City of Detroit. Many of our Detroit Edison employees were closely involved in maintaining and restoring service in the riot areas, with support and protection of civil and military personnel. I have personally gone into these areas and have talked with many who are involved at all levels of our community. As a member of the Mayor's "New Detroit" Committee, I have a deep and continuing concern for those endeavors which will contribute to the well-being of our people and our community. It has been a significant part of my daily life.

During the riots and following, I find only good work being done by those involved in programs here developed and supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Many were working actively to contain the disorder and to keep others from participating. Considering the short time these programs have been under way, I believe the present and potential benefits are clearly evident. This good work must be continued and strengthened if we are to resolve the crucial matters facing us today. Time cannot be lost.

The recommendations made to the Congress by the Administration redefine and strengthen those areas of the War on Poverty which experience has proven most effective. It merits your full support and I commend it to you most highly.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

WALKER CISLER.

[From Nation's Business, September 1967]
A HAND UP, NOT A HAND OUT: THAT'S WHAT THE OEO IS ALL ABOUT

We believe that businessmen, legislators, indeed all citizens should understand and support the Office of Economic Opportunity. For what it does, as well as for how it does it.

What does the OEO do? As businessmen we look at it this way: The OEO and its programs give people a hand up, not a hand-out . . . get people off relief rolls and onto payrolls. Our payrolls. It helps people move up the economic ladder; equips them through education and training to become productive and constructive members of society. The way we see it, the OEO turns out workers and consumers.

Now, how does the OEO operate? It's set up

and run like a big business should be. A central management governing and administering a variety of diverse programs in 1100 communities in all 50 states, plus 120 Job Corps Centers. The OEO runs tightly, cleanly, economically. And it does this largely because of the way it's organized.

Operationally, the OEO follows the proven management concept of *single responsibility*. As businessmen, we practice this principle within our own organizations. And therefore, it's only natural for us to believe that *the OEO must be preserved as the single responsible agency for the conduct and management of the many and diverse activities of the economic opportunity program.*

It is the best way to get a vital job done.

Robert S. Benjamin, chairman of the board, United Artists Corp.; Ralph M. Besse, chairman, the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.; Cabell Brand, president, Ortho-Vent Shoe Co.; George R. Brown, president, Brown & Root, Inc.; Carter Burgess, chairman of the board, American Machine Foundry; Donald S. Carmichael, attorney at law; Richard H. Carter, president Fostoria Corp.; Walker L. Cislser, chairman the Detroit Edison Co.; Donald C. Cook, president, American Electric Power Co., Inc.; Richard Cudahy, president, Patrick Cudahy, Inc.

C. Malcolm Davis, president, Fidelity Union Trust Co.; John D. deButts, vice chairman, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.; Dr. A. G. Gaston, president, Booker T. Washington Insurance Co.; Harold S. Geneen, chairman, International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.; Carl A. Gerstacker, chairman of the board, the Dow Chemical Co.; Eli Goldston, president, Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates; Lewis Gruber, honorary chairman, P. Lorillard Co.; Robert Hilbert, first vice president, Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia; Joseph H. Kanter, president, Kanter Corp.; Harding Lawrence, president, Braniff International.

John Lawrence, president and chairman, Dresser Industries; C. Virgil Martin, president, Carson Pirie Scott & Co.; James McCormack, chairman, Communications Satellite Corp.; William Patrick, assistant general counsel, Michigan Bell Telephone Co.; Harvey Russell, vice president, Pepsi-Cola Co.; Charles E. Scripps, chairman of the board, Scripps-Howard Newspapers; Olcott Smith, chairman, Aetna Life Insurance Co.; Roger P. Sonnabend, president, Hotel Corp. of America; Jay Wells, president, Wells Television, Inc.; W. H. Wheeler, chairman of the board, Pitney-Bowes, Inc.

NEGLECT OF A CONGRESSIONAL FUNCTION: LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT ON ADMINISTRATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on August 7, I called to the attention of this body the remarkable article by Daniel P. Moynihan entitled "White Blindness Lamented," which appeared in the Washington Post of August 6. In that article, Mr. Moynihan courageously evaluated Government programs, such as the poverty program, which he himself had a significant role in creating. Unlike some current and former administrators he is interested in results and in whether the Government's programs have in fact lived up to their advance billings or even

achieved some of their stated objectives. Concerning domestic social welfare programs, "Pat" Moynihan said:

In our desire to maintain public confidence in such programs, we have tended to avoid evidence of poor results, and in particular paid too little heed to the limited capacities of government to bring about social change.

These failings have been accompanied, moreover, by a formidable capacity for explaining them away.

Mr. Speaker, Daniel Moynihan was speaking of the governmental system as a whole. But what about the Congress? Has this House "tended to avoid evidence of poor results?" Have we even sought evidence of good or poor results? Moreover, can we honestly say when voting on either authorizations or appropriations we really had the benefit of systematic analyses of how existing programs have actually functioned? And do we even know what the administrators downtown have done with what we fashion here in Congress? To these questions, I fear most Members must answer in the negative, Mr. Speaker.

In short, the Congress has not done the job of legislative oversight of administration that should have been done. The report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress has pointed out quite clearly that this function is not being performed as it should be. The Joint Committee stated:

The responsibilities of committees extend beyond the passage of new legislation. They are also charged with the duty of scrutinizing existing programs to determine whether they are being administered in accord with congressional intent, whether amendments are desirable, or whether any program has outlived its usefulness.

Legislative review is often neglected by the standing committees under the pressures of a session's agenda of proposed new legislation (emphasis added).

My personal concern about the adequacy of Congress' performance in the oversight field has been heightened by reading Mr. Moynihan's article; by the terrible riots that have visited our great cities—including one in my own State—in spite of the large expenditures made by recent Congresses for the improvement of urban life, as the able chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] pointed out; and by the plethora of recent proposals for vast expenditures.

In addition, the President has asked the Congress for a 10-percent, retroactive, surtax on both individual and corporate incomes. At the same time, he has raised the threat of an unthinkable \$29 billion deficit.

If we in the Congress had done the oversight job that was needed and had evaluated more thoroughly the actual operation of the programs we enacted, perhaps we would not today face the threat of a sizable tax increase and/or large deficits. We might also be further down the road toward solving basic problems.

All of this only points out the fact that Congress is going to have to face up to its responsibility to perform the oversight function and sharpen its tools of oversight, or we face the spectacle of massive failures in meeting the critical problems

which face our people, while we spend their money at an ever-increasing pace and impose higher taxes.

Mr. Speaker, Congress' failure to perform its oversight role effectively involves even more basic considerations, however, than dealing with the immediate problems of urban life, the President's tax increase proposal, or large budget deficits. The future of the Congress, and therefore our governmental system, is involved.

Congress can be strong and viable only if it is in a position to exercise a continuing and systematic review of administrative activities and policies. Without the information that comes from such comprehensive oversight activity, Congress runs the risk of being cut off from the mainstream of relevant information and decisionmaking.

I do not want to see the role of Congress diminished. If this occurs, we will be on the road toward a bureaucratic state. Congress reflects the diversities of American life and enables almost every interest to find a spokesman in its behalf. Congress is the one institution capable of humanizing the governmental process and of correcting the often arbitrary nature of administrative decisions.

Prof. Alfred de Grazia of New York University has pointed out:

Without a strong Congress, the basic structures of voluntary association, federalism, and autonomous enterprise will tend to dissolve into centralism . . . the problems of the country will be handled in ways that will become excessively majoritarian, often arbitrary, usually collectivist, and in the end suppressive of the American ideal of individuality.

I am concerned therefore about legislative oversight because first, I want to see us deal with current problems in a meaningful way and not continue to fund programs that have failed or are archaic; second, because I want to save every taxpayer's dollar possible; and third, because I want to see the Congress play an aggressive and positive role now, in the 1970's, and in the more distant future.

Mr. Speaker, I believe I sense a rising concern among Members on both sides of the aisle and in the Senate about this matter of legislative oversight, because all of us have been continually confronted with instances of unwise, arbitrary, and inefficient administrative decisionmaking. Evidence of this concern was reflected in a remarkable and, I believe, highly significant letter which the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, Mr. MANSFIELD, sent to all Senate committee chairman on December 27, 1966. His letter read in part:

So much basic legislation was enacted in the 88th and 89th Congresses that I do not anticipate requests for sweeping new legislative approaches in this 90th Congress. That is not to say that all that confronts us in the session ahead will be the need to pass appropriation bills and then adjourn. It occurs to me that the next Congress will also see the convergence of a unique opportunity with a great need for a concentrated Senate exercise of the oversight function.

I would hope to see, in the first session of the 90th Congress, the beginning of a major re-examination of what we have done in legislation during the past few years.

Considering the vast scope of this work and the unprecedented nature of much of it, it is to be expected that there exists a number of rough edges, over-extensions and overlaps and, perhaps, even significant gaps. A thorough and dispassionate re-study of this legislation, therefore, could lead to desirable refinements (emphasis added).

What applies to programs which we have set in motion in recent years, in my judgment, applies with equal emphasis to those of older vintage. There come to mind, in this connection, legislation on the military draft, agricultural subsidies of one kind or another, foreign aid, income and other taxes and many others. Few if any of these older legislative structures have had a thoroughgoing, second-look for many years. These, too, it seems to me, might profitably be subject to complete re-study by the Senate. That kind of study could provide not only a basis for adjustments of legislation, as necessary, to the current needs of the nation but also a check on the equity and efficacy of the administrative interpretations and practices which have developed (emphasis added).

In short, what is suggested is that the Committee Chairmen consult with the members of their committees to determine with respect to matters within their committee jurisdiction what, in their judgment, might be most usefully subjected to a thoroughgoing oversight at this time. To put it another way, I am suggesting that committees initiate on behalf of the Senate a concentrated re-examination of major legislative structures by which the federal government is enabled to play its role in the current life and affairs of the nation and the world. I do not anticipate much more than a beginning during the coming session. But the time seems to me to be very ripe for such a beginning.

THE CURRENT STATE OF LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT IN THE HOUSE

Mr. Speaker, it would, of course, be presumptuous of me to attempt to comment upon the extent to which Senator MANSFIELD's suggestion was implemented in the other body. I do know, however, that the record of the House in this area is not what it should be. I say this in spite of the comments of some very eminent students of the Congress who have said that oversight is now the principal function of the Congress. My conversations with colleagues on both sides of the aisle, plus a survey which I asked to be made of oversight activities point up the following facts:

With few exceptions, House committees do not undertake comprehensive, continuing, and systematic reviews of the policies and performances of administrative departments and agencies under their respective jurisdictions.

In a few instances, there is careful surveillance of a particular agency under a committee's jurisdiction while the performance of other agencies is largely ignored.

Such legislative oversight as exists tends to be sporadic, selective and episodic in response to the complaints of interest groups and constituents, and the information provided by newsmen and courageous administrators.

Too often congressional committees conduct their inquiries into administrative policies and activities in response to crises or tragedies; but these come after the fact and do little to prevent trouble.

Committees try at the time they consider new legislation proposed by the Executive or renewals of existing pro-

grams to evaluate administrative performance. The pressures and volume of legislative work, however, make it difficult for committees to adequately utilize these opportunities when Congress has maximum leverage over the Executive.

Committees depend heavily on the various agencies and departments under their respective jurisdictions for the information they have concerning administrative policies and performance. Unfortunately, the executive branch normally supplies only that information which it wants to divulge. Few committees have the resources to obtain information from reliable nonadministration sources.

Legislative oversight must rely heavily on conscientious staff work. Yet most House committees—particularly the minority members—do not have adequate staff to perform the oversight function which was prescribed in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

Too often reports of the General Accounting Office—GAO—are ignored or given only superficial attention by our standing committees. The GAO can be effective only if supported by the various committees. The existence of this excellent organization does not absolve this body of its responsibility.

Such facts as these disturb me deeply because they indicate that the House of Representatives and we as individual Members are missing opportunities to assert leadership and make the governmental system responsive to the needs of the Nation. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, it might be said that Congress must accept a part of the blame for ineffective Federal programs that fall far short of their promise and that, in their operation, fail adequately to respond to national needs.

When the Congress and its committees do aggressively assume their oversight responsibilities, the results have been beneficial for all. I call your attention, for example, to the fine work done by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in overseeing the Atomic Energy Commission and the surveillance given the highway programs by the Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Programs of the Public Works Committee.

I know each of the Members of the House has discovered examples of administrative decisionmaking that virtually cry out for a review by the Congress. May I call to your attention the following additional problems which my survey has revealed:

A major policy decision of the Department of Housing and Urban Development implementing a major amendment to the Demonstration Cities Act resulted in making the amendment virtually ineffective. The author of the amendment was not informed of this policy decision by HUD and had to learn of it through a letter from a lawyer in Detroit.

Four years of prodding were required to gain a committee investigation of what was generally regarded as a classic case of mismanagement of a major program.

Two billion dollars in arms sales were financed by Export-Import Bank credits without the knowledge of Members of

the Bank's parent committee in the House.

Committee chairmen willing to expend great efforts and funds reviewing selected agencies or programs which happen to be of intense interest to them, while the rest of the committee's jurisdiction is largely ignored.

Reluctance on the part of the committee members to investigate programs which they have consistently supported for fear of political embarrassment.

Reluctance on the part of the committee members to engage in oversight activities which might prove disquieting to the administration. This reluctance is coupled with a fear of reprisal by the administration.

Minority requests for better and thorough oversight activities ignored by the majority leadership of committees.

Staff personnel at times become overly friendly with their counterparts down town with the result that the committee staffs become reluctant to criticize.

Because committee members are often not sufficiently interested in oversight, they too frequently fail to support staff personnel when they do undertake oversight work. The net effect is to discourage the staffs.

A special oversight subcommittee inadequately staffed and not used for oversight purposes.

Reporting provisions in legislation designed to keep Congress well informed in actual practice result in the administrative branch providing only such information as they see fit to make known. Such reports as are made are frequently ignored because of inadequate committee staff.

Reliance on interest groups to be the "eyes and ears" of Congress in helping to determine how programs are functioning. Of course, such organizations should be encouraged to give their thinking on how effective programs have been, but interest groups cannot do Congress work for it.

Administrative attempts to influence the testimony of witnesses, who might testify at hearings in a critical manner concerning an existing program.

Lack of committee field investigations and hearings to provide firsthand knowledge of how well programs are functioning.

CONGRESS MUST BECOME CONCERNED ABOUT LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT

Mr. Speaker, let me make clear that I am advocating neither "fishing expeditions" nor political "hatchet jobs" in the name of legislative oversight of administration. But I do think that it is time that we started doing a positive job of reviewing the vast array of programs which we have enacted.

What we must do first of all is break down the all too prevalent notion that Congress is a mere "bill factory." Enactment of legislation is indeed our function, but it is only one of our duties. Whether we like it or not we all know that given the complex and interdependent world in which we live, the executive branch must be given considerable discretionary power in administering programs which we enact. The danger, of course, is that in delegating discretion-

ary authority to the executive, too much power may be handed over to the so-called administrative experts, who are apt to be lacking in contact with the average citizen. So long as administrators are involved in making important decisions—and in our lifetime they will be so involved—there must be an agency prepared to check and control them. Indeed, it is precisely because it is necessary in modern times to vest extensive discretionary powers in administrative officials, that it is absolutely essential for Members of Congress to exercise regularized and continuing oversight of administrative activities, if uncontrolled and unaccountable power is to be avoided. The institution accountable to the people and capable of exercising that control is Congress. All of us would do well to recall the words of John Stuart Mill written a century ago. He wrote:

The proper office of a representative assembly is to watch and control the government.

Oversight, as I envision it, must go beyond a concern for narrow economy and efficiency in government—though let me make it clear that I place a very high priority on such matters. But we in Congress must know more of the actual policymaking that is taking place in the executive branch. We must know what sorts of important policy matters concerning the implementation of legislative authority are pending in the agencies and departments. We must also know whether programs we authorize are having results.

Through the work of the GAO, supported by the Government Operations Committee and the various substantive committees, and the casework which each of our offices does, I think Congress can go a long way toward making the Government more efficient and economical. But real efficiencies and economies can be achieved only if we really have a comprehensive picture of what administrative policies are and how programs are actually functioning.

PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT

To make the House better able to watch and control the executive branch, I strongly recommend the following steps be taken.

First, each standing substantive committee should establish as a permanent part of its subcommittee structure, a Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight—or Review. These subcommittees would have no other functions than those directly related to their oversight responsibility. The subcommittees should have an equal number of majority and minority members regardless of the number of Republicans and Democrats in the Congress as a whole. After all, oversight is not a partisan matter—it is a congressional duty.

The staff of these subcommittees should be professional and nonpartisan, but they should be selected in equal parts by the majority and minority subcommittee members.

These subcommittees should be required to report on their previous year's activities to the Congress at the beginning of each session.

This proposal will provide the personnel and the organizational arrangements to handle the oversight function while not disrupting the traditional functions and jurisdictions of the standing committees. Indeed, the strength and expertise of each committee would be strengthened. In addition, by requiring that these subcommittees and their staffs be equally divided between the majority and the minority, we will be insuring against one-party domination of Government no matter what the partisan ratio in the Congress may be. We will also, I believe, provide some additional incentives to the carrying out of the oversight function. We must stop the erosion of this function which I think has become all too prevalent in the past two Congresses.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I might also cite my strong support for the proposal contained in our Republican state of the Union message last January delivered by the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD]. Under that proposal, whenever the same party controls both the White House and the Congress, then at least one investigating committee should be under the control of the minority party.

Second, to give appropriate recognition to the importance of the oversight function, it is suggested that a special Oversight Calendar be established that would have priority on at least 2 days each month. On these oversight calendar days, committee chairmen and ranking members could bring to the attention of the House oversight matters of importance as well as the reports of the oversight subcommittees.

In addition to giving formal recognition to the importance of legislative oversight, I think that this proposal would have the added advantage of encouraging Members to give oversight matters the attention they deserve. Furthermore, it would strengthen the hand of Congress in dealing with administrative departments and agencies if the personnel of the Executive knew that their activities would be subject to additional discussion and examination on the floor of the House.

Third, it is suggested that each committee's power to gain information concerning administrative activities be increased by requiring through statute that agencies and departments under a committee's jurisdiction keep their parent committees "fully and currently informed with respect to all matters" relating to the agency's or department's functions. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy operates under such a statute as pertains to the AEC and the Department of Defense. This provision has tremendously strengthened the hand of the Joint Committee in dealing with agencies handling atomic energy matters. Obviously, such a provision in the statutes is not self-enforcing but a diligent committee armed with this statute should be in a stronger position to gain needed information concerning administrative policymaking. I think, for example, that we should be informed of policy matters while they are in the con-

sideration and formulation stages and not always after the fact. A provision requiring the executive agencies to keep the congressional committees fully and currently informed might help toward this end.

Fourth, I think that the leaders of each party when conducting orientation sessions for freshmen Members of the House should make it a point to stress the importance of the oversight function. The Republican leadership has held what I think were highly successful orientation sessions for the 90th club. In the future I would recommend that oversight activities occupy a significant place on the agenda of such meetings. I think it would also be beneficial if the chairmen and ranking members of each committee stressed the importance of this function to each Member newly assigned to a committee.

None of these recommendations are going to work miracles and transform the House, I know. But I think they are a step in the right direction. Ultimately however, the success and viability of the Congress depends on each of us and I believe it depends in considerable part on whether we do our oversight job. I think Congress is at the crossroads in this matter. I sincerely hope we will take the necessary steps forward.

AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARTER] for 30 minutes.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, a strong sense of duty impels me to speak out against the war in Vietnam. The future of our country demands a drastic change of direction in that war.

For 6 long years we have been involved in a bloody conflict which threatens the very existence of our beloved country. As a combat medic with an infantry division in the South Pacific, I have been intimate with the horrors of war and feel that the lives of our men should only be risked in case our country is attacked. In that event, we know they would resist assault with all their spirit, stamina, and strength.

Our country is torn by dissension—troubled by traitorous rabblers and rioters who blatantly curse the beloved land which has nurtured and cared for them. And yet they are permitted to spout hate, incite arson, promote looting with impunity.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, ours is a troubled land. The war in Vietnam is causing great worry and anxiety. Among the people of my district and our whole country, sentiment is increasingly against the war.

Shortly after intervention in South Vietnam in 1961, we were told we were there: First, because of SEATO commitments; second, to permit the people of South Vietnam self-determination of the type of government they wanted; and third, to contain communism.

To answer these in order, we had no SEATO commitments. SEATO voted not to intervene in this civil war.

Second, in 1956 polls showed that had

free elections been held, 70 percent of the citizens of South Vietnam would have voted to unify South Vietnam with North Vietnam.

Third, why should we attempt to contain China, when Communist Cuba, presently swarming with Russian instructors and missiles, lies only 90 miles off our shore. Again, how can a nation, even as powerful as ours, contain more than 700 million people 11,000 miles away, across the vast Pacific.

If SEATO had voted to intervene, militarily we would have been on stronger ground, but blindly we went in with only token aid from Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines; and strong assistance from little South Korea. The thousands of millions we have given the countries of the world have availed us little.

While we are in this awful struggle, where are the friends we assisted in World War II?

England is now trading with North Vietnam. So is France and most of the other countries of Europe and Asia. We saved Russia from Hitler and she is North Vietnam's chief supplier of guns and bombs to maim, mangle, and cripple our boys.

France, on whose fields lie 250,000 of the flower of American manhood, and to whom we have given \$8 billion in aid, and who refused to pay the \$7 billion we loaned her during World War I, each year demands her pound of flesh in gold for our balance-of-payments deficit. Perfidious France, ruled by the world's supreme egotist. I demand that this \$7 billion be repaid by this ungrateful group of money grabbers.

In November 1965, I visited South Vietnam and was told then that the war would not last too long. I was taken to so-called pacified villages—one called "Happy Valley" near An Khe.

In July 1966, as a member of the Speaker's committee, I returned to South Vietnam and An Khe. "Happy Valley" was off limits, and the 1st Cavalry Division was firing from its perimeter. The pacified areas had been retaken—ours for only as long as snow drops on the river—a moment white, then gone forever.

I visited marines in the Da Nang area, and General Larsen at Na Trang. In 1965 I had also visited the big red one across the river from Bien Hoa Air Base. I saw the finest, best trained, best equipped men in the world. I have voted for every measure to support and help them: GI insurance, the GI bill of rights, pay raises, military authorizations; and will continue to do so. I want every bomb dropped which will save an American life.

In 1967 it seems the conditions are much worse. The Vietcong fight fiercely and tenaciously, because it is their land and we are foreigners and intervening in their civil war. I opposed our entrance into this war in 1961. Our interests were not so threatened that the blood of our sons should be shed so wastefully; or that our wealth should be so wildly dissipated.

We are fighting the type of war Russia would have us do. Our supply line is 10,000 miles long. There is little, if any, patriotic fervor toward fighting this war. It has cost us 12,000 dead, 70,000

wounded, and billions and billions of dollars. After more involvement, more extension of our troops and supply lines, then will come a massive assault toward our homeland, the United States itself.

Let us now, while we are yet strong, bring our men home, every man jack of them. If we must fight, let us fight in defense of our homeland and our own hemisphere. Our sons lives are too precious to lose on foreign soil. If they must die, let it be in defense of America.

Russia is no longer a Marxist country. Communism evolves as does every form of life and government: As the end state of radium is lead, so is the end state of communism some form of democracy. Even China is no longer truly Marxist. This is what the Maoist or Red Guard movement is about now—to check the natural evolution of communism. But neither time nor tide can alter this. If we strengthen our own country and leave Russia and China alone, in years to come, they will realize the benefits and necessity of peaceful coexistence.

The \$24 billion a year could be used to construct 48,000 \$500,000 schools. Slums could be eradicated. Suburbanization of our cities could be effected, and our brave beloved young men could be returned to live as peacefully as the placid streams by which as youths they once sported.

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

Mr. CARTER. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. WAMPLER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

According to press reports, over this past weekend U.S. Army units in Vietnam, since January 1, 1961, recorded 161,250 nonfatal casualties due to disease and accidents. The Pentagon said that 85 percent of the casualties occurred in the past 19 months.

By contrast, as of last Thursday, U.S. forces in Vietnam reported 12,605 battle deaths, 77,513 wounded in action, and 2,549 deaths from causes not the result of hostile operations.

These figures were provided by United Press International, after a dispute which erupted on the subject here in the Congress. Our colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. BOB WILSON], charged on August 7 that the Pentagon was using deceptive bookkeeping by not including noncombat injuries in its weekly casualty summary.

I merely wanted to point this out to the gentleman from Kentucky, since he has so ably said that the war is growing in terms of the loss of precious American lives and in terms of the Treasury it is costing the American taxpayer. I want to commend the gentleman for again bringing this most important matter to the attention of the House.

Mr. CARTER. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Virginia for his excellent remarks.

THE NEED FOR A REVIEW OF OUR FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, the time is rapidly approaching when the Congress will once again be faced with the task of formulating a new national highway program. In 1972 the 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System, set up by the Federal-Aid Highway Acts of 1944 and 1956, will be completed. Although that is still 4 years off, there are some compelling reasons which call for an immediate study of our Federal highway programs, with a view toward possible changes.

When, in 1944, the Federal-Aid Highway Act gave birth to the Interstate Highway and Defense System, it also set down a hard and fast series of criteria according to which the 41,000 miles were to be distributed to the several States. Under the newly established procedures, the States were asked in 1946 to submit proposals as to the amount of interstate mileage they regarded necessary for their particular needs. It was the task of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads to pass upon these proposals and, on the basis of the criteria established by the Congress, to make final allocations to the individual States.

Ninety-two percent of the available mileage was allocated in 1947, and by the end of 1957, all but about 1 percent of the 41,000 miles had been assigned. That remaining 1 percent dwindled rapidly, so that today all that remains is a very small reserve of about 25 miles. Yet, during the 10-year period that has elapsed since 1957, practically every State has made requests for new interstate highway routes. In fact, at the present time, the records of the Bureau of Public Roads reveal outstanding requests for about 21,000 miles of highway, none of which can be fulfilled due to the virtually complete allocation of the authorized mileage.

With population density and automobile traffic dramatically rising, the highway problems are rapidly becoming intolerable. We find ourselves laboring under a highway program, the structure of which remains the same as originally drawn in the early 1940's. Therefore, we find that a State, in order to qualify for interstate routes, must satisfy criteria established almost a quarter of a century ago. It would appear to me obvious, Mr. Speaker, that a cursory examination of highway conditions today as compared to highway conditions as they existed when the Federal-Aid Highway Act was initiated in 1944, will be persuasive of the need for the establishment of new criteria. What were the basic criteria established in 1944 and still in effect today? According to the Bureau of Public Roads, they number four. The first criterion is the degree of "importance to national defense," and the second is "system integration—the value of the route as a connector between numerous centers of population and industry, which generate interregional traffic." These first two criteria are given equal and greater weight than the second two, which include the "importance to industry" and the "importance to rural and urban population."

Undeniably, the Interstate System has played, and will continue to play, a vital role in serving the defense interests of our Nation. When it is completed 6 years from now, it will have connected a ma-

ajority of our major cities. To that end, the highway network was well conceived. But today, in addition to serving the national defense, we must look beyond to the many changes which the past 25 years have wrought. We must look to the urban population explosion, and to the attendant heavy increase in motor vehicle traffic. We must confront and eliminate the traffic congestion which twice daily paralyzes our cities, and which causes a short trip to an airport to take longer than a flight to a distant city. These are problems largely of a postwar origin which in 1944 did not exist in the magnitude that they do today. And it is therefore imperative that we develop a Federal highway program that reflects these contemporary problems.

It also seems clear to me that some insistence by the Federal Government must be made on comprehensive State planning of intrastate highway systems. In many States today we find superhighways terminating at inadequate State facilities, with a result that four and sometimes six lanes of highspeed traffic are funneled into two or less lanes of antiquated and inadequate State highway systems. Not only the contemporary problems but the particular needs of State with emphasis on a correlated and interrelated system of State highways is, in my judgment, essential. I believe, too, Mr. Speaker, that our Federal Highway Act should, as far as possible, be related to, and place emphasis upon, the development of mass transportation systems within the individual States. The time is rapidly approaching when it will be not only impractical but impossible to drive a passenger automobile into a large urban area. The danger to our health and welfare by reason of some disaster such as fire, flood, and so forth, occurring in the urban areas is but a single example of the need for developing some form of rapid mass transit. In every large city today the use of an automobile in downtown areas of concentrated employment, shopping, entertainment, is becoming more and more impossible. Thus, again, in my judgment, the highway program should require some similar State planning. More importantly, it seems to me new criteria and their respective priorities, must be spelled out. Among those which should be considered are: First, density of motor vehicle ownership in a particular area or State; second, recognition of high traffic volume; third, a demonstrated need for routes which would encircle an urban area and distribute traffic out of a city; and fourth, interstate corridors of high traffic density.

In addition, new methods of financing must be considered. Presently, the 90 percent Federal share comes out of the Federal highway trust fund. This fund is comprised of the contributions from all excise taxes on commercial vehicles, tires, and gasoline. There are a number of States, however, of which New Jersey is a good example, which do not receive its just share under this system of financing. New Jersey has the most dense traffic in the Nation, and ranks eighth in amount of annual contribution to the highway trust fund. Yet, New Jersey has received proportionately fewer Federal

interstate routes than other States contributing less to the fund. New Jersey, therefore, in effect is helping to subsidize the construction of highways in other States.

A new system of criteria, with a correlative shifting of priorities, would likewise permit Hawaii to qualify legitimately for Federal highway construction, rather than through the device of special legislation. Although that State is in no way qualified under the criteria set forth in the 1944 and 1956 acts, it was nevertheless, in 1960, granted 50 miles of interstate routes.

What then, Mr. Speaker, in view of the complexities of the problem, is the answer? Certainly it must be conceded in light of these various suggested considerations, that there can be no quick remedy. The answer does not lie with a simple extension of the Interstate Highway and Defense Act. This could bring no immediate results for a number of reasons. Of the 41,000 miles in the Interstate System, there are today only 23,755 miles open to traffic, and it will be at least another 6 or 7 years, I am told by the Bureau of Public Roads, before the system is completed. The yet to be built routes are now in various stages of planning and design, and the construction of these would, therefore, take priority over any future allocation of new highway miles.

We must recognize the seriousness of the problems which exist in our present Federal highway program and strive to meet the challenge of the future by intelligent planning in the present. In January of 1968, the Bureau of Public Roads will present to the Congress and to the President, a comprehensive report on some of the problems with which I have dealt today. Rather than now offer new legislation, I feel that more might be gained if we were to take advantage of the expertise and research of the Bureau's report. It is essential, however, Mr. Speaker, that the Bureau fortify itself by taking advantage of the greatest expertise and the most modern and complete research in this field that is available. If the Bureau continues "business as usual," we will literally have chaos where there is today only disorder and disruption. To fail to take into consideration the needs of our large cities, our most widely traveled States, and the overall movements of population, together with the particular needs of the various areas of our country, would be a tragedy that would be tantamount to criminal neglect. I cannot emphasize the problem too much. I cannot urge the attention it deserves too strongly. I cannot point out the results of the failure to plan adequately too forcefully. 1968 is just around the corner and 1972 is not far down the street. Traffic control and highway development is becoming, Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, one of the great domestic problems confronting our Nation. The problem cries out for a solution. I urge the Secretary of Transportation and indeed, the President of the United States, to make absolutely certain that intelligent, comprehensive, and farsighted planning will provide an answer to the highway and traffic problems of tomorrow. I urge the Congress to

anticipate and carefully assess the report of the Bureau of Public Roads. Hopefully, we can implement a new program planned intelligently and constructed speedily, so that our citizens may have in the years ahead a workable, useful, and efficient national and State highway system.

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

Mr. CAHILL. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to compliment my colleague from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL], on his very comprehensive remarks.

Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, notwithstanding the tremendous rainstorms that we have experienced, our traffic was bumper to bumper on our major highways, on the turnpikes, and on the parkways for a number of miles. In my opinion, a review of the value of the criteria has been needed for a long time. I say to the Members in all sincerity, that this is one of the prime factors that has delayed New Jersey from receiving their full return from the moneys we in New Jersey have invested in the highways and in petroleum products.

The State of New Jersey is, and has been, referred to as a sort of a jug, or a tap barrel on both ends. Everything passes through New Jersey on the highway system. We have long needed the exact overhauling the gentleman speaks of.

Further, Mr. Speaker, I want to say to the gentleman in the well that I will most enthusiastically support every move he makes. I believe this has been long overdue. I believe everything the gentleman has said today should be taken under serious consideration by every Member of this House, so that in January of the oncoming year we can do something for the interstate highway situation.

Only today I read where much of our highway construction interstatewide is being held up by petty squabbles within the States as to which way the road shall go. I believe it is high time we put down some rules and regulations and see if we cannot build roads for the benefit of our people, they are the ones who are paying for them.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his remarks. I am particularly pleased with his statements, because I know of the gentleman's outstanding work as a member of the New Jersey Legislature for the past several years, and I recognize the very real contribution the gentleman has made during his tenure in the New Jersey State Legislature.

I know that the gentleman, therefore, brings to the House of Representatives an expertise and experience that should contribute a great deal.

Having represented the congressional district that the gentleman now represents, I recognize, as does the gentleman, the tremendous problems that we are confronted with, being as we are a corridor State wherein traffic traveling from Philadelphia to New York and from Washington and Philadelphia to New York, and to all areas of the South and New England pass us. We are confronted with most serious traffic problems and

we, indeed, have not received our just share of the contributions that we have made to the trust fund which is used to develop the highway system. While we recognize that and we are very happy to help other States, I think the gentleman has placed his finger on the problem when he agrees that the criteria must be changed and some recognition must be taken of the 1960's, and some new criteria, as differentiated from the criteria of the 1940's, must be established if we are to have not only the kind of changes that are necessary but an effective highway system.

I thank my colleague.

FREE SPEECH DOES NOT MEAN FREEDOM TO INCITE RIOTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE].

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I had been granted a special order to address the House for 30 minutes. At the conclusion of the last vote I was unavoidably called to my office and thus was not on the floor when my name was called.

Mr. Speaker, I therefore ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

FREE SPEECH DOES NOT MEAN FREEDOM TO INCITE RIOTS

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is time that we who are responsible for the orderly operation of our Government speak out against those who, by advocating violence and civil disorder, seek to destroy our system. The H. Rap Browns and the Stokely Carmichaels within our country, as well as other groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, have heretofore enjoyed the protections of our precious rights, while at the same time advocating the forceful overthrow of the very institutions which afford those rights.

Judging from the most recent reports I have heard, the words of Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, and others, have gone beyond those normally protected under our free speech liberty. It is my firm belief that phrases such as "Stop looting and start shooting," "Let's turn the United States into another Vietnam," and "I'm gonna get me a gun and start shooting my enemies—and one of my enemies may be Lady Bird," are calculated to fan the flames of unrest, build up animosities, and lead to actual violence. At this point, Mr. Speaker, the right of freedom of speech comes to a screeching halt and Government action becomes not only proper but essential.

Let us take a look at some of the doctrine which has governed free speech in the past. The classic rule, and the one which still prevails to the greatest extent in this country, is the so-called clear and present danger rule. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, in first stating the rule said:

(T)he character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. . . . The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting

fire in a theater and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that have all the effect of force. . . . The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, (51-52), 1919.

In a later case, *Gitlow* against New York, the defendant was convicted under a New York statute making it criminal to advocate, advise or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety of overturning organized government by force or violence. In sustaining the conviction, Justice Stanford, speaking for the court said:

By enacting the present statute the State has determined, through its legislative body, that utterances advocating the overthrow of organized government by force, violence, and unlawful means, are so inimical to the general welfare, and involve such danger of substantive evil that they may be penalized in the exercise of its police power. That determination must be given great weight. . . . That utterances inciting to the overthrow of organized government by unlawful means, present a sufficient danger of substantive evil to bring their punishment within the range of legislative discretion is clear. Such utterances, by their very nature, involve danger to the public peace and to the security of the State. They threaten breaches of the peace and ultimate revolution. And the immediate danger is none the less and substantial because the effect of a given utterance cannot be accurately foreseen. The State cannot reasonably be required to measure the danger from every such utterance in the nice balance of a jeweler's scale. *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S., 652, (668-669), (1925).

Mr. Speaker, we are not talking here of the kind of protection which must be granted to expound a political idea or a controversial point of view. I stand with the strongest supporters of the principle that whenever an extreme idea is expounded, the best recourse is to have more speech to illustrate the weakness of the expounded view, rather than less speech. In a democratic society, the widest possible discussion should always be encouraged, but when the talk centers not so much around ideas as around advocacy that the populace should take up arms, then I say the words constitute more than mere "speech."

Presently, we are all waiting to see what course the Departments of Justice and the Treasury—or the State involved take in the recent incidents involving advocacy of violence and threats on the First Family. I for one, and I believe I speak for the public sentiment as well, say that they should crack down just as hard as they can on these people. And in the event the Justice Department determines that our present laws do not allow punishment for the kind of conduct we have seen, then I would urge that we consider a Federal statute along the lines of the one successfully used in the *Gitlow* case I mentioned above, and would further urge that such a law be strictly and consistently enforced.

I am aware of the general rule that speech advocating violence is a matter for the States to enforce. But where States cannot or will not act, where the threat is made from foreign soil, or where the threat is knowingly injected into inter-

state communication, then I believe the Federal police power is broad enough to afford a remedy.

Of course, it goes without saying that my comments today are not directed toward any actual trial which may arise as to those I have mentioned or to whom I have alluded. I have cited these instances merely to show, by way of example, the kind of problem we are facing. If our present laws are not adequate, then the past actions I have cited will have to go unpunished. Still, we have got to protect our society for the future.

Crime and lawlessness are presently increasing at an alarming rate. Violence in the streets is becoming a way of life, not only in connection with individual crime, but also in relation to civil disturbances. I have recently had a letter from a very esteemed member of the Texas bar, an ex-justice of the Texas Supreme Court, urging that something be done to enable more comprehensive prosecution of criminals. It may well be, Mr. Speaker, that we give consideration to offering a constitutional amendment, amending the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Presently, some of our Federal rules of evidence, as well as the fourth and fifth amendment protections on self-incrimination and the use of confessions, seem to work to free known criminals. I think we should cover every facet—both in the origin and execution—of the problem of violence.

The utterances of Brown and others aimed at the disenfranchised segments of our population are highly dangerous. They are not washed away by a simple rainstorm which may be timely enough to disperse a crowd. They do not vanish once the crowd disperses. They linger on, and serve as the germ for all disrespect of law and order. The call to arms and civil unrest is one which does not bring out the rational aspects of men, but rather the most irrational. I wish that remarks such as those we have heard recently would always be recognized as the worthless tripe that they are. But we cannot count on this. And since we cannot, I think we must see to it that the advocacy of violence against society is quelled.

People all over the United States are asking, "Why can't we do something about this wild talk urging riots and violence?" The people have a right to know. They have not been given an answer. It may be that it is a matter of State law. I think it is more than a local or State matter. I think there is a corresponding duty on the Federal Government, and that we should do something about it. Perhaps the best way to start is to make it plain that we do not intend to allow free speech to mean inciting riots, or violence, or murder. Let us toughen our own thinking first.

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

Mr. PICKLE. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE] for his timely remarks today. I certainly agree with the last paragraph mentioned by the gentleman from Mississippi, in which he stated the people of this country are tired of these loud mouths, such as Stokely Carmichael and

Rap Brown, who run across the country threatening the public officials, the President and his wife, and urge the taking up of arms and the overthrow of the Government. The people are tired of this, and I believe the gentleman nailed the casket shut when he said the people want something done. What can we do? What should we do with this situation?

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Of course, we all know at this point that we will have to see what kind of action is taken in the States where these incidents have occurred, but they do cross the State lines, and we have to look for a broad answer, and I think we will find it.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his timely and clear remarks on this important subject.

Mr. PICKLE. I thank the gentleman.

QUEENS COUNTY, N.Y., PROGRAM FOR BRAIN INJURED CHILDREN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation, groups of dedicated people are planning and carrying out more programs each year for the benefit of children with various handicaps.

The plight of the brain injured child is one of the most poignant to face us, and the job of guiding him and helping him to assume his place in society is difficult and demanding.

In my home County of Queens, N.Y., the Queens chapter of the New York Association for Brain Injured Children is carrying out an effective program which offers hope in place of despair, to brain injured boys and girls and their families.

I am sure that many of our colleagues are as concerned over the needs of the brain injured child as I and my Queens neighbors are. For its value in guiding local groups in other parts of the Nation, anxious to establish similar projects, I offer a recent statement issued by the Queens chapter outlining some of its achievements and its plans:

Saul Spindel, President of the Queens Chapter of the New York Association for Brain Injured Children has announced a broad program for expanding the chapter's activities and educational classes during the coming fall and winter season.

The Queens Chapter is located at 64-33 215 Street, Bayside, New York. It is an organization dedicated to meet the needs of the minimally brain injured child.

In addition to advocating Public Educational, Medical and Social Programs for these children, the Queens Chapter also sponsors numerous service activities for them. These include the Pathfinder School, an early childhood center for the brain injured child; Play Therapy Programs, Teen Age Programs, Music Lessons, a Boy Scout and a Cub Scout Program and boys Athletic Groups.

The chapter also sponsors parent and community education programs.

These services have as their goal the encouragement of maximum self-sufficiency for the children so that some day they will be able to take their places in society.

"Our Queens Chapter," Mr. Spindel said, "represents over 600 local families. One of our major present problems is the lack of adequate facilities to house these new pro-

grams. We urgently need space in which to conduct our Pathfinder School as well as space for our numerous service and community programs."

The Pathfinder School, sponsored by the Queens Chapter, is an early childhood program for children aged 4 to 6. Classes meet weekday mornings and small groups of youngsters are taught in a preschool program specially designed to provide them with a foundation for their future educational needs. The program is fully licensed by the New York City Department of Health and served approximately 30 children last season.

The Queens Chapter's Play Therapy Program is oriented to help boys and girls aged 6 to 12 in their social and academic adjustment. Last year the group, which meets Saturday mornings, serviced over 25 children.

The teenage program is designed to provide a strong social relationship between young boys and girls aged 13 to 18. The program meets on Saturday afternoons. It serviced over 10 children last season.

The boys' athletic group is pointed toward helping boys who need special assistance with motor activities. The aim of the program is to teach boys, aged 8 to 13, how to play the games their peers engage in so that these children will be able to play with other boys in their neighborhood. The groups meet on Saturdays and on weekday afternoons, after school.

Music lessons are provided for over 30 children, in order to give them the opportunity to learn to play an instrument of their choice. The program, which employs special teaching methods designed to deal with the learning problems these children possess, also helps the children academically by improving their reading skills. Lessons are given at the teachers' studios.

A Boy Scout and Cub Scout program has been initiated to give brain injured youngsters all the advantages scouting has to offer. The troops meet on Tuesday evenings and 25 boys are presently enrolled.

Mr. Spindel also pointed out that the Queens Chapter of NYABC, in addition to expanding all of its services this fall, plans to form a "Tween Age" program for boys and girls aged 12 to 13. A day camp program for the summer of 1968 will also be launched.

POTOMAC INTERCEPTOR SEWER

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FRIEDEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from the State of Maryland, the Honorable HERVEY MACHEN, has introduced a bill to increase the Federal contribution to the payment of the cost of the Potomac interceptor sewer.

As you well know, the Potomac interceptor sewer was provided by the Government to serve Dulles International Airport, which, being constructed in a rural section of the Virginia countryside, was originally without proper waste disposal facilities. Consequently, we were forced to provide an extensive sewage system for the airport and for the community development which was likely to follow. For this purpose, the Congress appropriated a \$25 million loan for the Potomac interceptor sewer construction.

It cannot be disputed that the need for such a sewage system was vital to the

growth and maintenance of Dulles International Airport, and to attempts to stem the pollution of the Potomac River. However, the arrangements that were made for repayment of this loan were not as equitable as might be hoped. The users of this sewer line, under present law, are required to repay 100 percent of the \$25 million loan. In contrast, under the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, residents of various communities around the Nation have to repay only 20 percent of the loan as a result of extensive Federal and State grants. More immediately, the 500,000 eventual users of the Potomac interceptor will be paying a rate of 45 cents per 1,000 gallons of water, in contrast to the 22 cents per 1,000 gallons of water Washington area residents must pay. This situation, in my mind, is grossly unfair to these residents of the Washington metropolitan area; it is inequitable to place 100 percent of the financial burden upon their shoulders, particularly when the Potomac interceptor system was developed primarily for a Government facility—namely, Dulles International Airport. I might add that Maryland and Virginia officials were not consulted before this legislation was enacted.

Under H.R. 8965, the Federal Government would share the burden with these suburban residents by paying 50 percent of the costs of the sewage system it originally constructed to serve the Government-owned Dulles Airport. This would cut in half the cost to these Washington metropolitan area taxpayers, many of whom might otherwise be forced to provide their own sewage system to avoid these very high costs. The passage of this bill would bring the Potomac interceptor sewer system financially in line with the latest water pollution control legislation, and would serve to rectify this blatantly inequitable situation now forced upon a few residents by the unwise financial arrangements made by the Federal Government when the Potomac interceptor system was originally constructed.

If the Federal Government had not constructed this sewer to serve Dulles Airport, the State of Maryland could now construct its own facility at much less cost to the State. Therefore, I believe the residents of this area are entitled to the more favorable terms now in effect for the construction of such facilities and strongly urge my colleagues to support this measure.

PROHIBITING ACTS WHICH INCITE RACIAL HATRED

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ABBITT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit certain acts which incite racial hatred.

All of us have been shocked and dis-

turbed by the riots which have occurred recently in many of our major cities. These riots have been a disgrace and have brought irreparable harm to our national image in addition to having disturbed the minds and emotions of many of our people. The situation has gotten out of hand and there is no assurance that it will not be repeated any day.

Because of this I feel that it is vitally necessary that this Congress take action to assure freedom-loving and law-abiding citizens some protection from those who would disturb the peace and cause unrest among their neighbors.

The bill which I have introduced would make it a Federal crime to incite and create racial unrest. The bill is simple in that it would provide suitable penalties for those who act with intent to stir up hatred for any section of the public distinguished by color, race, or ethnic, or national origin. It would deal with such incitement whether caused by the printed word or by speech. Under its provisions, anyone who "publishes or distributes written matter which is threatening, abusive, or insulting, or uses in any public place or in any public meeting words which are threatening, abusive, or insulting" shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year or both. If bodily injury results from such actions or words, those convicted under the law would be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both. If death results from such actions or words, the convicted shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

I realize that the law such as this would tend to place limitations upon free speech, but I do not believe that the first amendment guarantees were meant to give a blank check to rabble rousers and racial bigots who seek to incite riots and racial unrest. The sooner we realize that we have a major problem in this country in this regard, the sooner we will get some relief. These riots are not going to be stopped by high sounding pronouncements from Government officials nor from wishful thinking on the part of do-gooders. We need to deal with them forthrightly and to spell out chapter and verse if necessary what the penalties will be for inciting riots and unrest. This is the only language that some of these people understand and it is the obligation of this Congress to spell that language out in a way so that it cannot be misunderstood.

It is incredible to me that certain of our leaders are willing to stand by and passively hope that such conditions are going to correct themselves.

I am convinced that some positive approach must be found to deal with those who are going about and causing trouble among our people, the people with whom we are dealing, in the big city riots and elsewhere have publicly stated that they will burn down America if they do not get what they want. It is senseless and the height of folly to wait until tragedy compels us to do what we can do now.

If the Federal Government is going to assume responsibility for programs and means for replacing buildings that have been destroyed by arson and plunder

and to render aid to those who have been made homeless, it only makes sense that we ward off the dangers before they occur. The Federal Government has the authority to replace private property destroyed and burned to the ground by rioters and looters, then it has the responsibility to restrain those who would perpetrate such crimes within our midst.

Our constitutional system of government is supposed to guarantee for our citizens life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is not supposed to reward those who commit crimes at the expense of those upon whom the crimes have been perpetrated. It is high time that we wake up and realize that it is useless to fight destruction and disturbers of the peace abroad if we are going to allow such things to go unchecked in our own land.

In my opinion this is a bill which can be supported by every Member of this House, as I am sure that all of us are seeking a solution to the great problem of riots and organized disturbances which have rocked our cities.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. KYROS (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for the remainder of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. FOUNTAIN (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for the remainder of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. McCULLOCH (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for Monday, August 28, on account of official business—National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders.

Mr. CORMAN, for today, on account of official business—Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. PICKLE, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. DANIELS, for 30 minutes, August 29, 1967; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. NIX, for 25 minutes, August 29; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GROSS) to address the House, revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CARTER, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. SCHERLE, for 30 minutes, on August 29, 1967.

Mr. CAHILL, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. GROSS), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. DORN and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GROSS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. RUMSFELD.
Mr. HOSMER.
Mr. WYMAN.
Mr. BERRY.
Mr. HALPERN.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ST. ONGE.
Mr. DONOHUE in two instances.
Mr. PATTEN.
Mr. MADDEN.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 222. An act to insure that public buildings financed with Federal funds are so designed and constructed as to be accessible to the physically handicapped; to the Committee on Public Works.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. BURLERSON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3717. An act for the relief of Mrs. M. M. Richwine;
H.R. 11945. An act to amend the college work-study program with respect to institutional matching and permissible hours of work; and
H.J. Res. 804. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLERSON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on August 25, 1967, present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 158. An act to amend section 209 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, so as to require future authorization of funds for certain programs of the Maritime Administration.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, August 29, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1019. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting the sixth semiannual report to the Congress, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 88-451 (H.

Doc. No. 162); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed.

1020. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1021. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of corundum from the national stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1022. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of castor oil from the national stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1023. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting a notification of the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Air National Guard, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1), and to the authority delegated by the Secretary of Defense; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1024. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting a notification of the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Army National Guard, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1), and to the authority delegated by the Secretary of Defense; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1025. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of examination of financial statements of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for the year ended December 31, 1966; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1026. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of examination of financial statements of southeastern Federal power program, fiscal year 1966, Department of the Interior and Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1027. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of survey of the Agency for International Development's management and operation of the commercial import program for Vietnam, Department of State, Agency for International Development, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1028. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of problems associated with location and design of segments of the Interstate Highway System in major metropolitan areas, Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1029. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting a report showing the number of individuals in each general schedule grade, as of June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967, pursuant to the provisions of 65 Stat. 736, 758; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Government Use of Satellite Communications—1967"

(seventh report by the committee) (Rept. No. 613). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Federal Research and Development Programs: The Decisionmaking Process—Comments by the National Academy of Sciences and the Bureau of the Budget" (eighth report by the committee) (Rept. No. 614). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. TAYLOR: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 4739. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant long-term leases with respect to lands in the El Portal administrative site adjacent to Yosemite National Park, Calif., and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 615). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. EDMONDSON: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 5091. A bill to amend Public Law 87-752 (76 Stat. 749) to eliminate the requirement of a reservation of certain mineral rights to the United States; with amendment (Rept. No. 616). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. JOHNSON of California: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 8775. A bill to increase the appropriation authorization for continuing work in the Missouri River Basin by the Secretary of the Interior; with amendment (Rept. No. 617). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CAHILL: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2464. A bill for the relief of Yoo Young Hui; with amendment (Rept. No. 618). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MOORE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2978. A bill for the relief of Yong Ok Espantoso; with amendment (Rept. No. 619). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 3734. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe De Stefano; with amendment (Rept. No. 620). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 4534. A bill for the relief of Mary Bernadette Linehan (Rept. No. 621). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ABBITT:
H.R. 12628. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit certain acts which incite racial hatred; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12629. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to injure, intimidate, or interfere with any fireman performing his duties during the course of any riot; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLACKBURN:
H.R. 12630. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BLATNIK (for himself, Mr. HOLIFIELD, Mr. REUSS, and Mr. ROSENTHAL):

H.R. 12631. A bill to provide temporary authority to expedite procedures for consideration and approval of projects drawing upon more than one Federal assistance program, to simplify requirements for the operation of those projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 12632. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to injure, intimidate, or interfere with any fireman performing his duties during the course of any riot; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 12633. A bill to amend title 23, United States Code, to provide for eliminating or minimizing roadside hazards; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H.R. 12634. A bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to further limit political activity on the part of workers in poverty programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 12635. A bill to enable citizens of the United States who change their residences to vote in presidential elections, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.R. 12636. A bill to amend section 1871 of title 28 of the United States Code relating to the travel allowance of grand and petit jurors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.R. 12637. A bill to amend section 48 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the \$50,000 limitation on the used property which may be used for investment credit purposes shall not apply in the case of machine tools; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GARMATZ (by request):

H.R. 12638. A bill to authorize the exchange of certain war-built vessels for conversion and operation in nonsubsidized service between the west coast of the United States and the territory of Guam; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 12639. A bill to remove certain limitations on ocean cruises; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 12640. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to impose a tax on the profits derived by local governmental units from the leasing or operation of industrial or commercial facilities where such activity is unrelated to their governmental purpose; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon:

H.R. 12641: A bill to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, authorizing coastwise movement of stevedoring equipment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 12642. A bill to amend the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 to make such act applicable to Federal employee unions; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 12643. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 12644. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the credit for foreign taxes shall not be allowed in the case of oil royalties paid in any form to a foreign government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NIX:

H.R. 12645. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 12646. A bill to prohibit Federally in-

sured banks from making unsolicited commitments to extend credit, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 12647. A bill to amend part V of the Interstate Commerce Act in order to extend the termination date of authority for loan guaranties under such part; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 12648. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to assist common carriers of passengers by railroad in preserving and improving essential passenger train services and facilities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 12649. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHRIVER (for himself, Mr. SKUBITZ and Mr. WINN):

H.R. 12650. A bill to control unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 12651: A bill to increase and strengthen Chinese language and area programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas:

H.R. 12652. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BARING:

H.R. 12653. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DINGELL (for himself, Mr. ADAMS, and Mr. MOSS):

H.R. 12654. A bill to establish the Federal Reinsurance Corporation to assure the availability of casualty insurance in areas which may present unusual risks of riots or civil disturbances; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 12655. A bill to provide for retroactive awards of the Army's combat infantryman and medical badges; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.R. 12656. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 12657. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide survivor benefits for military career personnel; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 12658. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a credit against income tax to offset losses of retired pay sustained by certain individuals who retired from the Armed Forces before June 1, 1958; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 12659. A bill to amend title 28 of the United States Code, "Judiciary and Judicial Procedure," and incorporate therein provisions relating to the U.S. Labor Court, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12660. A bill to provide incentives for the establishment of new or expanded job-producing industrial and commercial establishments in rural areas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 12661. A bill to provide incentives for the creation by private industry of additional employment opportunities for residents of urban poverty areas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia:

H.R. 12662. A bill to cut off Federal bene-

fits under certain programs for conviction of rioting, arson, attempted arson, or inciting to arson, or assault with intent to murder, or shooting at, any law enforcement officer or fireman, and prohibiting entitlement to such benefits thereafter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLS:

H.R. 12663. A bill to impose a tax on unrelated debt-financed income of tax-exempt organizations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin:

H.R. 12664. A bill to impose a tax on unrelated debt-financed income of tax-exempt organizations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H.J. Res. 809. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of age to persons who are 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WYMAN:

H.J. Res. 810. Joint resolution on a neighborhood action crusade; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RYAN:

H. Con. Res. 499. Concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress against the persecution of persons by Soviet Russia because of their religion; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H. Con. Res. 500. Concurrent resolution creating a Joint Committee To Investigate Crime; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DENT:

H. Res. 917. Resolution concerning Rhodesia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

284. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to election of Federal Judges and Justices of the Supreme Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

285. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to an investigation of the problem of harmful noise at the Gen. Edward Lawrence Logan International Airport; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

286. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to an investigation of the problem of ever-increasing noise of low-flying aircraft in the city of Boston; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 12665. A bill for the relief of Vito Leone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLACKBURN:

H.R. 12666. A bill for the relief of Prof. Ramon G. Gamonedá; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 12667. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Savona; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12668. A bill for the relief of Rita Vitale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 12669. A bill for the relief of Mr. Grigor Zarookian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 12670. A bill for the relief of Silverio Conte, his wife, Lucia Conte, their son,

Aniello Conte, and their daughter Silvana Conte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 12671. A bill for the relief of Liborio Chiazzeze, Concetta Chiazzeze and their children Luciano and Emmanuela Chiazzeze; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12672. A bill for the relief of Miss Amor P. Nazareno; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 12673. A bill for the relief of Dr. Grace Aquitania; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.R. 12674. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Barba; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 12675. A bill for the relief of Lourdes and Allison Felarca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 12676. A bill for the relief of Art Kit Wong (also known as Ark Kit Wong and Art Sheung Wong); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12677. A bill for the relief of Heon Lin Hee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 12678. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe De Santis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALDIE:

H.R. 12679. A bill for the relief of Susan Edith Hubert; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YOUNG:

H.R. 12680. A bill for the relief of Nixon McNiel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

148. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., relative to the creation of a scrubdown corps, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

SENATE

MONDAY, AUGUST 28, 1967

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

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

Let us pray—O God, in whose almighty hand the future lies, give us understanding minds, patient hearts, and determined wills that through us Thou mayest be able to create among the nations and peoples of the earth Thy charter for freedom and justice.

Speak to us ever of our final reliance on those spiritual forces, faith and hope and love, which alone abide and on which our salvation in the end depends.

Give us ears to hear above the noise of crashing systems, Thy voice in and through the change and confusion of our day.

Endow Thy servants in this national body with wisdom and purity in the ministry of public affairs.

America, America—God mend thine every flaw.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1872) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, August 25, 1967, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATORS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a group of Senators may engage in a discussion for about 15 minutes, following the recognition of the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN].

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

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' FIGHT TO UPHOLD RIGHT OF PRIVACY

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, Allan C. Brownfeld is the author of an article entitled "Government Employees' Fight To Uphold Right of Privacy," which was published in the Washington Star of August 27, 1967. The article sets forth in illuminating fashion some of the reasons why Congress should pass S. 1035, a bill to protect the civilian employees of the executive branch of the U.S. Government in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights and to prevent unwarranted governmental invasions of their privacy, and thus end to a substantial degree the inexcusable tyrannies which have been practiced during the past several years upon supposedly free Americans employed in executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

In order that all Members of Congress may have the benefit of the disclosures contained in the article, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' FIGHT TO UPHOLD RIGHT OF PRIVACY

(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

Whether you love your mother, go to church each week, or have a satisfactory sex life might be things considered intimate, private, and beyond the reach of any potential interrogator. But one employer desires to know all of this and more. That employer: the federal government.

Last week the Senate Judiciary Committee unanimously approved a bill, called a "Federal bill of rights for employees" by its 55 sponsors, which is aimed at prohibiting such an invasion of privacy. This bill would eliminate questionnaires concerning race, religion and national origin as well as the frequently imposed requirement that employees take part

in activities not directly within the scope of their employment. It would also forbid interrogations, examinations, psychological or polygraphic tests aimed at securing data about personal relations with relatives, religious beliefs and conduct with respect to sexual matters.

Discussing the scope of the government's invasion of privacy, Sen. Sam Ervin, D-N.C., the bill's prime mover, noted that "the invasion of privacy under threats and coercion and economic intimidation which are rampant today represent tyranny of the worst sort. In their affect on individuals, in their impact on our society, they surpass any privacy invasions and illegal searches and seizures to which arbitrary rulers and administrators attempt to subject our forefathers. They surpass the illegal searches and seizures against which murderers, robbers and rapists are protected.

BOND QUESTIONNAIRE

One example of what the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights has investigated is a letter circulated among employees at Andrews Air Force Base Hospital. It urged workers to buy savings bonds and asked them to sign one of these three statements: (A) I am now supporting the President by adding to my allotment or by beginning an allotment; (B) I wish to show my support for the President by adding to my allotment or by beginning an allotment, and (C) I do not accept my responsibility to support the President in this U.S. Savings Bond campaign.

This kind of choice without a choice is similar to this question asked in a questionnaire used by the Federal Aviation Agency: "When telling a person a deliberate lie I have to look away, being ashamed to look him in the eye." (a) True, (b) Uncertain, (c) False. In this kind of "When did you stop beating your wife?" situation you find yourself in a difficult position no matter what your reply.

The Committee reports of a case in which an applicant for a non-sensitive job was strapped to a lie detector and asked such questions as: "How many times have you had sexual intercourse?" "When was the first time you had intercourse with your wife?" "Did you have intercourse with her before you were married?" "How many times?"

What are such tests trying to discover? Are they concerned with a potential employee's mental health and his ability to do his job or with some more abstract criteria such as his conformity to prevailing norms?

It was also found that under pain of prosecution federal personnel have had to fill out medical history questionnaires asking many questions such as: Has any blood relation or husband and wife ever had syphilis, cancer, asthma, hives, epilepsy? In such a situation not only the potential employee's right to privacy is being endangered but also the privacy of others.

TEAM PLAYERS

Inquiries into private and intimate matters are only one aspect of the government's attempt to totally influence the lives of its employees. Government workers are expected, if they want to advance in the Federal service, to be "team players." This, of course, means different things at different times.

One Marine was told that he would have no more passes until he bought at least one savings bond. Another was ordered to contribute to the local United Fund or lose some of his privileges. The Commandant of a Navy School ordered all men in the school to contribute according to their weight to the annual Federal campaign drive. He set this standard in order to encourage the men to reduce their weight.

At one Post Office the supervisor stood at the time clock with forms for all postal workers to fill out giving the amount of their