The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. MONDAY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move in accordance with the order of yesterday, Thursday, May 9, 1968, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 55 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, May 13, 1968, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate, May 10, 1968:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Edwin M. Zimmerman, of California, to be an Assistant Attorney General, vice Donald Frank Turner.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 10, 1968:

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE CORP.

Frederic G. Donner, of New York, to be a member of the board of directors of the Communications Satellite Corp. until the date of the annual meeting of the corporation in 1971.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

Maj. Gen. Clarence C. Haug, U.S. Army, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission, under the provisions of section 2 of an act of Congress approved June 28, 1879 (21 Stat. 37; 33 U.S.C. 642).

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

VIETNAM VETERANS: THEY DESERVE OUR BEST

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the April 30 edition of the Washington Evening Star gave brief coverage to an event which I believe merits wider recognition. This event, an appreciation night for veterans of the Vietnam war, was cosponsored by the Naval Reserve Public Affairs Company 5-4 of the District of Columbia and the Presidential Arms Hotel, 1320 G Street NW.

Some 50 Army, Navy, and Marine Corps veterans—all wounded men recuperating at Bethesda Naval Hospital—were entertained that evening by 30 young women from colleges and universities in the Washington area. These girls gave generously of their own time to bring joy into the lives of these disabled veterans. Also, the proprietor of the Presidential Arms kindly donated the facilities of his hotel for this worthy function.

When the men first arrived, the atmosphere was one of nervous quiet; but, by the end of the evening, their shyness was dissipated. Dinner and dancing bolstered morale while Willie Wood, former USC football star and now All-Pro defensive back with the NFL champion Green Bay Packers, added his personal words of appreciation for the veterans' sacrifices.

Some of the men present that evening will never walk again; some will have restricted use of their limbs; others must suffer physical impairment for the rest of their lives. That these young men are in the prime of life only makes their tragedies more poignant.

Today's overriding concern with the social unrest in America's cities should not cause us to lose sight of the problems facing young men now reentering civilian life after service in Vietnam. It is no easy process for these men to assimilate themselves back into our society after exposure to the horrors of war. Facing as they do the problems of finding a job, getting an education, obtaining adequate housing, these veterans need help from all of their fellow Americans. And, to those men who must bear a disability, these problems are immeasurably compounded. These veterans have given of themselves for our sakes; we must make every effort to do the same for them.

But how do we demonstrate our appreciation of the sacrifices of these men? While appreciation dinners are praiseworthy and effective efforts, they are by no means a solution. We in Congress can—and should—pass legislation giving the veterans all the assistance they require in order to reenter civilian life with minimal stress, but more is needed.

What is needed is the personal touch. It is simple friendliness—to the veteran who moves next door, who applies for a job, who sits next to you on the plane or bus. These men have just spent 12 or more months in the most impersonal situation imaginable—that of war. What they miss more than anything else is the warmth of human contact. This is something each of us can supply.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the historic Independence Day of the Rumanian people is May 10. In recent months events have seemed to indicate that, even under Communist rule, the fiercely independent Rumanian people are evolving nationalist policies separately from Moscow leadership.

It would not be the first time. Having fought with the Russians to achieve independence from Turkey in 1878, Rumania found it necessary to fight with the Germans in 1940 to recapture territories which Soviet Russia had seized. The end of World War II, moreover, found Rumania on the side of the Allies. Throughout their national history the Rumanian people have been tough minded and independent and devoted to a policy of self-interest.

May 10 is the historic Independence Day of Rumania because on that day in 1866 the Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia established rule under the first Prince of Rumania; on that day in 1877 the principality of Rumania severed its ties with the Ottoman Empire; and on that day in 1881 the Rumanian people crowned their first King of Rumania. These were steps toward freedom and self-rule in the 19th century, although the establishment of kings would not be so regarded in this 20th century.

Rumanians have always cherished May 10 as the anniversary of happy and glorious events in their history. It remains for them a symbol of their perseverance, through good times and bad times, toward the ultimate ends of freedom and national well-being.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that we in this country hope to see the people of Rumania progress toward these goals, and wish them well. We have welcomed many Rumanians to this country and count them and their descendants among our most valued citizens.

PFC. CHARLES H. TURNER

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Charles H. Turner, a fine young soldier from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

C. H. TURNER, JR., DIES IN VIETNAM—BALTIMORE SOLDIER HAD BEEN IN WAR ZONE ONLY 3 WEEKS

Army Pfc. Charles H. Turner, Jr., of Baltimore, who had been in South Vietnam only about three weeks, died May 2 of wounds received in combat, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The 22-year-old infantryman was the husband of Mrs. Joyce Smith Turner, of the 800 block George Street, and the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Turner, of the 4300 block Ethland Avenue.

Private Turner, who left April 13 from California for the combat zone, told his wife in a recent letter that he "hated being there," according to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Marion Smith.

The dead soldier wrote that he found it "hot" in South Vietnam but did not disclose to relatives where he was stationed or what duty he was performing, Mrs. Smith said.

The father of a month-old son, Charles H.

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

Turner, 3d, Private Turner was born in Baltimore and attended Douglass High School.

Besides his wife, son, parents and mother-in-law, he is survived by two brothers, Arnold, an Army private stationed at Fort Dix, N.J., and Bruce, a student at Douglass High School, and his paternal grandmother, Mrs. Alice Turner, of Baltimore.

TWENTY-FOURTH BANQUET OF THE FRIENDS OF POLAND SOCIETY OF LACKAWANNA COUNTY

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to attend the 24th annual banquet of the Friends of Poland Society of Lackawanna County, which was held in the Hotel Casey in Scranton, Pa. It was indeed a memorable evening.

We were welcomed by the distinguished president, Dr. Henry G. Yavorek, who turned the program over to the toastmaster, Edward J. Kochanski.

We were most fortunate to have with us for the evening the Most Reverend J. Carroll McCormick, D.D., bishop of Scranton.

As one would expect in an affair conducted by these deeply religious Polish-Americans, there was a beautiful invocation by Rev. Alexander T. Kulik, an instructor at the St. Piux X Seminary in Dalton, Pa., and an equally beautiful benediction by Rev. Eugene Bilski, assistant pastor, St. Mary's Church, Scranton.

We were all delighted by the really beautiful singing by Miss Paulette Posluszny, accompanied by Mrs. Edward Kwiatek.

But certainly the high note of the evening came with the address of attorney Thaddeus Buczko, auditor general of the State of Massachusetts. No one could fail to be moved by this splendidly patriotic address, Mr. Speaker, and with your permission I will include it in the RECORD at this point:

ADDRESS BY THADDEUS BUCZKO, AUDITOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS AT 24TH ANNUAL BANQUET FRIENDS OF POLAND SOCIETY, LACKAWANNA COUNTY, SCRANTON, PA., MAY 4, 1968

I am deeply honored to be here this evening to talk before such a distinguished group of Americans of Polish extraction.

In my capacity as State Auditor in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, I meet with many Polish groups and I have been deeply impressed with the seriousness and dedication with which Polonia approaches the responsibilities of Citizenship. We are justifiably proud of our heritage—and we are proud of being Americans.

It is only fitting and proper that I recall that today is the birthday of General Casimir Pulaski (born May 4, 1747) who gave his life for our freedom. The Father of American Cavalry was wounded in battle at Savannah, Georgia, and died on October 11, 1779, at the age of 32. The tragic death of this Polish and American hero did not erase his deeds from the memory of future generations, either in the old world or the new. By his undaunted courage and his unceasing zeal with which he incited thousands of others, he contributed to the preservation of the Pulaski spirit.

The Polish Nation was magnificent in defending Christendom against the onslaught of the barbarian East; in creating the first Commonwealth of Nations in Europe; in contributing to American freedom through the services of Pulaski, Kosciuszko, and millions of other Polish immigrants.

Poland has made vast and impressive contributions to the cultural development of the world. One has to only consider the cultural contributions of Chopin and Paderewski, of Nobel Prize winners, Sienkiewicz and Reymont, of Slowacki and Mickiewicz, of Copernicus, Marie Sklodowska Curie, Joseph Conrad and countless others.

Today, our nation the United States of America is engaged in a struggle pregnant with terrifying dangers far beyond that which burdened the minds and hearts of any other generation of man.

To bring order out of the confusion that tortures our generation, a call for national service, for united community effort, for all-out patriotic leadership is more vital, more commanding than in the crises of all previous conflicts. Our nation must rise up to assume the grave responsibility which contemporary conditions force upon her. We shall meet the obligations destiny has bequeathed to us or we invite disaster.

The challenge of this hour and time is the accomplishment of peace in a war-weary world. We have never failed in war, and we must not fail in this crucial moment of our Nation's destiny.

We cannot be blind to the fact that our Country is gravely beset by threats of subversive movements. Subtle attacks by propaganda and campaigns, designed to undermine the faith of our people, are being directed against our form of government, our economic and political systems, our educational system, our civic liberties, and yes, even our social and family life.

All that history, biography and experience teach us is summed up in the fact that no great freedom has ever been established by spontaneous growth, nor has it ever been self-sustaining or self-protecting.

Liberties are rare plants demanding eternal vigilance and continuous defense. No great expansion or extension of human opportunity has ever come to pass by accident. Somewhere, sometime, somehow, some man or woman has paid the price.

The theory of our citizenship is larger today than yesterday, and the inalienable right of the common citizen to life, liberty and happiness has changed our declaration of rights into a declaration of obligation, and makes it necessary for each of us to bear the burden of the responsibilities of the liberties which we enjoy.

It is an appalling misfortune that we have sometimes tended to take our liberty for granted. We must again take the traditions of liberty and make them militant and dynamic—worth living for and, if it should come to that, worth dying for.

We have created and preserved an economic system which has been fostered and perpetuated by the fundamental principle of the greatest good for the greatest number.

We have carved out of an unfriendly wilderness the highest standard of living ever dreamed of or enjoyed by any people in history.

We have provided a social climate that offers unlimited opportunity for success and wealth to the fit and protection and security to the unfit.

We have declared, as our national policy, the inalienable rights of all men to be free and self-governing, and furthermore have practiced what we preached by granting independence to the people of our former possessions.

We must ever be alert to those evil forces who decry and condemn the teaching of orthodox history, which instills love of Country and patriotism in the youth of our Nation. It has been our heritage of heroes and their glorious example of unselfish devotion to God and Country that has inspired many a boy born in humble circumstances to achieve greatness.

We in America are still looked to as the world's best hope for freedom. Our own history of freedom, dating from our war of independence, has earned us a reputation of dedication to liberty wherever men of good faith assemble. Our ready granting of citizenship to all who come to our shores for most of our history gave proof that we are respectful of free people everywhere. Our traditions of anticolonialism are recognized throughout the world.

It is America, indeed, who must provide the hope and inspiration to all people who are, for the moment, under the heel of tyranny.

We must recognize that economic stability and self-assurance is necessary to preserve national self-respect and international balance—that peace is inspired by international hope and contentment.

It should be clearly evident that the major task which rests upon all our shoulders today is to utilize every talent we possess with the utmost vitality, vision and creative imagination to help make the power of our American ideas and principles felt throughout the world.

We must strive to break down the barriers of misunderstanding, of intolerance, of bigotry and hatred. The breaking down of these barriers is of the utmost importance if America is to continue strong and Democracy is to flourish.

What we need, not only in this Country, but in the world is a breaking down of the barriers of misunderstanding, the barriers of inherited antagonism, the barriers of hatred whose roots are deep in the soil of humanity.

Beware of emotional or partisan criticism, moral corruption in a people makes a good government impossible.

Civic virtues grow out of purity in the family, independence and sturdiness in private life, simplicity and frugality of manners, and loyalty and trustworthiness in performing public duties.

Justifiable criticism or resistance to government or individuals in public life is a right safeguarded by the moral condition that those who criticize or resist must be responsible for seeing to it that their action is less injurious to the general good, than the abuse which they are trying to remove.

Let us move forward thinking and working together. Let us gathered here today raise our sights, strive for excellence and dedicate ourselves to the highest goals of our society.

Your organization must move from its position of present excellence to greater excellence; you must gain new momentum in a forward direction. You must act with organized strength.

We must recognize that the strength and effectiveness of a democracy does not lie in the form of institutions of government, but stems, rather, from the people themselves—from their sense of responsibility, the respect in which they hold the rights of each other and the laws which govern them—from the degree in which they value individual liberty and despise authoritarian control—from the measure of their self reliance and the quality of their self discipline.

Nothing will take the place of your active and informed interest and participation in local government. This is where your responsibility for good government begins, and no matter how far you may go in your chosen work, it is a responsibility you can never afford to shirk.

We must be able to prove to the world that ours is a country where men of different origin, of different ancestry and different background, of different religious beliefs, political affiliations, different economic status, may live together as neighbors and as friends and as Americans.

As Americans we must continue to enjoy the freedom which so many people have lost—freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom from want and freedom from fear.

We must thank our God for our Government and our benevolent Constitution, for our flag and its gracious protection. May we be worthy of our Polish American heritage.

HOW HANOI LOOKS AT NEGOTIATING

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Christian Science Monitor of May 9, 1968, contains an illuminating article which describes how the North Vietnamese regime views negotiations to terminate the war in Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent that the article written by Beverley Deepe, the Monitor's special correspondent in Saigon, be printed in the RECORD.

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

HOW HANOI LOOKS AT NEGOTIATING

(By Beverly Deepe)

SAIGON.—Two extremely illuminating documents have been captured which partially disclose some of the long-range Communist objectives to be gained by participating in peace negotiations.

These documents provide a glimpse into the complex thinking of high echelons of the Communist organization about negotiations over the Vietnam war.

The relevant portions of these captured documents were released by the United States Mission here in 1967, but the information emanated from Communist sources earlier. No subsequent information has thus far been released regarding the Communists' negotiation strategy.

The two documents show the following significant points:

The Politburo in Hanoi is "entrusted" by the Communist structure to carry out its peace negotiations strategy and to decide the time for negotiations.

A "stage of fighting while negotiating," representing a "principal step in the evolution of war," will prevail before the signing of the peace agreements.

Peace negotiations will wear down the political unity and cohesiveness of the anti-Communist South Vietnamese Government and Army, especially in the cities, the Communists believe. This, in turn, will aid the Communists in their attempts to destroy the "puppet administration."

The Communists already have contemplated the possibility that war might resume after the signing of peace agreements.

SECRET SPEECH SUMMARIZED

The most revealing and detailed document, released to the press here on March 30, 1967, was based on the summary of a speech made at the Viet Cong supreme headquarters meeting in April, 1966, by a North Vietnamese Army general identified by the United States Mission as Nguyen Van Vinh, chairman of the Lao Dong [Communist] Party reunification department.

He is suspected of traveling from North Vietnam to the South to attend the meeting. Some Vietnamese sources identify the general as Tran Quoc Vinh, alias Tran Do, acting political commissar of the Southern Liberation armed forces command.

The South Vietnamese Government later claimed to have killed Tran Do during the Tet offensive on the outskirts of Saigon.

The highly analytical and illuminating text of General Vinh's speech relating to peace negotiations from the Communist viewpoint follows. Translation additions are indicated by editor's notes within brackets.

"The resolution of the party's 11th conference clearly stated that in the process of achieving success a situation where fighting and negotiations are conducted simultaneously may arise. At present, the situation is not yet ripe for negotiations.

SITUATIONS COMPARED

"Fighting while negotiating is aimed at opening another front with a view to making the puppet army more disintegrated, stimulating and developing the enemy's internal contradictions, and thereby making him more isolated in order to deprive him of the propaganda weapons, isolate him further, and make a number of people who misunderstand the Americans clearly see their nature.

"In a war between a powerful country which waged aggression and a weak country, as long as we have not yet acquired adequate strength, a situation where fighting and negotiations are conducted simultaneously does not exist. Fighting continues until the emergence of a situation where both sides are fighting indecisively; then a situation where fighting and negotiations are conducted simultaneously may emerge.

"In fighting while negotiating, the side which fights more strongly will compel the adversary to accept its conditions. Considering the comparative balance of forces, the war proceeds through the following stages:

The fighting stage.

The stage of fighting while negotiating.

Negotiations and signing of agreements.

"Whether or not the war will resume after the conclusion of agreements depends upon the comparative balance of forces. If we are capable of dominating the adversary, the war will not break out again, and conversely. Therefore, fighting while negotiating also represents a principal step in the evolution of the war.

"Thus, a situation where fighting and negotiations are conducted simultaneously will unmistakably emerge. In our anti-French resistance, there also were times when fighting and negotiations were conducted simultaneously. The same situation emerged in China.

WHY VIEWPOINTS DIFFER

"At present, there are [different] viewpoints with regard to war and peace.

"The Americans find it necessary to negotiate, but negotiate from a strong position, partly because they have deceitful motives, and partly because the situation has compelled them to negotiate. Yet, they want us to make concessions to them.

"A number of countries want us to enter into negotiations, any form of negotiations—so that a big war does not break out and that the war can be ended—regardless of the interests of Vietnam. Some other countries wonder whether we can defeat the Americans, and if not, [they think] we should enter into negotiations. [Most of these countries are nationalist countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.]

"A number of East European socialist countries hold the view that [proper] conditions [for negotiations] do prevail, and are ripe for achieving success. (The Americans would withdraw their troops, and we will continue the struggle to achieve total success.) These socialist countries pose a number of conditions: cessation of the bombing of the North, gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops from the South.

PEKING VIEW QUOTED

"China holds the view that conditions for negotiations are not yet ripe. [And will] not [be] until a few years from now, and even worse, seven years from now.

"In the meantime, we should continue fighting to bog down the enemy, and should wait until a number of socialist countries acquire adequate conditions for strengthening their main force troops to launch a strong, all-out, and rapid offensive, using all types of weapons and heeding no borders. What we should do in the South today is to try restraining the enemy and make him bogged down, waiting until China has built strong forces to launch an all-out offensive.

"Our policy, to continue fighting until a certain time when we can fight and negotiate at the same time.

"This is also a fighting method: repulsing the enemy step by step, and achieving decisive success.

"The party central committee entrust the Politburo with the task of deciding on the time for negotiations.

"The problem of choosing the opportunity and deciding to negotiate:

"Basing ourselves upon the actual situation in the South.

"Considering the opinions of the friendly countries which have provided us with quite a large volume of assistance, in order to gain their maximum support.

BATTLEFIELD EMPHASIZED

"The future situation may lead to negotiations. Yet, even if there are negotiations, they are [to be] conducted simultaneously with fighting. While negotiating, we will continue fighting the enemy more vigorously.

"Those who are in charge of conducting negotiations negotiate and those in charge of fighting continue fighting, because the decisive factor lies in the battlefield. The enemy wants us to stop fighting, for his advantage. But we have to fight. Therefore [if] the enemy also fights we must fight to win great victories with which to compel the enemy to accept our conditions.

"If we stop fighting [at that stage], no considerable success can be achieved in negotiations. If we conduct negotiations while fighting vigorously, we can also take advantage of the opportunity to step up the political struggle, military proselytizing, and activities in the cities. Thus, we will take advantage of the opportunity offered by the negotiations to step up further our military attacks, political struggle, and military proselytizing.

"At present, the Americans have put forth deceitful arguments. Therefore, we must put forth conditions to prove that we fight for the aspirations and interests of the people and thereby win the support of various countries.

"If the enemy wants to negotiate, he must accept a number of conditions, such as, to permanently cease his war of destruction against the North, withdraw his troops from the South, and dismantle his military bases. The failure to pose the above conditions is tantamount to implicitly accepting the Americans' presence in the South.

CONDITIONS CONSIDERED

"Depending on the situation prevailing at the time, we will impose conditions. For example, the puppet forces must be concentrated in barracks, must not repress the people, must not carry out espionage activities, must allow the people to move about freely or choose their places of residence,

must not herd the people into strategic hamlets and concentration centers, the American troops must be stationed at the wharfs.

"The basic situation prevailing in the South for the past years requires that we attack the enemy more vigorously. This front involves millions of people. While attacking, we must concentrate all our forces on fighting the enemy."

The second document, shorter and less articulate and direct, was contained in a captured letter written by Le Duan, first secretary of Lao Dong [Communist] Party to the late Gen. Nguyen Chi Thanh, Viet Cong commander in chief in the South.

Extracts of the letter explained resolutions of the Communist Party Central Committee in Hanoi concerning the Vietnam war. The text of the captured document was issued by the U.S. mission in Saigon in March, 1967. The date the letter was written was not disclosed. The text of the extracts of the captured letter follows:

THE "BASIC PROBLEM"

"When speaking of defeating the United States imperialists, we mean we are advocating the policy of destroying as much of their potential as possible, checking their military purpose, crushing their aggressive scheme, thus preventing them from enlarging and protracting the war of aggression, and forcing them into submission on specific conditions and finally getting them out of South Vietnam.

"But the basic problem is to defeat the imperialists on the battlefield, to foil their political and military plan, to destroy as much of their potential as possible, and undermine the puppet army. Only when we comply with the above requirements can we break up their plan of aggression.

"As far as the general strategy is concerned, we are advocating that the revolution in South Vietnam has to pass through several transitional phases prior to advancing toward national reunification and socialism.

"With regard to struggle, we stand for joint political and armed struggle, that is to say, the armed struggle must be simultaneously conducted with the political one. Heavy emphasis is to be placed on the political struggle which includes the diplomatic struggle, which is of prime importance.

"As a consequence, the strategy on war and negotiation must be properly used to efficiently serve the political and military aims of our strategy on pitting the weak against the strong.

"The problem of war and negotiation is not quite new in the history of our country. Nguyen Tai had once used such a strategy to defeat the feudalist elements of Ming's Dynasty. Our comrades in China had also adopted the 'fight-and-negotiation' policy in their struggle against the U.S. and Chiang [Kai-shek]. The same stratgey was used in the Korean war.

"VIEWS QUITE DIVERGENT"

"However, this problem is very complicated considering that, at present, when speaking of negotiations, the views are quite divergent.

"The United States views hold that negotiation is to be conducted from a strong position. Some countries sincerely support our struggle but, in view of diplomatic reasons and their domestic administration and misunderstanding of the situation in our country, want to see us at the conference table in order to forestall aimless sacrifice on our part.

"There are those who hold the view that the political struggle is of major importance, but such a view is different from ours as to degree and time to use this strategy.

"At present, the United States imperialists, on the one hand, are attempting to widen the war in a move to save them from the sad predicament and quagmire but, on the other hand, are trying to force us to the negotiation table for some concessions.

"As for us, we must constantly take the initiative, our strategy on negotiation must serve in a practical manner our concrete political aims. For this reason, the party central committee has unanimously entrusted the Politburo with the task of carrying out the above strategy in conformity with the policy of our party and on the basis of the situation between us and the enemy whenever necessary. . . ."

THE TEACHER IN POLITICS

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, the National Education Association is to be congratulated for its outstanding efforts in encouraging teacher participation in the political life of this country. The teacher-in-politics movement will undoubtedly result in a better political atmosphere for our communities, our States, and our Nation.

This is a complex age when no responsible citizen can really afford to be aloof from politics. It is a truism that the political system works only as well as those who participate in it. Certainly teacher power holds the promise of injecting a lively and responsible element into the mainstream of political life.

What can teacher power mean to the future of American politics? There is unity in teacher power. Our teachers are an educated segment of society fairly evenly spread the length and breadth of the Republic. Our teachers are dedicated to educational excellence, and are perhaps the major force for the constant upgrading of our educational system. There is diversity in teacher power. Where business is more identified with the Republican Party, and organized labor more with the Democratic Party, with whom is the teaching profession identified? Teachers are Republicans and Democrats. Teachers are liberals and conservatives. Yet in this diversity there is strength. Teachers have the potential for bringing to bear major influence on both political parties and for contributing to the responsible development of varying political philosophies and action programs.

Certainly teacher power can be a force for good. The days of the tightly concontrolled political machine are passing from the scene. A new, more enlightened, issue-oriented citizen is filling the void. The teaching profession is in a unique position to speed this happy process. This process can be self-fulfilling for teachers. While politically active teachers are contributing to the development of candidates and issues, they will, themselves, be learning a great deal about democracy in practice. As better informed citizens they can expect to be better teachers in the classroom.

Taking all these factors into consideration, teacher power can be a dynamic force in forging future directions for our political parties, and thus government itself.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks the report of the 11th annual meeting of the Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States. In addition to other cogent observations and recommendations, the Advisory Committee recommends that appropriate action be taken to facilitate the annual publication at a time lag not exceeding 20 years of the Foreign Relations series which is of great importance to scholars of American foreign policy.

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

REPORT OF THE 11TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

The Advisory Committee on *Foreign Relations of the United States* met in Washington, November 3, 1967.

The Advisory Committee consists of representatives of the following scholarly professional organizations: The American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Society of International Law. These organizations draw their membership from the entire American academic community in their respective fields and certainly represent the principal scholarly consumers of the series *Foreign Relations of the United States*.

Members of the Committee and the organizations from which they are chosen are as follows:

Hardy Cross Dillard,[3] dean of the School of Law, University of Virginia.

W. Stull Holt,[1] professor of history, University of Washington.

Stanley D. Metzger,[3] professor of law, the Georgetown University Law School.

Philip E. Mosely,[1] director, European Institute, Columbia University.

Elmer Plischke,[2] professor of government and politics, University of Maryland.

J. E. Wallace Sterling,[1] president of Stanford University.

Robert B. Stewart[2] (chairman), professor of international law and diplomacy, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.

All members of the Committee were present for the meeting except Professor Mosley, unavoidably absent. Professor Mosley joins in this report and recommendations.

The Advisory Committee held discussions with the Director of the Historical Office, Dr. William M. Franklin; the Deputy Director, Dr. Richardson Dougall; the Chief of the "Foreign Relations" Division, Dr. S. Everett Gleason; and other members of the Historical Office's professional staff: Edwin S. Costrell, Arthur G. Kogan, Frederick Aandahl, Rogers P. Churchill, Ralph R. Goodwin, Howard M. Smyth, Velma H. Cassidy, Herbert A. Fine, Marvin W. Kranz, Neal H. Petersen, John G. Reid, Charles S. Sampson, William Slany, and David H. Stauffer.

The Committee heard a report from representatives of the Publishing and Reproduction Services Division: Jerome H. Perlmutter, Chief, and Peter A. Smith.

The Committee met also with Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Richard I.

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[1] American Historical Association.

[2] American Political Science Association.

[3] American Society of International Law.

Phillips, and had a luncheon discussion with Under Secretary Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Dixon Donnelley, and Mr. Phillips.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The principal topics of the Advisory Committee's discussions related to the status of the *Foreign Relations* series and publication plans and schedules, problems of technical editing, the system of clearances, the problem of non-official access to unpublished records, and the need for staff recruitment in order to meet assigned tasks and goals.

Briefly stated, the Advisory Committee's principal conclusions and recommendations are these: That *Foreign Relations* has obviously been given a low priority for many years; that the State Department should now give new recognition to the relevance of the diplomatic record to current policy problems and to the state of opinion at home and abroad; that special efforts are now required to bring this record up to the 20-year goal set in principle by the Secretary of State.

The vastly increased task of the Historical Office is readily apparent. It arises from the revolution in sheer "volume" of world diplomacy, the new involvement of the United States in diplomatic and military relations around the globe, the "population explosion" in the family of nations with which the United States must maintain diplomatic relations (now some 115 nations), the growing number of world and regional conferences. All these, accompanied by a new pace and intensity of diplomatic activity, have brought a staggering proliferation of diplomatic records. The increase in the number of annual *Foreign Relations* volumes from 2 in the 1920s or 3 or 4 in the 1930s to 12 for 1945 is an indication but by no means a measure of the increased burden for the Historical Office.

Nor is the task substantially lessened by present efforts to compress the record into 6 or 7 volumes a year, beginning with 1947. The job of examining this vast flood of documentation remains and the problem of selection grows only more difficult. It requires the skill of the trained and experienced professional.

In the face of this growing burden the professional and supporting staff of the Historical Office's "Foreign Relations" Division has not been increased. On the contrary, it has actually been reduced—from 16 historians in 1947 to 13 historians in 1967!

The Advisory Committee recommends a new assessment of the importance of the *Foreign Relations* series in the whole American foreign policy process and a higher priority and urgency to this program.

For more than a hundred years this series has provided an unbroken and uncolored record of American foreign policy. Today, perhaps more than ever, it provides the documented foundation for shaping historical scholarship and informed opinion.

THE STATUS OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS SERIES AND THE WIDENING "20-YEAR GAP"

The Advisory Committee's principal concern is the status of *Foreign Relations* publication schedule and the continued widening of the 20-year gap.

For many years after its inception, the *Foreign Relations* series was kept almost current. Only a few years elapsed, sometimes only a year or two, between the events recorded and the date of publication of the documents. The time lag gradually increased and from the end of World War I a 15-year lag became standard, except for the records of the Paris Peace Conference. Thus from about 1920 to 1960 the Historical Office's operating principle, approved by the Secretary of State, was to maintain the annual *Foreign Relations* volumes at not more than 15 years from currency.

With the growing number of important international conferences, and other international negotiations beginning with the World War II years, and with the corresponding flood of documents, the Historical Office was unable to maintain this schedule; and by 1960 the lag was, in fact, not 15 years but 20 years. In 1962 the Secretary of State officially set the time lapse at 20 years (other than occasional special cases where exceptions have to be made). This was regarded as adequate for purposes of national security.

The goal of the 20-year gap has proved no more feasible to maintain than the 15-year gap and the series is now slipping further and further behind even the 20-year line. In fact, the volumes for 1945 began to be published only in 1967, and the gap is now close to 25 years, and may well widen still further.

The Committee feels strongly that this is not in the national interest, and that the necessary steps must be taken to stem and reverse the present trend. In regard to this widening gap one current writer has complained: "When queried about the reason for the interval of secrecy, officials may deplore the lack of funds or staff. But it can be taken for granted that . . . it is policy not penury, that stretches the gap."

The Advisory Committee believes that exactly the contrary is the case.

The Historical Office has already initiated several measures to deal with the situation within the options available to it: detailed advance planning, various editorial devices and more rigorous selection of documents. With these measures it is trying: (1) to reduce the number of annual volumes to 6 or 7 (as compared with 12 for 1945), (2) to keep each volume under 1000 pages, and (3) to "compile a year in a year." Progress has been made on the first two items but the third and most critical item is unlikely of achievement in the present circumstances. With continuing staff shortages, the "Foreign Relations" Division does not have the necessary staff of historians to review and edit the enormous mass of documentation which now makes up the record of our worldwide diplomacy.

The State Department has made great progress in some sectors of its publication program—e.g., in its most useful annual volumes, *American Foreign Policy—Current Documents*. The Department also now issues a great number and variety of leaflets and pamphlets on current issues for more popular consumption, as part of its program of public education and public understanding of foreign policy. All these sectors are important. The question, in part, is effectiveness of means. If choices must be made within the present publications budget, the Committee urges a review of priorities and a recognition of the importance of the *Foreign Relations* series.

Although the Committee has in the past recommended an increase of five or six historians, the present members of the Committee believe that *two* additional appointments for the present would help stem the tide by making it possible to compile a year in a year and thus, at least, prevent any further widening of the 23- to 25-year gap. Until it is possible to compile a year in a year, still further falling behind is inevitable.

The Advisory Committee wishes to emphasize that it fully recognizes the need to safeguard national security and to avoid unnecessary embarrassment to current relations. For this purpose the Committee accepts the 20-year lag as the general rule. A longer time lag, save in very exceptional cases, seems neither required by national security nor is it in the national interest.

Indeed the Committee believes that in many instances the national interest would be well served by publishing the record long before the 20-year lapse. Here the Advisory Committee would emphasize especially the relevance of the historical record to current policy problems. In some cases American foreign policy would not be embarrassed—it would be positively assisted—by publication of the record. Having regard to the problem of both domestic and world opinion, and particularly as it may be affected by the current "outbursts of revisionism" by certain historians on the origins and nature of the cold war, the Advisory Committee believes that full public documentation on the years 1945–1947, and even later, would serve highly practical national purposes. The ready availability of the full record on the origins and early years of the cold war would help provide a sound factual basis for judgment and decision by our policy makers, by Congress, by scholars and writers and by public opinion at home and abroad.

The value of such a candid presentation of American foreign policy seems to the Advisory Committee to demand special efforts to bring the *Foreign Relations* series up, at least, to the 20-year goal.

CLEARANCE FOR PUBLICATION

One of the continuing problems in meeting publication schedules is that of "clearances" within the State Department to avoid premature publication of any item that might embarrass present relations. The difficulty arises largely because this task must be performed by already harried officials of the operating policy Bureaus. When these officials must daily face a barrage of urgent action cables and other pressing problems, they naturally find it difficult to give attention to the matter of publishing the records of 20 years ago. As a result galley proofs of *Foreign Relations* volumes usually slumber many months in the desk drawers or files of the policy official. Often the task is assigned to the most junior officials.

As a result of this situation some members of the Committee in recent years have proposed that full responsibility for clearance be assigned to the Historical Office. The Advisory Committee cannot agree with this suggestion. The Committee believes that the ultimate responsibility for clearances must lie with the operating policy Bureaus. They alone know what current problems of foreign leaders might be affected by publication of items even 20 or 25 years old. The Committee believes that the final clearance task is one for the experienced official in the policy Bureau and that it often might be assigned to a senior grade officer temporarily in the Department from the field and awaiting travel or assignment. The Committee believes also that three months is ample time for the clearance process and that, in the absence of adverse comment within that time, the Historical Office should be required to assume that no objection exists from the policy viewpoint and should, accordingly, proceed to publication.

PROBLEMS OF TECHNICAL EDITING

The Committee reviewed with officers of both the Historical Office and the Division of Publishing and Reproduction Services (PBR), the problem of technical editing of the *Foreign Relations* volumes. This has been a continuing problem and is one element of delay in meeting the publication schedules.

To ease the pressure of PBR's staff and to expedite the program, PBR has initiated a new practice of contracting out to a private publishing firm the technical editing and the indexing of some volumes. PBR has expressed hope that the private contracting firm can develop within its staff a special competence in handling the *Foreign Relations* work and that it can keep the process moving on schedule, while maintaining the necessary level of quality.

PBR reports "a considerable financial saving," as much as 40%, to the State Department in contracting out—e.g., $6.75 per hour for PBR service, as compared with about $4.00 per hour for work by the contracting firm.

On the other hand, doubts have been expressed in regard to both the cost and the quality of work done by an outside contracting firm. In regard to cost, is the difference real or only apparent? Is it merely a matter of accounting procedures which assign a cost of $6.75 an hour for PBR services? Also involved is the question of hidden costs as well as quality. Officials of the Historical Office are doubtful on both points: They believe that it is not yet established that the private contracting firm can match the quality of work by PBR. Further, they report that senior historians must spend additional time reviewing and correcting work done outside. The latter practice, if extensively used, obviously constitutes not only a hidden cost but a false economy of both money and professional talent.

The Advisory Committee does not regard itself as competent to reach a conclusion or make a recommendation on some of the questions involved, but it does urge a study of the problem.

Are the higher PBR costs due to a personnel freeze and the fact that no new personnel have been recruited for some years, so that its staff is composed of persons of long experience in the higher pay brackets? If so, what conclusions should be drawn in regard to (a) the problem of costs and cost allocation, (b) the problem of quality of product, (c) the matter of current budget economy in relation to current staffing policies and future staff planning? In brief, even if it should be demonstrated that a private publishing firm can produce *acceptable* work (if not work of present high quality of PBR), are there offsetting costs or other considerations?

To assist in arriving at answers to some of the technical questions involved, the Committee suggests that it might be helpful to add to the Committee or otherwise enlist the services of a highly qualified person in a relevant field of publications, e.g., the director of some leading university press.[4]

ACCESS TO STATE DEPARTMENT RECORDS BY QUALIFIED SCHOLARS

The lot of the Historical Office is not an easy one in its efforts to meet the requests of American scholars and others for access to the State Department's unpublished files. One distinguished scholar of recent foreign policy writes about "The Shackled Historian" and complains that "all governments make it hard for historians . . ." He continues: "let the historian try to get from the authorities all the extant records, unedited, of what was said and done during the past two decades from 1945–1965! He will find out that he cannot. If he persists, eventually doors may be closed to him. . . . Cannot they [Western democracies] be more permissive in disclosing the recent past . . .? Must the period of internment be 50 years—or even 22 years, as it now is in the United States? Need it be longer than, say, ten years . . .?"

The Advisory Committee has a *little* sympathy, but not much, for the complaining author. A case can, of course, be made for, and indeed the Advisory Committee strongly urges, a policy of accelerating and advancing the publication dates of the *Foreign Relations* volumes. But the question of access to unpublished files, and especially privileged access, is a different matter. The fact is that the Historical Office is itself composed of highly qualified scholars. Both officially and personally they ardently favor the most liberal publications policy possible, and similarly the most liberal access by scholars, consistent with national interest. The Advisory Committee warmly endorses this philosophy.

The official policy regarding non-official use of records for research purposes are set forth as follows:

"It is the policy of the Department of State to make its records available for private research as liberally as possible, consistent with the interests of national defense, the maintenance of friendly relations with other nations, the efficient operation of the Department and the Foreign Service, and the administrative feasibility of servicing requests for access to the records." (Communications and Records, Foreign Affairs Manual 7/11/66.)

Within the limits of this policy and of staff time available, qualified scholars meet the most friendly and most helpful reception from the Historical Office.

For purposes of non-official access, State Department records are divided into three periods:

(1) *The open period:* The records are open to qualified scholars up to 30 years from the current year, i.e., at present, up to 1938. This date moves up automatically in January of each year. These records are in the National Archives and may be consulted under regulations issued by the National Archives. No major power is more liberal.

(2) *The closed period:* The files are in general closed in advance of the publication of the *Foreign Relations* volumes, i.e., at present, since 1944. The closed period is advanced automatically as the annual *Foreign Relations* volumes are released.

(3) *The restricted period:* The records are available for *restricted* use for the period between the *open* period and the *closed* period, i.e., currently 1938 through 1944.

The State Department rules governing the restricted period are stated, as follows:

"Use of the records in the restricted period shall be confined to qualified researchers demonstrating a scholarly or professional need for the information contained in such records. Classified and sensitive records of the restricted period will be made available only to United States citizens."

To gain access to records for the *restricted* period a qualified scholar need only pass a security name check. Later he must submit his notes to the Historical Office, which undertakes to eliminate "invidious references" or any item the publication of which would interfere with current policy or negotiations.

The State Department's policy has been to apply these rules impartially and to grant access on terms of equality to all qualified scholars. On occasion the State Department has "stretched" the term scholar or scholarly purpose. On a few occasions it has granted special access, even to the *closed* period, to particular scholars. The Advisory Committee believes the State Department can and should resist temptations of pressures to grant special treatment or favored access.

The Committee strongly supports the State Department's policy of access on equal terms to all properly qualified scholars.

ROBERT B. STEWART,
Chairman.

[4] Such a person, for example, as Thomas Wilson, former Director of the Harvard University Press and now Vice President of Atheneum Publications.

MAINLINE TO NOWHERE

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, recently a six-part series called, "Mainline to Nowhere," was published in the Home News, of New Brunswick, N.J.

Because drug abuse is one of modern society's most serious problems, I am inserting the excellent articles written by John Pribish.

It is an enlightening and sometimes shocking and dismaying series, and I commend the Home News for recognizing drug abuse as a grave and challenging social problem; John Pribish, for writing the articles with skill, knowledge, and understanding; and Middlesex County Sheriff Robert H. Jamison, for his courageous and dynamic leadership in helping to enforce laws against drug abuse.

The six articles follow:

MAINLINE TO NOWHERE—DRUG ADDICTION: SOCIETY IS THE BIGGEST LOSER

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of six articles on drug abuse in Middlesex and Somerset counties.)

(By John Pribish)

The drug user is a drug to himself, to society and possibly to future generations.

While the smoking of marijuana, commonly known as pot, has been making the scene in the Twin-County Area like an erupting volcano, society continues to be plagued by the heroin addict.

Police blame him for much of the crime, particularly burglaries and thefts from parked cars.

And a small row of imaginary white crosses dots the end of the road for at least seven dope addicts from Middlesex and Somerset counties who lost their battle with drugs.

They paid the price through overdoses of heroin or infection. But their deaths are soon forgotten and others apparently will follow as a new crop of young addicts gets hooked.

Three of the deaths were last year, and the others during the past decade.

THE SEVEN TRAGIC TALES

A Milltown youth was abandoned by friends outside a Newark hospital after a bout with barbiturates and heroin.

A college student from Highland Park was found dead in a car in Franklin.

Found dead in a New York City flat was a New Brunswick man in his 20s.

A youth was found dead in his home here.

Dead on arrival at Perth Amboy General Hospital was a youth from that city. He took heroin in New York City and was driven to the hospital by his girl friend. They had met at a drug addiction treatment center.

A man was found dead alongside a brook in Somerville.

And a Perth Amboy youth died at the shore.

"It's just as bad as it ever was," said Detective Lt. George Seamon of New Brunswick.

He was referring to the serious problem a few years ago when so many dope addicts frequented Albany Street that it was nicknamed "Junkie Alley."

"There are new faces today, and there are still a lot of people fooling with heroin," said the head of the city's narcotics squad.

The use of heroin in Middlesex County is not limited to New Brunswick, although city police are making the most arrests in this area.

Heroin use has spread over the years to the suburbs, and this is clearly shown by the periodic arrests by municipal and state police, and officers from Sheriff Robert H. Jamison's office.

Jamison's raider, accompanied by municipal police, pulled the biggest single narcotics raid in the country's history a few weeks ago.

Nineteen persons were arrested in New Brunswick, Perth Amboy and Metuchen. Some were for the sale and possession of heroin.

While the amounts of confiscated narcotics were small, they indicate that a drug problem exists in Middlesex County, and that it is widespread.

"We're just skimming the surface," said the sheriff.

"You can't actually state how big it (the narcotics problem) is in Middlesex County. The unknown quantity is the big question

mark. But our work speaks for itself," Jamison said.

Drug abuse is statewide, too. Recent figures released by the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics show New Jersey ranks fourth in the Nation with 2,834 registered narcotics users behind New York, California and Illinois.

New Brunswick police have 81 registered violators of narcotics laws. Most of them are heroin users.

Some of the addicts have moved out of town. A few went to the suburbs and others melted into larger population centers like Newark and New York City.

INACTIVE FILE

Detective Sgt. Everett James, a narcotics squad member, said at least a dozen will be out of circulation for some time.

Six are in the N.J. State Prison at Trenton, serving time for such crimes as armed holdups and assaults. The other half dozen are at lesser penal institutions.

The drug problem in New Brunswick became a major issue in last May's City Commission election campaign.

And apparently it continues.

Said Police Chief Ralph C. Petrone: "We have a narcotics problem in New Brunswick and I'm not going to stick my head in the sand and say. 'We don't.' "

"We cooperate with state, county and municipal police. We trade information, but the drug addict keeps moving around."

The chief says continuous harassment of known and suspected users forces some of them to get out of the city.

"I'd like to add another man to the narcotics squad. The problem is big enough in New Brunswick to warrant it," Petrone explained, noting many crimes here are related to drug addicts.

Seamon and James comprise the squad, but they have been backed up by uniformed and plainclothes personnel, and ably aided by state police Investigator Joseph Craparotta.

Craparotta, a former undercover agent with the state police narcotics squad, was assigned here four years ago at the request of city officials.

KNOWS JUNKIES LIKE A BOOK

He's a walking encyclopedia on junkies in this area and has participated in many narcotics investigations in Central New Jersey. His main job is to assist municipal police.

Narcotics arrests by New Brunswick police dipped to 101 in 1967 from 128 in 1966. Seamon said he couldn't provide the answer for the drop, although he and James, from time to time, were assigned to other investigations. Seamon, by the way, also is the department's official statistician and is required to make reports to city, state and federal agencies.

Of the 101 arrests, 84 were adults and 17 were juveniles. The files on most of the offenders show heroin arrests, followed by marijuana.

Last year, city police confiscated 127 bags of heroin, 13 bags of marijuana and 24 pot cigarettes. The biggest heroin grab was 50 bags at a Neilson Street address.

"Goofball use has dropped considerably," said Seamon.

"But I don't have the answer. Maybe the users have graduated (to heroin)," the lieutenant added.

The barbiturate (goofball) and amphetamine (pep pill) problem gave the police department its biggest headache a few years ago.

The situation was such among teen-agers that the city Board of Education adopted a policy setting up disciplinary procedures with expulsion as the maximum penalty.

Although there have been rumors of use of LSD here, there was only one such arrest by New Brunswick police last year. It was the city's first.

The man, a professional singer, said he took the drug while in New York City.

However, police in the past few months went to two apartments, which they described as "acid pads," but no arrests were made because the occupants "flew the coop."

GOING TO POT

But the smoking of pot, for the time being, is replacing heroin, goofballs and LSD in the crazy world of thrill seekers.

In Perth Amboy, Police Chief Paul Jankovich said: "The drug abuse problem is definitely under control here. But I'm concerned whenever users and pushers sentenced to jail are released."

Jankovich said there is no known organized group of pushers in the Bay City. The chief reported there were no heroin arrests in Perth Amboy last year, but quickly added: "Not that it's not here."

The decline in goofball use in Perth Amboy, Jankovich says, is the result of the department's educational campaigns and constant surveillance of teen-age hangouts.

A few years ago, the chief recalled, the goofball fad was in full swing and he closed a pool room, which he said was a hangout for drug users.

Last year, Jankovich reports, 27 men and three women—most of them in their early 20s—were arrested on narcotics charges (marijuana and barbiturates).

Society, confronted daily with the growing drug abuse problem, pays and pays and pays.

Society pays for the special police squads and their time-consuming, but necessary surveillances. Some result in arrests, some don't.

Society pays by furnishing free legal services when indigent dope addicts contest indictable charges.

Society pays by providing not-too-successful treatment centers.

Society pays when its homes, businesses and cars are broken into and looted.

And society will continue to pay until it can solve the almost unsolvable problem.

MAINLINE TO NOWHERE: EX-DRUG ADDICTS KICK THE HABIT—HOW THEY DID IT

"I was tired.

"I wanted to quit shooting dope.

"I was tired of being a vegetable, so I cleaned up."

That is how an ex-junkie summed up his successful struggle with life to get the monkey off his back.

In his 20s, he says he's clean and has a job.

He lives in the New Brunswick area, and was a familiar face to police who hounded him and busted him for using heroin.

CRIMINAL RECORD CLEAN

But, the ex-junkie says, he's never been arrested for the batch of crimes he admits committing to pay for his habit of at least a half dozen years.

This is his story:

"I got hooked when I was in the service. I had a serious operation and they gave me medication for pain. I became addicted.

"After my discharge from the service, I went straight to heroin. I didn't have no stops in between.

"I went looking for drugs in the early 1960s. At that time, there were only a few guys in New Brunswick using drugs.

"I knew these guys, I told them what I wanted. I copped. It was easy as that.

"I got it from another addict. He sold it to me right on the street. He wasn't a pusher. I paid $5 a bag.

"I went to an apartment and that's when I shot up for the first time. The stuff was real good then. It's garbage now.

"You feel it immediately. The stuff satisfies your basic desires. In that one little shot, everything is satisfied.

"After that first shot. I got sick. The needle was dirty. I was sick in bed for about a week and a half. I took my second shot about a month later.

DAILY DOSAGE

"But I didn't become addicted to heroin until after five months. Then I was taking heorin every day.

"At that time, I went to New York City every day. I went to Harlem, Spanish-Harlem, down in the 80s and downtown to 13th and 14th streets.

"There's no problem getting heroin in New York."

He was asked how he paid for his habit.

The ex-junkie answered: "There were a lot of ways we (meaning himself and junkie pals) got the money. I forged checks stolen from break-ins at offices. The breaks were all over Middlesex County and in Elizabeth and Trenton.

(The Middlesex County communities included New Brunswick, Edison, Metuchen, Highland Park and East Brunswick).

"We had no trouble cashing checks. We also took everything that was movable—especially TV sets. We had no trouble fencing them.

SOMETIMES NO MIDDLEMAN

"If you have something good—like a TV set—you could take it to New York to a pusher for dope. Some fences would give you the stuff if they knew you were a junkie. That's what you wanted, you didn't want any money—just dope.

"When I first started out it wasn't from b-and-e's. We got checks from break-in artists. I had a connection in Newark who would cash them for a price.

"There were other ways of getting money, though. We had a couple of girls working as prostitutes and once in a while they'd lift a wallet from a 'John'.

"The broads were junkies, too."

He admits being "on and off" heroin for a half dozen years, but swears he's clean today.

The ex-junkie said he's never been busted for burglaries, passing phony checks or stickups.

He continued: "I was out with some stickup artists. They were junkies. The stickups weren't in New Brunswick. They were out of town—down in South Jersey. Most of the time we were high."

The ex-junkie recalled the panic a few years ago when dope was hard to get in New Brunswick because of the stepped-up campaign on addicts by city police.

"I was sick. I met two other junkies. There was no stuff available in New Brunswick. We had a gun and went out and stuck up this guy."

He refused to say where, giving a vague description of "right on the outside of New Brunswick." He claimed they got more than $500.

The ex-junkie added: "There are no pushers in New Brunswick. In New Brunswick, the stuff is sold by junkies. I sold, too. Every addict sells."

Could he estimate the number of drug users in New Brunswick:

THERE'S "500 JUNKIES" IN CITY

He answered: "I know, man, there's got to be 500 junkies in New Brunswick. But they are not hard-core junkies. They use drugs a couple times a week. I know about 200 of them.

Continuing his story:

"I used all kinds of drugs. I was messing around heavy with LSD. I made about 100 LSD trips.

"When you use LSD your mind changes your way of thinking. My last trip was in a house in New Brunswick with two girls and four guys. We all 'tripped'.

"I was getting my acid from New York and California."

The ex-junkie claimed he smoked pot, too.

"But pot came after heroin," he said.

"Pot is widespread in New Brunswick and it's easy to get," the ex-junkie claimed.

He said most of the hard-core junkies he knew "are in New York or in jail."

THE "NEW BREED"

He continued: "There's a whole new breed of kids coming up the cops don't know about.

"They're not downtown like they used to be. I know a lot of kids using drugs, and the cops don't know them.

"The mind-expanding effects of LSD, a hallucinogen, the ex-junkie said, believe it or not, brought about his change of attitude toward drug abuse, with a big assist from a friend.

"I have no desire for it (dope). I saw a couple of junkies and they couldn't believe that I'm clean."

Another ex-junkie, also in his 20s and an area resident—but not as talkative as the other—says he broke away from his heroin habit.

He went to a drug addicition center for treatment, rather than serve his time in jail. This is par for the course for junkies, but he's among the lucky ones.

Others find it tough sledding trying to get rid of their craving for dope. And some don't want to. They like being on dope.

Ex-junkie No. 2 said he was in his mid-teens when he first used heroin.

"I hung around with the wrong crowd," he claimed.

He graduated from cough medicine and goofballs and switched to heroin because he wasn't getting "high enough" on the other drugs.

"I wanted to see what it was like. I liked it. After that first shot, I tried it again three months later. Eventually, I became a two-bags-a-day addict," ex-junkie No. 2 said.

BIWEEKLY "BUSINESS TRIPS"

He went to New York City twice a week to get heroin and sold it to other addicts to help pay for his habit.

The ex-junkie admits passing phony checks in Middlesex and Somerset counties and in North Jersey.

He was arrested trying to pass forged drug prescriptions.

"I did that because I was stupid," he said, the self-disgust showing in his voice.

"I sneaked dope (heroin) into the county jail where I was being held," ex-junkie No. 2 claimed.

He said the six glassine bags were concealed on his person.

Since he didn't have a needle to inject the drug into his blood system, he said, "I snooted (sniffed) it."

"But I'm cured because I want to be cured," he said.

WILL'S THE ONLY WAY

Those in drug rehabilitation work say this is the only way it can be done. You can't force a cure. If a junkie wants to be cured, he will. If he doesn't, he won't.

Fewer than 10 per cent of addicts stay off drugs for good when they leave the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Ky., the world's largest and oldest treatment center for drug addicts.

Ex-junkie No. 2 admits smoking pot, and taking five LSD trips in Highland Park, New Brunswick and Bound Brook.

"LSD," he said, "strips your senses. Nothing matters. It's like a dream. There are no corners to a room. You float through the walls. You think you can put your hand through a desk."

His reason for dropping LSD, as he put it, was: "I came too close to being crazy."

MAINLINE TO NOWHERE: SEVERE CRITIC OF DRUG ADDICTION CENTER TRYING AGAIN

The man who criticized New Jersey's in-patient drug rehabilitation program, labeling it "a failure or near failure," is giving it another go—although he's not too optimistic on the future without controlled out-patient care.

The outspoken critic of the facility he heads is Dr. Hans W. Freymuth, director of the drug addiction center, N.J. State Neuro-Psychiatric Institute, Skillman.

Earlier this year, Freymuth resigned in a dispute over a proposed plan to reduce the addict's stay at the center from 45 to 21 days.

CHANGE OF PLANS

However, the physician, who specializes in psychiatry, withdrew his resignation when learning the plan was temporary, not final.

When Freymuth, a 17-year veteran with the N.J. Department of Institutions and Agencies, talks of the drug addict, he means the hard-core heroin user.

He probably has the toughest job in the state in rehabilitating addicts. The center is about 16 miles south of New Brunswick in a rural stretch of Somerset County.

The center's facilities are apparently inadequate to handle the state's growing drug problem since New Jersey has 2,834 registered addicts, the fourth highest in the nation.

The state's registered addicts increased by 727 during 1967 over the 1966 total of 2,107 according to the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics. Newark tops the state with more than 1,000.

Freymuth, the center's fourth director since it was authorized by law in December 1964, says the state must reassess its program on rehabilitating the drug addict. He became director nine months ago.

FREYMUTH PHILOSOPHY

He takes the position that you can't confiscate a junkie's set of works, wave a magic wand and pronounce him cured.

The center, an intermediate facility, must be backed up with a long-term plan, not necessarily in-patient care, he said. "I am convinced," Freymuth said, "that the state will have to create some sort of long-term system. Addicts need continuing control and support.

"The pressure by the communities is real. They want the drug addicts taken off the streets," he added.

Freymuth maintains the in-patient program cannot be fulfilled unless there is a follow-up care system on the county level. He was referring to clinics.

What the director meant is to supply methadone—a nondamaging synthetic opiate and substitute for heroin—to addicts on a controlled basis at out-patient clinics.

Methadone is more potent than morphine, but less habit-forming. However, it is addictive. The drug is taken orally with orange juice.

Freymuth proposed initiating a methadone maintenance program as a research project at an out-patient clinic he heads in Newark.

Methadone, he said, is used at the center, but only during what he referred to as the detoxification period after the addict is admitted and has withdrawal symptoms.

Freymuth's research project has received the approval of the Medical Society of New Jersey. The society said it approved in principle and that the research should be done on a small scale with carefully selected treatable patients.

A STIGMA ERASED

The director said that by replacing heroin with methadone, the patient would lose the stigma of criminality associated with the use of heroin.

"It would establish a more stable emotional adjustment, and would give the addict a chance to rebuild his social and economic status," Freymuth said. "Methadone," the director explained, "metabolizes more slowly than heroin. It is not a cure, but an improvement."

Freymuth said he plans to operate the methadone maintenance program at the Newark out-patient clinic on a seven-day-a-week basis. The clinic's staff, he said, includes himself, a part-time physician, a social worker and a secretary. He's hopeful of obtaining two registered nurses to assist in the research project.

In his critical review of the state's drug addiction program, Freymuth said the present New Jersey law and the premise for treatment which it establishes is impractical.

The law offers the addict the choice of serving his time in jail or being placed on probation for treatment at the center.

When confronted with such a choice, the junkie picked the center—something borne out in almost every heroin case in the New Brunswick Municipal Court since heroin use became a problem in recent years.

POLICE LOSE FAITH

New Brunswick police always made it a point to recommend admission to the center. They no longer do, apparently losing faith in the center's ability to cure the junkie.

Freymuth is cognizant of the drop in court referrals, not only from Middlesex County.

In recent months, there have been referrals of addicts by the Middlesex County Court to Bordentown Reformatory and rehabilitation centers in New Jersey and New York.

Freymuth noted that the center lacks the facilities to handle the statewide drug problem.

"I predict, however—if we get better—the word will spread," the director said hopefully.

There was a time not too long ago that New Brunswick's addicts went through the center as if it had a revolving door.

Now treatment at the center, Freymouth said, ranges from six weeks to several months, although addicts can be discharged at any time and referred to legal authorities, such as probation offices.

Once the long waiting list presented a problem, but Freymuth says there is no waiting today. The only delay, he said, is caused by technicalities of admission. And this is about a week, the director reported.

The center has facilities for 54 male and 12 female addicts. This is inadequate, Freymuth said, noting a need for additional space and more personnel.

Freymuth emphasized: "There are treatable addicts and there are nontreatable addicts. We want treatables. Those who want to pull out. The person who doesn't have the strength to help himself."

After admission, the addict is placed in a detoxification unit for two weeks. Those undergoing withdrawal symptoms at that time are given methadone.

The director said he and his staff, at the end of the two-week period, then determine which patients are treatable.

TWO PERCENT TREATABLE

Freymuth said that "2 per cent or less of the patients graduate to treatable status."

Nontreatables are discharged for various reasons, Freymuth said, adding: "Society will have to face this problem of drug addicts roaming the streets."

There are addicts who rebel against changing their way of life and who use the center as "an out" to keep from serving their time in jail.

An addict, Freymuth said, is usually in his late teens, frequently unemployed, is from a broken home, with an alcoholic father. The "typical addict" has spent some time in jail, is a school dropout, was a juvenile delinquent and has committed assaults and burglaries.

"Speaking as a physician, this (drug addiction) is not a curable disease," the director said.

WILL TO CHANGE ESSENTIAL

Freymuth explained that as long as the addict persists in his way of life, he cannot be seen as treatable. The addict, the director added, cannot be considered treatable unless he reaches that decision to change his way of life.

The director said treatment of a voluntary or semivoluntary nature cannot be offered

as an alternative to punishment by incarceration.

And, he adds, the few treatable addicts reaching the center have been influenced negatively by the non-treatable majority.

He further said that no single center is capable of covering "the entire spectrum of treatment needs for potentially rehabilitable addicts."

The director noted that a majority of New Jersey's counties has neglected to create after-care facilities for drug addicts as authorized by law.

Freymuth said society and the community must be protected against the nontreatable drug addict, noting that the addict needs between $10 and $100 a day to support his habit.

The nontreatable drug addict must be seen as a criminal and dealt with under the penal code.

Apply the concept that a nontreatable addict can possibly be transformed into a treatable addict by environmental influences and treatment methods.

On the subject of marijuana, Freymuth said: "Seven of 10 heroin addicts have used marijuana at some time.

"We should stop calling it a narcotic, which it is not. It is not addictive. It gives an effect similar to alcohol.

"Control of marijuana is difficult.

"You can grow it in any flower pot."

MAINLINE TO NOWHERE: WHERE THERE'S POT SMOKED, THERE'S A MARIJUANA WILDFIRE, LAWMEN LEARN

The greatest single concern of law enforcement officials and educators in the Twin-County Area today is the sudden spurt of marijuana smoking among teen-agers and those in their early 20s.

Pot, grass, weed—whatever you want to call it—was almost unheard of a decade ago in Central New Jersey, although jazz musicians have been puffing it for years.

Today, the smoking of pot, sometimes referred to as the campus drug, has caught on like wildfire with high school and college students, dropouts, hippies and the arty set.

GONE ARE THE DAYS OF . . .

Whatever happened to panty raids, stuffing bodies into telephone booths, fraternity beer-drinking contests or gulping goldfish?

Smoking pot today is the "in" thing to do with the younger generation, and it's simple as that.

And the controversy over the effects of pot-smoking continues. Is it dangerous? Some say it is, others say it's not.

How can you control it or prevent it from spreading?

Law enforcement officials, even with their almost daily arrests in Middlesex and Somerset counties, are learning that the pot problem is their Excedrin Headache No. 1.

Marijuana, a mild hallucinogen, can easily be purchased on the streets, and undercover agents have proved this.

Pot also is available through the mails, from such points as Southern California and the Southwest.

Pot smoking hit the Twin-County Area scene with a bang during the past summer and fall, and has been increasing.

"There's a lot of pot around, not only in New Brunswick. But we know what's going on," said Capt. Claude V. Colligan, head of New Brunswick's Juvenile Aid Bureau.

NO "SERIOUS" LABEL

The problem, he said, cannot be characterized as "serious," but there is sufficient use among juveniles to be concerned.

Colligan said there's been a decline in glue-sniffing and goofball-gulping. "Now it's pot. It's easy to get," he added.

Two New Brunswick students—from the senior and junior high schools—were arrested earlier this year for using and pushing marijuana. They were placed on probation by the Juvenile Court.

Middlesex County Sheriff Robert H. Jamison, whose squad of undercover agents has been making frequent arrests, said: "Those who say marijuana is not harmful cause confusion. The use of marijuana beclouds the thinking process of the mind. That is serious to me."

The sheriff contends the use of marijuana is "a stepping-stone on the ladder of drug abuse."

New Brunswick Police Chief Ralph C. Petrone recalls that pot arrests were infrequent a decade ago.

THREE AND ONE-HALF POUND "CATCH"

Recently, city police confiscated 3½ pounds of pot in a raid on a Livingston Avenue apartment, made two arrests, and set the stage for seizure of more pot by Highland Park police at an apartment there and the arrest of a Rutgers student.

Sheriff's officers, a few days later, conducted a raid on another Highland Park apartment and arrested three Rutgers University sophomores.

On the statewide level, state police Detective William J. Kennedy, summed up the pot problem this way: "It's growing out of proportion. It's mushrooming."

Kennedy, second in command of the state police narcotics squad, said: "In 1954 (three years after the squad was formed) it was considered a good pot arrest when an ounce was seized. Today, it is not."

Pot arrests, he said, were made by the squad at Princeton and Rutgers universities, Glassboro State College and the Hun School.

In the last decade, Kennedy said, eight arrests were made in rural parts of Central New Jersey for cultivating marijuana. Four were in 1967.

Last year, state police confiscated as evidence marijuana which would bring an estimated $260,000 on the illegal market, he said. Eighty per cent of it, Kennedy said, was from North and Central Jersey.

The pot problem is in full bloom in Somerset County, said to have one of the highest average per-capita incomes in the nation.

"It's county-wide. I cannot localize it," said Prosecutor Michael R. Imbriani, adding that most of the marijuana arrests have been in Franklin, Bridgewater and North Plainfield.

NO COMMUNITY CLEAN

"We do not have a problem with pushers, but there's no question from the evidence that there is a marijuana problem in every town in Somerset County," Imbriani said.

He added: "Narcotics, meaning marijuana, is the most serious criminal activity in Somerset County."

The prosecutor recalled that there was an average of two narcotics arrests per year in Somerset County between 1952 and 1964. The arrests went up to six in 1965. But in 1966 they rose to 18 and then to 70 in 1967.

The September grand jury shocked Somerset County with its presentment that marijuana was "available in every high school" in the county. The grand jury said the problem was in the 15-to-20-year age group.

Imbriani said an investigation by his staff led to the presentment.

MAKES A DIFFERENCE

He then met with school superintendents and told them, "I want leads." Imbriani said he got 90 of them after the presentment. But it was a different story before the presentment when he met with the educators. He struck out at that time.

Confinement is not uncommon in Somerset County for those charged with sale or possession of pot. For example, three youths, nonstudents, were recently sentenced to indeterminate terms in the Annandale Reformatory.

Imbriani explained his policy this way: "Whenever there is cooperation, it is brought to the attention of the court to be considered when passing sentence."

About the effect of pot smoking, Imbriani said: "It may not be physically addictive, but I feel it is psychologically addictive. Marijuana, I believe, can lead to the use of heroin."

The prosecutor continued: "We've broken up some pot parties at homes in Somerville, Franklin, North Plainfield and Bridgewater. The raids resulted in multiple arrests. They were all from good homes."

Imbriani said that of the 70 narcotics arrests in 1967, nearly all were white and in the middle- and upper-middle social classes.

Somerset County is primarily rural, has many well-to-do families and does not have what can be considered ghetto neighborhoods as are found in the more populated counties.

He considers the marijuana problem as "very serious" in Somerset County.

CRIMINAL CASES CLIMB

Imbriani said the number of crimial cases in Somerset County rose 120 per cent in 1967 over the 1965 figures. A factor in the hike, he explained, was youths involved with marijuana.

His staff works in close cooperation with municipal and state police and Middlesex County sheriff's officers.

A few days ago, a Somerset County Court jury found a Bound Brook man in his mid-20s guilty of growing pot in his backyard. Such arrests are uncommon in the Twin-County Area.

A Rutgers student, who asked that he not be identified, said he smoked pot out of curiosity.

"It's a nice, relaxing type of experience. It's a casual thing. There's no ritual or mystique, It's a pass-the-peace-pipe affair," he said.

The student commented that other students smoke pot because it is harmless. He said that according to medical research, marijuana smoking is not physically addictive.

I don't buy the angle of escape and a substitute for alcohol. And it's not used as a crutch.

"Some take it out of curiosity. Those who try it, enjoy it," he said.

MAINLINE TO NOWHERE: AT RUTGERS, NOT ALL EXPERIMENTS ARE IN LABS—STUDENTS TRY MARIJUANA, TOO

"At least one-third of the students on campus have experimented with pot at least once," says 20-year-old Owen Ullmann, editor of Targum, Rutgers University's student daily newspaper.

Ullmann, a Spotswood resident, further estimates that 20 to 25 percent of Rutgers students smoked marijuana on more than one occasion.

However, the junior, majoring in political science, admits he had no specific guideline or rule to reach those estimates.

His conclusions, Ullmann adds, were based on personal observations and "people I've talked to."

The university has an undergraduate enrollment of about 6,000 male students. Some 3,800 are housed on the Queens campus, 3,100 in dormitories and 700 at fraternity houses. The remainder live off campus in apartments and rooming houses.

Ullmann said students have been smoking pot on campus, as well as in off-campus residences. He said most of the smoking is off campus.

"It is not difficult to get pot in the campus area," the student editor said.

OVERESTIMATES?

Dean of Student Affairs Earle W. Clifford referred to Ullmann's conclusions as "guess-timates" and said they were "high."

Clifford said a study has not been made on student drug use and saw no useful purpose for it.

Ullmann said he supports the legalization of marijuana. "The laws on it are ridiculous," the editor said.

He cited a law in Georgia where a second offense of selling marijuana to a minor can bring the death penalty.

"Marijuana, it has been proven, is not a narcotic. There's no proof it's harmful," Ullmann said.

His position: "I don't think a certain minority segment of society should be dictated to by the majority on what it can or cannot do to seek pleasure as long as it does not cause harm to someone else."

He smiled when told his views seem to duplicate those in the Playboy Philosophy.

"Pot should be legalized with minimum restraint. It would clean up racketeer profiteering," Ullmann said.

Targum, founded in 1869, is the oldest college newspaper in the U. S. It enjoys the reputation of being one of the country's most independent campus publications.

NO PRESSURE ON PAPER

Ullmann, who became editor in February, said the university's administration does not attempt to influence Targum's editorial policy.

A Targum staff member for three years, Ullmann said he agreed with the student newspaper's editorial of Feb. 7, 1967, entitled, "Prohibition: 1967," which endorsed legalization of marijuana.

Ullman said student use of pot on and off campus reached its peak in the fall.

College students shy from heroin because of its addictive quality, he said.

When Rutgers last April announced its policy on student use of drugs, Clifford assessed the problem as appearing to be "small."

The dean said the same assessment stands today.

In reviewing the policy, Clifford said the university must assume its educational responsibility to assist the student confronted with the choice regarding drug involvement to make an informed decision.

"We recognize that we could not inform every individual student, and though we informed a large number of students, errors of judgment would occur," Clifford said.

The dean referred to the first phase of the university's three-point policy. That phase relates to educating the student about drugs and their effects.

Phase 2 makes available counseling and student health services for those who experimented or became involved in drugs.

Clifford continued: "In cooperation with law enforcement agencies, we are exercising university disciplinary sanctions against any student who becomes involved in 'pushing,' 'dealing,' or otherwise persuading a fellow student to use drugs."

POLICY'S OTHER TARGET

The Rutgers policy is geared to punish the pusher, but does not ignore the repeated user, both of whom are subject to suspension or dismissal.

Action is pending on two students arrested earlier this year for selling small amounts of marijuana to a state police undercover agent on campus streets last fall. The students have been held for grand jury action.

The two students were the first students to be arrested on campus on narcotics charges.

The first arrests in New Brunswick involving Rutgers students were three years ago. Two were apprehended. They admitted smoking pot one of them purchased in Mexico and brought back with him from Southern California, where he had a summer job. A small amount of pot was confiscated.

In addition to the two students arrested in February, nine others were picked up in Princeton, Highland Park, New York City, South Brunswick (on the N.J. Turnpike), and New Brunswick (off campus).

Investigations by the campus patrol, the university's security arm, has not led to confiscation of any narcotics on campus, according to Robert Ochs, assistant to the vice president, and John Mazzei, patrol director.

Mazzei said: "We do not have any undercover agents. It's against university policy."

Ochs, former campus patrol director, added: "To the best of my knowledge, there has never been a request by a law enforcement agency to 'plant' an undercover agent in classes."

Some colleges and universities have been accused of doing just that.

NO LSD, GOOFBALL, HEROIN USE

There has been no evidence of LSD, goofball or heroin use resulting from investigations of campus by the campus patrol, said Ochs and Mazzei.

Two faculty members of Ithaca College announced recently results of their survey on use of drugs of that college's co-educational enrollment of 3,300. More than 2,000 students participated.

The faculty members said: "It is estimated that only eight per cent of Ithaca College students are currently involved in the regular use of any type of illegal drugs."

They said they believe their survey to be the most extensive of its kind, and possibly the first, conducted on an American college compus.

The survey reveals that Marijuana has emerged as the principal drug used by students. Twenty-two percent tried pot in high school or after becoming a college student. Only 15 per cent used pot more than twice.

Clifford said statistics about regular users on most campuses would be quite low. The pattern on campuses, he explained, is a period of experimentation, then tapering off after "the kick of the first time" wears away.

The dean said Rutgers has not made such a study and does not contemplate doing so.

Clifford said his personal reaction to developing and printing drug use statistics is that "they would be obsolete before the ink became dry."

Then there is the question of the credibility gap involving sources of the information used to compile the statistics.

Clifford is a member of the executive committee of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, which contacted the U.S. Food and Drug Administration to conduct a national program on drug education.

The program's aim, he said, was to aid college and university administrators and security officials to have a "working" knowledge of drugs at the student level.

From his contact with administrators at other universities and colleges, Clifford said: "There's been a leveling off of LSD use. The message of possible chromosomal damage has hit home."

The dean, speaking in general about college campuses in the nation, said: "There has been so much preoccupation with LSD and pot, that we may be ignoring a more critical problem—that of student use of barbiturates (goofballs) and amphetamines (pep pills)."

Clifford said student life has its ups-and-downs, stresses and strains that lead to use of the dangerous drugs. He cited possible serious health hazards of their overuse.

MAINLINE TO NOWHERE: PULL IN ONE ON POT CHARGES—ANOTHER POPS UP IN HIS PLACE

Law enforcement agencies on the municipal, county and state levels, generally, have locked arms in their campaign to combat drug abuse in Middlesex and Somerset counties.

While most of the agencies conduct independent investigations, primarily undercover work, there is a certain degree of cooperation.

However, the autonomous mechanism of these agencies has resulted in overlapping investigations.

But the odds are still against them, as the lawmen are outnumbered pawns in the growing king-size population of thrill seekers.

The lawman's position is comparable to that of trying to eradicate mosquitoes with a flyswatter.

You can get one of the pesky insects with each swat, but another is there to take its place.

As one official put it: "It's like using a spoon to empty a lake."

Inter-police department cooperation is common in the Twin-County Area, but most police forces have few too men assigned to narcotics investigations, if assessments on the problem by officials paint the true picture.

The New Brunswick police department has two men assigned to drug probes, but they have other duties. A third plainclothesman is used as a swingman between narcotics and other investigations.

And New Brunswick, the county seat, is faced with the biggest drug abuse problem in Middlesex County, statistics on arrests show.

A few factors for this, police say, are the city's central location, its poverty neighborhoods, and transportation facilities to New York City, where most of the dope used by area addicts is obtained.

WELCOME HOME

Some of the arrests by New Brunswick police have been made as addicts stepped off buses from New York possessing heroin.

Such arrests can only be made on information obtained by police, through tips or surveillance, and the men available to make them.

Although the number of registered drug users in New Jersey ranks fourth in the nation, the state police narcotics squad numbers but 14. Seven of them are effective undercover men.

However, the state police squad formed in 1951 with six men, has participated in narcotics arrests in all but two towns in Middlesex County.

Its members have branched into Somerset County, too, particularly Franklin.

"TYPE CAST"

The effectiveness of a state police undercover man is about six years and diminishes according to the number of times he appears in public and is identified when testifying in open court.

On the other side of the numbers coin, Middlesex Sheriff Robert H. Jamison has a narco squad numbering six men, some former experienced policemen from area communities.

A few years ago, sheriff's officers made a handful of narcotics arrests, but since Jamison added to the squad, the arrests zoomed to 68 last year.

Jamison said he saw the writing on the wall on drug abuse in Middlesex County in the early 1960s when he was president of the N.J. State Sheriffs' Association.

The sheriff launched an educational campaign, providing speakers, showing films and distributing more than 400,000 pieces of literature.

"When it began to unravel, it became serious. It's widespread now," said the sheriff.

Jamison said: "Drug abuse activates some into crime. This is the octopus of the whole problem.

"One of the big problems, however, is that there is no facility to treat drug addicts in Middlesex County. And it's a fallacy to blame the problem on the people because of their status in life.

"These people—drug addicts—are sick. It is a social problem and it should be treated as such. There should be counseling."

"SCRATCHING" FOR FUNDS?

Changing the subject momentarily, Jamison added: "Do you realize that more money is spent by Middlesex County to eliminate mosquitoes than to help drug addicts?"

Jamison is a strong proponent for establishment of clinics by the county where drug addicts can receive out-patient treatment.

The sheriff said his recommendation to the Board of Freeholders a few years ago to establish a countywide drug study commission fell on deaf ears.

Jamison said: "My concern is about the drug abuse problem. We have limited funds, but we are going to continue. We are not going to relax.

"I don't care who gets the job done, whether it's the local police, state police or prosecutor's office, as long as it's done."

The sheriff said, "There's no competition," an obvious reference to unofficial criticism that he's grandstanding and grabbing newspaper headlines through his stepped-up narcotics arrests.

Jamison also has been criticized unofficially for his go-it-alone policy on narcotics investigations, but controversy is nothing new to the outspoken sheriff.

He has the horses and intends to use them to the fullest, stressing: "The public is more aware of the drug abuse problem than ever before. Let's not sweep it under the rug. Let's bring it out into the open."

And he's doing just that.

ARRESTS: "NO TRUE PICTURE"

Jamison said his staff's arrests speak for themselves, but explained that the number of arrests "do not represent the true picture."

Heading the sheriff's narcotics squad is Detective Capt. Lawrence Gudgeon, who has given a number of lectures on drug abuse. Gudgeon said he believes the talks help. However, he adds, there is no way of gauging results.

Gudgeon said two-thirds of the arrests by the sheriff's squad were for marijuana violations, with heroin cases in second place.

Most of the heroin arrests were made in New Brunswick and the pot arrests were spread throughout Middlesex and Somerset counties.

Gudgeon, too, defends the sheriff's go-it-alone policy on undercover narcotics investigations.

Said the captain: "As far as narcotics investigations are concerned, we don't tell anyone what we are doing until the arrest is about to be made.

"We try to cooperate with municipal police departments 100 per cent, but narcotics investigations are not like others. Some are made on the spur of the moment."

Gudgeon said the sheriff's squad works closely with the Somerset County prosecutor's office, noting that the Middlesex County prosecutor's office does not conduct drug probes.

TEEN GIRLS IN TRAP

Most of the arrests, Gudgeon said, are young men in their 20s. His investigations reveal that girls in the 16–18 age group are becoming involved with pot and pushers who are using them for prostitution.

Like the sheriff's office, New Brunswick police have been conducting a series of lectures on drug abuse.

Detective Lt. George Seamon and Detective Sgt. Everett James have appeared before civic, church and educational groups in New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, South Brunswick and Sayreville in the past few months. They also held seminars for New Brunswick policemen.

Is education the answer?

No one can say with certainty that it is, but it's a start.

Who will answer?

Society must—because it is faced with drug abuse today and will be tomorrow, tomorrow and tomorrow.

IS THE UNITED STATES HELPING ISRAEL?

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it appears that statements and resolutions are being circulated suggesting that the United States is hedging on its commitments in the Middle East.

The impression is being conveyed that while the Soviet Union is rushing arms to the Arab States, the United States has let Israel down.

I have received many letters from my constituents who are deeply concerned about this matter.

I can say categorically that the charge that the United States has abandoned Israel is completely untrue.

As one of the ranking members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. Congress, I have worked for peace in the Middle East and for a settlement which would uphold and safeguard Israel's right to an independent, viable, and secure existence.

Because of the shipment—since last summer—of Soviet arms to the Arab States, I have urged the U.S. Government to help Israel with the necessary defense equipment while trying to avoid a disastrous arms race in the Middle East.

I am pleased to report that since last October, the United States has been—and is continuing—to supply Israel with military equipment required for its own defense.

May 2, when Secretary of State Dean Rusk appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I posed three important questions on this subject to the Department of State.

The three questions, and the answers of the Department of State, are as follows:

Congresswoman KELLY's question: It has been stated that the Arab countries which have threatened aggression against Israel have supersonic planes—and that Israel does not have comparable equipment to defend itself? Is this true or not?

Answer: Not true. Israel has supersonic aircraft to defend itself. Israel's Air Force has substantial numbers of Mirage supersonic jet fighters which are among the best aircraft available today. The Mirage has proved more than the equal of the Soviet MIG–21.

Congresswoman KELLY's question: The United States is at present shipping planes and other defense equipment to Israel, is that not true?

Answer: True. It has provided ground to air defensive missiles, modern armor and, most recently, the A–4 Sky Hawk fighter-bomber. The latter coupled with the supersonic jet fighters constitute a modern and balanced air defense team.

Congresswoman KELLY's question: The Joint communique which was issued earlier this year by President Johnson and Premier Eshkol indicated that the United States is sensitive to Israel's defense needs—and that appropriate steps would be taken, as necessary, to see that those defense needs are met.

Answer: Yes. As that joint statement also said, we examine Israel's requests in light of all relevant factors, including the shipment of arms by others to the area.

The above information should be of great interest to those who share my strong conviction that the United States must not allow Israel to become a victim of Soviet Communist designs on the Middle East.

The United States must continue to take all necessary steps to insure Israel's security.

I want to repeat that as a Congresswoman from Brooklyn, and as one of the senior members of the important Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. Congress, I have been working for the cause of peace in the Middle East and in other areas of the world.

I shall continue in these efforts and I hope that the people of Brooklyn will honor me with their continued trust in my efforts to serve them, the cause of peace, and our Nation in the Halls of the U.S. Congress.

THE INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY FUNCTIONS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the Columbus Dispatch of May 2, 1968, ran an informative column by the nationally syndicated columnist, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, on the necessity of coordinating the functions of the intelligence officer with that of the security specialist. Miss Roosevelt briefly but adequately explains the difference in the two fields in these words:

An "intelligence man" gathers information. He hardly concerns himself with penetration by foreign agents. A "security man" watches over the loyalty and suitability of personnel. He in turn, hardly concerns himself with the inside activities of foreign governments. His job is to safeguard his own government's internal apparatus.

When one reviews, for instance, the number of cases in which American citizens have been apprehended in this decade supplying the Communist nations with vital information, a concerned and realistic citizen will appreciate the importance of a sound security system. This is why I have been so concerned about the Otto Otepka and Stephen Koczak cases and their handling by the State Department. When an increase of crime occurs in one's neighborhood, prudent people do not consider lessening local police protection. Despite the repeated warnings of authorities such as J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI that we are the target of a massive program of espionage and intelligence by the Soviet and Soviet-bloc countries, there are those officials who still consider this area with a careless disinterest. The record shows that we have succeeded in getting rid of some of people, who, for reasons of their own, place national security too low in their priority of values.

Under unanimous consent I include the column, entitled "Intelligence and Security Vary in Aims," by Edith Kermit Roosevelt, in the RECORD at this point:

INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY VARY IN AIMS

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—Public interest is being caught by secret police intrigues across borders, but few see beyond the cloak and dagger terminology. The talk of "intelligence" and of "security" assume that these two are alike. Actually, they fundamentally differ.

A great deal of our misunderstanding regarding spies and secret agents is due to this misconception. An "intelligence man" gathers information. He hardly concerns himself with penetration by foreign agents. A "security man" watches over the loyalty and suitability of personnel. He, in turn, hardly concerns himself with the inside activities of foreign governments. His job is to safeguard his own government's internal apparatus.

This difference in function frequently pits one against the other, resulting in feuds and ruthless conflict inside government agencies. These include even the use of forged documents and other illegal strategems. Rarely does the public hear anything about this aspect of government mechanism. An intelligence service by its nature may find it useful to recruit some double agents or even staff members with equivocal attitudes and ideologies. The security man, for his part, may have utter impatience and contempt for the intelligence man who sees no danger in having close contact even with the enemy.

Significantly, Kim Philby, the British intelligence agent who was working for the Soviets, was only exposed after the chief of Britain's security section (MI-5) moved over to become head of Britain's intelligence set-up (MI-6), equivalent to our CIA. This illustrates the difficulties of any intelligence apparatus in policing itself and of the absolute necessity for a strong, completely independent security operation. The United States is critically deficient in both.

The spy scandals, which have involved at one time or another every major power, reveal that intelligence officers are often the greatest source of loyalty and security violations that endanger the national survival of the very governments which employ them. An important reason for this is that intelligence officers may obtain vital information concerning foreign powers by giving away even more valuable information about their own governments.

The danger for intelligence officers is that they may be compromised through character defects, such as susceptability to drink, sexual involvements or vanity. Sometimes they become disaffected because they disapprove of the policy of their own governments—not because they start out as traitors in the literal sense of the word. This is why in the national interest there should be the same close collaboration between the intelligence officer and the security man as there is between an athlete and his trainer. The role of the security man should essentially be that of a disciplinarian, fostering restraint.

The recent revelations of Philippe Thyraud De Vosjoli, former liaison between French intelligence and the CIA, illustrates the vulnerability of an intelligence service. De Vosjoli has charged that France failed to act on evidence that Soviet spies were active in the French government. He resigned because he could not go along with De Gaulle's decision to establish a scientific and military spy ring against the U.S.

The behind-the-scenes conflict between intelligence officers and security men brings the Otto F. Otepka case into proper perspective. A reading of the Otepka hearings indicates that CIA was infiltrating some of its own officers into the State Department as security men. In fact, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security, Marvin Gentile, comes from CIA. Obviously, State Department security men who were formerly Foreign Service Officers or with intelligence in CIA are more likely to grant security clearances without really strict adherence to the rules or without question when ordered to do so by their superiors. Otepka, a former security chief evaluator in the State Department, balked at backdating clearances for personnel and winking at clearance waivers, especially when the files contained derogatory material.

The Stephen A. Koczak case also takes on special significance in the light of differing functions involved in security and intelligence. Koczak, an admittedly brilliant political officer with the ability to ferret out relevant intelligence, floundered because of his insistence on proper security controls in Berlin. This was his reason for reporting the unauthorized telephone calls from East Berlin which he says his superior made in the Polish Foreign Ministry. Koczak was fired after reporting this security violation. He declares that false information was inserted into his records.

Congress is increasingly aware of the defective structure and intelligence operations in the executive department. Bills have been introduced to correct these deficiencies, notably Sen. James O. Eastland's bill to set up a central security agency to monitor the personnel operations of the State and Defense Departments. A bill by Rep. John A. Ashbrook, which complements the Eastland measure, would provide safeguards for Foreign Service personnel against tampering with their records. An important aspect of the problem will remain, however, even if these bills are passed, because neither applies to the CIA, our largest intelligence gathering agency.

WE ONLY WORK HERE

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have been reading with some amazement the comments of some of our distinguished colleagues who seem to be terrified by the impending Poor People's Campaign and its projected visit to Washington. I want very much to go on record as welcoming the campaign, and the American citizens who compose it, to their Capital City.

I think it is appropriate to point out that perhaps the only Americans who are in Washington on sufferance—the only people whose right to come here in their present capacities can be abrogated are the Members of the Congress. "Here, sir," someone said, "the people rule." We are but their servants, and we can be dismissed. But the American people themselves, rich or poor, white or black, for serious reasons or frivolous, traveling first class, or traveling in carts and rented buses, visit this city in the capacity of owners come to look at their property. This city belong to every person in that Poor People's March, just as certainly as it belongs to the prosperous lobbyists who come here to influence legislation, just as much as it belongs to the DAR ladies who come here to tell us the dangers they see confronting the Republic, just as much as it belongs to any set of Americans who come to talk to us about our stewardship of their business.

I see nothing wrong in the spectacle of the poor come to ask that their Government, which derives all of its power from their consent, do certain things. If some member of that campaign commits a violent act while here, he is subject to the laws of the Nation and of the city as anyone else, and he should be treated accordingly. But if someone attempts to offer violence against the marchers, it is he who should be prosecuted not they who should be impeded.

This city entertains a million or more tourists every year—and most summer weekends it seems like they all came at once. They litter the Mall, they crowd the corridors, they sometimes obstruct traffic, but no one has ever suggested that they should not come, no one to my knowledge has ever seriously suggested that the Congress even has the right to restrict tourists.

The first amendment has always protected lobbyists, including, Mr. Speaker, the visiting groups of concerned citizens who visit Washington from time to time in large bus caravans representing unions or veterans' organizations or trade associations.

It seems to me that the 3,000 people who are coming here for the Poor People's Campaign will be a drop in the bucket as compared with the million or more who will be coming just as tourists. They will hardly equal the numbers who will be coming this year to lobby in less-publicized, and in some cases, less-deserving causes. I would hope we could rid ourselves of our fears of hearing from the people who, in the last analysis, we are supposed to be representing.

Roscoe Drummond has made an excellent point in his recent column which I insert at this point in the RECORD.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OUGHT TO WELCOME POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Instead of dislaying a fish-eyed glare—as some are already doing—Congress ought to make the Poor People's Campaign feel fully welcome in the Capital.

It's their Nation as well. It's their Constitution as well which guarantees them the right to petition the Government in peaceful assembly.

If there is danger that the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy's massive encampment here later this month might erupt into violence—and there is—one way to reduce that danger is for the participants to be met with open arms and with open ears and minds.

Johnson Cabinet officials have set a high standard of attentive friendliness in advance conferences. But unfortunately there are Congressmen whose first reaction is to disdain this Poor People's Campaign and to suggest the marchers ought to be barred by law from coming to Washington.

They should not. They should be made welcome. They are not demanding the impossible nor the ridiculous nor the extreme.

They are demanding that private industry and Government at every level put a higher priority on wiping out poverty in the United States.

Is that a fantastic or unreal goal? As an excuse for not trying, many used to justify their indifference by saying that the poor would always be with us. That view is outdated not just among the poor but among the affluent.

And is this Poor People's Campaign asking Congress to deal more effectively with something that is peripheral? I offer the answer of Arjay Miller, president of the Ford Motor

Company, who says that "of all the social problems demanding attention today, the most basic is the elimination of poverty in this country . . . one sixth of our fellow citizens are not sharing adequately—or, in some cases, at all—in our progress to date."

More than this, where relief from joblessness is already most needed, the situation is getting worse. The unemployment percentage among Negro teen-agers, which has been running about two and a half times greater than for white teen-agers, is going up, not down.

We ought not to blur the truth that the Vietnam war puts a priority demand on the Federal Budget and that resources are not as available as they otherwise would be to do many of the things Government can do to help people rise from poverty.

But this war is going to end and it may be sooner than we think. Therefore wouldn't it be useful for the Poor People's Campaign to promote a national pledge to commit much of what is now being spent in Vietnam to solving the pressing human problems when war costs decrease?

It might read:

"I pledge that when peace comes in Vietnam, I will use my influence as a citizen and as a voter to make sure that savings in military expenses will be invested whenever practical in human resources here at home—especially for the benefit of the poor."

Sargent Shriver calls this the "Plowshare Pledge." Why isn't this one of the most constructive non-violent campaigns which the Rev. Abernathy and his colleagues could lead—a campaign to get millions of concerned Americans to write their Senators, their Congressmen and the congressional leadership of both parties?

In election years the politicians are particularly sensitive to public opinion. The Plowshare Pledge could well be presented to both party conventions where it would not be easy to shun it.

IN PRAISE OF OUR POLICE

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the militant civil disturbances and other outrageous forms of lawlessness of recent times have taken a tragic toll in this Nation. Millions of innocent Americans in all walks of life have been subjected to anguish and grief by rioters, looters, and other criminal elements. No single segment of our society has been more brutally affected by this domestic turmoil than the Nation's law-enforcement establishment. In my opinion, our police have exercised remarkable restraint and displayed calm judgment in the face of incredible pressures ranging from arrogant harassment to outright hostilities directed at them. Indeed, they have been the prime target of virtually every extremist group which would turn this Nation into one of anarchy.

Moreover, throughout these exhausting periods of tribulation our law enforcement authorities have remained steadfast in their commitment to seek continually improved means of maintaining an orderly society. The recent innovations pioneered by authorities in Mississippi are a dramatic illustration of the initiative that is being taken in discovering new techniques to fight crime and attain a higher degree of proficiency. The results of these ambitious efforts are reflected in the fact that many of the methods first developed in Mississippi have been adopted by authorities in other sections of the Nation.

An article written by Jackson, Miss., Police Chief W. D. Rayfield, which appeared in the May edition of the Federal Bureau of Investigation Law Enforcement Bulletin, attests to the farsighted attitude that exists among law enforcement authorities in Mississippi—from the patrolman on the beat all the way to high level administrators. The article details the history, goals, and ambitious program of the new Jackson Police Training Center, which was initiated to better prepare members of the force to effectively and efficiently serve their community.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Chief Rayfield's article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

POLICE TRAINING CENTER

(By William D. Rayfield, Chief of Police, Jackson, Miss.)

The city of Jackson, Miss., has a population of some 150,000 people, an efficient police department of 264 members, and a group of farsighted leaders.

For many years officers of the department were given training in subjects relating to their work; however, the program was more or less adjusted to work schedules, with officers attending when possible. Taking cognizance of court decisions outmoding some investigative techniques, civil disturbances occurring throughout the Nation, and other problems confronting law enforcement, my assistants and I were convinced that a thorough and complete training program was an absolute necessity for the members of the department. Consequently, plans were formulated for one of the best training centers in the Nation. Mayor Allen C. Thompson immediately agreed, and in 1966 the Jackson Training Center was officially opened. It was built at a cost of approximately $800,000 and was financed by a bond issue.

MODERN DESIGN

This beautiful building is located near the city limits on a 23-acre plot of ground and is easily accessible to all officers. It is a large one-story structure of modern design and fits in well with the surrounding residential area. There is ample parking space, and softball and baseball fields occupy areas near the building. A large space has been set aside for future construction of courses designed to teach accident investigation techniques and driver education. The entire building is used for training purposes, academic and physical.

LARGE CLASSROOM

One large room, approximately 120 feet by 40 feet in size, with one entire side constructed of glass and facing an outside patio-garden, is used for academic training. This room has a stage, a rostrum, blackboards and flannel boards, and other equipment needed for lecture purposes. With its speaker system, some 400 men can be given class room training at the same time. If small classes are desired, this large room can readily be divided into three rooms by means of soundproof room dividers. Speaker rostrums are then automatically available in the front of each room. By pushing a button in the rear projection room, movie screens unroll from the ceiling into each room and movie cameras can be adjusted to each screen. Each room is equipped with modern, comfortable chairs and desks, which can easily be removed and "stacked" to clear the room for dinners and departmental parties.

At the rear of the large training room, there is a stainless steel kitchen. The kitchen is equipped with cookstoves, dishwashers, deep freeze cabinets, refrigerators, storage area, and a cafeteria line. Several hundred persons can be served at one time.

The police library adjoins the classrooms and is open at all times. The latest books, manuscripts, and periodicals on law enforcement are to be found there, as well as reference material of all kinds, including the latest decisions of the courts.

Administrative offices occupy the front of the building, with offices for the director of training, the assistant director, and their secretary.

PHYSICAL TRAINING

One wing of this building houses one of the most up-to-date physical training facilities in this area. Probably the most popular room in the wing is the so-called "muscle factory." It contains almost every type of exercising equipment manufactured, including the usual weights, lifts, bicycles, rowing exercisers, barrel roller, bench press machines, situp boards, incline and decline curl boards, and isometric machines.

In addition, there are several machines designed by the lieutenant in charge of physical training. These include bench press machines lat machines, toe raiser, Roman chair setups, medicine ball setups, back squat, squat machines, leg machines, and various curl machines. By using this equipment, officers can get into good physical condition and stay that way. Records of their weights are maintained. Many "easily come-by" pounds are lost in this room by sweat and determination. Lt. Robert Benton, a graduate of the University of Mississippi with a degree in physical education, is in charge of this part of the training. Benton is a former professional football player.

Included in the facility is a full-sized gymnasium, with folding bleachers which seat three hundred persons. This gym is in almost constant use each shift.

A basketball league composed of six teams is in operation, and over a hundred officers greatly enjoy the games played on week nights Volleyball, softball, and baseball teams have also been formed and provide many hours of fun and enjoyment for players and their families.

Of course, the usual locker and shower rooms are provided. After exercising, the officer finds it most soothing to relax in the sauna room (steam room), in one of several steam cabinets, or in the whirlpool bath. Rubdown tables with necessary personnel help to soothe the aches and pains of sore muscles.

DEFENSIVE TACTICS

Another pertinent part of the training program is the defensive tactics room. This room is 50 by 35 feet in size and has mirrors on one wall and a padded floor area. Lt. Charlie Morris, a Black Belt holder, is in charge of this part of the training.

In order to provide an incentive for using the training facility, I have arranged for all officers to receive a minimum of 5 hours' training each week, with overtime paid for such training. The facility is, of course, open to the officer for use at any time on his own time, and many officers are seen there daily.

Deputy Chief A. H. Williams, an FBI National Academy graduate, is director of the training center. He is ably assisted by a staff of four police officers and two maintenance men. Instruction is also provided by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other persons in law enforcement.

Several weeklong schools on practical problems of burglary investigations were recently conducted by FBI instructors.

In addition to the academy, the Jackson Police Department—which has one of the best pistol teams in the South—has a separate facility for firearms training. A practical pistol range and an "off hand" target range are included, as well as an adequately equipped clubhouse.

The results of the training center and program are seen daily. Not only are officers in much better physical condition, but their investigations, reports, and testimony in court in the recent past have greatly improved.

Although the Jackson Police Department is now at full strength, the training center was constructed to take care of double its present complement of officers.

THE SNOWMOBILE: A TOOL OF MODERN LAW ENFORCEMENT

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, in the past few years there has been increased use of snowmobiles both for sport and for business purposes in those areas of the country which enjoy winter snows.

I am pleased to report that two professional law-enforcement officers have made an important study on the use of the snowmobile in the performance of their duties.

Sheriff Maurice F. Dean is the sheriff of Schuyler County, N.Y., which I am proud to represent in Congress. Sheriff Dean and Deputy Sheriff M. A. Euston of Onondaga County, N.Y., have written an excellent article entitled "The Snowmobile: A Tool of Modern Law Enforcement" in the April 1968 edition of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I am pleased to insert their article at this point in the RECORD:

THE SNOWMOBILE: A TOOL OF MODERN LAW ENFORCEMENT

Snowmobiles have become a vital part of the growing number of modern tools being used by law enforcement agencies within heavy snow areas in the United States and Canada, as well as in snow belts throughout the world. Already snowmobiles have proved their effectiveness for rescue work, patrolling, and general police work in urban, suburban, and rural areas.

Major uses for snowmobiles by police agencies are fourfold: (1) to rescue citizens from their homes during or after snow emergencies; (2) to transport food, fuel, and medical supplies or doctors to isolated homes; (3) to search for lost persons and to check stalled cars and buses for stranded travelers; and (4) to investigate snowmobile accidents or plane crashes which occur in dense forest areas inaccessible to other vehicles.

To some police administrators and sheriffs, using snowmobiles is completely new. In reality, the snowmobile industry on a large, marketable scale is an infant. In the winter of 1964–65, an estimated 40,000 snowmobiles were sold. This figure soared to 70,000 units the following season and then hit sales of 120,000 units in 1966–67. The snowmobile sport is becoming as popular in areas of heavy snowfall as motorboating is in other places, with approximately 150,000 sold last winter in the United States and Canada.

Today the snowmobile business is valued at $150 million for the machines themselves and $20 million for the accessories and cold weather clothing. Snowmobiling is fast becoming one of North America's most popular winter sports. The great appeal of snowmobiles for the public is based on the concept that the entire family can take part in the new winter recreation. Presently there are 40 manufacturers of snowmobiles, with a grand total of about 350,000 machines in operation.

POLICE USE

When the public has tested the snowmobile—and it has withstood the harsh treatment of teenagers and entire families—the product has graduated to use by law enforcement. The newer models are much more quiet than their predecessors because manufacturers have produced engines with dual muffler systems which account for 50 percent less noise. Newer models also have special baffling and enclosed engine compartments and are more adaptable for police operations.

Many law enforcement agencies in snow belt areas are now setting aside money for the versatile snowmobile. Prices range from about $600 to $1,700 each, with an average price of $1000. Sheriff's departments throughout New York State and elsewhere in addition to State and local police departments find that the most functional snowmobile is one with a capacity for two to three men and a minimum of 16 horsepower. The more horsepower snowmobiles have the better they are able to carry police officers and rescue equipment into rough mountainous terrain and areas impassable by other means of transportation. Most snowmobiles are driven by a two-cylinder two-cycle gasoline engine. They have been rated at speeds up to 60 miles per hour, with the average speed for medium horsepower units about 45 miles per hour. The driving power to propel them over the snow is derived by traction from a flexible rubber or nylon tread with some steel or aluminum cleats which grab on icy surfaces.

The treads of a snowmobile can be compared to tracks on a tank or tractor. They work in a similar fashion, but the snowmobile only has one tread, usually about 17 inches in width. Some more expensive models have wider treads measuring up to 28 inches in width.

The forerunner of the snowmobile was developed in 1927 and was merely a motorized toboggan. In 1928 a French Canadian named Joseph Armond Bombardier of Valcourt, Quebec, built a snowmobile from a Model "T" Ford. The vehicle resembled a half-track and maneuvered well in heavy snow, where other vehicles could not travel. One of the first users of the snow machine in the United State was a Lenox, Mass., resident who bought one to travel around Berkshire County in 1929.

As estimated 95 percent of the snowmobiles sold are for recreational purposes. The remainder are used by policemen, forest rangers, telephone linemen, commercial trappers, and rescue squads.

BLIZZARD OPERATIONS

During the "blizzard of '66" two seasons ago, the northeastern part of the United States was paralyzed. The central New York area received a total of 42.3 inches of snow, the greatest amount of snow since 1902 according to U.S. Weather Bureau statistics. Snowmobiles proved the most effective method of transportation for police and rescue crews during this time.

In Schuyler County, N.Y., located at the southern end of Seneca Lake in central New York State, the blizzard trapped many residents and stalled transportation. A call was received at the sheriff's department during the height of the storm from a woman who lived in a remote part of the county. She had previously broken her hip and was able to walk only with the assistance of a metal walker. She had run out of fuel oil, and an oil truck was stuck about a mile and a half from her home. Her furnace fire had gone out, and, in a moment of panic, the elderly woman had blown all the fuses in the house by plugging in an electric heater. She was without heat or lights. Using a snowmobile, deputies went to help her with fuses and another heater. The snowmobile made accessibility to the house easy, and the deputies blocked off all rooms in the house except one. Electricity and heat from the portable heater kept the woman safe for the remainder of the storm.

The "blizzard of '66" proved the usefulness of snowmobiles for emergency maternity calls. Using the snow machine, Deputy Sheriff Alfred A. Antonello, of Onondaga County in Syracuse, N.Y., was able to reach the home of a couple in Baldwinsville, N.Y., a suburb of Syracuse, in time to deliver a baby boy.

Taking food, medical supplies, and doctors to snowed-in citizens is easy with the use of snowmobiles. Engineers at the WTEN–TV translator station on top of Massachusetts's highest mountain, Mt. Greylock, in the western part of the State were trapped in their building. A telephone call to the Pittsfield barracks of the Massachusetts State Police sent a snowcat to their rescue with food and equipment. For almost 4 months of the year, Mt. Greylock roads are impassable by vehicles except snowmobiles or persons on snowshoes.

A speedy rescue in mountainous terrain can be accomplished more efficiently and with less manpower by officers using snowmobiles than by men on snowshoes. Several police agencies in the Nation have rescued entire families stranded in their homes during snow emergencies by using snowmobiles equipped with sleds or toboggans.

The checking and posting of summer cottages or camps in resort areas are facilitated by the snowmobile. Time and manpower are saved, and more territory can be covered by the individual police snowmobile than by any other means.

GROWING SPORT

The function of investigating accidents involving civilian snowmobiles has increased greatly as the sport of snowmobiling mushrooms into one of the most popular winter activities. The technical advances by the snowmobile industry have brought about a new interest for the sportsman. Metropolitan areas such as New York City and Milwaukee, Wis., have noted a growing problem with the number of snowmobile-congested parks. In 1965 the County Park Commission in Milwaukee opened three parks and land along the Root River Parkway to snowmobiles. An anthusiastic snowmobile organizer was a county executive in Milwaukee who led a crowd of hundreds of snowmobile operators on a "Trek with the County Exec." The program has been so successful that park officials have begun to rent snowmobiles for $2.50 a half hour. The machines have been loaned to the county by a local company.

ACCIDENT INVESTIGATIONS

In snow belt areas where snowmobiles are popular, accidents occur frequently when safety rules are disregarded. Sheriff's departments and police agencies are beginning to investigate large numbers of accidents involving snowmobiles and cars, snowmobiles and other snowmobiles, not to mention collisions between snowmobiles and trees, stumps, or rocks. Some of these accidents involve serious personal injury to the sporting novice. In order to get to some accidents—the majority of which occur in deep woods—the law enforcement officer must use a snowmobile to arrive quickly and safely. Larger and more powerful snowmobiles are being used successfully for this police work.

Most police agencies using snowmobiles mark them in the same manner as patrol cars with reflective seals or the lettering "Police" or "Sheriff's Patrol." Proper marking is essential in patrol functions and in enforcing local ordinances. The officer operating the snowmobile must be wearing a uniform with proper emblems and a badge to differentiate him from the sporting snowmobile operator. Winter hats or insulated motorcycle helmets, such as those used by patrol or motorcycle squads, should be worn for both safety and protection from the natural elements. Some city, State, and sheriff's departments have equipped their snowmobiles with a revolving emergency light on an adjustable stanchion which can be raised or kept stationary like the lights on motorcycles.

Communication with police headquarters or the command post for search activities can be accomplished through a portable walkie-talkie strapped to the driver. Most portable, battery-operated radio units on the police band have a range up to 20 miles and are a necessity on patrol or on searches for lost children or plane crashes.

On December 14, 1967, Trooper William G. Doyle, 28, of the New York State Police was shot and killed in the Oswego County community of Parish. State, county, and local law enforcement officials began a massive police dragnet for two men in a stolen car which the trooper had been chasing before he was killed. Three days later a 1965 Dodge Dart coupe bearing Michigan plates was located by troopers on snowmobiles which had been loaned to them by the local residents. The car had been driven off the road and under some trees. It had not been spotted from the air by helicopter or plane or from the road by cruisers. This car is now being used as one of the important pieces of evidence in the case against a man charged with the crime. The man's companion, an escapee from a State mental hospital near Utica, N.Y., was allegedly shot by his accomplice.

EMERGENCY CASES

Airplane crashes in snow-laden mountains can be reached quickly by snowmobile, when other means are not available. Several lives have been saved by the quick rescue efforts of police, forest rangers, or rescue squads. The bodies of the injured and those fatally injured can be brought out by the use of the powerful snowmobiles which have a pulling power of up to 1,500 pounds. In some cases the quick arrival of doctors and medical supplies at plane crash sites may mean many lives saved.

In 1965 a fireman from Utica, N.Y., had been clearing snow from hydrants when a citizen stopped him and told him the local radio station had appealed for help in taking a woman to a hospital for emergency treatment. The fireman transported the women on a toboggan behind his snowmobile all the way from her farm to the hospital without further injury.

Facilities for caring for heart attack patients are usually available in city and suburban areas, but the problem is compounded when the attack happens in the backwoods of any State. One such incident occurred at St. Regis Falls, N.Y., located near the Canadian border. Two hunters had gone into the woods, and one had suffered a fatal heart attack. Trooper William Thompson of the Malone Substation of the New York State Police located the deceased man's body and brought it out on a snowmobile.

The Federal Government has seen the need for expanded areas which snowmobile sportsmen can use. One such location, a 13,000 acre area, was opened this year by the U.S. Forest Service near Ithaca, N.Y.

Some police officers saw their first snowmobile on the highway when a Blaine, Minn., man, James Langley, and a companion, Clark Dahlin, of Cambridge, Minn., traveled 4,018 miles across North America from Vancouver, British Colombia, to South Portland, Maine, in 24 days. According to their records, they were stopped by police 14 times during their trip, or on the average of once every 287 miles. The two men were loaned two 15-horsepower snowmobiles by a national manufacturer and were allowed to make several alterations so that the snowmobiles could qualify as motor vehicles under State laws. They added another headlight, two taillights, windshield wipers, a dual brake system, turn signals, and seat belts. After the vehicles passed inspection, they added license plates.

The travelers found that some States prohibit civilians from running snowmobiles on public highways. One such State is Montana, where legislation was signed into law in 1966.

Some civil defense groups have scored a first in rescue operations by forming 100-man snowmobile teams. Only those members of the civil defense police divisions who complete a 20-hour course in first aid, map and compass reading, handling of casualties, and cold weather survival are allowed to join the groups. They hold periodic emergency exercises in rural areas on weekends in coordination with helicopter and ground teams. All the snowmobiles in these groups are owned by the individuals, who donate their time and services to civil defense.

One of the best ways to see the snowmobile in hard, speedy conditions is to visit a snowmobile rally. More than a hundred are held in North America each winter, with the majority of them taking place in Wisconsin, New York, Minnesota, and Michigan.

Police agencies interested in buying one or more snowmobiles can see them at outlets such as department stores, garden centers, local snowmobile dealers, appliance stores, marine and boating centers, and ski equipment stores. Some city police who have already begun the use of snowmobiles on snow and car-logged streets are now expanding their fleets.

Some local dealers may wish to donate snowmobiles to the police department for sales promotion purposes, similar to the arrangements auto dealers have with high schools for driver education programs.

Whether your department purchases one or a fleet, or depends on snowmobiles loaned by citizens or individual police officers, the law enforcement function of the department will be strengthened. The use of snowmobiles can bring about greater police service in times of snow storms, emergencies, or routine patrol work. All the improvements offered the modern police agency for fast tracking of burglars, robbery suspects, or even lost children in snowy conditions can be augmented and more effectively brought about by the snowmobile—a tool of modern law enforcement.

CHANGING THE MAILMAN

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, in an editorial, describes Lawrence O'Brien as one of the really memorable Postmasters General in our Nation's history—a man who brought "innovative and imaginative ideas" to the postal service. I could not agree more with that assessment and I place the Bulletin editorial in the RECORD.

CHANGING THE MAILMAN

Even those who pride themselves as students of national affairs would be hard pressed to remember all of the men who have served as Postmaster General in the past 20 or 25 years.

Those who have held this post have, more often than not, been keepers of a political tradition and given more to pursuits political than to any keen interest in the problem of meeting the growing postal needs of a growing nation.

Such however, is not the case with Lawrence F. O'Brien who resigned recently as Postmaster General to return to the field of politics from whence he came as a trusted aid and advisor to the late John F. Kennedy. Mr. O'Brien, it must be admitted, was never far from Democratic Party politics, but in the two and a half years of his service as Postmaster General he brought to the world's largest postal system innovative and imaginative ideas.

It is Mr. O'Brien's belief, for example, that the system should be run for the benefit of its 200 million customers and that this requires stripping it of its old, political trappings. There were shock waves on Capitol Hill when Mr. O'Brien suggested that the operation of the postal service should be turned over to an autonomous, nonprofit government corporation.

A ten-man commission, headed by Mr. Frederick R. Kappel, is preparing a report to President Johnson on the reorganization of the postal service. It is expected that the nonprofit corporation idea will be offered.

It is against this background that W. Marvin Watson, who, in best political tradition, is a trusted aid and advisor to President Johnson, will succeed Mr. O'Brien. Whether Mr. Watson will show the same interest, the same flair as Mr. O'Brien for matters postal has yet to be determined.

There is, however, a growing realization that the man who holds the office can influence—in either positive or negative fashion—a public that is demanding more and more of its mail service.

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the book under the title of "The Vulnerable Russians" deserves the studied attention of every thinking American who is concerned with questions of war and peace, United States-U.S.S.R. relations, and America's future. At this time, measures taken by Moscow within the Soviet Union are becoming increasingly oppressive against what this imperio-colonialist center calls "bourgeois nationalism." If I may use a somewhat inaccurate term, "re-Stalinization" is gaining momentum as the tolerated narrow limits of so-called liberalization have been reached. This tightening-up process will have consequences in other parts of Moscow's empire.

A working background to these current developments in the camp of our prime enemy is well furnished by "The Vulnerable Russians." Authorized by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, the work is easy reading, revealing, and well documented.

The work is now available at the Georgetown University Bookstore, White Gravenor, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. However, some excerpts from the book will give the reader an in-

dication of the novel nature of the work, particularly from the vital angle of Russia's present policies toward the captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union.

The excerpts follow:

THE POTEMKIN VILLAGE OF NON-RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLICS

"When you travel with a Russian, make sure you carry an ax." (Old Kazakh proverb.)

"If there is a single issue that divides the world today," said President Kennedy, "it is independence . . ." But in the reality of men's minds, hearts, and goals it also divides the captive world. It divides the Soviet Russian Empire and, in this ultimate sense, it divides the Soviet Union itself. While our officials fear the mere mention of independence for the many captive non-Russian nations in the USSR, Russian totalitarians and their puppets prance up and down the Soviet Union, assuring their non-Russian captives that they are "free," "independent," and "sovereign." Trite as the saying may be, where there's smoke, there's fire.

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One of the most dependable measures of the real depth and strength of the Ukrainian movement for genuine national independence is the remarkable degree to which the Soviet Russians have extended themselves to simulate the independent statehood of Ukraine. In the course of their genocidal domination over this largest non-Russian nation behind the Iron Curtain they have set up this diplomatic and political Potemkin. The show of "independence" on paper and on the world stage has been played to conceal the absence of real independence. Russian totalitarians have always been expert in Potemkinism, that is, building a strong front for a deep, concealed weakness. This flare for political hypocrisy and cunning is why, to the tune of the above proverb, you must always carry an ax in any dealings with Russian politicos.

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POLITICO-ECONOMIC POTEMKINISM

One of Moscow's first major acts of political-economic Potemkinism found expression in the Union Constitution of 1923. Significantly, it was only a short period after the wars for national independence had come to an end. As we've seen, the independent Republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan and others then became the first forgotten victims of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism. Lenin, who had denounced the overt "Great" Russian chauvinisr of Kerensky and other alleged democrats, never fulfilled his own promise of November, 1915. You will recall, at that time he righteously declared: "We demand the freedom of self-determination, i.e., independence, i.e., the freedom of separation for the oppressed nations, not because we dream of an economically atomized world, nor because we cherish the ideal of small states, but on the contrary because we are for large states and for a coming close, even a fusion of nations, but on a truly democratic, truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is unthinkable without the freedom of separation." Lenin had condemned others, but he himself degenerated into a chauvinist.

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Against this immediate background the semblance of independent national will appeared in Article 4 of the First Constitution. Then constitution provided that "Each one of the member Republics retains the right to freely withdraw from the Union." "In such conditions," Lenin wrote in December 1922, "it is very natural that the 'freedom to leave the Union,' with which we justify ourselves, will prove to be just a piece of paper incapable of protecting people of other nationalities from the incursion of that true Russian, the Great Russian, the chauvinist, in essence, the scoundrel and the despoiler which the typical Russian bureaucrat is. There can be no doubt that an insignificant percentage of Soviet and sovietized workers will drown in this sea of chauvinistic Great Russian riffraff, like a fly in milk." Contrary to this piece of cynical Machiavellianism, the percentage hasn't been insignificant. It is also important to note that the ethnically nonsensical and reactionary concept of "peoples of Russia" was prudently abandoned by the Russian Bolsheviks.

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It is simply a matter of plain understanding and insight that if the occupied non-Russian nations were to enjoy the liberty of exercising this nominal right, the artificial Soviet Union would quickly vanish from the face of the globe. Very simply, too, what has constituted the source of Moscow's foremost fear, as well as that of the incorrigible Holy Mother Russia lovers, is the specter that one day this note of independence will ring in liberty for all the freedom-seeking non-Russian peoples. Without question, this will also contribute heavily to the long-awaited independence and freedom of the Russian people—in fact, more than any other single force. Ukraine, the largest of the captive nations in Eastern Europe, apparently has an historic role to play.

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TECHNIQUE OF NOMINAL CONCESSION

What is actually an applied technique of nominal concession was heavily relied upon by Moscow in the 40's and 50's. This experience underlies its behavior and maneuvers with respect to the captive nations of Central Europe in the late 50's and 60's. As in the above instances, later additions to Russia's Potemkin scenario of Ukrainian independence were preceded by certain phenomenal events. The mass desertions, military resistance, and general national rebellion that occurred during World War II in the non-Russian regions of the Soviet Union, form a separate chapter in the unfolding saga of world freedom. Whether deliberate or not, many an American movie confused the non-Russian partisans, who fought both the Nazis and the Reds, with the Russians. These developments necessitated several major amendments to the Stalin Constitution. Also, more than any other factor, they led to the nominal representation of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the United Nations.

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Frequent contributions to this process of political Potemkinization have been made by Moscow's puppet organs. For example, the official organ in Ukraine, Radyanska Ukraina, at one time called upon Western Ukrainians to be "eternally grateful to Stalin" who "liberated them from the Polish yoke" and "enabled them to live in a truly independent Ukrainian state." The same publication has often declared in its editorials that "It is due to the great Russian people, headed by their heroic working class, that the road was opened for the Ukrainian people to fulfill their centuries-long dreams for statehood . . ." Clearly, these and similar assertions have been merely parts of a colossal fraud perpetrated to enshroud the true subservient state of Ukraine. They have certainly been designed to offset—through the favorite Soviet Russian medium of the lie—the wholesome movements that are at work, both within Ukraine and without, for the national independence of the major Ukrainian nation.

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ON DEPOTEMKINIZING

No doubt you will now ask, "All right, what can we do about this?" Before we answer this?" Before we can answer this, in the light of these facts first read the resolution below. It summarizes the facts we considered and lays the basis for a story in itself, the highlights of which are treated in the next chapter. The resolution calls for positive action on the diplomatic front.

Whereas the Soviet Government in Moscow fosters through the media of its divers organs the appearance of independent will and status on the part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; and

Whereas in the historical order the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was known to have manifested its complete sovereignty as a signatory, along with the separate states of Poland and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, to the treaty of Riga in 1921, the official text of which appeared in three languages—Ukrainian, Polish and Russian; and

Whereas on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the semblance of sovereign and independent will was vouchsafed to the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. in Article IV, Part II, Chapter II of the First Union Constitution of 1923, which declared that "Each one of the member Republics retains the right to freely withdraw from the Union"; and

Whereas it is known that in November, 1936, Mr. Stalin in his examination of the draft constitution imputed reality to the sovereign and independent wills of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. by his avertment that "since the right to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to the Union Republics, it must be so arranged that this right does not become a meaningless scrap of paper"; and

Whereas the note of national sovereignty and independence applied to the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. again is verbally sounded in Article 17 of Chapter II in the Stalin Constitution of 1936, providing that "The right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to every Union Republic"; and

Whereas in the nature of a reinforcing amendment, decreed on February 1, 1944, Article 18a of the Soviet Constitution provides, with implied historical reference to the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R., that "Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange representatives with them"; and

Whereas the additional amendment, Article 18b in the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, renders further nominal affirmation of the sovereign and independent wills of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. by stating that "Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations"; and

Whereas partaking of the fundamental law as expressed in the Soviet Constitution, Article 60, in its application to the highest state organs of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R., provides that "The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic; e) Decides questions of representation of the Union Republic in its international relations; f) Determines the manner of organizing the Republic's military formations"; and

Whereas in contrast to some conditions prevailing in other Soviet Republics, the distinctive national banners and emblems of state maintained by the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. are presented to manifest symbolically the sovereignty and independence of these states; and

Whereas this Government recognizes the delegations selected to represent the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. as accepted members of the United Nations; and

Whereas the American people welcome the genuine sovereignty of the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians as a direct consequence of the ideas expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, and therefore would be happy to render these peoples, as also all peoples in the Soviet Union, any as-

sistance for the strengthening of their freedoms and economic development; and

Whereas it is clearly incongruous from every viewpoint to maintain the recognition by this Government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. in the United Nations without the opportunity to establish direct diplomatic concourse with their respective capitals of Kiev and Minsk; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that this Government proceed to the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with the Governments of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. and to the creation of posts of representation in the capitals of Kiev and Minsk respectively.

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PROS AND CONS

Should this resolution become the sense of Congress, it would undoubtedly serve as a powerful psycho-political weapon in the Cold War. It would unquestionably generate grave concern in the Kremlin over America's demonstrated interest in the two most important and yet unreliable national areas in the Soviet Union. Despite the hidden overtures made by the British on this score in the late 1940's, the utter novelty of this particular step would enhance the significance and power of our cold war resolve. By strong implication it would also help to expose immediately, or, in time, the fraud built on the alleged independence of these two major captive non-Russian nations in the Union.

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In the event of Moscow's acceptance of American diplomatic representations in the mentioned capitals, we would gain additional listening posts in two critical areas in the Union. One of the chief reasons offered for recognizing Outer Mongolia is the need for such a post. How much more important this is in the USSR itself. A consular convention would play into Moscow's hands and alienate the non-Russians.

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As to some cons, this proposal would never be published by the empire's press and radio. In the event of Moscow's refusal it would be distorted by its media, with thus negligible propaganda effects, from our viewpoint, on the underlying peoples. Moreover, the operation would involve the establishment in the U.S. of two additional communist missions. This would have a detrimental effect on the psychological disposition of the American people. The action would also expand Moscow's espionage here.

In addition, a rejection of the proposal by Moscow could be effected in the name of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian governments. This would only reinforce the fiction of their sovereignty. Also, the proposal would lay a basis for the Russian government to advance the admission of its puppet republics into international organizations.

BUFFALO HERO HONORED

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, last June, 13-year-old Keith A. Ellement, of 53 Allegany Street, Buffalo, N.Y., had a supreme test as a member of the Holy Family School safety patrol.

While on duty at the intersection of South Park Avenue and Tifft Street in Buffalo on June 3, Keith and the school crossing guard, Mrs. Hazel Tighe, reacted swiftly to push some 40 students from the path of a runaway truck. Not a child was injured.

Keith and Mrs. Tighe were honored for their heroism by the Automobile Club of Buffalo.

On Wednesday, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY presented Keith with a gold lifesaving medal of the American Automobile Association.

Keith was among eight school safety patrolmen from across the Nation who were honored this year for heroism in the line of duty.

I was privileged to be present for the awards ceremony and I assure you nothing can make you prouder of our young people, and particularly our school safety patrols, than to see and talk with these young heroes who have seen their duty and acted accordingly.

Looking on as Keith received his award were his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Carl A. Ellement, his grandfather, Jeremiah D. Horrigan, and the assistant secretary of the Buffalo Automobile Club, Earl J. Basehart.

Keith is the fifth Buffalo area school safety patrolman to receive the highest award for heroism since 1954. Those who were honored previously are:

1954: James Wisner, 283 Walden Avenue, Buffalo, St. Joachim's School, seventh grade, age 12—presented by President Eisenhower.

1959: Brian N. Stephens, 580 Wilson Street, Buffalo, St. Mary of Sorrows School, eighth grade, age 13—presented by Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower.

1965: Christine Ciesla, 1994 Bailey Avenue, Buffalo, Public School No. 9, sixth grade, age 12—presented by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

1966: Johnnie Ewing, 1035 Garden Avenue, Niagara Falls, Centre Avenue School, sixth grade, age 12—presented by Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

Following is the citation which accompanied the gold lifesaving medal that was presented to Keith Ellement this week:

In June, 1967, twelve-year-old School Safety Patrol Captain Keith A. Ellement was assisting the crossing guard in directing a group of forty pupils from Holy Family School across the intersection of South Park Avenue and Tifft Street. Because of a tire blowout and loss of brakes, an approaching truck swerved into a car and then careened out of control toward the crossing school children. Realizing the danger that the children were in, Keith and the adult guard split the group into two sections and pushed the children from the path of the runaway truck. The careening truck swept past the children, missing them only by inches, and finally came to a stop on the sidewalk about ninety feet beyond the point where the children were crossing.

The crossing incident was described at the time in the following article in the June 6, 1967, edition of the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News:

SCHOOL GUARDS HERD 40 PUPILS FROM PATH OF CAREENING TRUCK

A school crossing guard and her youthful assistant pushed more than 40 children out of the path of a runaway truck Monday at the corner of South Park Ave. and Tifft St.

The truck, which swerved out of control after a tire blowout, missed the group of Holy Family School children.

Mrs. Hazel Tighe, of 1750 South Park Ave., was at her post at the intersection at 8:20 AM.

Her sixth-grader assistant, Keith Ellement, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Carl A. Ellement, 53 Allegany St., was helping her direct a large group of children across the street to classes.

"All of a sudden," said Keith, "there was this noise like an explosion. I looked up and saw a big truck swerve into a car and then head right for us."

MRS. TIGHE ACTS

Mrs. Tighe spotted the danger as quickly as had Keith, and leaped into action.

She shouted orders to the children standing in the truck's path and split them into two groups. Keith pushed one group to safety on the right side of the road and Mrs. Tighe herded her group to the left.

"The truck went right in between us, and some kids told me later it missed us by a couple of inches," Keith said.

"After it went by us, the truck ran up on the sidewalk and the wheel tore up a lot of blacktop. Then the driver managed to get it stopped."

"AMAZING," SAYS WITNESS

Mrs. John F. Griffin of Continental Ave., Angola, was driving behind the truck when it went out of control.

"That crossing guard was amazing. I don't know how she did it, but she got those kids to safety in a few seconds," said Mrs. Griffin.

"If she hadn't been there the truck would have plowed right through the middle of the group."

Mrs. Tighe came in for warm praise from Sister Mary Gaudentia, RSM, principal of the school.

"No adjective is good enough to describe Hazel. She has been working as a crossing guard for almost 15 years, and she doesn't take any nonsense from the children. Yesterday showed why."

Mrs. Tighe and Keith Ellement received many heartfelt congratulations from the children and their parents, but the most heartfelt of all came from the white-faced, frightened truck driver who climbed down from his cab to thank Mrs. Tighe.

REMARKS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL RAMSEY CLARK AT AHEPA BANQUET

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable Ramsey Clark, was principal speaker on the occasion of the 18th Biennial National Banquet of the order of AHEPA—American Hellenic Education Progressive Association—the international Hellenic fraternal organization.

This banquet, Mr. Speaker, was held in Washington, D.C., on March 18, 1968, in order to honor Members of Congress.

The distinguished senior Senator from Illinois, the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, was singled out for special recognition.

As the first American Congressman of Greek origin, I was pleased to attend this congressional banquet along with two of my distinguished colleagues, the Honorable NICK GALIFIANAKIS, Congressman from North Carolina, and the Honorable PETER N. KYROS, Congressman from Maine.

Also present, Mr. Speaker, was the Honorable Spiro Agnew, Governor of the State of Maryland.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the remarks made by Attorney General Clark on the urgent need to strengthen law-enforcement agencies, correctional institutions and programs to eradicate poverty will be of great interest to our Members of Congress.

Under unanimous consent I insert the remarks of Attorney General Clark, as well as my own, at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS

Congressman BRADEMAS. Your Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, Mr. Toastmaster, Mr. Ambassador, General Clark, Governor Agnew, my distinguished colleagues in the House of Representatives, Congressman Kyros and Congressman Galifianakis, my colleagues in Congress, Supreme President Fasseas, and brother AHEPANS all.

I yield myself two minutes. As I look out on all my fellow politicians here tonight, especially on the Democrats, and recall some of the events of recent days, I recall an aphorism of the great Greek Hippocrates: "Life is short, art long, opportunity fleeting, experience treacherous, judgment difficult." But Governor Agnew, a Republican, has told me tonight at dinner that it doesn't look too much different from the perspective in his political party either!

I want to express the appreciation of all of my colleagues in Congress to the Order of AHEPA for the honor you do us tonight, and I am especially glad to be here with my entire Hellenic bloc, both of them. At every AHEPA Congressional banquet, I have hitherto attended, I've been the only Congressman present of Greek origin, but in 1966, the people of our country spoke, and the Greek bloc experienced a 200% increase in power. As their leader and their whip, I have been receiving calls from the agents of Presidential candidates ever since, and I welcome all future visitors. I am negotiable.

Seriously, all of you as Americans of Greek origin can be proud of the splendid record that Peter Kyros and Nick Galifianakis have made in Congress. And, so, my fellow AHEPANS, when someone approaches you for a little contribution to their campaign effort this year, remember that that it not the time to celebrate "Ochi Day," which, for the benefit of you non-Greeks, means "No Day." This is a public service announcement.

Still more seriously, we Americans of Greek origin are indeed proud of our ancestry, and you never hear an American of Hellenic background apologizing for it. For we hearken back to a people who, as Archibald McLeish once said, "held a view of a man that carried a little city in a narrow land to the brightest height humanity has ever reached."

I am, therefore, proud to be serving in Congress with men like Peter and Nick and to see so splendid a leader in our nation's political life as Governor Agnew of Maryland. For all of them agree with the declaration and admonition of Pericles. "We do not say," Pericles declared in that famous funeral oration of his, "that a man who takes no interest in politics minds his own business. We say he has no business here at all."

And so, as Americans proud of their Hellenic heritage, but above all, as Americans, we are glad to be here tonight as the Order of AHEPA does honor to the men and women who have made their business politics, the service of law and justice.

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL RAMSEY CLARK

Attorney General CLARK. Mr. Toastmaster, Your Eminence, Mr. Ambassador, Governor Agnew, distinguished Members of the Congress, President Fasseas, members and friends of AHEPA, ladies and gentlemen.

I don't know what friends say when they meet in the evening where you come from, but down in Texas we say "Kali Spera." I hate to tell you this under these circumstances, but as far as I've been able to discover, no Laconians made it down to Texas. So, just sit back and prepare yourself because we are talkers.

It has to be a privilege for any American to share this memorable occasion when your distinguished group honors one who has contributed so much to our welfare as Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen. As nearly as we can claim it in this country, perhaps he is our Socrates from the prairie or Plato from the Potomac or Pericles from Pekin, Illinois.

I'll try one more if I can think of it. How about Demosthenes from the heart of the American democracy? You notice I didn't say republic, but the Senator has left.

As a first principle, and as Senator Dirksen noted, Socrates said, "Know thyself." This applies to the individual and to nations. Human nature changes imperceptibly, if at all. Jefferson noted at the height of the Revolution that human nature was the same on both sides of the Atlantic.

There is much wisdom, much simple and beautiful wisdom, from the glory that was Greece; if we can but apply it to our very complex times. Some of the observations of their great philosophers seem startlingly relevant, so much so that you would hardly expect to find them where they are. In Book One of the Republic Plato says that poverty is the mother of crime. That hasn't changed entirely. Aristotle said that the universal and chief cause of the revolutionary impulse is the quest for equality. That hasn't changed altogether. Let's try to know ourselves.

Let me talk briefly with you about a subject that has to concern every American, crime, widespread, increasing crime in America.

THE MANY FACES OF CRIME

Crime has many faces. If we asked each person in this room what he thought of first when he thought of crime, we would get perhaps as many answers as there are people, and it's awfully important in knowing ourselves that we recognize the many faces of crime. To some, the most dreadful is organized crime, which grips at the heart of more than a score of our major metropolitan areas. It diverts through fear, through a private tyranny if you will, millions, perhaps billions, annually from lawful owners. It corrupts individuals and even governments. It is not necessary.

Of all the faces of crime, the one that today is probaly of greatest concern to most Americans is what we call, for these last several years now, crime in the streets. It's plain old ordinary crime, the impulse of an individual. It's a mugging, a theft, a burglary, a robbery. It is an absolute wanton, disregard for the rights of other people, and it occurs all too frequently in this great land of ours.

There is white collar crime, and few of us would have put that on our list had we been asked to do so because we don't think much about it, but it has to be a matter of major concern to every American. In bank robberies in the United States last year, we estimate a loss of something over three million dollars. From those same banking institutions, losses through the misconduct of bank employees, white collar crime amounted to more than 75 million dollars embezzled funds. That figure alone is twenty-five times greater. But there's one difference that should be noted: bank robberies are known and reported. There are few banks that boast of their embezzlements, and they are not always reported.

In one single conspiracy to fix prices, over the entire period of that conspiracy, more funds were diverted—billions annually—than through all of the thefts, the larcenies, and the burglaries in all of the cities and in the countryside of the United States, during the years of that conspiracy. That is an illegal diversion, depriving from the poor as much as the thief who lifts your wallet, and we have to be concerned with this too.

Then, there's a wildness today, a wildness that manifests itself irrationally in riots, in other forms of lawlessness, a wildness that's not peculiar to our time or to our country, that grips many parts of the world, a wildness that we have to be deeply concerned about, but we have to know ourselves, too. And we must keep a perspective.

And part of that perspective is to know that there hasn't been a decade in these United States when we haven't had rioting. Consider a time much more perilous for the Union than today, July, 1863, beginning about the eleventh and ending on Bastille Day, July 14, 1863, less than a week after the Battle of Gettysburg. And talk about a President having trouble, Lincoln had them. There was a draft and race riot in New York City, in which more than 2,000 people were killed, ten times more than all deaths in all riots in all cities in the United States in the years 1964, 5, 6, and 7, and the Union survived.

STRENGTHENING LAW ENFORCEMENT: A FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS

That's not to say that these aren't perilous times. They are. They are times that call for immense effort. And perhaps the first order of business is strengthening law enforcement, because society cannot grow and freedom cannot flourish where there is no stability.

But as we reach to strengthen freedom, we must look to earlier wisdom, and it was Lamennais who said that every stable society had depended upon the resignation of the poor to being poor. And look back through history and see if you find a single nation that lived with stability where the poor were not resigned to being poor.

And ask yourself whether our days of vast change, because change is the fundamental fact of our time, sweeping, accelerating change, will bring more differences in the way people live in the next ten years than in the last thirty. Just as in the last thirty, we have confined more space in the architecture and construction of man than in six millenniums theretofore.

That's change. It's only the beginning. It's change that we have to live with. It's change that will require professional law enforcement to provide for public safety and to protect individual liberty. And we must devote our resources of governments, local first, state next, and Federal finally to strengthening the police, who are the men in the middle in this perilous time, who must be firm and fair under the most trying conditions. And this will require not only the effort of government, but of organizations such as yours, and our efforts individually.

A RACE BETWEEN EDUCATION AND CATASTROPHE

Law enforcement alone can only contain people bent on crime so long, however. Other efforts obviously of a vast proportion must be made. It was forty-seven years ago in his *Outline of History* that H. G. Wells said, "It seems to me more and more that civilization is in a race between education and catastrophe." And, it may be so. We are the best educated people that have ever lived, but there are great weaknesses in our educational systems.

When our knowledge of the physical world in which we live is doubling each decade, when we know that in a mere thirty-three years, the total knowledge of mankind of the physical sciences will be eight times greater than is known to all the researchers, all the Ph. D.'s today, it must be clear how much is required of education. A nation that had a million and one-half in college in 1945 has seven million today. We must work at education.

Closer to crime control itself is correc-

tions—the most sadly neglected of all crime control functions in the United States. We spend one billion, one hundred million dollars for every correctional effort we made, and 95% goes to stone walls and iron bars, and 5% to rehabilitation. And this prevails at a time when we know that four out of five serious crimes in the United States are committed by someone who had committed a crime before, nearly always when he was a kid.

And we care so little about the character of this nation because crime reflects the character of a nation. It is you and I. It's no stranger. We care so little about the character of this nation. We make so little effort. We put one kid in four who was confined to jail with whoever happened to be in that day—a murderer, a man with thirty years in jails and prisons, whoever was there. We have turned more people to crime, more kids to crime, because of our care of them in correctional institutions than we have rehabilitated by far. We must do better.

Our social sciences and our physical sciences both tell us that we can cut this rate of recidivism—this rate of crime repetition—in half. When we know that 80% of all serious crimes are caused by repeaters, and we know that we can cut that figure in half, then we know that here is the one place that crime can be significantly reduced by our acts of good will, and it's imperative that we get at it. And, of all areas, it's most imperative with our children.

Half a million cars, plus, were stolen last year, 64%, nearly two out of three, by kids under 18 years of age. And believe me, when they drove off in that stolen automobile, the joy ride was short because most have driven off into a life of crime. If you look through the records of the Federal correctional centers for youth in the United States, you'll find that the first crime of most was car theft. Half of all crimes against property are committed by minors, and when we see rising crime, we see rising youth crime, because our best statistical evidence indicates that adult crime has not increased in this decade, while juenvile crime has increased nearly 70%. This spells the failure of us who are the parental generation, and it spells misery for our children.

There is nothing more important to us than the instilling in the heart of every young American a respect for the rights of others, which is essential to civilization and which is the rule of law.

The passage that has always impressed me most from Pericles' great oration on the first killed in the Pelopennesian War is, "Happiness is the flower of freedom, and freedom is found only where there is courage." And this is what we must have.

As that great Greek from the Pedernales, Lyndon Baines Johnson, put it, "We can control crime if we will, but to do so, we must act boldly and now."

Thank you.

THE URBAN COALITION—"EMPLOYMENT SHOULD BE AT THE TOP OF THE AGENDA"

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, for the past 3 days, the select subcommittee has heard testimony on H.R. 12280 and related bills. These bills seek to provide jobs in the public service area to persons who are unemployed or underemployed. I can think of no more constructive way in which we can meet what may be the most important single issue confronting the Nation today.

I am deeply gratified to report that during the first 3 days of hearings, the response by our distinguished witnesses has been uniformly favorable to these bills. On the first day, Tuesday, May 7, Mr. George Meany, the president of the AFL–CIO, stated his unequivocal backing for this bill. His testimony appears in the RECORD for May 7 at page 12208. Yesterday, Mr. Bayard Rustin and representatives of the major religious organizations expressed their support for the public service employment concept. My distinguished friend from New York [Mr. SCHEUER] inserted that testimony in the RECORD for May 8, at page 12386. Today's witness, speaking for the Urban Coalition, was Mr. Ron Linton, legislative coordinator for the coalition. He delivered a statement on behalf of Mr. John Gardner, chairman of the coalition, and until recently, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Like those who preceded him, Mr. Linton gave strong support to this necessary legislation. I include Mr. Linton's statement at this point in the RECORD:

TESTIMONY OF RON M. LINTON, REPRESENTING JOHN W. GARDNER, CHAIRMAN OF THE URBAN COALITION, BEFORE THE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND EDUCATION, MAY 9, 1968

Mr. Chairman, my name is Ron M. Linton and I am here to testify before the Subcommittee on behalf of John W. Gardner, Chairman of the Urban Coalition, an organization representing business and the professions, organized labor, religion, civil rights groups, and local government.

The Urban Coalition came into existence on July 31, 1967 as the nation was experiencing its third straight summer of widespread civil disorder. Immediately upon formation, the Coalition called an Emergency Convocation; and on August 24, 1967, 1,200 leaders of American life assembled in Washington. Those who attended felt a deep sense of national urgency and a great need for a positive response to the urban crisis. Setting aside the differences which sometimes divide the nation, the Convocation called for immediate and significant national action.

The Coalition represents a remarkable coming together of leadership from the various sectors of American life. On the Steering Committee are such businessmen as Henry Ford II and David Rockefeller, labor leaders such as George Meany and Walter Reuther, minority group leaders such as Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin and mayors such as Richard Daley of Chicago and John Lindsay of New York.

It is the purpose of The Urban Coalition to awaken the American people to their responsibilities in dealing with the urban crisis, to assist them in organizing to cope with that crisis, and to help them in the search for solutions. It is not an operating organization; it is not an organization that will build an empire of its own; it will always remain small and it will supplement rather than supplant other organizations concerned with the cities, our stance is one of total cooperation.

The Convocation held last August urged the Federal government to develop an emergency work program to provide jobs and new training opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed.

Representatives of the private sector in The Urban Coalition committed themselves to assist the deprived to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens. To that end, they pledged full-scale private endeavors through creative job training and employment, managerial assistance, and basic investment in all phases of urban development.

The Convocation called upon the nation to take bold and immediate action to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" with guarantees of equal access to all housing, new and existing.

The Convocation appealed for educational programs that will equip all young Americans for full and productive participation in our society to the full potential of their abilities.

Leaders of The Urban Coalition realized that these actions were not the responsibility of the national government alone but also required the participation of state and local governments and of local leaders representing all phases of community life. Therefore, since last August a nationwide effort has been made to organize local coalitions. Today there are 33 in existence. Others are organizing.

The formation of local coalitions is only part of a very large-scale effort which we will undertake with the aim of informing and educating the American people with respect to the urban crisis. The time has passed when American citizens can hide their heads in the sand. Our cities are in trouble. We intend to do everything possible to alert the people to the nature of the problems and the possibilities for constructive action.

As there must be local response to go along with national action, so also there must be private enterprise participation to complement governmental action. In the vitally important matter of employment opportunity, private enterprise must play a crucially important role, for about seven out of eight jobs in the United States are in the private, profit-making sector. This commitment to a partnership approach by government and private enterprise is at the heart of The Urban Coalition's program.

The Coalition was pleased, therefore, when the President established the National Alliance of Businessmen. As you know, the Alliance will work closely with the Departments of Commerce and Labor and with local businessmen in promoting the program called JOBS, which stands for Job Opportunities in the Business Sector. It is essentially an on-the-job training program, which develops the job skills the hard-core unemployed need so badly. The unemployed person will have a good chance of moving into regular employment, and the employer will be paid for training expenses and other costs during the transitional period when the trainee is not fully productive.

The national and local coalitions will support the National Alliance of Businessmen. It was particularly gratifying to The Urban Coalition that one of the key members of our Steering Committee, Henry Ford II, was appointed by the President to head the Alliance.

To complement this effort, The Urban Coalition will work with local coalitions to open other job opportunities for the disadvantaged. We know that there are hundreds of thousands of job vacancies today. While some of them require professional training and others are in very low-paying jobs, large numbers of these vacancies pay a living wage and could be filled by unemployed and underemployed persons who live in congested urban ghettos. Many of them seem to be blocked by artificial barriers, such as the requirement of a high school diploma or nearly absolute prohibition of hiring persons with a police record, regardless of the nature of the offense. Thus, many ghetto residents are rejected without regard to individual potential. This is the type of problem on which local coalitions might be very helpful.

The private sector can make significant

contributions to the reduction of unemployment. Indeed, the role of private enterprise is indispensable. Nevertheless, unemployment in cities, and in rural areas from which many of the urban jobless come, cannot be solved fast enough by private employment alone. Only with a major program of public service employment can jobs in sufficient volume be produced with the speed which the urban crisis demands.

The Emergency Convocation of last August called for the creation of one million public jobs at the earliest possible moment. On March 11, 1968 the Executive Committee of The Urban Coalition reaffirmed this objective. The statement of the Executive Committee and a list of its members is appended to my statement.

What are the principles that should govern an emergency public service employment program?

First, the Federal Government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to everyone willing and able to work. I have already outlined how the National Alliance of Businessmen and The Urban Coalition are working toward this objective. The various Federal manpower programs are carried out by structures which have heavy involvement of state and local government. In a similar manner, emergency jobs should utilize the strengths of our Federal system so that much of the responsibility for solving the national employment program will actually be given to local communities, where the unemployed reside and will work.

To create socially useful jobs, an emergency public service program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries and hospitals. Two years ago the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress indicated that there is need for at least 5.3 million such jobs, and this finding has never been contradicted. I know personally from my experience with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that one of the grave problems in these fields is the shortage of personnel, not merely professional workers but also personnel in the subprofessional ranks which could be filled by many who are now unemployed or underemployed.

To find out how many socially useful jobs could be made available immediately, The Urban Coalition asked Dr. Harold Sheppard of the Upjohn Institute to survey a sample of major cities. Based upon a preliminary analysis of this survey, Dr. Sheppard has concluded that at least 141,000 persons could be employed almost overnight in the 130 cities with population over 100,000. These would be jobs in regular city departments where supervisors are already available and work tasks are clearly defined. If this sample were expanded to small cities, to county and state governments, and to jobs with private, nonprofit organizations, it is likely that enough jobs could be found to put 500,000 persons to work within six months. By further planning, the number might be expanded to a million or more within a year.

A public service employment program would not only enable unemployed to earn their own way, it would benefit the general public by the many necessary and useful tasks which would be performed.

It goes without saying that a public service employment program must provide meaningful jobs—not dead end, make-work projects. The employment experience should add to the capabilities and broaden the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force. To place hardcore unemployed in meaningless activities with no future would merely reaffirm their hopelessness and despair. What's more, there is little excuse for a resort to meaningless activities. There is a great deal of meaningful work to be done.

In Dr. Sheppard's survey the greatest number of jobs which could be filled immediately by unskilled and semi-skilled persons were in education, followed by police and fire protection, health and hospitals, social welfare, and parks and recreation. All of these fields of public service will have a continued demand for personnel, and all of them have the type of jobs which provide opportunity for advancement from entry level to higher-skill and higher-paying jobs.

Basic education, training, and counseling must, of course, be an integral part of any public service employment program.

Building training into a public service employment program is essential if persons so employed are to be given the opportunity to advance, either to higher-skilled and better paying jobs with public agencies or to jobs in the private sector. Therefore, it is not enough to authorize only enough funds to pay wages. Instead, the cost of training and counseling should be included in the public service program, especially since other training funds are already fully committed.

In many instances, it might be desirable to contract with private, profit-making firms to carry out the training and education. The program should be so designed that this option is available.

A public service employment program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and to meet normal performance standards. This program could have the effect of creating a sizable manpower pool of persons who by actual performance are demonstrating their willingness to work and their capability to perform various work tasks. A man who is working as an auto mechanic for a public works department could move to a job in a private garage. The demand for landscapers is expanding, particularly in suburban areas, so that a person working for a beautification project could put his new skills to work for a private employer. Dozens of occupations are interchangeable between the public and private sector, such as typists, welders, truck drivers, cooks, draftsmen, painters, and many more. The so-called "new careers"—teachers aides, nurses aides, laboratory assistants, and others—offer the potential for entry at an elementary skill level with opportunity for advancement. Given proper training, participants in public service employment programs could gain access to a wide variety of other job opportunities.

Funds for public service employment should be made available to local and state governments, nonprofit institutions, and Federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively. This must be done without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area. Consistent with this principle, a state or local government should be able to contract with a private firm hiring the hardcore unemployed to perform public services. This, after all, is a common pattern for public works activities.

We often hear recommendations that the Federal Government should be "the employer of last resort." With our existing tax structure, Federal funds should be the major source of financial support for public service employment, but the actual employer should be state and local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private firms under contract.

The establishment of a minimum wage is important so that persons working in public service employment will be able to support their families.

The operation of the program should be keyed to specific, localized unemployment problems and focused initially on those areas where the need is most apparent. This means that the program should have considerable flexibility, encouraging local initiative and easy adaptability to varied communities. In a city with a tight labor market and many unfilled industrial jobs, a public service employment program might concentrate upon those occupations where workers could gain the experience which would rapidly qualify them for those existing jobs. In a locale with higher rates of unemployment, public service employment might have to be longer term. Another city might want to give particular attention to improving the bad housing and wretched environmental conditions which plague the poor. There should be no single, made-in-Washington pattern.

As our name implies, we are concerned especially with the needs of urban areas. It is plain to all thinking Americans that the urban crisis comes to focus particularly in the ghettos. This has been made all the more clear to us by the recent, excellent report of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The Executive Committee of the Urban Coalition has strongly endorsed this report and has commended it to the nation's citizens and leaders for study and action. Since you are all familiar with the report, I will quote only one passage:

"What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

It is now urgent that the Government of *all* the people of the United States do something about it. As the Advisory Commission recommended, employment should be at the top of the agenda.

That is not to say that a public service employment program would be for Negroes alone. Many persons with Spanish surnames suffer unemployment. And in all national statistics the majority of the unemployed are white.

Nor should a public service employment program be only for urban areas. Although the greatest concentration of unemployment and the most explosive situations are found in urban ghettos, the highest proportion of unemployment among residents of a community are found in rural areas. If persons cannot find work in South Carolina, they move to Washington, Philadelphia, or New York.

Those unemployed in Eastern Kentucky head for Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit. Those without jobs in the Mississippi Delta migrate to Chicago. The jobless in the Rio Grande Valley move to Texas or California cities. Indeed, the cities and the rural areas alike will benefit if a public service employment program is both urban and rural.

As I have studied H.R. 12280—"The Guaranteed Employment Act", I find that in most respects it is in basic accord with the principles I have described. There are, however, three aspects that might be strengthened.

First, the authorization of up to one million jobs at any one time is to be applauded, for this volume more nearly meets the need than most of the other employment bills pending before Congress. The authorization in section 14 for education and training as part of the program is also commendable, for this will enable those working in public service employment to gain the skills they need to advance to better paying and more permanent jobs. However, proper education and training programs will require additional resources. Therefore, it may be necessary to increase authorization of funds to $5 billion in order to pay an adequate wage for work as well as the cost of supplementary training and education.

Second, as much use as possible should be made of job opportunities with private employers. As you know, major efforts are underway to increase the participation of the private sector in employment programs for the unemployed poor. It seems clear that some

type of an incentive is necessary and that additional Federal funds are needed for this purpose. This might be done by adding another section and a higher authorization to H.R. 12280, by putting more funds into MDTA, or by augmenting the program authorized by Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 which provide for "reimbursement to employers for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive" [Sec. 123(a)(8).]

Third, there is a need to assure that a public service employment program is adequately tied to other manpower programs sponsored by the Federal government. Coordination in Washington is essential but even more important is coordination at the local level, where the unemployed live and work. An unemployed poor person may need a sequence of services ranging from recruitment through training to job placement. Public service employment could be a waystation on the road to private sector employment for most. This means that a public service employment program should be linked to other manpower and employment programs. One way to accomplish this goal is to channel Federal funds through a local prime sponsor, which in delegating operating responsibility to other agencies can assure that adequate linkages exist between the various program components. While the Secretary of Labor needs some flexibility in funding independent contractors, it would be desirable to direct most of the public service employment funds through the same prime sponsor that is handling manpower programs under the Economic Opportunity Act.

In conclusion, I reiterate the plea of the Emergency Convocation held last August which called upon "all Americans to apply the same determination to these programs that they have to past emergencies. We are confident that, given this commitment, our society has the ingenuity to allocate its resources and devise techniques necessary to rebuild cities and still meet our other national obligations without impairing our financial integrity. Out of past emergencies, we have drawn strength and progress. Out of the present urban crisis we can build cities that are places, not of disorder and despair, but of hope and opportunity. The task we set for ourselves will not be easy, but the needs are massive and urgent, and the hour is late. We pledge ourselves to this goal for as long as it takes to accomplish it. We ask the help of the Congress and the Nation."

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE URBAN COALITION ON PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT

The Urban Coalition Executive Committee calls upon the Congress to enact urgently needed emergency legislation to provide at least one million jobs through public service employment.

In support of this objective, The Urban Coalition's Statement of Principles, Goals, and Commitments, endorsed in August, 1967 by 1,000 representatives of business, labor, religion, civil rights, and local government, calls for action consistent with the following principles:

The federal government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to everyone willing and able to work.

To create socially useful jobs, the emergency work program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries, and hospitals. To this end, an emergency work program should be initiated and should have as its first goal putting at least one million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment.

The program must provide meaningful jobs—not dead-end, make work projects—so that the employment experience gained adds to the capabilities and broadens the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force of our nation.

Basic education, training, and counseling must be an integral part of the program to assure extended opportunities for upward job mobility and to improve employee productivity. Funds for training, education, and counseling should be made available to private industry as well as to public and private nonprofit agencies.

Funds for employment should be made available to local and state governments, nonprofit institutions, and federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area but are not less than the federal minimum wage.

Such a program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and to meet normal performance standards.

The operation of the program should be keyed to specific, localized unemployment problems and focused initially on those areas where the need is most apparent.

The Clark-Javits Emergency Employment Act proposed in the last session of Congress was responsive to these principles and was endorsed by The Urban Coalition. It is now even more urgent for the Congress to respond to the conditions of unemployment despair revealed in hearings held by the Senate Subcommittee on Unemployment. The principles endorsed by The Urban Coalition are consistent with findings and recommendations of the National Committee on Technology Automation and Economic Progress (Feb. 1966), the White House Conference to Fulfill These Rights (June, 1966), and The National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber (July, 1967). The Report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders leaves no doubt as to the nation's responsibilities.

POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues three bills I have introduced. H.R. 17123, amends the Civil Service Retirement Act to authorize the retirement of employees after 20 years of service without reduction in annuity. H.R. 17124, amends the Civil Service Retirement Act to provide increased annuities. H.R. 17125, will modernize certain provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act. I feel these bills merit immediate consideration and enactment by this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. civil service retirement program, which once was adequate, has fallen into serious disrepair. It is no longer comparable to programs that exist throughout the private sector. Somehow, we are always postponing action to help our retirees and their survivors. We in the Congress I feel do have the best of intentions, but something seems always to come up which appears to have more urgency and we keep delaying the provision of simple justice for those who have dedicated their lives to their Government and to the people of America. The time has come when we cannot in all decency delay any longer. We have an obligation to act. The enactment of my bills which I introduced yesterday would do a great deal toward alleviating the conditions of actual hardship which prevail among our retired postal and Federal workers.

We have an official poverty line here in the United States. It has been set at $3,000. The great majority of retired postal workers and most Federal workers, receive less than $3,000 a year in annuities. The picture in regard to survivors is even more appalling: 90 percent of the survivor annuitants receive less than $100 a month. These are the widows and children, mostly, and they are being shamefully treated.

It is obvious that a 4-percent increase in annuity is not going to do very much for a man who is receiving retirement pay of only $2,500 a year. Under the present system those who are receiving the least, and who need the most help, are getting the smallest increase, and vice versa.

To correct this situation I have introduced H.R. 17124, which would grant a 10-percent increase on the first $1,000 of an annuity; a 9-percent increase on the second $1,000; an 8-percent increase on the third $1,000, and so on up to 1 percent on the 10th $1,000. This will put the most money where the need is most desperate.

Second, I have introduced H.R. 17125, a bill which would do several things to improve the lot of the retired Government worker and his survivors. It would, for example, permit the inclusion of premium and overtime pay in the computation of annuities. It would liberalize the computation formula itself in that, once an employee has completed 10 years of service, the computation of his annuity will be based on 2 percent for each year he has served. It would increase the pitifully low benefits for surviving children by $120 a year. It would allow the surviving spouse 60 percent of the annuity of her husband, instead of the present 55 percent. It would make it less expensive for a retired Government worker to provide for those whom he will eventually leave behind him, permitting deductions of 2½ percent on the first $4,800 of earned annuity—instead of $3,600 as of now, and 10 percent on everything above that. It would also improve the cost-of-living formula in the present retirement program. Instead of basing the automatic increase on a 3-percent increase in the Consumer Price Index sustained over 3 months, it would be based on a 2-percent increase after 2 months. When people are living on the edge of poverty, as so many of our retirees and their survivors are living now, every percentage point which the CPI rises is a serious matter. We should not make these people wait before we permit them to catch up with the cost of living.

Third, I have introduced H.R. 17123, which would permit postal and Federal

employees to retire with full annuity after 20 years of service at the age of 50. We recently voted for a bill which would permit the military and the people in the Foreign Service to retire at 50 after 20 years of service. I see no reason why we should not permit this liberalized formula to pertain to all Federal employees, and not just a favored few.

I might say that this is no new and revolutionary idea. The National Association of Letter Carriers—an organization of which I have considerable first-hand knowledge—asked for 20-year retirement at their founding convention in Milwaukee in 1889. After 79 years, Mr. Speaker, I feel we should feel ready to match the progressive thinking of those pioneer trade unionists.

I feel that these three bills will modernize our present antiquated and inadequate civil service retirement program.

I feel also that they will redress some of the wrongs which, through inattentiveness and carelessness, we have visited upon men and women who deserve our best consideration and tenderness.

Mr. Speaker, I feel we should take action on this liberalizing program as soon as possible.

WORLD TRAVELER JOINS WOMEN DOERS AT LUNCHEON

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, recently Mrs. Marion Vaughan, of Bessemer, Mich., was the guest of Lady Bird Johnson at the First Lady's White House "doers luncheon." How did it happen that Mrs. Vaughn, of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, was invited to be a key participant in an important White House conference?

The Upper Peninsula is a beautiful area that attracts many thousands of tourists every year. Gogebic County, where Bessemer is located, is an especially lovely corner of the peninsula. Within the Ottawa National Forest, near Bessemer, is a tract of land known as Sylvania. It comprises 29 square miles of exceptionally beautiful woods and lakes in near-virgin condition. The Nation's First Lady visited Sylvania last fall and dedicated it into the national forest. Mrs. Johnson later sent me a photograph of her dedication speech on which she inscribed, "To Congressman RUPPE—on an interesting visit to dedicate magnificent Sylvania." Indeed, "magnificent" is the only way to describe Sylvania.

While visiting Sylvania Mrs. Johnson apparently became aware of Mrs. Marion Vaughan's drive to locate flower boxes throughout Bessemer. The drive was a successful one, and Mrs. Vaughn was invited to the White House. The Washington Post carried an article on the "doers luncheon", including Mrs. Vaughn's contribution. The article follows:

WORLD TRAVELER JOINS WOMEN DOERS AT LUNCHEON

(By Meryle Secrest)

President Lyndon B. Johnson dropped in on 50 women at lunch yesterday to plug travel in the U.S. and discourage travel overseas which he said, is increasing "in spite of all we can do."

His audience were all experts on the subject of attracting tourists to their home towns. They came from around the U.S. to attend Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's Women Doers luncheon at the White House, which was on the theme of "Rediscovering America."

They also talked about some of the ways they have done it: from sparking a rash of window boxes to rebuilding an opera house, setting up centers for foreign visitors and restoring neglected old hotels.

Wearing a gray suit and a black string tie, President Johnson gave his wife a kiss and joked that one way to getting to see her was to catch her at such functions.

"There's something about the White House that makes its First Ladies like to travel," he said to amusement.

The President continued: "It would be so good and helpful if all of us would look at this continent and forego for the moment any substantial expenditures that adversely affect us."

He urged them to see America, "Because when you see all the beautiful things, you are also going to see some things that need to be done. And when you women see things like that, you do something about them."

Mrs. Johnson pointed out earlier that foreign travel to the U.S. had gone up by leaps and bounds since the "Visit USA" program was launched in 1961. In the last three years, the number of visitors had jumped to 1,200,000—an increase of 46 percent, she said.

She urged the establishment of more visitors centers, and more Americans should open their homes to foreigners, and that we should "marshal our language resources, so that the foreigner will not feel lost due to a language barrier."

It's easy for the foreigner to come to America and see only the highways and the big cities, she continued.

But the feeling of having been there would come when visitors could see the charming old towns, the national parks, and the wilderness; what she called "the not-so-well-trodden paths."

For every local asset that has been exploited, there are a dozen others waiting for creative action, said Frances Koltun, travel editor of Mademoiselle magazine, who was another speaker at the lunch.

Pointing out that tourism today was big business, she suggested that distinctive buildings, folklore, natural wonders and local festivals were the raw materials from which tourist attractions were made.

She also pointed out "travel helps overcome the dislike of the unlike," adding that we find it much harder to be prejudiced about people we know.

She said that women in other countries hold the family's travel pursestrings and that American women must find the ways to tell more women from overseas about the U.S.

The wife of the new Chief of Protocol, Mrs. Angier Biddle Duke, who has recently returned from Spain, said that the budget-minded Europeans need packaged tours planned around themes. If travel in the U.S. could be made financially attractive, she thought that many middle-class Europeans, who now consider it too expensive, would come here.

She also suggested that Americans publicize their great New York, Chicago and San Francisco galleries and art museums; that they tell European women about historic preservation at Colonial Williamsburg and Winterthur and that many Europeans would like a capsule introduction to the West by way of a dude ranch, for instance.

Members of the audience added a few "how to" tips from their own experience. They included:

Mrs. William S. Terry of Jefferson, Tex., who told how a group of civic-minded women had managed to restore 47 old houses in this old steamboat town on Caddo Lake. Their biggest project, she said, was Excelsior House, which has been in continuous operation as a hotel since the 1850s. It was restored and is run entirely by volunteer help, "and we think our greatest achievement is that the 35 women who did it are still on speaking terms."

Mrs. W. F. Low, supervisor of hostess training at Colonial Williamsburg, has conducted countless VIPs through the restored area, including six kings and many government heads. She makes a point of showing foreigners things that will particularly interest them, i.e., for the Dutch, the collection of Delft china and the Flemish paintings.

She also said: "I also try to emphasize the ideas we have in common. For instance, we didn't invent the ideas of freedom . . . There are many Czech documents, for instance, which have contributed to our own Bill of Rights."

Marion Vaughn, who works in a photographers' studio in Bessemer, Mich. told about the city's beautification program and the 250 flower boxes that local mechants put up as a result.

"Does it help tourism? I should say so," she said emphatically. "Women love flowers and they'll drive out of their way to come and see our town."

Margaret Wilson, president of Scarbrough's Department Store in Austin, Tex., also agreed that beautification was good business. Mrs. Wilson said that her store had put up trees along the main street and was encouraging others to do the same.

JUNIOR KING'S "10 COMMANDMENTS"

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while some communications establishments scream "freedom of press and speech" they continue to abuse the prohibition by "book burning and truth distortion."

For certain they do not literally burn books or lie outright—their guilt is in rewriting the text by deleting what they desire to keep from the public—just not telling the whole truth.

A perfect example of such censored reporting was the coverage of the disloyal Americans propaganda meeting for the pro-Vietcong in New York City, April 27, 1968.

According to the news account, Junior King's widow, speaking to the admitted allies of the murderers of over 22,000 American boys in South Vietnam, read the 10 commandments prepared by her late husband.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Apr. 28, 1968]

LOYALTY, PEACE PARADES STAGED

In New York City, thousands of persons marched to a Central Park "stop the war" rally to hear speakers, including Mrs. Mar-

tin Luther King Jr. Sponsors of the antiwar rally said 100,000 to 150,000 attended; newsmen estimated the crowd in Sheep Meadow at 40,000.

Mrs. King spoke to the crowd from what she said were notes prepared by her late husband, who had been scheduled to address the rally.

She read "Ten Commandments on Vietnam" which she said her husband wrote. They included: "Thou shalt not believe in a military victory, Thou shalt not believe in a political victory, Thou shalt not kill."

The story mentions 10 commandments, yet only three are reported in the news story. What happened to the other seven?

Here are the full 10, taken from the Communist Daily Worker for April 26, 1968, printed the day before the rally so copies would be available at the shindig.

[From the Daily Worker, Apr. 26, 1968]

TEN COMMANDMENTS

These are the "Ten Commandments on Vietnam" written by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. just before his death:

1. Thou shall not believe in a military victory.
2. Thou shalt not believe in a political victory.
3. Thou shalt not believe that they (the Vietnamese) love us.
4. Thou shalt not believe that the Saigon government has the support of the people.
5. Thou shalt not believe that the majority of the South Vietnamese look upon the Viet Cong as terrorists.
6. Thou shalt not believe the figures of killed enemies or killed Americans.
7. Thou shalt not believe that the generals know best.
8. Thou shalt not believe that the enemies' victory means communism.
9. Thou shalt not believe that the world supports the United States.
10. Thou shalt not kill.

The American people ask "Why?"

Why manipulate and censor news stories? Why do some of the major communications establishments fear the truth?

Who are they to prevent the American people from full factual disclosure of the truth? As censors and book burners, how can they call their product legitimate news or a public service?

The first amendment prohibition against legislation infringing on the freedom of speech and press was not intended to protect a right to lie—nor a constitutional guarantee to a "special interest" minority of a right to censor truth.

More and more Americans are becoming aware of manipulations by the controlled communications people being used to affect public opinion by repetition of half-truths. Continued suppression of the truth can initiate action to insure legislation to protect the public by guarantees of pure and wholesome reporting of the news. How long can the "think minority" feel they can keep control of their little brain-training monopoly?

Not only are they eroding their credibility and usefulness—promoting the destruction of a basic freedom—but they hasten the day when individuals can pursue punitive actions for violation of civil rights, not to be lied to or have their thinking mechanism discriminated against by censorship, intimidation and undue coercion.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, since election to the Congress I have issued a monthly newsletter to constituents on congressional activities and our May report to the people of the Eighth District is as follows:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS

FISCAL MATTERS

One of the major problems confronting the country is the fiscal crisis. We're faced with a loss of confidence in the dollar abroad, a continued outflow of gold, an unfavorable balance of trade, a budget deficit that could reach $25 billion this year unless present spending plans are curtailed or taxes increased, the highest interest rates since the Civil War, and an all-time high in costs of goods and services. Practically all Members of Congress agree there must be a reduction in spending. However, disagreement arises with regard to priorities and when general reduction is changed to the selection of specific items. An example was the recent consideration of a $13.67 billion appropriation bill for independent government offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Efforts to eliminate the rent subsidy portion of this bill were defeated by approximately 2 to 1, and an effort to reduce the amount of appropriation by 5% was also unsuccessful by a more narrow margin. It should be added, however, that the amount budgeted by the President had already been reduced in the Committee by almost $3 billion.

As you probably know, leaders from both Houses of Congress and from both political parties are meeting in an effort to put a ceiling on spending and to agree on the amount of a tax increase, if any. A majority of the House Ways and Means Committee has tentatively agreed to a surtax, provided there is a $4 billion decrease in current spending coupled with a hedge against spending in future years and a curtailment in the amount to be spent of funds already appropriated but presently unspent. Many believe this is an insufficient reduction and are holding out for $6 billion in budget reduction, another $6 billion in unspent authorizations and $14 billion in new obligation authority. Sometimes when we hear of the need for increased spending in government we don't realize that the Congress in past years has appropriated funds amounting to $221 billion which is presently in the pipeline or unspent. The Conference Committee desires to find some way to re-claim a portion of this money. It is certainly encouraging to note that the Members of Congress, from both parties, are at last aware that we cannot continue to go on spending for everything that is advocated. Certainly this is a complex problem which will require careful thought by the best minds in our country.

AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

A measure passed recently by the House directed the Department of Transportation to study and recommend reforms in the motor vehicle insurance system. This office has received a number of letters expressing concern regarding the cancellation of policies and the study will not only include that factor but the cost of insurance and the time consumed in processing claims. Certainly I would prefer that insurance companies be regulated at the state level but share the concern of many regarding arbitrary cancellation of policies.

ALEXANDRIA POST OFFICE

A constituent wrote that he lived in Fairfax County but was served by the Alexandria Post Office, and he would prefer to have a name identifying him with Fairfax County or the community in which he lives rather than adjacent Alexandria. On inquiry of the Post Office Department, I was advised that patrons who live in Jefferson Manor, Belle View, and Franconia who are served by the Alexandria Post Office, may use the local designation with the appropriate ZIP code in their addresses. The Postmaster General's office further advised that new branches will probably be called Engleside and Lincolnia and that residents of these areas can thereafter also use the local names if they choose to do so. According to the Post Office Department, approximately 43,000 persons now have the prerogative of using the name of the branch instead of Alexandria in the mailing address and when the branches at Engleside and Lincolnia are established an additional 33,000 persons will not need to use Alexandria in their mailing addresses.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE TRAVEL ALLOWANCES

The House by vote of 292 to 62 approved and sent to the Senate a bill to raise the maximum travel allowance of Federal employees from $16 to $20 per day. This maximum per diem for employees travelling on official business recognizes the increase in the cost of food and lodging.

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

You may be interested in my tentative evening schedule for the next 30 days:

May 9: Dale City Civic Association, Prince William County.

May 10: Vienna International Ball, Fairfax County.

May 11: Reception, Loudoun County.

May 13: Jaycees, Westmoreland County.

May 14: Virginia Society of C.P.A.'s, Fairfax County.

May 18: Congressman Bill Wampler Dinner, Scott County.

May 20: Veterans of Foreign Wars, Fairfax County.

May 21: Area Citizens Associations, Lee District, Fairfax County.

May 22: National Canners Association, Washington.

May 22: National Oil Jobbers Council, Washington.

May 24: Dale Carnegie Leadership School, Fairfax County.

May 25: Callao Day Celebration, Northumberland County.

May 26: Ebenezer Methodist Church, Richmond County.

May 30: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier of Revolution, Alexandria.

June 4: Charles City High School Commencement, Charles City County.

June 5: Northumberland High School Commencement, Northumberland County.

June 6: Common Carriers Conference: Washington.

June 7: Tappahannock High School Commencement, Essex County.

June 8: Marriott High School Commencement, King and Queen County.

POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH

Many constituents have expressed concern regarding the proposed March on Washington this month. Certainly I share this concern and have urged that the President go on nationwide television and advise the people of the country what action will be taken to avoid the possibility of unprecedented disorder. The responsibility of administration and enforcement of our laws rests with the Executive Branch of government.

FREDERICKSBURG OFFICE

In view of the possibility of future disorders in the capital, you should know that we have a District Office in the Fredericksburg Post Office which will be utilized in the event any disturbance makes it impracticable

to continue to use the Washington office. The telephone number in Fredericksburg is 373-0536 and the office is always staffed by a secretary. Certainly we are hopeful that no temporary change will be necessary. The telephone number of our main office in Washington is 225-4376.

WILLIAM AND MARY ANNIVERSARY

Various minor measures are considered by the Congress, and one of these, H. Con. Res. 615, was adopted by the House on May 1, 1968. This measure, sponsored by all of the Virginia Members of the House, extends congratulations and greetings to the College of William and Mary on its 275th Anniversary and recognizes the contributions made by the second oldest college in America.

NEWSLETTER LIST

If some of your neighbors or friends are not receiving our newsletter, and would like to be put on the mailing list, you might suggest that they furnish their names and addresses to this office, and we will be glad to add their names. Occasionally someone mentions that he receives two copies under some variation of name or address, and if you receive more than one copy in your household, please let us know so that the duplication can be eliminated.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Some of the books and pamphlets available in the office are listed below. We will forward any of them to you upon request as long as the supply lasts.

History of the United States House of Representatives.

The Prayer Room in the United States Capitol.

Our American Government; What is it? How Does it Function?

Our Capitol.

The Constitution of the United States of America.

A Place to Live (Year Book for 1963).

Your Child from One to Six.

Food for Fitness (A daily food guide).

Family Fare (Food management and recipes).

HISTORICAL INTEREST

Of the 36 Presidents of our country, four were born in our own 8th District of Virginia. They include George Washington and James Monroe, both of Westmoreland County, and William Henry Harrison and John Tyler, both of Charles City County. Tyler succeeded Harrison in the White House, and I doubt that there is any other instance of one man succeeding another as chief executive from the same state and county or that any other District contains the birthplaces of four of our past Presidents.

SUPREME COURT

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on March 9, 1967, I introduced House Joint Resolution 418, to provide for a constitutional amendment to permit Congress, by a two-thirds vote of each House, to override a decision of the Supreme Court. The resolution was in answer to befuddled decisions that place a law-abiding and patriotic citizenry at a distinct disadvantage in any confrontation with criminals or Communists.

The necessity for adopting House Joint Resolution 418 has meanwhile been substantiated and accented by the December ruling invalidating a law making it a crime for a member of a Communist-action group to work in a defense plant. There are, of course, a multitude of decisions—including findings in such cases as Mallory, Escobedo, and Miranda, as well as those dealing with prayer in school, obscene literature, and apportionment—over the past decade that emphasize the need for a means of countering rulings that contravene intentions of those who drafted the system of checks and balances. Time and again these decisions have been called to the attention of Members of Congress.

In further support of my resolution, I should like to include in the RECORD today an address by Justice Hugo Black in the Columbia University Law School Carpentier Lectures. While my reference to his remarks must not be interpreted as a total endorsement of the views he expresses, two particular extracts are of great import:

Other judges, with an equally honest belief that changes are absolutely imperative, take it upon themselves to make changes which Congress alone has legislative power to make.

When I get to the other meaning of "judicial activist," however, namely, one who believes he should interpret the Constitution and statutes according to his own belief of what they ought to prescribe instead of what they do, I tell you at once I am not in that group. The courts are given power to interpret the Constitution and laws, which means to explain and expound, not to alter, amend, or remake. Judges take an oath to support the Constitution as it is, not as they think it should be.

It is not the first time that Justice Black has questioned the wisdom—and the legalistic behavior—of his colleagues. In his noncurrence with the majority decision in the Virginia poll tax case, Justice Black commented:

I have heretofore had many occasions to express my strong belief that there is no constitutional support whatever for this Court to use the Due Process Clause as though it provided a blank check to alter the meaning of the Constitution as written so as to add to its substantive constitutional changes which a majority of the Court at any given time believe are needed to meet present-day problems. . . .

The Court's justification for consulting its own notions rather than following the original meaning of the Constitution, as I would, apparently is based on the belief of a majority of the Court that for this Court to be bound by the original meaning of the Constitution is an intolerable and debilitating evil; that our Constitution should not be "shackled to the political theory of a particular era," and that to save the country from the original Constitution the Court must have constant power to renew it and keep it abreast with this Court's more enlighted theories of what is best for our society. . . .

Moreover, when a "political theory" embodied in our Constitution becomes outdated, it seems to me that a majority of the nine members of this Court are not only without constitutional power but are far less qualified to choose a new constitutional political theory than the people of this country proceeding in the manner provided by Article V . . .

At that time—1966—Justice John Marshall Harlan, joined by Justice Potter Stewart, added:

But the fact that the coup de grace has been administered by this Court instead of being left to the affected States or to the federal political process should be a matter of continuing concern to all interested in maintaining the proper role of this tribunal under our scheme of government.

Mr. Speaker, the writings of Thomas Jefferson are replete with indications of his concern about usurpation of power on the part of the Supreme Court. A single instance, as expressed in a letter to George Wythe in July 1776, should alert my colleagues to the need for House Joint Resolution 418:

The dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of the society, depend so much upon an upright and skillful administration of justice, that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislative and executive, and independent upon both, that so it may be a check upon both, *as both should be checks upon that.*

Justice Black's address follows:

JUDICIAL "ACTIVISM" AND "RESTRAINT": A JUSTICE DEFINES THE DIFFERENCE

(By Justice Hugo Black)

(NOTE.—The Carpentier Lectures of the Columbia University Law School were delivered last week by Supreme Court Justice Black. In the first of the lectures, Justice Black gave his views on the criticism that has arisen in recent years over some court decisions which are called "judicial activism." This is the text of that part of the address.)

Judges may also abuse power, of course, not because they are corrupt, but because of a completely honest belief that unless they do act the Nation will suffer disaster. Unfortunately such honest beliefs too often reflect nothing more than an all-too-common human hostility to change.

Other judges, with an equally honest belief that changes are absolutely imperative, take it upon themselves to make changes which Congress alone has legislative power to make. Thus, for the reasons that I have been discussing I strongly believe that the public welfare demands that constitutional cases must be decided according to the terms of our Constitution itself and not according to the judges' views of fairness, seasonableness or justice . . .

"JUDICIAL ACTIVISM"

With what I have said in mind, I would next like to discuss a name which of late years has crept into our vocabulary and which has frequently been applied to me, "judicial activist." In the main this term has been used as one of criticism and reproach aimed at federal judges, particularly Justices of the United States Supreme Court who, in deciding cases before them, are charged with either (1) being willing or even anxious to determine constitutional questions that could have been avoided or (2) determining constitutional and other legal questions not on the basis of what the law is but on what the deciding judges believe it should be. Since this name "activist" has been applied to me as a label, which unfortunately I think has served as a substitute for careful thinking and writing and also as a fallacious shortcut to unjustified conclusions, I would like, so to speak, to set the record straight.

There is one school of legal thought that seems to rest on the premise that it is an unpardonable constitutional sin for a judge to decide a case on a constitutional ground if there is any possible excuse either to refuse to decide it at all or to decide it on some statutory or other non-constitutional ground. A violation of this judge-created judicial offense is often given the bad sounding label of "judicial activism" and the

judge who commits the sin is branded an activist.

I cannot myself subscribe to the view that judges should always and invariably avoid a determination of constitutional questions if it is any way possible to dispose of a particular case on a non-constitutional ground. There are few cases, if any, where judges cannot conjure up and articulate arguments that are at least plausible to get rid of cases on non-constitutional grounds. Such a resort to merely plausible reasons to avoid deciding constitutional questions has never seemed to me to be an ennobling example of judicial piety, morals or ethics. The necessity for complete candor in deciding cases cannot, in my opinion, be outweighed by any supposed dogmatic imperative to avoid constitutional questions.

THE PUBLIC WELFARE

There come times when the public welfare calls loudly for putting an end to constitutional doubts about laws that may vitally affect the daily lives and practices of millions of people. Such doubts about highly valuable constitutional or statutory rights may cause delays in their enjoyment tantamount to their complete destruction. And persons subjected to burdensome duties by new untested statutes frequently may be caused to suffer irreparable losses by dilatory judicial practices that prevent constitutional tests of those new laws in the courts.

A good example of this kind of thing is the statute establishing the Subversive Activities Control Board. This is a law, which as I stated in my dissenting opinions in *Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board* and *American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, is a bill of attainder; imposes cruel, unusual and savage punishments for thought, speech, writing, petition and assembly; and stigmatizes people for their beliefs, associations and views about politics, law and government. And yet since 1951, when a three-judge District Court in *Communist Party v. McGrath* refused to rule on the constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Control Act, important provisions of this statute have been enforced.

In case after case affecting so-called "communist front" organizations the parties have been told that the crucial constitutional issue was not yet ripe. This reached what in my mind was the height of absurdity in the case of *Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, where, after fighting their way up through the tangled web of administrative and judicial review for 10 years, the petitioners' constitutional questions, when they finally reached the Supreme Court, were remanded to the lower court because of the staleness of the record.

DU BOIS CLUBS

Again this term the DuBois Clubs of America attempted to challenge the constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and you would think that after 16 years those associations threatened by the Act would finally be entitled to a decision by the Supreme Court as to just how far Congress can go in establishing a pervasive regulatory scheme in the First Amendment field of speech, assembly and association. But once again a majority of the Court refused to meet and decide the constitutional issues. (*WEB DuBois Clubs of America v. Clark,—U.S.—*.) In this case there was a clear possibility that the delay involved could very well result in the disintegration of the affected organization before it could have its constitutional claims adjudicated since the pressure inherent in registering with the Board had already begun to take its toll.

Indeed, as the petitioners pointed out in *DuBois*, the Attorney General himself had said that "one of the major purposes of the Act" was to destroy affected organizations before administrative proceedings began and that "most groups petitioned [to register] become defunct or dissolved before action could be taken." My reaction to this is that it is an outrageous violation of our Constitution that such a Board, which serves no useful function and to some extent at least appears to have become a sinecure for politically expedient appointments, is allowed for any length of time to curtail the exercise of the First Amendment rights of speech, assembly and association. And this has been allowed to happen because of a judge-created doctrine that it is inherently good to avoid constitutional issues.

Here another label or name comes into focus; it is "judicial restraint." For this is the term frequently applied to the doctrine of avoiding constitutional questions and leaving them up in the air as long as there is a possibility of deciding a case on other grounds. Once again I think this term is ambiguous and ill-conceived and when used in this way, it is right to say that I am no apostle of this kind of judicial restraint, although, as I have made clear earlier, I believe strongly that judges are restrained by the Constitution, and that changes in that basic charter should be made by the people and their representatives and not by judges.

JUDICIAL ABDICATION

By avoiding constitutional issues in cases such as those concerned with the Subversive Activities Control Board and others to which I need not now refer, I think the Supreme Court abdicates the responsibility assigned it under Marbury v. Madison, with which I fully agree, that the Judicial Department of our Government has the last word in deciding whether a statute is in accord with the Constitution. As Chief Justice Marshall said there:

"The powers of the Legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the Constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if those limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained? . . . Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and, consequently the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature repugnant to the Constitution is void. This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution . . ."

I believe that the responsibility of judicial review was fully understood by those who wrote the Constitution, and certainly by those who most carefully considered the problem. This fact is shown, I think, by the Federalist papers, the records of the debates in the Constitutional Convention and in the States, and the Annals of Congress' report of the debates on the Bill of Rights. Madison, himself, in arguing for adoption of the Bill of Rights stated:

"If they are incorporated into the Constitution, independent tribunals of justice will consider themselves in a peculiar manner the guardians of those rights; they will be an impenetrable bulwark against every assumption of power in the Legislative or Executive; they will be naturally led to resist every encroachment upon rights expressly stipulated for in the Constitution by the declaration of rights."

JUDICIAL OBSTACLES

I think that the Framers were right in believing that such judicial power is an essential feature of our type of free government, and I believe it ill beehoves the courts to restrict their usefulness in protecting constitutional rights by creating artificial judicial obstacles to the full performance of their duty.

The essential protection of the liberty of our people should not be denied them by invocation of a doctrine of so-called "judicial self-restraint." This term has been made an alluring one by its worshippers connoting noble judicial conduct, somewhat as the term "judicial activism" has been used to connote something ignoble.

But, as I have tried to make clear, when judges have a constitutional question in a case before them, and the public interest calls for its decision, refusal to carry out their duty to decide would not, I think, be the exercise of an enviable "self-restraint." Instead I would consider it, to be an evasion of responsibility.

In sum, I think determining when a judge shall decide a constitutional question calls for an exercise of sound judicial judgment in a particular case which should not be hobbled by general and abstract judicial maxims created to deny litigants their just deserts in a court of law, perhaps when they need the court's help most desperately.

Consequently, if it is judicial activism to decide a constitutional question which is actually involved in a case when it is in the public interest and in the interest of a sound judicial system to decide it, then I am an "activist" in that kind of case and shall, in all probability, remain one. In such circumstances I think "judicial self-restraint" is not a virtue but an evil.

MATTER OF OPINION

When I get to the other meaning of "judicial activist," however, namely, one who believes he should interpret the Constitution and statutes according to his own belief of what they ought to prescribe instead of what they do, I tell you at once I am not in that group. The courts are given power to interpret the Constitution and laws, which means to explain and expound, not to alter, amend or remake. Judges take an oath to support the Constitution as it is, not as they think it should be.

I cannot subscribe to the doctrine that consistent with that oath a judge can arrogate to himself a power to "adapt the Constitution to new times." The soft phrases used to claim that power for judges have siren-like appeal. For one who has a legitimate power to interpret there is at first a certain persuasive note in the constant repetition to him that in explaining a Constitution meant for the ages he should not stick to its old 18th century words but substitute others to make the Constitution best serve the current generation. And there is a certain appeal in the argument that the dead should not control the living. But adherence to the Constitution as written does not mean we are controlled by the dead. It means we are controlled by the Constitution, truly a living document. For it contains within itself a lasting recognition that it should be changed to meet new demands, new conditions, new times. It provides the means to achieve these changes through the amendment process in Article V. Twenty-two Amendments have been added since the Constitution was adopted, some of them, with very little difficulty or delay, and I have no doubt that others will be adopted when the sound views of the people call for them.

GLEN COVE'S TRICENTENNIAL

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, this month, Glen Cove, N.Y., the only city in my congressional district, is celebrating the 300th anniversary of its settlement.

This is truly remarkable when one

realizes it was less than 350 years ago when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock and only 192 years ago that the United States declared its independence.

In a country such as the United States, truly new on the world scene, in which we count our history by decades it is awesome to realize that Glen Cove is celebrating three centuries on the North Shore of Long Island.

The original settlers of Glen Cove, which was known then as Musketa Cove, saw fertile land for farming and the resources for both a sawmill and a gristmill. The location of the area, on the Long Island Sound, opened avenues for trade and travel.

Today, 300 years later, Glen Cove is a thriving community of 26,000. With a sense of community pride and a devotion to the common good the people of Glen Cove work together to build their city for their children. The high percentage of third- and fourth-generation Glen Cove residents is the best testimony to the strength of the community.

A special word is due to the city fathers, in the present and all previous administrations, who have demonstrated excellent leadership and made good government a byword in Glen Cove. Effective government has long been one of Glen Cove's outstanding attributes and is largely responsible for the city's many fine achievements over the years.

Glen Cove is basically a residential community with fair amounts of industry and business. With its cross section of people and with its diversified economy it is in a real sense a microcosm of the United States.

For, like the United States, Glen Cove is proud and growing; prosperous yet striving to do better; friendly and substantial; and, above all, a fine place to live, to raise children, and to grow with the community.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent Glen Cove and especially proud to extend my congratulations to Glen Cove on its 300th anniversary.

Glen Cove has a long and outstanding history; I am confident the future is equally bright.

ISRAEL AT 20: UP FROM A DREAM

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the story of Israel and its struggle to nationhood is a magnificent drama that will rank with the fabled sagas of the ages. As one who has given wholehearted and enthusiastic support to the just cause of the valiant people who created Israel amid the sunny hills and pleasant valleys of their ancestral homeland, I have followed their progress with awe and admiration. Now I take pride in joining with other Members of this honorable body to extend tribute and congratulations to Israel on the 20th anniversary of its independence.

Mr. Speaker, the independent State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948 in Tel Aviv after the British mandate of Palestine had ended. The United States, with my backing, recognized the new state a few hours after the official proclamation of its independence. The day is an official holiday in Israel, and is widely observed in the United States. As Israel begins its 21st year, I am happy to state my hearty congratulations to my friends, the people of Israel, and say that I know there will be many, many similar observances in the years to come.

My contact with what was to become the nation of Israel actually began in the late 1930's, when I worked as a Senator with Jewish leaders who sought to reestablish a homeland in Palestine. In 1945, I visited Palestine when it was still under British mandate, and in 1950, Mrs. Pepper and I visited the new Israel. My most recent visit to Israel was this year, in late January, when I went as part of a group of greater Miami, Fla., friends. It was an exciting and moving experience.

Our purpose in going to Israel was to see first hand the results of the war of last summer, to speak with leaders and the ordinary people of Israel, and to investigate problems that continue to confront this hardy and flourishing nation. Our trip was rewarding and, as might be expected, the Israelis were hospitable, enlightening, and very helpful.

There is little need for examining the fantastic progress of Israel for the Members of the House, for I am sure that most of us here are aware of the growth and development of this State and of the tenacity and determination of her people. In the brief span of two decades, the people of Israel have converted a wasted and abandoned desert that was called Palestine into the garden that is Israel. Their achievement is little short of miraculous. Since 1948, Israel's Jewish population has nearly quadrupled—to 2.4 million—its agricultural output has increased sixfold, and its industrial production sevenfold.

Evidence of the devotion and hard work of these amazing people is indelibly inscribed across the land of the Bible, and the reason for their tremendous success is undeniably manifest in the hearts and the nature of the Israeli citizens themselves. I received the impression on my recent visit that there can be no challenge too great, no obstacle too imposing, and no threat too grave to shake their faith in their God or their faith in themselves. At a time when unruly dissidents and malcontents stir unrest in our own Nation, it is refreshing to see a nation of people whose honorable intentions are to build, to create, and to develop a society of freedom and a culture of progress.

As our party traveled by bus to every part of Israel this year, I marveled at the broad and beautiful fields, green with grass or crops, which only a few years ago were dense with swamps and almost impenetrable marshes. Everywhere there were trees—something I did not see in 1950. The Israel Government and people have planted 85 million trees throughout the country.

Roads are rapidly being built. Low-cost housing is going up. Powerlines interlace the country. Irrigation is expanding over Israel, turning ever larger areas of the desert into fruitful production. Industry is growing fast and will grow faster. New pipelines bring oil to the seashore and to spacious refineries.

But what impresses one most about Israel is the quiet confidence and the serene dignity of the people. One gains this opinion not only from the leaders, but the hotel clerk, the merchant, and the professional person he meets in his travels across Israel.

We visited the area west of Jordan, taken from the Jordanians; the Golan Heights in the northeast taken from Syria; the Gaza Strip and the desert taken from Egypt; and the areas in Jerusalem acquired from Jordan. The scars of the war were still evident. It was common to see wrecked and burned Russian tanks and vehicles and numerous pill boxes and fortifications from which the Israel Army had driven the defenders in what must be one of history's most remarkable military achievements.

One of the most striking aspects of our visit was to see the significant progress which has taken place in these lands since they came under Israeli jurisdiction. Agriculture and horticulture had already been improved, and trade was fast developing. Better education was being provided. A tolerant attitude toward the vanquished, in Jerusalem particularly, had brought about improved relations between the Jews and the Arabs. Overall there was a decided improvement in the lot of the people.

Notwithstanding all of the accomplishments of Israel, this budding nation is still faced with manifold problems. The most pressing difficulty is the renewed menace of the states surrounding Israel, which have rearmed and now continue their hostile attitude toward Israel. In the shifting balance of power, the Arab nations now see themselves as once again able to achieve their goal of eliminating Israel by force. It is folly to allow these states to further rebuild their military while Israel is unable to obtain equivalent gains, and accordingly I have opposed the policy of refusing to sell U.S. jet fighter planes to Israel. I am cosponsoring legislation to authorize such sale, which will be necessary if France continues to refuse delivery of Mirage jets being purchased by Israel. We should not sell jets to Jordan, but at least we should not discriminate against Israel in this respect.

On a more fundamental level, I have long supported a mutual defense treaty between the United States and Israel which would serve notice on potential aggressors that they would have to face the United States if they attempted to invade Israel. I hope that Congress acts on my treaty proposal, so that Israel will be able to devote the full measure of its brilliance and diligence to nationbuilding rather than be diverted to defense from outside invaders.

Around the world, the United States is being challenged daily and the democracies are under a constant barrage from the Communists and the dictators. It is a time of trial and it is the time for a firm resolve that freedom shall not die before the onslaught of totalitarianism. The United States of America is the foremost democracy that the world has ever

known, and it is the duty and the privilege of this Nation to insure the continuation of freedom.

Let us join with the home of liberty in the Middle East, the nation of Israel, in a common commitment that the freedom we cherish shall not fall before the sword of tyrants. As Israel begins her 21st year, this is my wish, and my desire. There is no loftier goal, no nobler aspiration, than the preservation of peace and the well-being of man. This Israel stands for, and as her citizens defend their right to exist I offer my heartfelt good wishes and sturdiest support.

A DISTRICT JUDGE TALKS SENSE ABOUT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the Wichita, Kans., Eagle recently printed an editorial supporting a charge by Kansas State District Judge Albert B. Fletcher, Jr., Junction City, Kans., that certain members of the clergy have set poor examples by engaging in acts of lawlessness.

Judge Fletcher pointed out that clergymen have taken to the streets to try to force changes in the draft, civil rights, and the Government's position in Vietnam.

I believe this editorial merits the attention of all who believe that redress of wrongs, actual or fancied, should be sought through due process of law rather than by lawlessness.

Particularly, members of the clergy who preach the law of God should be equally concerned with keeping the law of the land.

The editorial is as follows:

A DISTRICT JUDGE TALKS SENSE ABOUT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

No doubt they mean well, but some clergymen, hoping to change the world through good works, have actually made things worse by becoming examples of lawlessness.

A Kansas district judge made this charge the other day, and what he said ought to be considered carefully by preachers who have neglected the pulpit and taken to the streets.

Judge Albert B. Fletcher Jr., Junction City, Kan., pointed out that individuals in a free society based upon law don't have the individual or collective right to act when the act disregards the law.

Civil disobedience is the peaceful, willful violation of criminal laws, and there is nothing in the language of the freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly amendment to the Constitution which grants to any man or group the right to violate any state or federal law.

When individual conscience replaces court decisions as to what is just or unjust, the result can only be mob rule.

Disobedience in the name of gaining a civil right forces direct action outside the law, and is a violation of the rights of others. The fact that the grievances sought to be changed are themselves constitutionally unlawful doesn't justify unlawful means.

The judge acknowledged that the legal process is slow and that justice hardly ever is speedy.

But slow justice is better than rioting in the streets.

Yet individuals in the church have recently taken to the streets to try to force changes in the draft, civil rights and the government's position in Vietnam.

The church should be concerned with individual redemption and changing the mores of its members. It should be positive and active in its concern with social matters, but it should seek change through orderly, lawful methods.

The machinery for change is available to all Americans. They have representatives in Congress and they can petition the President or any member of the government.

They can speak out, criticize the government, assemble peaceably and take their grievances to the courts. If the complaint is just, it will be remedied.

As Judge Fletcher said, we are free because we have accepted the idea that one man's rights end where another's begin, and rights are determined by an orderly judicial process, under a government of laws, not of men.

ROCKEFELLER: AN INVITATION TO NATIONAL AND GLOBAL DISASTER

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Barron's has recently concluded that candidate Nelson Rockefeller, by announcing his intentions, is also offering "an invitation to national and global disaster."

In a lively, front-page treatment the financial weekly cites a "spiraled" State budget, taxes which "have increased and multiplied," and "a perennial case of the shorts" in terms of revenue to meet burgeoning spending. All this, and more, means that New York, under Rockefeller, has and is losing ground to California and has dropped a notch in credit rating in the opinion of Moody's.

The State's medicaid costs have threatened to bankrupt "some local government units" and while "the number of workers in manufacturing throughout the United States has increased, in New York State, contrariwise, the total has declined."

This is hardly the picture of financial responsibility, let alone an example of Republican principles at work. With this new chapter in the Rockefeller record, the question, Who needs him? becomes even more unanswerable.

The article follows:

ROCKY ROAD: NEW YORK POINTS THE WAY TO FINANCIAL DISASTER

Traditional battleground between bull and bear, Wall Street every four years splits sharply along philosophic and political lines, too. This quadrennium the old divisiveness has set in earlier and more virulently than usual. A fortnight ago Howard Stein, president of Dreyfus Corp., took a hopefully brief leave of absence to bolster the finances and further the cause of Senator Eugene McCarthy. Sidney J. Weinberg, senior partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co., last week launched a fund-raising drive on behalf of Vice President Humphrey; "I don't like to see only rich fellers run for office," he added democratically. Without calling a press conference, your editor is giving serious thought to contributing 10 bucks to the Nixon-for-President people; close relatives in the financial community have just pledged a few dollars more to Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

Money talks, so we've heard, though it sometimes has remarkably little to say. Governor Rockefeller's belated effort to capture the Republican nomination strikes us as a case in point. In thereby making a small contribution to the current partisan debate, we are not merely licking wounds from old political wars. Rocky's constant sneers at "right-wing extremists," on whom he tends to blame everything up to and including the latest spate of rumors about his personal life, no longer make much of a dent, and we can even shrug off his unprincipled intrusion into Gotham's garbage strike; his alarming tendency to "arm-twist" or bribe his political opponents; and his curious eagerness to surround himself with advisors who would be more at home in the enemy camp.

These are political failings, out of which some office-seekers—or voters—might be tempted to make an issue. As a publication which deals primarily with money matters, however, Barron's is inclined to quarrel with the Governor on financial grounds. Nelson Rockefeller has spent the taxpayers' money as if it were his own. Since he moved to Albany a decade ago, New York's annual expenditures have nearly tripled, while New Yorkers—local businessmen in particular—have been saddled with the heaviest tax burden in the U.S. During Rockefeller's tenure, the Empire State, which Moody's Bond Survey once invariably described as "wealthiest, most populous," has been losing ground to California, while its own credit rating has slipped a notch. To further his Presidential ambitions, Governor Rockefeller year by year has endorsed increasingly costly and far-reaching schemes of social welfare which neither his state nor his country can afford. "Hello Dolly" was a great campaign song for LBJ. Rockefeller supporters should start practicing "Buddy Can You Spare a Dime?"

Upstate and down, New Yorkers will be glad to join the refrain. Since 1959, the state budget has spiraled from $1.9 billion to the $5.5 billion estimated for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1969. Taxes have increased and multiplied. Thus, hapless Gothamites now pay a 5% sales tax, split 40–60 between city and state. In addition, state income taxes have risen several times, to the point where anyone earning a taxable gross of $15,000 per year falls into the 10% bracket, far and away the highest in the land. Nonetheless, Albany always needs money, a perennial case of the shorts which this year has grown exceedingly acute. Indeed, although the budget by law must be signed and sealed on April 1, the legislature and Governor are still wrangling over how to pay the bills this fiscal year. On top of nearly $200 million in new imposts on business, Albany doubtless will wind up voting at least as much again in higher levies on cigarets, personal incomes or both.

"Pay-as-you-go" used to be big in Rockefeller circles, but not lately. Like any lavish spender, the Governor has been forced to resort increasingly to deficit finance. Hence New York State's overall debt—which includes its own direct obligations, agency bonds and the "net underlying debt of counties, cities, towns, villages and school districts"—since 1959 has surged from less than $6 billion to what Moody's last August described as an "overwhelming" $11,056,990,000, equivalent to a record-breaking $604 per capita. (State debt alone is up from $897 million to over $2.6 billion.) "Furthermore," Moody's continued, "no diminution in the debt accretion is foreseeable," a comment which, in view of subsequent events, must be rated the financial understatement of the year. Last November, thanks in large measure to the Governor's personal blitzkrieg with New York's straphangers, the electorate approved a $2.5 billion bond issue, the first proceeds of which already have gone to compensate for the failure of the state lottery to produce the official yield.

Albany's fiscal profligacy impelled Moody's four years ago to lower the state's credit rating from triple- to double-A. It doubtless has also contributed to other signs and portents of New York's loss of stature. Since 1960, the number of workers in manufacturing throughout the U.S. has increased by over one million, to 18,032,000; in New York State, contrariwise, the total has declined. Indeed, Washington's Economic Development Administration today lists 14 New York counties as depressed areas. Changes in economic climate, of course, are a long-range affair, the consequences of which may take decades to show up. Sooner or later, if the past be any guide, the Empire State will pay heavily for its Governor's excesses.

In return for their hard-earned cash, New Yorkers today enjoy (if that is the word) the nation's fastest-growing, most paternalistic state government establishment. Since 1958 Albany's employment rolls have shot up by over 40%, or nearly four times as fast as the rise in population. Over the same span the state has plunged into such questionable realms of activity as the generation of power, conventional and nuclear, the financing of low- and middle-income housing, urban transit facilities and rat control. Rockefeller's current legislative agenda includes: a compulsory health insurance law, first such state law in the nation; new long-term low-interest loans to build and modernize hospitals; a $6 billion urban development scheme; mobile geriatric teams; and a new state research center on heart disease.

Above all, New York has become the nation's fastest-spending welfare state. Thus, until Congress cracked down last fall, the excessively generous standards of eligibility for Medicaid set by Albany would have wound up costing the state alone an estimated $900 million in the current fiscal year and might have bankrupted some local government units. Onondaga County's chief executive has complained: "I had to cut the sheriff's office, strip the highway department, halt work in the parks and stop all salary raises, all to pay for Medicaid." Just two days before the Governor threw his hat in the ring, his handpicked panel of business leaders called for a "negative income tax," and the national expenditure of $11 billion more per year, to lift the nation's 30 million poor above the threshold of poverty. "We may well be reaching the point where the level of expectations of the American public is rising at a rate which is outrunning our capacity to raise revenue on a sound basis," the Governor declared last January. That was before he decided to run for President.

For those who earn their own living, a Rockefeller candidacy would be bad news at any time. Today, with the U.S. facing what the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board calls "the worst financial crisis since 1931," it's an invitation to national and global disaster. Twenty years of the fiscal and monetary recklessness which the Governor typifies have brought the U.S. to the brink. Had enough?

A MAN OF CONVICTIONS

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, April 28, death claimed a distinguished and respected Kansan, Mr. E. A. Thomas, who had devoted more than 30 years to education in my State. For 30 years he served as commissioner of the Kansas State High School Activities Association. He regulated, directed, and stimulated high school athletic programs, and later expanded his interests to include such programs as music festivals, debate, speech and drama, and journalism. Kansas is proud of these activity programs in its high schools, and much of the credit for strong student interest and public support is due to the contribution of E. A. Thomas.

He also was a respected Lincoln scholar and was a founder of the Topeka, Kans., Lincoln Club. He devoted much of his time following retirement in 1957 to his study of Abraham Lincoln.

Mrs. Shriver and I join in extending our heartfelt sympathy to his beloved wife and family. One of his daughters, Mrs. W. U. Guerrant, Jr., is a member of my congressional staff, serving as manager of my district office in Wichita.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Topeka Daily Capital, which appropriately highlights the contribution and character of this beloved Kansan.

The editorial follows:

A MAN OF CONVICTIONS

There was never any doubt about where E. A. Thomas stood. He always announced his position, loud and clear.

He gained and maintained a reputation for unbiased honesty during the 30 years he was commissioner of the Kansas State High School Activities Assn. After a teaching career which started in a one-room school house and later as superintendent of much larger schools. Thomas was chosen to clean up high school athletics in Kansas.

From 1927, when he became the first executive officer of the KSHSAA, until his retirement in 1957, Thomas was the strong man in promoting fair play. He pioneered strict rules on all forms of high school athletics, not caring on whose toes he stepped.

There were frequent howls of anguish and Thomas sometimes was called a "czar." He was proud of this story: A man disgruntled with one of his decisions said, "He was fair. He was mean to everybody." To which a friend replied, "He was fair."

After most of the flagrant abuses were cleaned up in the first 10 years Thomas was in office, he and the organization turned to helping to organize music festivals, speech and drama festivals, journalism conferences, a coaching school, student council conferences, debate clinics, the Kansas Association of Youth—a group of some 18,000 high school leaders—and promoting the registration of good men to officiate football and basketball games.

Never one to remain idle, after his retirement Thomas expanded his study of Abraham Lincoln until he became a recognized authority on the great emanicipator. He organized and was the leading light of the Topeka Lincoln Club, which has met monthly for several years.

Topeka and Kansas lost a good citizen through the death Sunday night of E. A. Thomas, a man who made an imprint on the era in which he lived.

EFFECTIVE COOPERATION OF CONGRESSMAN BOLAND

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, from time to time, especially in periods of flood and high water levels, people from many parts of the State, and particularly from the Third District, where the control of ravishing, flood waters has for years presented such critical problems, make a practice of writing me to express their appreciation and gratitude for the fine flood control programs that the Federal Government inaugurated some time ago in this and other areas under my leadership.

It was my high privilege at that time to be chairman of the Massachusetts Delegation Flood Control Committee, charged with mapping out and carrying through this great flood program for our district and State which has since taken shape.

I have always made it very clear that this project was a delegation activity, in which every member of our Massachusetts delegation in Congress participated to the utmost, and out of these vigorous, united efforts came the fine results which we achieved.

We were very fortunate in this great project to be in a position, when funding of these essential programs was required, to call upon our able, distinguished friend and colleague, the Honorable EDWARD P. BOLAND, high-ranking member of the great House Appropriations Committee.

During many conferences, meetings and discussion sessions, Congressman BOLAND gave us valuable counsel and rendered us invaluable assistance in getting these bills through the Congress. This was just one of very many instances in which EDDIE BOLAND has provided vigorous leadership and effective assistance in successfully getting through Congress legislative measures and adminstrative action that were of greatest import to our area, State, region, and Nation.

I want to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation for the splendid cooperation which he has accorded to me and our delegation, not only in flood legislation, but in national defense matters, social legislation, labor and industry proposals and a host of other important vital issues which have come before the Congress.

Congressman BOLAND's leadership, stature, experience and seniority, the high regard in which he is held by his colleagues, his willingness and persistency in tackling difficult problems and seeing them through, have been potent factors in the enviable record that has been made in the Congress by our delegation in respect to many pending questions, and I want to express my sincere and deep appreciation for the counsel and help that he has rendered on so many different occasions.

There are measures now pending in which our delegation is deeply interested. We have many interests in the defense setups in our State and region that require the painstaking attention of our members, there are additional flood control projects, antipollution problems and water and land use problems affecting conservation, vital civil rights and urban problems, health, education, welfare, taxes, fiscal and financial matters, dollar imbalances, trade policies, security, and stability in the free world and a

wide range of other questions coming before the Congress about which the people are deeply concerned and which will continue to need our careful attention. In this respect the solidarity and continued cooperation of our delegation is of great importance.

There are fiscal and financial problems of gravest import, not to speak of the Vietnam war, and the overriding problems of war and peace, which are crowding in upon us as never before in history. In all these efforts, we have to rely upon the experience, wisdom, ability, and seniority of our delegation, and upon men like the gentleman from Massachusetts, Congressman BOLAND, and our other colleagues with standing in the House, who have demonstrated the ability to comprehend the importance of these problems, and to get things done for our State and country, to join with those in Congress who are charged with the great responsibility of legislating and working effectively for our historic State and for all the people.

It is indeed a very happy circumstance that in the labors of our delegation on key issues coming before the Congress affecting our great State, our members have without exception cooperated and worked together without regard to partisan motivation, and solely in the interest of our State and region as well as the Nation. I think this observation can be made to the great credit of the able, distinguished members of our delegation in Congress and I want them all to know of my warm appreciation.

WILLIAM GLYNN CITED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I had the privilege of being present when William Glynn, a young constituent of mine, received a Young Americans Medal for Bravery from President Johnson.

Present in the Cabinet Room for the ceremony was the boy's family, including his parents and grandparents. They were justly proud, as I was of Bill, who lives in Westbury, N.Y.

William Glynn, age 15, received the award from the President in recognition of his having risked his own life to rescue a drowning man in rough seas off the Long Island coast. For more than 2 hours he placed his own safety second to protect the unconscious man from certain death. This was an act of rare courage and I am pleased to be among those who have paid tribute to William Glynn for selfless bravery.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that all young people could take a lesson from William Glynn: a young man of honor, decency, and courage; a young man of whom his parents, Congressman, and President may be proud.

LAND, PEOPLE, AND PAPER

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Seaboard Coastline Railroad Co. sponsored a field forestry demonstration program in my home county, Greenwood, S.C., on May 2.

This demonstration was an outstanding success. State and Federal forestry experts and soil conservationists, along with private enterprise, cooperated to make this a day that will long be remembered and be fruitful in understanding the proper utilization of our natural resources. The demonstrations of new forestry machinery, new products and technology were examples of the advanced techniques which have placed South Carolina in the forefront in the field of production of forest related products.

Mr. W. Thomas Rice, the dynamic and able president of Seaboard Coastline Railroad, introduced the principal speakers on this important occasion Mr. Guy Minard, president of Kimberly-Clark Corp., one of our Nation's leading producers of pulp and paper products. Kimberly-Clark is one of the great forest industries which have invested more than $350 million in South Carolina since 1959, while creating over 8,000 new factory jobs and thousands more in the forests. They have exerted a tremendous influence in helping the people of my State, the South and the Nation, as a whole, in the development of new and revolutionary methods of conservation and forest production.

Mr. Speaker, I can think of no company that has contributed more to the progress and development of the southland than has the Seaboard Coastline Railroad. This great company has led the way in the industrial development of the South and has encouraged the wise utilization of its natural resources over the years while pointing the way to a better tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, the South Carolina General Assembly recessed and journeyed to Greenwood for this important forestry demonstration. The Governor of South Carolina, the Honorable Robert E. McNair, and many of our country's top financial and industrial leaders attended.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Minard's address on this important occasion was outstanding. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of our country:

LAND, PEOPLE, AND PAPER

(Principal address by G. M. Minard, president, Kimberly-Clark Corp., Neenah, Wis. at the Seabord Coast Line Railroad Cooperative Forestry Demonstration, Greenwood, S.C., May 2, 1968)

"The land was ours
Before we were the land's"
—*Robert Frost.*

In a time when we tend to become preoccupied with the nation's involvement in the Far East, concern over economic stability and the effects of domestic unrest, our faith in the future is revived by occasions such as today's.

Here is a noteworthy example of cooperative effort and common purpose. Officials from both state and federal governments join with representatives of industry to recognize our most basic material strength—our renewable natural resources.

This assembly of diverse, yet compatible interests contrasts sharply with the currently raging "Battle of the Redwoods" and numerous other conflicts stemming from issues clouded by emotion, self-serving politics and misunderstanding. These conflicts result from the now-fashionable mode of criticism of both industry and government as venal, or self-serving or reactionary or all three.

Yet fundamental human progress is marked by freedom, good government and judicious employment of resources. Industrial enterprise, and thereby our economy, can flourish only in a climate of mutual purpose and faith between government and people.

Basic wealth must be enhanced through use. History amply records the decline and fall of great empires who complacently violated these principles. We must be alert to those things which undermine the integrity of our basic economic and social systems.

It has been said that "land plus people equals problems." Nevertheless, it is equally true that land plus people can also equal progress. That which makes the difference should be of vital concern to every American.

Kimberly-Clark, like other companies serving consumers throughout the nation, has kept its eye on the South. Just as the legendary phoenix which rose afresh from its own ashes, this region is demonstrating a fresh, new vitality. Its growth is clearly manifest in the marketplace and in its cultural progress.

You may recall that President Roosevelt called this region "The Nation's Number One Economic Problem" during the late 1930's. At that time only about one-third of the U.S. pulp and paper industry was located in the South, and before 1937 there was only one pulp mill in South Carolina. Now the South supports about two-thirds of the industry, and this state has five large pulp mills. Within the past six years new annual pulping capacity has been increased by 8.5 million tons, representing the fastest growth rate in the nation. Despite this expansion, forest inventories show annual growth exceeding harvest by 14 million cords of softwoods and 5 million cords of hardwoods.

In seeking a place to expand our operations, Kimberly-Clark has had cause to look carefully at the South's resources. Shortly after the second World War we built a mill to produce tissue products at Memphis, Tennessee. In the early 1950's we entered into a management contract with the Coosa River Newsprint Company at Coosa Pines, Alabama, which we later acquired by merger. This plant was recently expanded and has become our largest producer of pulp, and is the largest newsprint mill in the United States.

Now Kimberly-Clark requires a major expansion in its tissue producing facilities, not only for its well known consumer branded products, but to maintain its leadership in the great new field of disposables, a family of exciting new modern non-woven cloth-like materials which may be basically wood cellulose, but in combination with man-made fibres, films and additives.

With the past favorable experience with the region's people and fibres, Kimberly-Clark began, in 1964, a new millsite survey of the Southeast. We spent over a year on this project examining over thirty potential sites before the final selection of Beech Is-

land, South Carolina, located on the Savannah River.

The formidable task of gathering and analysing data for locating the multimillion dollar industry became a classic story of cooperation. Tom Rice, President of the (then) Atlantic Coast Line Railroad provided the services of Ross LeGrand and Fred Johnston from their Development Department. When South Carolina became a strong contender for the site Governor McNair and the State Development Board offered constant assistance. The State Commission of Forestry, Aiken County officials and many other agencies working with Kimberly-Clark personnel did an outstanding job.

We have been impressed with South Carolina. In addition to a warm welcome by the people here, there is tangible evidence of their favorable attitude toward resource development and our industry. To cite an example, the recent Report of the Forestry Study Committee to the Governor and General Assembly sets a commendable precedent for other states to follow in promoting more intensive forest management on privately owned woodlands.

Forest industries are heavily dependent upon wood produced on other private lands. Farmers own about 60 percent of the forested area in South Carolina, most of which is held in small parcels under 500 acres in size. The future progress of our industry rests, in good measure, upon how well these lands are managed.

Total growth-over-drain statistics currently show a comfortable margin, but sharply increased demands forecast for the state call for a maximum effort on the part of all forest land owners. It is encouraging to note substantial progress in reducing losses from fires and the continuing tree planting activity. Of particular interest is the increased usage of wood wastes by the South Carolina's pulp mills. During 1966 over 500,000 cords of residues were consumed, amounting to 18 percent of the total. In addition to the income generated, better utilization means the production of more usable wood fibre per acre.

A lesson in forest management can be learned from the Europeans, who have been practicing forestry and forest conservation for centuries. North America's commercial forest area is three times as large, yet Europeans harvest 83 percent as much timber as we do—or 2.7 times more yield per acre. Dr. Zivnuska, of the University of California, has pointed to the fact that the current surplus of growth over cut in the United States is equal to the total industrial cut of Canada, Finland, Sweden, and Norway combined.

By contrast, we recognize the need for management programs which will increase the yield of products from our forest lands. We are convinced that through improved silvicultural practices and better utilization our Southern woodlands can yield at least 30 percent more fibre per acre.

At our new Beech Island mill, we will employ a unique tissue-forming process developed by Kimberly-Clark and installed on one machine at Memphis. This unit is now producing excellent tissue at the fastest speeds ever achieved on a paper machine. We believe the new machines at Beech Island (the first of which will be producing in a few days time) will meet our objective to manufacture the highest quality tissue at the lowest costs that can be achieved anywhere at this time.

A primary objective of the Beech Island management team is to manage all natural resources effectively, and in a manner consistent with good corporate citizenship.

Natural resources must be used by industry in the best interests of the community and society. There is a rather vocal minority in this land that equates conservation with a museum type of preservation and claims that any sort of use is destructive. This is an obvious fallacy. The important requisite is only that proper use of a resource should leave it reusable or renewable.

In the case of water and air, where much attention is recently being directed towards the problems of pollution, Kimberly-Clark has long recognized in its policies that its necessary use of these resources should not permanently impair their quality. The most modern and efficient pollution control equipment that is available and practical has been embodied in both new and old mills. Here, at Beech Island, we are taking advantage of everything we have learned at other locations in building its present effluent treatment plant, as well as for the expansion and modification of the facilities, when a pulp mill is in operation.

The proper use of the forest is a slightly different problem. Since this is a renewable resource, the objective is to provide a continuing, and increasing, and improving source of supply. The Southern United States is especially suited to meet this objective. It is interesting to note how chemical technology and forestry have united to create a great Southern industry. Not so many years ago, when I started in this business, Southern woods were considered to be good only for liner, bag and similar coarse papers. In the late thirties, technology, improved so that pine could be bleached enough to make newsprint, and the first mill of the now great southern newsprint industry was then built. Later still improvements in cooking and bleaching of pulps made it possible to produce the finest grades of white paper and even dissolving pulp. Within the last dozen years, the southern hardwoods, most of which had been treated as weeds, have become a major source of raw material, almost doubling the ability of the forest to support the industry. Our Beech Island plant will use both pine and hardwood for high grade tissue products.

To meet our special objectives Kimberly-Clark is acquiring forest lands to supplement market sources of pulpwood. Practice of intensive forest management is planned for this property to provide a regulated yield through site preparation, planting of genetically improved seedlings, and carefully planned harvesting.

When it is put into operation, the planned pulp mill will depend heavily on market wood supplies. Forest managers at Beech Island are conducting a continuing study of potential sources and designing a wood procurement system based on this analysis.

For the first time at any new Kimberly-Clark mill, the woodlands management group will computerize both the regulation of the company's forest lands to maintain a proper growth/drain balance, and the wood supply program to identify optimum wood sources on a continuing basis.

Kimberly-Clark has, for many years, practiced scientific forestry on its properties in the United States and Canada. Our foresters, as dedicated conservationists, apply the principles of multiple-use in conformance with the company's management philosophy, which—

Recognizes timber as the principal product from the land.

Provides the public and the corporation with a maximum of other benefits compatible with wood production.

Provides a combination of economic and social benefits greater than can be achieved from any single use.

Accommodates the requirements of society within the framework of free enterprise.

Kimberly-Clark's policies and practices are, and will continue to be, in the public interest.

We believe that permanent forest industries contribute to our national standard of living and are thus essential to the nation's security and welfare. We also believe that intelligent, informed use of all our forest resources is vital to communities and wood-processing industries dependent upon the land.

But we are not without problems. The United States is currently experiencing a significant period of land-use reform. Demands of an affluent people are resulting in an unprecedented competition for the land. Corporate timberland owners are successfully demonstrating that natural resource conservation can, and should, include fibre production, protection of soil, wood and water wildlife habitat, and recreational opportunities. Private, industrial properties are providing Americans with useful products and jobs, as well as enjoyment—while sustaining a vital source of tax income.

Forest industries recognize the need to maintain an adequate wood-producing land base and an economic environment conducive to tree farming. We support the fullest use of natural resources to satisfy the nation's total needs in perpetuity. To this end, we oppose broad public land acquisition programs and encourage all forest owners, public and private, to practice multiple-use management. The nation cannot afford to set aside vast tax-free areas for exclusive use and benefit of a few special interest groups.

As stewards of one of America's most vital assets, we are called upon to consider the total of man's needs. Gifford Pinchot, the first professional forester born in this country and the first Chief of the U.S. Forest Service, said, "The rightful use and purpose of our natural resources is to make all the people strong and well, able and wise, well taught, well fed, well clothed, well housed, full of knowledge and initiative, with equal opportunity for all and special privilege for none."

This challenge is especially fitting for us who depend so heavily upon woodlands for our welfare. For us it represents a great opportunity. We can, through private enterprise and initiative, provide effective management for the benefit of all the people.

In the words of Shakespeare, "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." The wave is at its crest here; for our sake and for the sake of those who come after us, it is our duty to make the most of it.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, May 10 marks the anniversary of the independence of the nation of Rumania. On this date in 1877, the Rumanian Government declared its independence from the disintegrating Ottoman Empire.

From then until World War II, Rumania played an important and independent part in international affairs. After the Second World War, Soviet armies occupied and forcibly communized these free people.

Throughout its history, Rumania has known the hardships of oppression, evidenced today by the Soviet determination that the Rumanian people must celebrate May 9, the date of Soviet victory over

their country, rather than May 10, their true independence day.

Yet, despite the frequent oppresssion these people have known, they have maintained a spirit of courage, perseverance, and hope in their quest to be truly free. This spirit is manifest today in the Rumanian decision to become one of the polycentristic forces working within the Communist bloc.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to say that these qualities of the people are the bright spot in the story of Rumania and worthy objects for yearly celebration in commemoration of their triumph in the late 19th century.

We all fervently hope that in the near future, the Rumanian people may freely celebrate May 10 as the day of their independence from the Turks yesterday and from Soviet domination today.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on this day, many American families of Polish descent commemorated the anniversary of Poland's Constitution Day, dedicating the day to the memory of their own special heritage of freedom and independence.

The nationality neighborhoods in our large cities in which this type of anniversary has traditionally been celebrated are slowly breaking up as the immigrant citizen, his children, and grandchildren work their ways into high economic status and a resulting social and physical mobility.

No longer do the "sons of Poland" march in great numbers through the neighborhoods of our cities. The Polish-American today, like every other group of immigrants has moved up the social ladder, has traveled to the suburb, has joined the vast middle class, has become one of our happy conspicuous consumers—in total, has come into the mainstream of American life.

But their heritage is not forgotten, for it is a very special one. They have heard the stories of foreign domination and partition of the Polish state, and they have drawn some conclusions from these stories which guide and should continue to guide their conduct.

Freedom, personal freedom, coupled with a recollection of the justness and effects of their exercise of freedom, is to them, as it was to their ancestors who drafted the Constitution of 1791, the basis of a viable society. Above all else, they cherish the right to determine one's own course, the right to earn a fair and honorable living, the right to live where one chooses, the right to attend the best schools, the right to live without the fear of violence and repression.

They have learned well the lessons of their ancestry. We should hope on this day, that their values will pervade the thoughts and feelings of all Americans during these tumultous times.

THE NATION'S PRESS REPORTS ON THE RENEGOTIATION BOARD

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, although the process of reviewing defense contracts and renegotiating those contractors who reaped excessive profits began 25 years ago, the perpetually temporary Renegotiation Board must have its charter renewed before June 30 or it will go out of existence.

At the height of the Korean conflict, the Board had the statutory power and the manpower to direct that $167 million in excessive war profits be returned to the Treasury, but last year the Board made determinations of only $16 million with a greatly reduced staff and a law notable for its exemptions.

The perversity of the Board's present weakness is underscored by such intelligence as that given to the Banking and Currency Committee this month by Adm. Hyman Rickover, who built our nuclear submarine fleet and is an expert in defense procurement. Admiral Rickover told us that profits on defense contracts in the recent period from 1964 to 1967 rose by 25 percent over the 1959–63 period.

In addition, Admiral Rickover said:

> I would go even further than Representative Gonzalez' proposal to strengthen the Renegotiation Act.

My bill and those of my cosponsors are the strongest now under consideration by the Ways and Means Committee. Our legislation would in large part restore the Renegotiation Board to its Korean war capabilities. The rationale for this is simple: the level of prime military contract awards for Vietnam has for sometime now exceeded the maximum amount reached during Korea.

Newspapers across the country have recently carried articles on the Renegotiation Board and excessive war profits. I include in the RECORD a column by James Reston, of the New York Times; an AP wire story that was carried prominently by the Baltimore Sun and the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, a series by Oscar Griffin in the Houston Chronicle, and an account of Admiral Rickover's testimony from the Los Angeles Times:

[From the New York Times, May 3, 1968]

WASHINGTON: THE NEW "WAR PROFITEERS"

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, May 2.—Every war has produced a new crop of "war profiteers," and the Vietnam war is no exception. What is original now is that the arts of cheating the Government are improving and the techniques for exposing the profiteers are declining.

The task of eliminating excessive profits on Government contracts and subcontracts is the responsibility of the Renegotiation Board, which was established by the Renegotiation Act of 1951. It enabled the Government to recover more than $800 million through renegotiated contracts in the Korean War alone, but since then its authority and its personnel have been substantially reduced.

HANDCUFFING THE COPS

For example, in 1952 the board had about 550 employes. Today it has about 180, though the level of defense procurement has increased from $25 billion to over $45 billion in the last few years.

Also, more and more exemptions have been written into the Renegotiation Act since it first passed the Congress. Under the original act contracts of $250,000 and more were subject to review by the board. This was amended in 1954 to exempt all contracts under $500,000, and in 1956 to exempt all contracts under $1 million.

In addition, certain important categories of goods were withdrawn from the board's supervision—for example, "durable productive equipment," meaning machinery and tools with a life of over five years; and also "standard commercial articles or services." Similarly, certain agencies originally covered were removed from the board's supervision, including the Department of Commerce, the Bureau of Mines, the Coast Guard, and the Bureau of Reclamation.

This issue is now coming to the fore for two reasons: It takes about a year and a half between the time contracts are awarded until the Renegotiation Board begins its review. So the vast Vietnam buildup of 1966 and 1967 is just now coming under the board's scrutiny, and the board's tenure ends this summer.

RICKOVER'S CHARGES

The likelihood is that it will be extended for another two years, but it will come under attack as usual unless vigilant members of the executive, the Congress and the press watch the undercover battle going on here to weaken it further or even put it out of business.

Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover, the Navy's self-appointed watchdog, recently told a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations that profits on defense contracts were running at the rate of about $4.5 billion a year.

"In the past several years," he said, "I have seen profits on defense contracts go higher and higher. I have pointed out that the weighted guidelines method of profit analysis adopted by the Department of Defense a few years ago resulted in higher profits for the same work—in some cases as much as 30 per cent higher."

His charge is that lack of uniform standards for letting contracts and lack of uniform standards of accounting are costing "hundreds of millions of dollars each year," and that even the present inadequate laws are not properly enforced by a Defense Department "too much influenced by an industry viewpoint."

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, has introduced legislation to restore the original authority of the Renegotiation Board, but despite the likelihood of a $20-billion budget deficit, and though the Government is now offering to pay 6 percent interest on some Government securities—the highest since 1920—there is surprisingly little interest on Capitol Hill on the issue.

PUBLIC APATHY

Also, official secrecy makes investigation of war profits exceedingly difficult. The new freedom of information law covers Government contracts in theory, but efforts by The New York Times and others to get at the details have been turned aside on the ground that other laws protest the privacy of these contracts.

The loopholes in the present law on renegotiation are obvious. Industry can assign costs, Rickover asserts, "in almost any manner it chooses under loose Department of Defense guidelines" and "generally accepted accounting principles." But despite all the cries about "inequality of sacrifice" in the Vietnam war, there has been less of an out-

cry about "profiteering" this time than in any recent American war.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun Apr. 25, 1968]

U.S. WATCHDOG ON PROFITEERING MAY LOSE BITE

WASHINGTON, April 24.—The authority of the Renegotiation Board as the only independent Government watchdog over defense and space contract profits will expire in 67 days unless it is renewed by Congress. And the House committee charged with producing a bill to continue the board has indefinitely suspended work on it.

A spokesman for the House Ways and Means Committee said today that "preliminary work on a bill has been completed but the proceedings have been laid aside while the committee works on the President's request for an income tax surcharge."

GONZALEZ LEADS FIGHT

No date has been set for resumption of work on the Renegotiation Board, the spokesman said.

The law covering the board expires June 30.

Representative Gonzalez (D., Texas) is leading a fight to have the board renewed and strengthened. At present, it is a temporary agency, Gonzalez wants to make it permanent and expand its powers to force defense and space contractors to return excess profits to the government.

He has received support in the Senate from Senator Proxmire (D., Wis.), who said in an interview that he intended to initiate a floor fight, if necessary, to strengthen the board and make it permanent, but delay by the House may block any such move.

He criticized the delay in the Ways and Means Committee, saying: "I just don't see how they can justify holding off when this board's coverage runs out in two months."

Richard Kaufman, an economist with Proxmire's Joint Economic Committee, said it seemed likely that the Ways and Means Committee would report out a bill which, at least, extended the board for another two years.

NO TIME FOR ACTION

"But," he said, "delay creates a crisis, an emergency situation. The practical effect is that when it finally comes out of the House, the Senate will have to accept it no matter what it looks like, even if it does no more than provide a status quo. There wouldn't be time for a floor fight if the law is to be renewed before it runs out."

"If the board is not extended, it would be the first wartime in our history where there was no control over profiteering," Gonzalez said. "And unless we strengthen the board and give it broader powers, it is going to become a watchdog without a bark."

SOME $952 MILLION RECOVERED

The board was set up under the Renegotiation Act of 1951 for two years to oversee profits made on defense contracts during the Korean War. It has been renewed seven times, each time for two years only.

In its seventeen years, the board has recovered more than $952,000,000 in excess profits through renegotiation, and it says that it has spurred contractors voluntarily to reimburse the government for $1,300,000,000 more.

Gonzalez estimates that for every dollar spent by the board, it has returned $18 to the Treasury.

But over the years, the board has seen its staff steadily diminish—from a high of 742 employees in 1953 to 178 last year—and its jurisdiction shrink.

WAR CREATES WORK

When the board's chairman, Lawrence E. Hartwig, appeared before a House appropriations subcommittee in February to ask for a $480,000 budget increase for fiscal 1969, he testified that much of the money would be needed for a staff increase to process defense contracts awarded in the Vietnam procurement upsurge.

When the board was set up, it had jurisdiction over companies that did a minimum of $250,000 in renegotiable sales in a given fiscal year. In 1953, the "floor" was raised to $500,000 and in 1956 to $1,000,000 where it remained.

The board has authority over prime and subcontractors doing business with the Defense Department, Army, Navy, Air Force, Maritime Administration, General Services Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Atomic Energy Commission and Federal Aviation Agency.

EXCEPTIONS LISTED

However, the board has no jurisdiction over:

1. Contracts that have no immediate or direct connection with national defense.
2. Contracts covering durable production equipment such as machine tools.
3. Construction contracts awarded by competitive bid.
4. Contracts for items regularly listed in a price catalogue when 35 per cent of their total sales are commercial rather than to the government.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald-Examiner, Apr. 25, 1968]

FEDERAL "WATCHDOG" ON WAY OUT?

WASHINGTON.—The authority of the Renegotiation Board as the only independent government watchdog over defense and space contract profits will expire in 67 days unless it is renewed by Congress. And the House committee charged with producing a bill to continue the board has indefinitely suspended work on it.

A spokesman for the House Ways and Means Committee said yesterday that "preliminary work on a bill has been completed but the proceedings have been laid aside while the committee works on the President's request for an income tax surcharge."

No date has been set for resumption of work on the Renegotiation Board, the spokesman said.

The law covering the board expires June 30.

Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Tex., is leading a fight to have the board renewed and strengthened. At present, it is a temporary agency. Gonzalez wants to make it permanent and expand its powers to force defense and space contractors to return excess profits to the government.

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"And unless we strengthen the board and give it broader powers, it is going to become a watchdog without a bark."

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When the board's chairman, Lawrence E. Hartwig, appeared before a House Appropriations subcommittee in February to ask for a $480,000 budget increase for fiscal 1969, he testified that much of the money would be needed for a staff increase to process defense contracts awarded in the Vietnam procurement upsurge.

That increase began in late 1965, he said, and the contracts are beginning to come before the board now for review.

The board has authority over prime and subcontractors doing business with the Defense Department, Army, Navy, Air Force, Maritime Administration, General Services Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Atomic Energy Commission and Federal Aviation Agency.

Opposition to a permanent role for the board came in March from Roland M. Bixler, a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers, who testified before the Ways and Means Committee in opposition to making the board permanent.

"The peril in the problem is not one of harassment of the contractor or even costly duplication of effort," he said. "The threat lies in the debasement of the contracting process which substitutes the calculating machine of the audit for the judgment of the trained military procurement officer."

He was joined by Karl G. Harr Jr., president of the Aerospace Industries Association who testified:

"The act is not necessary to assure fair and equitable pricing of defense products or services. Existing statutory controls and established Department of Defense procurement policies and techniques have been and will continue to be very effective in eliminating excess profits."

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Apr. 21, 1968]

GONZALEZ: STRENGTHENING BOARD WOULD CUT DOWN WAR PROFITTERING—I

(By Oscar Griffin)

WASHINGTON.—A U.S. Tax Court judge in Dallas soon must decide whether a major Texas military contractor owes the government more than $7.5 million because it made too much money from war contracts.

The Justice Department claims the firm, LTV Aerospace Corp, a subsidiary of Ling Temco Vought, Inc., of Dallas, profited too much in manufacturing airplane parts for the nation's defense effort.

The case dates from the military buildup of the early 1950s and the Korean conflict, but officials here attach great significance to it.

Judge Charles R. Simpson's decision could influence contractors doing business with the government for the Vietnam war, officials feel.

SPIRALING PROFITS

"Our history has been one of rampant war profiteering," said Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez of San Antonio, "and I am convinced that profiteering is going on now, is increasing and will continue to increase."

Gonzalez is one of a handful of legislators who have expressed alarm at the spiraling profits some companies are making at the expense of American taxpayers.

Unlike some of the others, however, Gonzalez has directed his efforts at strengthening the Renegotiation Board, a little-known government agency that reviews many federal military and space-related contracts to determine if there has been price-gouging.

EXAMPLES CITED

Others in Congress grab quick headlines by detailing cases in which the government paid too much for an item. They cite this as evidence of lax governmental buying procedures.

Recently, for example, Rep. Otis Pike of New York received wide attention by revealing the Defense Department paid $312.50 apiece for small plastic generator tuning knobs, while the supplier paid $1.62 apiece for them, Pike charged.

This is small potatoes for the Renegotiation Board. The board reviews all contracts a company had with the government in any given year to determine if it made excess profits on contracts that total more than $1 million.

LTV PROFITS

In the case of LTV Aerospace (doing business in 1952 and 1953 as Temco Aircraft Corp.), the Renegotiation Board determined the firm had profits of about $5.7 million in 1952 and about $10 million in 1953.

Work under government contract for Boeing Co. on the B-47 bomber and for Lockheed Aircraft Corp. on a Navy bomber amounted to 97.6 percent of the company's more than $119 million business during those two years.

"Its (Temco's) volume of sales was due to the Korean emergency" and the firm "so vastly overstated its estimated costs that it eliminated all possibility of loss," the government contends.

Officials do not say that Temco deliberately set out to gouge the government. But there are a number of reasons why some firms look upon wartime as a lucrative period.

During such periods the government's need for materials increases suddenly, with a requirement for production speed that eliminates the opportunity for cautious negotiations and other steps that sound purchasing policy otherwise would require.

In addition, forecasting costs of production often becomes impossible because new and different goods to fight the war are being produced.

The increase in prime contracts awarded by the Defense Department provides a clue to the problem in wartime.

During fiscal 1967, about $44.6 billion worth of prime contracts were let by the military. In fiscal 1965, the figure was less than $28 billion. It is expected to be more than $45 billion for the current fiscal year.

ANNUAL REPORT

The cautiously worded annual report of the Renegotiation Board points up the problem in fiscal 1967, the report noted, the cases of 635 firms that seemingly had excess profits were assigned to regional offices for renegotiation, as compared to 444 in fiscal 1966, an increase of 43 percent.

"Most of the increase occurred in the last quarter of the fiscal year when the first filings reflecting the surge of Vietnam procurement were processed," the report said.

The prosaic language in the report is even more revealing, however, when the sales and profits of companies reporting to the board are examined.

Of the 3447 contractors who filed reports with the Renegotiation Board in fiscal 1967, 271 showed a profit of $1.4 billion on sales to the government of $28.9 billion. Only 735, with sales of $1.2 billion, showed a loss, and this of only $272 million.

"When compared with earlier fiscal years," the report said, "these figures indicate a considerable decline in both the number of 'loss' contractors and the amount of 'loss' sales."

The number of "loss" contractors dropped by 20 percent during the one-year period while the number of "profit" contractors rose from 2150 to 2712.

PROFITEERING TO RISE

Lawrence E. Hartwig, chairman of the Renegotiation Board, will not say to what proportion he expects war profiteering to mount. But he said:

"There is no question but what the profit picture is improving for government contractors."

Hartwig oversees the work of 178 government employees.

Since 1954, the agency has collected more than $2 billion in excess profits from contractors for the government. The cost of doing so: About $50.3 million.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Apr. 22, 1968]

WAR-SPACE COST WATCHDOG AGENCY'S FATE UNDER SCRUTINY—II

(By Oscar Griffin)

WASHINGTON.—The fate of the only governmental watchdog on the zooming costs of war and space exploration is being decided now behind the closed doors of a congressional committee.

Whether the Renegotiation Board, an obscure agency that has saved American taxpayers more than $2 billion, is to get a new lease on life is being decided by the House Ways and Means Committee.

The fact that this determination is going on in secret irks Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, who more than a year ago launched a one-man campaign to extend the board's life and increase its authority.

Gonzalez fears that the military-industrial complex, opposed to extending the board's life, has taken over the hearings and committee members are getting only a one-sided view.

The San Antonio Democrat has called upon the committee chairman, Rep. Wilbur Mills, D., Ark., to hold open hearings, thus far without noticeable effect.

The Renegotiation Board is charged by law to determine and eliminate excessive profits realized by contractors and subcontractors in the defense and space programs, but its authority to review contracts has steadily been eroded by Congress since the Korean war.

EXTENSION PLEA

Gonzalez and a few others have legislation pending that would give the board permanent status and authority to delve into government contracts the board cannot now probe.

Under present legislation, the Renegotiation Board must go before Congress every two years and plead its case for an extension on life and for funds. It has received about $2.5 million a year since 1962 for its 175 or so employees in offices in Washington and Los Angeles. Its proposed budget this year is a little over $3 million.

The board was born in 1951 at the height of the Korean war.

Since then it has determined that 3755 firms have made excessive profits from government contracts and has brought more than $950 million back into the government till.

Other contractors, undoubtedly spurred by the existence of the board, have returned another $1.3 billion after voluntarily admitting their profits were too high.

This amounts to $2.2 billion and has cost the federal government about $50.3 million to collect.

Stated another way, for every $1 the government has spent to operate the Renegotiation Board it has collected $18 from companies deemed to have made too much money from the government.

BUSINESS DEALINGS

The Renegotiation Board does not concern itself with individual contracts. Rather, it reviews all business dealings between a firm and the government in the course of a year, taking into consideration the risks involved in the contracts, the research and other intangibles.

If the board's analysts feel that the profit margin was too high, the board unilaterally issues an assessment for what it feels is the profit excess. The company must pay that amount or appeal to the U.S. Tax Court for relief.

Of the 3755 assessments issued, only 142 have been appealed. More than half have been won by the board.

The fact that industry is building weapons and equipment undreamed of a few years ago is used both by industry and the champions of the Renegotiation Board to justify their opposing positions.

Manufacturing this new gadgetry, industry says, means companies are unsure of the costs when they accept a government contract for the item. And like as not, they add, they lose money in fulfilling the contract.

Congressmen who would like to see the Renegotiation Board strengthened claim that because there is no way to accurately compute the cost in advance, the board should be given broader powers.

After all, they argue, the board considers all a firm's government contracts for any given year and does not penalize a company for excessive profits on one contract if this is counterbalanced with a loss or lower profits on another contract.

EXCESS PROFITS

No one studying the Renegotiation Board is quite sure just what excess profits are. The only guideline was set by the Tax Court, which has ruled that excess profits are profits that are "more than is reasonable."

The small number of appeals from the board's decisions, however, indicates that the board usually gives the contractor the benefit of the doubt.

What contractors and industries are more likely to have huge profits is difficult to determine. Renegotiation Board files are subject to the same strict regulations that cover the tax records of the Internal Revenue Service and are not open for public inspection.

However, a House armed services subcommittee, after extensive hearings, cited some examples of defense contract over pricing:

A corporation made a 42 percent profit on one defense contract by producing military hardware at facilities leased free from the government.

A radar manufacturer made nearly $500,000 when the Navy allowed itself to be billed for an item it did not need or want.

What little is known about what the board considers excess profits has been gleaned from Tax Court records.

A Baltimore firm that transported oil for the government, for example, had profits of $283,890 on sales of $1.1 million in 1956. The Tax Court ordered that it repay $100,000.

In a more celebrated case, North American Aviation, Inc., was ordered to repay $16.5 million for excess profits in 1953 and 1954. Its sales under the contracts examined amounted to about $1.3 billion, of which it claimed $104 million in profits.

STANDARD ITEMS

When first created the board could review contracts as little as $250,000, but through the years Congress has nibbled at this floor until it now stands at $1 million, with many standard items exempted.

Gonzalez estimates that more than $7.5 billion in defense and space contracts are being missed by the board.

There are powerful influences at work on Capitol Hill that disagree entirely with Gonzalez.

The National Assn. of Manufacturers says that if the Renegotiation Board is given new life it "will weaken progressively the industrial base which supports our military commitments."

Charles Stewart, president of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute, adds: "The problem with the defense industry today is inadequate profits, not excessive profits."

With this kind of argument going on, there is likely to be a stand-off in Congress, with the board continuing for two more years at about its present level of authority.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Apr. 26, 1968]

RICKOVER AGAIN CITES EXCESS DEFENSE PROFITS—ADMIRAL CLAIMS CONTRACTORS' REAL GAINS ARE HIDDEN BY BOOKKEEPING PROCEDURES

WASHINGTON.—Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover has charged again in closed hearings before a house committee that many corporations doing defense contract work are making excessive profits and that the Defense Department is both unwilling and unable to stop it.

He also charged that profits reported by defense contractors are often substantially lower than the profits they make and that excessive profits are hidden by bookkeeping procedures.

In the period 1964 to 1967, profits on defense contracts rose by 25% over 1959–63,

Rickover told the House Banking and Currency Committee on April 11.

RELEASE VOTED

Although the committee voted this week to make Rickover's testimony public, it has not been published.

Rickover testified that he had warned as early as 1963 "that the government needed additional protection to prevent industry from making excessive profits on complicated equipment and from hiding profits as 'costs.'"

"The Department of Defense has done little to correct the fundamental deficiencies in the contracting issues which I have raised in testimony before the Congress over the past several years," he said. "In this area they show flashes of interest but appear incapable of sustained enthusiasm . . ."

Rickover is the Navy's deputy commander for nuclear propulsions of the Naval Ship Systems Command and director of the Division of Naval Reactors for the Atomic Energy Commission.

RULES OUTDATED

"The government is trying to handle 1968 procurement with 1950 rules," Rickover testified.

"It should be clearly understood that under existing procurement rules it is not possible to tell just how much it costs to manufacture equipment or just how much profit a company actually makes—without spending months reconstructing the supplier's books.

"Large additional profits can easily be hidden just by the way overhead is charged, how component parts are priced, or how intracompany profits are handled. The company may report as cost what actually is profit.

"In one case Navy and General Accounting Office auditors conducted an extensive number of audits to determine one supplier's actual costs in making equipment for the government. These audits and evaluations lasted nearly a year.

"Altogether there were seven reports containing 11 differing estimates or evaluations of the supplier's costs in addition to the estimates made by the supplier himself. These various reports showed estimates of the supplier's costs differing by as much as 50%."

As an example of excess profits, Rickover cited the following case of a contractor, whom he did not name.

In 1958, a contractor submitted cost breakdowns "on several multi-million-dollar contracts" indicating a profit of 10%, Rickover said. In 1962, GAO auditors found the profit had actually been between 45% and 65%. The same year, the Navy held off payment to the contractor of $4 million to recover the excess.

APPEALS FILED

The contractor appealed, Rickover said, to the Defense Department's Defense Contract Audit Agency which, in a preliminary decision in 1965, upheld the Navy. The contractor appealed again and, this month, the Defense Contract Audit Agency completed a new audit of these 10-year-old orders.

"This new audit concluded that the contractor is entitled to be paid the excess profit he obtained, despite his submittal of these breakdowns," said Rickover. "Apparently, it is proper to tell the government 10% when you expect to make 45 to 60%."

Rickover produced for the committee a table showing profits reported by five unnamed companies compared to profits found in a government audit of those companies.

TABLE OF PROFITS

The table showed that Company A reported 4.5% profit but government audit found 10%. Company B reported 12.5% but the government found 19.5%. Company C reported 11.1% while government audit found 16.9%. Company D reported a 2% loss while government audit found a 15% profit. Company E reported a 21.6% profit but government audit reported 23.7%.

Last November, the Defense Department released a Logistics Management Institute study which said defense contract profits have declined steadily in the past 10 years and are now much lower than profits on commercial business. The study reported that defense contract profits average 2.4%.

Rickover, in citing the report, claimed that when a contractor estimates costs which eat away profit, he "includes in his estimate costs which are not allocable or applicable to government business. His breakdown thus, in fact, includes a subsidy for his commercial work."

PARTNERS IN PROGRESS

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in August of this year, we will mark the seventh anniversary of the signing of the Charter at Punta del Este and the creation of the Alliance for Progress. This dynamic program captured the imagination and interest of hundreds of citizens here in the United States and spawned the formation of the Partners of the Alliance which encourages individuals and groups in one of our States to work with individuals and groups in a Latin American country.

These private citizens, imbued with the development spirit fostered by the Alliance for Progress, now operate projects in 34 areas of 14 Latin American countries and have generated a flow of well over $7 million in material and technical assistance to Latin America from the private sector of the United States.

I was particularly pleased to see a recent editorial in the Times of the Americas which paid tribute to the efforts of the Partners of the Alliance and would like to call this editorial to the attention of our colleagues.

The article follows:

PARTNERS IN PROGRESS

Last week the Partners of the Alliance held its Third Inter-American Conference at Lima, Peru. It is only fair that editorial note should be taken of this highly imaginative program. The Partners concept has provided multiple channels that have made it possible for willing United States citizens to enter into meaningful and productive partnership with their Latin American counterparts. Conceived by James H. Boren only four years ago, the Partners program has had a deservedly spiralling history. There are now 34 state committees actively engaged in worthwhile projects throughout Latin America. The Partners plan has been previously described in these columns as the Alliance in a do-it-yourself kit, and we see no reason to change that definition. Congressman Armistead I. Selden, Jr., Chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs has said it permits U.S. citizens to "work directly with the people of an Andean village, a jungle colony, or a slum improvement association." His colleague, Congressman Dante B. Fascell of Florida, added that Jim Boren "with able and dynamic leadership had created an outstanding record of accomplishment." All of this is true.

When the Partners reached fuller stature, a private National Association of the Partners of the Alliance was formed. Edward Marcus, an international Texan, added his considerable talents to an already burgeoning concept. More and more the Partners has begun to learn to stand on its own feet. It brings together capable men and women and gets the job done. It is especially proud of its "multiplier" effect. With an investment of some $409,000, the Partners has provided almost $7.5 million in materials and technical assistance to Latin America. It seems only fitting that, as the Partners take stock of their position at a Third Inter-American Conference, that due recognition be made of their contribution to hemisphere understanding.

RESIGNATION OF AMBASSADOR ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG AS U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, 3 months can be a very short time—too short when it is spent working with an outstanding public servant such as Ambassador Goldberg.

I had that distinct pleasure and great honor when I served on the U.S. delegation to the 22d session of the United Nations General Assembly which met from September 18 to December 19, 1967. Ambassador Goldberg, as the permanent U.S. Representative, headed this delegation.

Serving as a member of this delegation gave me the opportunity to observe firsthand the exceptional qualities of a truly great public servant. It is not often that one gets to see in action and especially to work with a man, honored and revered by his fellow Americans, who is destined to become a part of American history.

Ambassador Goldberg is such a man.

Before joining President Kennedy's administration, he distinguished himself as a representative of labor, and its chief negotiator. He has since served in the Cabinet, on the Supreme Court, and during the past 3 critical years, in the most difficult of all diplomatic posts.

It is not easy to capture on paper the image of Ambassador Goldberg. You must see him in action to understand why he is such a rare and successful mediator.

He has the uncanny ability to strip away extraneous matter that tends to cloud serious issues and pinpoint the root causes of the most complex problems. In the development of policy, he weighs carefully the implications of every possible course of action. Then, in his patient, evenhanded and fair-minded way takes an unimpeachable position which balances United States and others' vital interests.

These skills were tested to their utmost during the Middle East crisis in 1967. As the delegate assigned to the Middle East situation during the 22d session, I saw him exercise his unusual mediating abilities. His cool handling of the long drawn-out discussions over a period of months on a Security Council resolution, helped

move both sides in the conflict from extreme positions. The outcome was a fair, well-balanced resolution entirely consistent with U.S. policy for providing the basis for a just and permanent solution.

This was not the only instance in which I observed the Ambassador exhibit his exceptional talents. The story of his vast contributions toward a solution to the tense Cyprus situation may never be told. Almost daily, his voice in the Councils of the U.S. delegation guided the group toward long-term, sound and defensible policy positions, overriding at times, short-term political advantages that might have been gained.

Mr. Speaker, the President has selected a well known and distinguished replacement in Mr. George Ball. Nevertheless, the prestige and talents of Ambassador Goldberg will be sorely missed in the forum of the United Nations.

MRS. ESTELLA HOWARD, OF INDIANAPOLIS, TEACHES LESSONS OF THRIFT AND SAVINGS TO HER STUDENTS

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, a prominent economic writer once said that "The virtues of enterprise, diligence, and thrift are the indispensable foundation of any complex and vigorous civilization." Mrs. Estella Howard, an Indianapolis schoolteacher, has on her own initiative incorporated into her home economics classes lectures on the mechanics and importance of attaining fiscal security and practicing fiscal responsibility. As a result of Mrs. Howard's efforts, her students have opened over 100 savings accounts in a period of 2 years.

This is the type of initiative and endeavor that makes the difference between a good teacher and a truly outstanding teacher, one in whose hands the future of the youth of America is safe and secure. Mrs. Howard is to be commended for her initiative, and I wish the Federal Government would take a lesson from Mrs. Howard and practice some thrift on its own.

Following is a story from the May 2, 1968, Indianapolis News, that describes Mrs. Howard's work:

THRIFT IS IMPORTANT: TEACHER OPENS 100 SAVINGS ACCOUNTS

Mrs. Estella Howard, a home economics teacher at School 44, 2033 Sugar Grove, has been credited with the opening of more than 100 savings accounts in a period of two years.

Each year Mrs. Howard includes as part of her home economics classwork, a study of the importance of systematic personal savings.

Besides presenting lectures on the subject, Mrs. Howard encourages her eighth-grade girls to take the first step toward financial security by opening a savings account while they are still in school.

Beginning as early as last September, she encouraged her pupils to save a little money each week, putting change in coin-saver envelopes at school.

Tuesday she escorted four of her classes—totaling 77 girls—to the downtown offices of the American Fletcher National Bank & Trust Co., 101 Monument Circle, where they deposited the money they had saved through the school year in the form of newly opened savings accounts.

Following a tour of AFNB facilities, each girl was met by a bank officer who assisted her in opening a passbook savings account.

In addition to stimulating the girls to make an initial deposit of a few dollars, Mrs. Howard said she had kept in touch with her last year's classes and now meets regularly with them to discuss savings.

AFNB officials reported that accounts opened by Mrs. Howard's classes Tuesday totaled more than $250.

RENT-A-CAR INDUSTRY A GROWING BUSINESS

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, a recent article appearing in my hometown newspaper, the Bay City Times, points out that 50 million Americans—half the Nation's driver population—are qualified to rent automobiles for business or pleasure travel. The article, by United Press International, deals with advances in the rent-a-car industry, which got its big start in Chicago and is now worldwide.

In this country, it is noted, the industry offers the individual or family a wide choice of types of cars, from station wagons to sports cars and sedans, on arrival at airport destination. I present the report on the industry to my colleagues:

RENTAL OF AUTOS INCREASING

(By William D. Laffler)

NEW YORK.—Advances in the rent-a-car industry make it no longer necessary for a home owner to have two cars in his garage as a status symbol.

He can now find a "wardrobe" of cars from which he can choose an automobile to suit his needs—a station wagon, a sports car, or a sedan for everyday use.

The expanded availability of credit for auto renting also has resulted in demand for more rented cars.

"It takes less and less cash to rent cars," Robert A. Smalley, executive vice president of Hertz rent a car, said recently. "Hertz is turning over to motorists vehicles worth up to $5,000 or more each on the strength of a charge card. What's more, half the U.S. driver population, about 50 million motorists, now carry some kind of credit card that is honored for car rentals."

Smalley said there are several reasons why motorists are depending more and more on rented cars on credit.

For example, Smalley said, a business or vacation traveler now can reserve a plane trip and have a rented car waiting for him at the airport of his destination.

And for those who use a car only occasionally, rented cars can be used whenever needed, sparing the driver the cost of ownership, licensing, garaging, insurance, repairs and other expenses, he said.

Smalley said the trend toward use of rented autos extended to other than personal areas.

"We note a steady rise in the number of trucks and cars we lease on long term to business concerns and in other areas of our business as well," Smalley said.

NAVAL WAR COLLEGE: ITS HERITAGE FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, one of the great educational institutions of our Armed Forces is the Naval War College, Newport, R.I., of which Vice Adm. John T. Hayward is president.

To enable officers of the service to receive some of the educational benefits available to students at the Naval War College, since 1948 this institution has published the Naval War College Review in which frank remarks of lecturers and authors are presented.

In an editorial in the March 1968 issue of the Naval War College Review by Admiral Hayward, he quotes from a June 2, 1897, address before the college by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt.

As the indicated editorial by Admiral Hayward merits wider circulation, I quote it as a part of my remarks:

The editorial follows:

[From the Naval War College Review, March 1968]

CHALLENGE!

(By John T. Hayward, Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy, *President*, Naval War College)

It was a practice in our Navy in the days of sail for seamen to have the letters for the words *"hold fast"* tattooed just below the knuckles of each finger. A seaman's life frequently hung on this brief maxim. Half prayer, half superstition, it reflected the unswerving determination of the person so adorned, and its effectiveness may have been far greater than imagined, for the beholder was reminded constantly of the stark importance of those two simple words. As a command or as an entreaty, their message was clear, concise, and absolutely vital.

The oracle-like quality of these simple words echoes through the utterances of "Teddy" Roosevelt, one of our most resolute military leaders. On 2 June 1897, before he had become our Commander in Chief, Mr. Roosevelt lectured at the Naval War College. The predictive wisdom and unshakable determination which his remarks reflect illustrate clearly his strength of purpose and grasp of situation. Today, we can take great profit from the reiteration of his statements.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Roosevelt quoted General Washington: "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means to promote peace." There was no doubt that Mr. Roosevelt subscribed fully to the meaning of these words. "In the last resort," he continued, "we can only secure peace by being ready and willing to fight for it. A rich nation which is slothful, timid, or unwieldy is an easy prey for any people which still retains those most valuable of all virtues, the soldierly virtues."

He viewed arbitration as "an excellent thing," but he was careful to point out that a "first class fleet" was far more to be relied upon than a treaty devised by the wit of man. For, in the words of Admiral Nelson, "The British Fleet was the best negotiator in Europe."

Mr. Roosevelt went on to remind us that "an ignoble peace is worse than any war," and "some forms of peace are fought with more bloodshed than most wars." We have seen the truth of these words in Poland and Hungary.

Within the two short centuries that span the existence of the United States, peace and national integrity have been bought dearly.

The stalwart men at Trenton, Bunker Hill, Yorktown, Saratoga, New Orleans, and Mobile Bay can testify to their initial price. They were paid for further at Gettysburg and Appomattox, Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood, at the Battle of the Bulge and Iwo Jima. Their cost is still being exacted in Vietnam and Korea.

Yet, as Mr. Roosevelt astutely observed in 1897, "There are some educated men in whom education merely serves to soften the fiber and to eliminate the higher sterner qualities which tell for national greatness; and these men prate about love of mankind, or for another country, as being in some hidden way a substitute for love of their own country." We have seen evidence of this in the recent trial of a group of educators charged with the subversion of the youth of our nation through attempted draft evasion. In the words of Mr. Roosevelt, "Shortsightedness, good humored indifference, sheer ignorance, and selfish reluctance to insure against future danger by present sacrifice are the chief obstacles to building a proper Navy and carrying out a proper foreign policy." Note his chronology of Navy and foreign policy.

He continues, "This applied in 1812—then as now it was the Navy upon which the country had to depend in the event of war with a foreign power." And note the relevance of these words in today's context: "Events move fast in the West, but this generation has been forced to see that they move even faster in the oldest East." Taken in this same context, note the illuminating statements with which Mr. Roosevelt continues.

"Tame submission to foreign aggression of any kind is a mean and unworthy thing, but it is even meaner and more unworthy to bluster first and then submit. It is *not* enough to parry a blow. The surest way to prevent its repetition is to return it. Diplomacy is utterly useless when there is no force behind it; the diplomat is the servant, not the master, of the soldier. This nation cannot stand still if it is to retain its self-respect and to keep undimmed the honorable tradition inherited from the men who with the sword founded it and by the sword preserved it. No nation should ever wage war wantonly but no nation should ever avoid it at the cost of loss of national honor."

These are the resolute words of a leader who stood foursquare in the face of opposition both at home and abroad.

We must look back to the heritage which leaders like "Teddy" Roosevelt have fathered, for these truths will not change no matter how the changes of circumstances may seem to modify the situation. As Mr. Roosevelt said, it is through the "readiness for strife that a nation must win greatness." That greatness must me maintained at all costs: by a strong Navy and a national armament sufficient to assure the nation's need. And the honorable peace which we must seek is not a granted gift. Like freedom, it must be earned through a resolute will, and it must be kept in being by the daily exercise of those prerogatives which assure its continuance.

GIFTS TO U.S. GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE PERMITTED

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to provide that gifts and donations may be received by the U.S. Government for any and all authorized governmental activities. Recently in a debate on the floor of the House when a provision of this type was written in for a particular law, it was mentioned that the failure to have a broad law applying to all functions of government and allowing gifts for such functions is a lack which should be remedied by law at the earliest possible moment.

This failure of the law to allow the Federal Government to be the recipient of gifts has resulted in a loss of funds to the Federal Government from time to time, and yet has had somewhat of a piecemeal correction in various areas. For instance, I introduced and the Congress passed a law some years ago providing for gifts toward paying off the national debt. The need for this was pointed out when an estate was being probated with such a gift in a very large amount but which could not be accepted because of this failure in our statutes.

I sincerely hope that this bill which I have now introduced will receive prompt attention, because it is obviously needed. One need in this field is now being considered in the hearings on a bill relative to gifts for the preservation of this Capitol Building and for improving its contents in the way of art and needed construction projects. There should be no need to handle this matter in legislation of a narrow scope and the broad scope approach should be enacted as soon as possible. I quote hereunder the bill which I am today introducing:

H.R. 17217

A bill to authorize the United States Government to accept contributions or gifts

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the head of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States may accept any contribution, gift, or donation, and such contribution, gift, or donation may be used to carry out functions vested in any such department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States.

SEC. 2. The Comptroller General of the United States shall develop regulations for receiving, recording, and distributing such contributions or gifts.

TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR JACOB D. BEAM

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a visit from one of my constituents who has devoted a distinguished career to the service of the United States in positions of great delicacy and importance to the security of the United States. I would like to take a brief opportunity to pay tribute to Ambassador Jacob D. Beam of Princeton. Ambassador Beam has been a member of our Foreign Service continuously since 1931 and has made himself a recognized expert in our relations with Europe, particularly Eastern Europe, and in the planning of our national security policy. After service in Switzerland and Germany before the war and throughout our engagement in the war, he returned to Germany as a political advisor to our occupation forces there, and later became Chief of the Central European Division of the State Department. He then served successively with the American mission in Indonesia and as Deputy Chief of mission in Belgrade and Moscow, and after a further brief tour in Washington was appointed Ambassador to Poland in 1957 where, among other things, he conducted a number of our discussions with representatives of Communist China. He was one of the first officials assigned to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency where he served as Assistant Director for International Relations from 1962 until 1966, when he was appointed to his present post as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. He is married to the former Margaret Glassford, who has a distinguished and creative record in the field of public affairs in her own right, and they have a fine son now in his teens. The United States is fortunate indeed to have public servants of the ability and integrity represented by this fine American family.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, during the past 20 years the State of Israel has performed the modern miracle of creating a nation in the midst of the most adverse circumstances and against what has seemed at times to be insurmountable odds. With determination and fortitude its people have transformed a barren wasteland barely able to sustain life into a strong, dynamic economy—a model of democracy and enlightened government. And throughout most of this period, progress has been achieved in the face of continuing attacks upon its integrity by the Arab nations.

Today the world pays a well-deserved tribute to the leaders and citizens of Israel. It is, indeed, an inspiring experience in the history of mankind that the Jewish people after nearly 20 centuries of wandering in the wilderness of unreasonable persecution have established and developed this citadel of democracy within a brief span of 20 years.

External dangers arising from encirclement of Israel by the Arab countries continue up to this hour, but as has been true in the past, the Israelis by maintaining a vigilant defense of their borders will demonstrate in the future their capability to preserve and protect their hard-won homeland.

As citizens of the free world we have every reason to admire and respect the courage of this gallant nation in its quest for the preservation of human rights, human dignity and in the development of free and democratic institutions.

Ours has been a long tradition of sympathy for sovereign nations striving to

maintain their freedom. It is to the credit of the United States that it was first among the nations of the world to recognize the establishment of Israel in 1948. This recognition has been well founded.

I join with the other Members of the House on this memorable anniversary to add my name to the endless list of those who admire and respect the Israeli nation for the outstanding contribution it has made and is making to the world.

STATEMENTS ISSUED BY THE REPUBLICAN TASK FORCE ON CRIME

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include three recent statements issued by our Republican Task Force on Crime. The first is entitled, "GOP Crime Task Force Ties $100 Million Boost in Crime Control Spending to $6 Billion Federal Budget Slice," and was released on May 2, 1968. The other two issued on May 6, and May 9, 1968, have to do with the Lawrence Callanan case. Representative POFF has asked the Committee on the Judiciary to investigate charges made by the Wall Street Journal.

The statements follow:

GOP CRIME TASK FORCE TIES $100 MILLION BOOST IN CRIME CONTROL SPENDING TO $6 BILLION FEDERAL BUDGET SLICE

While there was no identity of viewpoint on every item, a consensus of the House Republican Task Force on Crime today called for a $100 million increase in federal spending for crime control.

The increase was tied to the recently announced Human Renewal plan advanced by seventy House Republicans to cut $6.6 billion of low-priority federal spending and provide a $2.5 billion increase for programs where they indicated spending was most critically needed. This would result in an overall saving of $4.1 billion in the federal budget.

The Task Force said that priority increases over the President's budget request were necessary in the following areas:

1. *$40 million additional* for grants to States under the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act.
2. *$32 million additional* specifically for prisoner and probationer training and rehabilitation.
3. *$12 million additional* for federal efforts to combat organized crime.
4. *$10 million additional* for grants to States to combat juvenile delinquency.
5. *$6 million additional* for direct federal efforts in several areas other than organized crime and to cover part of the measures the President asked for but which are not covered in his budget request.

Rep. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.), Chairman of the GOP Task Force said that additional expenditures under the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act and under the Juvenile Delinquency Act were "clearly justified on their face." "Both bills have already passed the House and presumably they will have passed the Senate before the beginning of the next fiscal year. If we really mean to help the States get the job done," he said, "we can't under-fund the grant programs. The budget proposals for both of these bills are plainly unrealistic."

"As for prisoner and probationer training and rehabilitation," Poff continued, "our record in this field is an absolute disgrace. Recidivism rates are awful. Whatever we're doing just isn't working. A number of groups are currently studying this problem and so is the Crime Task Force. From what we know of all the proposals $37 million is a realistic sum to set aside for funding whatever eventually emerges as a plan to aid the States and to cover additional expenditures in the federal system."

"We also have some very specific ideas about the federal organized crime effort and the direct federal anti-crime effort in general," Poff noted. "The details are being worked out now and will be released shortly."

Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R.-N.Y.), Chairman of the Planning and Research Committee of the House Republican Conference and a spokesman for the group which put together the $6.6 billion budget cut and $2.5 billion plow-back observed that "We allocated an additional $100 million for crime control and asked the Crime Task Force to suggest specifically how it should be spent. Their proposals reflect a sound sense of realism."

REPRESENTATIVE POFF TO ASK JUDICIARY COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ARTICLES' CHARGES

Rep. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.), Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Crime, declared today that "a news story on the front page of Thursday's Wall Street Journal is enough to shake the confidence of every American in our entire political system. It contains allegations of the very worst sort of conduct on the part of what the authors describe as 'high-ranking Justice Department officials'.

"I am writing to the Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary calling for an investigation of the entire matter of Lawrence Callanan," Poff continued, and what the article pictures as the preferred treatment he is getting from the Department of Justice.

"The story is headlined: 'Probe of Union's Gifts for Campaigns Poses a Risk for Democrats—U.S. Aides Seek to Prosecute Chief of St. Louis Local *But Higher-ups Bar Move*'. That is a shocking charge," Poff said, "it spells one thing—fix!"

The GOP Chairman noted that "Callanan is described as a 'labor leader who bosses just 1200 steamfitters union members' in St. Louis but who 'is able, as a free-spending friend of numerous politicians to hand-pick candidates for public office, dispense patronage and influence legislation in Missouri'. It does not appear that his influence is confined to just one State, however," Poff continued. "It is also reported that from 1963 through 1966, Callanan's local—a relatively small organization has 'ladled out' more than *$1 million dollars* to candidates for Federal, State and local office throughout the nation."

"It is a violation of the law for a labor union to make such contributions," Poff noted. "According to the account in the Journal, it would appear that the Department of Justice has a cold case against Callanan. 'Federal prosecutors would like to send him to jail,' the Journal says, but so far 'the prosecutors' efforts to try Mr. Callanan have been blocked by higher-ranking Justice Department officials'.

"But this is only part of the story," he continued. "The other part concerns Callanan himself.

"Lawrence Callanan is an ex-convict. He was convicted many years ago of armed robbery and again in 1954 for extorting $28,000 from a construction firm while he was the business manager of the same steamfitters local. He went to prison for six years and was paroled in 1960. Under specific circumstances, the law forbids ex-convicts from holding union office. In April 1964, a significant date, Callanan, the convicted robber and extortionist, received a Presidential commutation, the Journal said "enabling him to resume union activity. Shortly thereafter," Poff continued, "the bountiful treasury of the Steamfitters Union began spreading its largess to candidates for political office."

"The American people are entitled to know why a character of Callanan's record is the beneficiary of a presidential commutation in the first place. What possible justification is there for rewarding such a man as this?" Poff asked.

"The American people are also entitled to know who now is responsible for the foot-dragging in the Department of Justice. The article clearly indicates that their Organized Crime Section favors vigorous prosecution. If a decision has been made at a higher level to kill the prosecution or to stall it until after the elections, then the people are entitled to know who is responsible for this decision. Otherwise," Poff concluded, "they ought to get their indictment and get it now and bring their case out into the open."

GRAND JURY HAS OPTIONS IN CALLANAN CASE, POFF DECLARES

Rep. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.), Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Crime, was informed late Wednesday afternoon that the Grand Jury hearing the Callanan case had been called up for a session Thursday morning. On Monday, following newspaper disclosures of "foot-dragging" in the Department of Justice over the Callanan case, Poff called for a Congressional investigation of the entire matter.

Of the new developments, Poff said, "I do not know what this means. The Grand Jury could be meeting on other cases wholly unrelated to Callanan. If on the other hand," he continued, "the Department of Justice is responding to the criticism of the press and the pressure of possible Congressional investigation engendered by House Republicans, then that is all to the good. All of us will have accomplished something.

"There is a caveat, however," Poff continued. "Last week, one of the newspapers, in discussing the several indictments that have been proposed in the Justice Department during the past few months, reported that 'From 97 counts the draft indictment has been progressively pared to one.'

"If an indictment is returned there would be little accomplished," Poff continued, "if it happens to be weaker than the evidence or if it makes the case more difficult to prove.

"The members of the Grand Jury know their prerogatives. They are the ones who will decide what charges, if any, to bring. The function of the Department of Justice is merely advisory at this point and the jurors do not have to accept whatever is pushed before them.

"I am confident that they will weigh carefully the content of the indictment recommended by the Justice Department. If it fits the evidence—fine. If it does not, however, they have the option to direct the Justice Department to draft an indictment that they feel does fit the evidence."

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY: A WISTFUL HARBINGER OF THE FUTURE

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, 91 years ago today, the world witnessed an event in Rumanian history very similar in spirit to an action taken by a sinewy, young British colony in America in 1776. Rumanian independence from the Ottoman Empire on May 10, 1877, was declared after four centuries under the lash of

Turkish rule. This proclamation was the important culmination of years of discontent, unrest and a bitter war with the Turkish Empire resulting in defeat for the Turks with the assistance of czarist Russia.

Tragically the independence and freedom was whisked away during the furor and confusion of postwar Europe by an opportunistic conquering Soviet Russia. Although their liberty was physically removed, the aura of freedom still remains in the hearts of the Rumanian people. Rumania is the epitome of strict structured communism and the epitome of a freedom-loving spirit.

This wish for freedom has revealed itself again through the years in the gradual loosening of the collar of Soviet dictatorship. Rumania has also established trade and diplomatic ties with the western nations including Britain, France, and the United States. I sincerely hope that Rumania's wish for freedom as a country reaches even farther to the people in years to come.

FUNDS FOR THE WAR ON POVERTY

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of irresponsible talk has been going around to the effect that Congress is lackadaisical and unconcerned about the plight of the poor. I have thoroughly analyzed the budget for fiscal 1969 and found over $13,000,000,000 that will be used to help fight the battles on the many fronts of the war on poverty.

There is actually a great deal more money being spent to fight poverty, but it is rather difficult to pinpoint it, as many huge programs benefit all segments of the population rather than just the poor. A compilation that appears in the Budget document lists twice as much as I have, or $27,700,000,000, but it breaks it down only in very broad categories.

The two tabulations follow.

The following table is the one that I prepared:

[In thousands of dollars]

	Expenditures	
	Fiscal 1968	Fiscal 1969
Funds appropriated to the President:		
Appalachian regional development programs	143,300	235,750
Office of Economic Opportunity:		
Economic opportunity program	1,851,702	1,996,006
Economic opportunity loan fund	1,400	905
Department of Agriculture:		
Consumer and Marketing Service:		
Special milk program	102,000	102,000
School lunch program	219,825	246,044
Food stamp program	177,945	238,000
Farmers Home Administration:		
Rural renewal	1,800	1,390
Rural housing for domestic farm labor	3,800	5,000
Rural housing insurance fund	2,944	4,395
Agricultural credit insurance fund	7,604	10,636
State rural rehabilitation funds	2,344	1,054
Rural Community Development Service	465	461
Department of Commerce:		
Economic development assistance:		
Development facilities	5,372	39,620
Industrial development loans and guarantees	2,903	3,500
Planning, technical assistance, and research	9,567	19,320
Miscellaneous expired accounts (expenditures result from prior year obligations of the Area Redevelopment Administration)	1,393	4,000
Economic Development Administration	4,911	6,060
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:		
Office of Education:		
Elementary and secondary educational activities	1,422,575	1,408,199
Teacher Corps	13,287	21,698
Expansion and improvement of vocational education (innovative occupational education programs, especially for disadvantaged youth)		7,000
Educational improvement for the handicapped	39,700	64,000
Student loan insurance fund	104	1,948
Social and Rehabilitation Service:		
Grants to States for maintenance payments	46,000	2,945,600
Work incentive activities	15,000	119,000
Grants to States for medical assistance		2,093,300
Social services, administration, training, and demonstration projects		587,856
Grants to States for public assistance:		
Income maintenance payments [1]	2,930,000	15,528
Medical assistance [1]	1,761,015	28,327
Social services, administration, training, and demonstration projects [1]	460,233	1,400
Assistance for repatriated U.S. nationals	507	535
Grants for rehabilitation services and facilities	300,509	366,611
Mental retardation		10,800
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Continued		
Social and Rehabilitation Service—Continued		
Maternal and child health and welfare	223,000	269,000
Development of programs for the aging	13,029	26,202
Rehabilitation research and training	61,766	66,345
Cooperative research or demonstration projects	3,300	4,000
Assistance to refugees in the United States	47,920	54,660
Juvenile delinquency prevention and control		20,000
Social Security Administration: Payment for special benefits for the aged		225,545
Department of Housing and Urban Development:		
Renewal and housing assistance:		
Grants for neighborhood facilities	15,000	32,000
Alaska housing for low-income residents		1,000
Salaries and expenses, renewal and housing assistance:		
Public housing programs	19,431	21,738
Urban renewal and community facilities	13,062	14,622
Urban renewal programs	499,105	699,110
Low-rent public housing	280,301	335,308
Metropolitan development:		
Urban planning grants	31,000	46,000
Metropolitan development incentive grants		3,000
Salaries and expenses, metropolitan development	6,226	8,700
Demonstrations and intergovernmental relations:		
Model cities programs	25,000	250,000
Urban information and technical assistance	500	3,000
Community development training programs	500	4,700
Salaries and expenses, demonstration and intergovernmental relations	1,859	1,860
Urban technology and research: Low-income housing demonstration programs	1,800	3,800
Mortgage credit: Federal Housing Administration rent supplement program	3,600	16,100
Departmental management: Proposed housing and urban development legislation		14,000
Department of Labor:		
Manpower Administration:		
Manpower development and training activities	444,000	430,000
Salaries and expenses, Office of Manpower Administrator	34,572	37,300
Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training	7,900	8,900
Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Employment Security	4,050	3,077
National Capital Planning Commission trust funds: Advances from District of Columbia (funds are received from the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for the preparation of urban renewal plans)	311	166
Total	11,254,437	13,185,806

[1] In fiscal 1969 these activities will be funded under grants to States for maintenance payments, supra.

The following table is from the budget message of the President:

FEDERAL AID TO THE POOR

Category	Fiscal 1968	Fiscal 1969
Education	$2,300,000,000	$2,500,000,000
Work and training	1,200,000,000	1,600,000,000
Health	4,100,000,000	4,700,000,000
Cash benefit payments	14,600,000,000	15,900,000,000
Other social welfare and economic services	2,400,000,000	2,900,000,000
Total	24,600,000,000	27,700,000,000

Note: Figures, which are estimates, represent new obligational authority for Federal funds and expenditures in the case of trust funds. Rounding prevents the figures in the 2d column from equaling the total.

Mr. Speaker, the following remarks were excerpted from the analysis of Federal activities by function, which appears in the budget document for fiscal 1969. A perusal of these paragraphs should convince even the most skeptical that the Federal Government will have plenty of money for the war on poverty during the next fiscal year.

The recommendations in this budget for manpower development programs will strengthen employment and training services in rural areas. Other budget programs will improve health services and educational opportunities for rural people. The Department of Agriculture will provide increased assistance for low income rural housing and for public facilities in rural areas. The Department will also continue to encourage coordinated planning and administration of public investment through multicounty area development districts. These districts would provide a broader economic base for many rural areas to attract more private investment and to provide more adequate public service.

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In 1969, the Farmers Home Administration will continue its emphasis on helping low-income people in rural areas. To do this, FHA has three major types of loan programs: Those to improve farm income, those to provide housing for rural families, and those to provide public facilities for rural communities.

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Business assistance programs contribute to the general welfare of all citizens as consumers as well as to the progress of individual businesses. In addition, these programs increasingly seek to enlist the active participation of the business community in the solution of deep-seated social and economic problems, such as hard-core unemployment and regional economic imbalance. Similarly, technological and financial assistance for small businesses is being brought to bear on stubborn urban and rural economic problems.

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The major objectives of our economic development programs are to reduce unemployment and to increase family incomes in the Nation's most seriously lagging areas. In 1969, the Economic Development Administration will stress industrial loans to development centers, and loans and grants for development facilities in our most depressed areas. . . .

The development program of the Appalachian Regional Commission provides public facilities and services in areas which are critical to the economic growth of the region. Emphasis is being given to the development of a regional transportation system, improved vocational education, health services, and utilization of natural resources.

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. . . For those families who are unable to afford housing at the prices which must be charged in the private market, the Government provides additional assistance in the form of low interest loans for rental housing for moderate income families, and annual contributions to local public authorities providing housing for low income families. The rent supplement program . . . provides payments to private housing sponsors on behalf of low income tenants. . . .

A 10-year program is proposed to provide 6 million housing units—homes and apartments—for low and moderate income families. The program will begin in 1969, under existing and proposed legislation, with 300,000 units.

Expenditures for housing and community development are expected to double . . . in 1969. The increase reflects higher grant disbursements as the Model Cities program gets underway, and progress is made on projects approved in prior years for such essential purposes as public housing, urban renewal, water and sewer facilities, open space, mass transportation, and neighborhood facilities.

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. . . Early enactment [of legislation requested last year] will allow work to start on . . . 85,000 [new homes] in 1969. . . . Existing housing will be leased or purchased—and where necessary, repaired—to increase the supply of standard housing available for low income families. . . .

Expenditures in the public housing program represent the Federal contribution to meet that portion of the debt service which cannot be paid from rent receipts. . . .

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The Government helps families with low or moderate incomes obtain decent, privately-sponsored housing at prices they can afford by making payments to supplement their monthly rent or by lending money at low interest rates.

The successful rent supplement program has shown the way for increasing the supply of standard housing for low income families by combining private ownership and Federal financial aid. The Government pays the private housing sponsor—nonprofit organizations or limited dividend corporations—the difference between the rent a family can afford and the rent required to pay the total costs of the apartment. . . .

The largest current lending program supplementing the private housing market provides rental housing for families with moderate incomes. The Federal National Mortgage Association purchases mortgages with 3% interest rates for such housing under its special assistance functions. These low interest rates permit families with incomes too high to qualify for public or rent supplement housing, but too low to afford other available standard housing, to obtain better accommodations. . . .

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Sixty-three cities have launched detailed planning of their programs to upgrade the physical social fabric of large blighted areas. These plans will demonstrate that the interrelated problems facing the people of our cities can be attacked, melding into a unified program the many diverse efforts to improve such services as education, skill training and employment, health, welfare, recreation, and physical development. Some of these plans are expected to be completed late in 1968, and the remainder in early 1969. The first 63 cities will then begin their action programs with the aid of supplementary grants to help cover costs not met by other Federal aids. These action programs will help rejuvenate 65 blighted areas containing 3.7 million people.

Approximately 70 more cities are expected to start preliminary planning for model cities programs in late spring, 1968; some will be able to start their action programs before the end of 1969.

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Through the urban renewal program, the Federal Government aids local communities beset by physical deterioration and rising costs to transform slum-laden land into attractive areas that serve the community's people. First priority is being given to projects that increase the supply of housing for low and moderate income families or that provide jobs for those now living in blighted areas. . . .

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Federal programs to improve the economic, social, and physical well-being of all Americans have been substantially expanded and improved in recent years.

Increased emphasis has been given to activities which provide special assistance to the disadvantaged and needy groups of our society, such as the antipoverty program, and to measures, such as increased social security benefits, which lessen economic insecurity. Medicare represents a major stride in overcoming financial barriers to quality health care. Manpower programs have been restructured and expanded to help workers acquire the skills needed in our complex economy.

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The Medicare and Medicaid programs have virtually eliminated financial barriers to medical care for the aged and have made it possible for the poor to receive an increasing volume of comprehensive medical services.

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Grants to the States for medical assistance [will go] to about 8.5 million needy persons . . . in 1969 . . . .

The 1967 Social Security Amendments limit Federal Medicaid matching payments to medically indigent persons whose income is not more than one-third greater than the welfare payments made by the States under aid to families with dependent children. For States already in the Medicaid program, this limitation does not become fully effective until January, 1970; however, it is immediately effective for new States entering the program.

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Programs for the training and employment of the disadvantaged have received very high priority in the 1969 budget. A substantial expansion in funds for these programs is requested. Particular emphasis will be placed on cooperation with private industry in the training programs and on the concentration of manpower activities in areas of substantial unemployment.

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. . . Legislation will be proposed to liberalize the trade adjustment assistance program, which authorizes aid to workers and businesses substantially affected by increased imports.

In addition to the Labor Department programs included in the "Labor and manpower" category, various training and work experience opportunities and other manpower services are financed through other civilian agencies—notably the Office of Economic Opportunity; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Veterans' Administration; and the Department of the Interior. . . . [A] wide range of efforts [is] being made to increase opportunities for all workers to contribute to and share in our economy and society.

. . . In addition to providing increased opportunities for training and work experience, improvements are planned in the organization, administration, and delivery of the various manpower services. . . .

The benefits of the sustained growth of the American economy in recent years have not been fully shared by those who live in urban ghettos and rural backwaters. Many, due to inadequate education, lack of skills, poor health, discrimination, and the debilitating effect of their environment, are unable to participate successfully in the labor force without special assistance. The Federal manpower effort is aimed particularly at this group. Therefore, those receiving services under Federal manpower programs are typically poor and unemployed, members of a minority group, youths, older persons, inadequately educated, or handicapped.

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About 55% of the recommended new obligational authority for manpower programs in 1969 will be used to provide formal skill training, both on the job and in classrooms. . . . The greatest expansion [in structured training] is in programs which are primarily for on-the-job training in private industry.

Through the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Work Incentive Program for welfare recipients, veterans programs, and funds made available to the Department of Labor by the Office of Economic Opportunity, 281,000 individuals will be provided on-the-job training opportunities in 1969. An additional 13,000 persons will be provided opportunities for training and work experience leading to subprofessional employment through the New Careers program.

Institutional training, the learning of job skills in a classroom setting, and basic education will be available to about 268,000 individuals through the [Manpower Development and Training Act], Opportunities Industrialization Centers, the Job Corps, and the Work Incentive Program.

In addition, part-time skill upgrading and short-term employability training under the [Manpower Development and Training Act] will be available to 63,000 individuals. About 14,000 Indians will be trained, relocated, or placed directly on jobs by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

. . . In 1969, about 469,000 youths will be provided opportunities for work in the public sector during the school year or in the summer, so that they may obtain income necessary to continue their education. Another 121,000 youths and adults in both urban and rural areas, handicapped by age or local economic conditions, will have opportunities for meaningful work experience providing useful community services. . . .

The Federal-State Employment Service System is the supplier of basic manpower services and, with the local Community Action Agencies, provides the leadership in carrying out manpower programs at the local level. Special emphasis is being given to iden-

tifying and seeking out the disadvantaged and providing them with counseling, referral to training, and special placement efforts.

Additional urban and rural Concentrated Employment Programs will be established, using funds from the programs mentioned above, to provide a more effective and concentrated delivery of manpower services in specific geographic areas with large numbers of disadvantaged persons. An estimated 70 new CEP's—35 of them rural—will bring the total number of CEP's in 1969 to 146, serving over 200,000 individuals. These CEP's will bring together under one program such diverse services as remedial education, special counseling, work experience, institutional and on-the-job training, job placement, day care for dependent children, and health services.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act's Special Impact Authority [new obligational authority requested for 1969] will be used to provide incentives to private employers to hire and train the disadvantaged in projects which contribute to the economic development of communities and neighborhoods having large concentrations of low-income persons.

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In addition to the manpower activities financed through the Office of Economic Opportunity, the attack on poverty directed by OEO continues mainly through community action programs, including Head Start and Head Start Follow Through, and through health, legal, and other social services.

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. . . New obligational authority for community action programs [provided in the 1969 budget] . . . will provide for continuation of existing programs as well as for an increased emphasis on antipoverty efforts in rural areas. . . .

In 1969, OEO and the Departments of Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Housing and Urban Development will continue to participate in a joint program to provide in 14 cities a coordinated service approach to meeting the problems of the poor. . . .

Project Head Start will provide full academic year preschool classes for 202,000 children and summer projects for 450,000 children. . . . Funds [in the 1969 budget for the second year of the Head Start Follow Through program] will provide for special services to 79,000 children in the primary grades so that they can build on the benefits of their earlier Head Start or other preschool experience. Experiments will be undertaken with various approaches to the education of disadvantaged children.

Through other community action activities, legal services will be provided in approximately 570,000 cases, Upward Bound will help 31,000 culturally deprived but talented youths prepare for college, and it is estimated that 50 health centers will be operating to provide services to the poor where they live.

During 1969, . . . adult education, child day care, sanitation, and housing [will be provided] for many of the 351,000 migrant farm workers in the United States. In addition, Volunteers in Service to America will provide about 4,500 man-years of volunteer service in poverty areas. An estimated 10,000 rural families will receive loans to finance farm improvements or small all nonfarm businesses.

. . . There [are] about 29 million poor, too many in a country as rich as ours. In addition to antipoverty efforts under the Economic Opportunity Act, numerous Federal programs assist in attacking this problem. These programs include social security, public assistance, education, work and training activities, health services, regional economic development, housing, urban redevelopment and community facilities, school lunches, and various other food distribution activities.

In fiscal year 1969, Federal outlays which aid persons below the poverty line (for example, a family of four with an annual income under $3,335) are estimated to total $27.7 billion. This represents an increase of $3.1 billion over fiscal year 1968 and $15.2 billion over 1963.

Social insurance programs help maintain the incomes of persons who are retired, disabled, dependent, or unemployed. . . . The largest is social security; others include unemployment insurance, civil service retirement and disability programs, and the railroad retirement system.

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The Social Security Amendments of 1967 . . . include increased benefits for 690,000 noninsured persons over age 72. . . .

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Legislation will be proposed to improve the unemployment insurance program. These improvements will include extension of coverage, more adequate regular benefits for unemployed workers, extended benefits during periods of high unemployment, and training and other services needed to increase the employability of claimants.

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The federally aided public assistance program, operating through State and local government agencies, helps needy families and individuals who are without other resources. In 1969, financial assistance and social services will be provided to a monthly average of 8.8 million indigent individuals—including aged, blind, and disabled persons, and the more than 1.5 million families with 4.6 million children who qualify for aid to dependent children. . . . Increased numbers of recipients are . . . expected in the disabled and dependent children programs.

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Recently enacted Social Security amendments are intended to stimulate the States to reduce welfare caseloads by providing incentives to welfare recipients to seek employment. The amendments authorize a new work incentive and training program for adult members and older, out-of-school children of welfare families. . . .

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In 1969 more than 750,000 disabled individuals will receive services and about 230,000 will be restored to productive employment. . . . A more concerted effort will be made to rehabilitate the more difficult cases—particularly the disabled who are now supported on public assistance.

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. . . By the end of fiscal year 1969, approximately 3 million low income people will be improving their diets through the food stamp program.

Currently, about one out of every 10 lunches served under the regular school lunch program is served free or at a reduced price to needy children. . . .

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The central concern of the Federal Government in recent years has been to promote improved education for the disadvantaged, who for too long had been tragically neglected. The 1969 budget continues our commitment to overcoming barriers of race, ethnic origin, place of residence, income, or mental and physical handicaps. Increases are included for those programs which are directed toward improving the quality of education, expanding the supply of qualified teachers, and for educating the handicapped and preventing dropouts. . . .

. . . Increases [for elementary and secondary education for 1969], largely for education of the handicapped and for new projects to prevent dropouts, are offset by decreases in supplementary grants for school equipment and books.

Over one-half of the total [for elementary and secondary education for 1969] will be for grants under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, to improve education in schools serving large numbers of students from low-income families. . . .

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. . . [Increases in appropriations over fiscal 1968] will be largely for (1) new regional centers staffed by specialists in diagnostic and remedial services and grants to States to support school and preschool classes for the mentally retarded and physically handicapped; (2) continuation of the Teacher Corps, under which new college graduates and experienced teachers work as teams in schools serving students from low-income families; and (3) a new program of bilingual education for children whose native language is not English. . . .

. . . Local school projects aimed at preventing dropouts [will be supported] under new authority included in the [Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967].

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. . . New emphasis will be placed, in part through proposed new legislation, on identifying and encouraging promising high school students in financial need while they are still in high school and providing counseling and tutoring after they reach college. The Upward Bound program of the Office of Economic Opportunity . . . will also contribute to this effort by providing intensive special summer programs at colleges and universities for disadvantaged high school students who show potential for college.

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Legislation is proposed which will . . . authorize support for projects for experimentation with different methods of providing occupational education and orientation, particularly for disadvantaged and other students not planning to go to college. . . .

New obligational authority for educational research, experimentation, and demonstrations . . . in 1969 . . . will include, [among other things], several large-scale experiments in education of preschool and school age ghetto children. . . .

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. . . Survivors of veterans whose death is directly attributable to military service are . . . awarded monthly payments in recognition of the economic hardship imposed on the family.

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Disabled veterans and other veterans in financial need may qualify for special pension payments. Veterans' widows and children who can demonstrate need may also be eligible for pensions. . . .

STATE GI, MARINE DIE IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Larry F. Brashears and Sp4c. Gary Lee Bounds, two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their bravery and honor their memories by including the following article in the RECORD:

STATE GI, MARINE DIE IN VIETNAM—YOUTHS FROM WALKERSVILLE, SALISBURY HIT BY FIRE

A Maryland marine has died of wounds in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday, and an Army specialist has also died there, the soldier's family reported yesterday.

The two were Marine Pfc. Larry F. Brashears, 19, son of Mr. and Mrs. Alvin F. Brashears, of Walkersville, and Army Spec. 4 Gary Lee Bounds, 21, son of Mr. and Mrs. Vaughan R. Bounds, of Salisbury.

Private Brashears, who was attached to an 81-mm. mortar platoon at Quang Tri province, died of shrapel wounds April 30 after an engagement with the enemy in the Quang Tri area.

A graduate of Walkersville High School, Private Brashears enlisted in the Marine Corps on May 25, 1967. He took his basic training at Parris Island, S.C., moved to Camp Lejeune, N.C., and left for Vietnam from Camp Pendleton, Cal., in November.

Besides his parents he is survived by a sister, Linda McN. Brashears and a brother Elmer L. Brashears.

Spec. 4 Bounds died last Sunday of wounds received while a passenger in a military vehicle on convoy mission engaged by a hostile force.

In his last letter home, he wrote that he had reenlisted for another three years.

Besides his parents he is survived by a sister, Mrs. Sherry R. Saunders, of Federalsburg, Md., and two brothers, Joseph D. Bounds and Charles R. Bounds, of Salisbury.

Also surviving are two grandmothers, Mrs. Josephine Townsend, of Salisbury, and Mrs. Sallie A. Bradshaw, of Crisfield, Maryland.

GOLD: AN ASSET OR STRAITJACKET?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with the gold cover on our paper money gone, the citizens hear much of the International Monetary Fund, "paper gold," special drawing rights, and a world dollar.

Just what all this means few know or have been given a chance to learn. A great sleight-of-hand mysticism.

Mr. H. Christian Sonne has just supplied his book, "Gold: A World Asset or a Straitjacket?" April 1968.

Because I feel our colleagues are interested in background information to understand where we may be headed, are we solving a problem or encouraging the cause, I include chapters 1 to 3 of Sonne's booklet in the RECORD:

GOLD: A WORLD ASSET OR A STRAITJACKET?

(By H. Christian Sonne)

INTRODUCTION

An independent Free World without American leadership is, in the long run, unlikely. American leadership without a strong and respected economic basis is unthinkable.

Hence the solution of our admittedly difficult economic problems is an all-important task.

Whether we succeed or not is apt to be decided within a short span of months, probably before the end of 1968, by which time our attitude toward the amendment of the charter of the IMF (as discussed at the Rio de Janeiro meeting last September), or any subsequent changes, is apt to be determined. Representatives of our government and students of the subject have been aware all during 1967 that momentous decisions soon have to be made on such questions as:

How can the United States, with all its important commitments at home and abroad and deficits in 17 out of the past 18 years, improve its international balance of payments sufficiently to face with equanimity net short-term liabilities abroad amounting to more than twice the present value of its approximate holdings of $12 billion gold stock? How can we expect the U.S. dollar (not to mention the pound sterling) to be regarded as a real "primary reserve"?

If, in the light of Free World experience over the last decade, it has become apparent that neither the pound sterling nor the U.S. dollar can or ever could be considered an indisputably sound, stable asset (like gold) to be held as a reserve by central banks, are there sufficient real reserves (which, in the absence of other devices, consist merely of gold) to form a proper basis for international activities?

Even if the two reserve currencies should be deemed to be no more fitting as IMF reserves than any other well-regarded currency or even if, as should be the case but for their size, both the British and the U.S. short-term debts (primarily, reserve currencies) were paid off with the proceeds of a long-term international loan (purchased by genuine investors of savings in creditor countries), the result, as far as real reserves are concerned, would remain the same. There would be no more reserve currencies and the Free World would have as primary reserves only a monetary gold stock worth, at $35 per ounce, approximately $44 billion.

Would that be sufficient, considering that the gross national products of the main Free World countries had grown from approximately $681 billion in 1950 to $1,320 billion in 1965 (almost doubled) while the monetary gold stock had grown from $35 billion in 1950 to $44 billion in 1965 (by about 25 percent)?

If the answer is, "No—a Free World reserve of $44 billion is not enough, and would be likely increasingly to hamper sound international activities," the question would arise: "Can we create something that can be looked upon as a reserve unit which somehow could be added to the existing reserves and gradually increased as and when needed?"

If so, can it become a real "created reserve," that is, something indestructible that gradually could be augmented when needed? Or, failing that, a drawing right that could act as a suitable substitute?

Since—undoubtedly for good reasons—the idea of "created reserves" (often called "Cru" or "Paper Gold") had been rejected by the so-called Group of Ten, it was the latter road of "drawing rights" that the IMF, at its meeting in Rio de Janeiro, decided to take and, accordingly, requested the Executive Director to prepare the necessary amendments to the Articles of Agreement of the Fund which, after acceptance and ratification, would bring the plan into effect.

After completion and approval by the Board of Governors, the amendment may go to the member countries for their final acceptance.

Before the United States accepts an amendment to the IMF Articles, the approval of the Congress must be obtained.

It is likely, therefore, that during the early part of 1968 the question of amendment of the Articles of the Fund to provide for special drawing rights will be considered by our Congress, unless the recent devaluation of the pound sterling, and its repercussions, should result in drastic changes.

These repercussions have so far resulted in large gold purchases in the foreign gold markets, mainly by private groups. That seems to have surprised our financial authorities who published on March 17[1] a statement by the heads of seven central banks to the effect that officially held gold would henceforth be used only to effect transfers among monetary authorities. Such an arrangement, involving more than one quotation for gold, is apt to cause some disturbance, forgivable under the circumstances when it is obvious that our Washington authorities show evidence of confusion.

We may assume, however, that the need for drastic action can be delayed long enough to enable the various members of the IMF, including the United States, to obtain ample time to carefully study and accept or reject the Rio Special Drawing Rights Proposal.

[1] See appendix following.

Since it is an issue of far greater moment than generally assumed, it is of vital importance that the Congress and the voters in the United States be given an opportunity of following closely the steps that have led to the suggested change.

The proponents of both sides of this question have, therefore, for several months, been aware of the need for a thorough explanation and debate of the liquidity problem, and have prepared statements, books, and pamphlets, with a view of presenting the pertinent facts, thus enhancing the ability of the Congress of the United States to make the right and proper decision.

A second round of these types of presentations and expressions of opinion is apt to appear within the next few months.

This is meant to be one of such reviews that will endeavor to approach the subject from the following point of view:

(a) What is in the best interest of the Free World not only now, but over the remaining decades of this century?

(b) How would the new proposals affect also the domestic economy of the United States?

Even though a broad view is called for, we must not overlook the fact that the economy of the United States represents perhaps as much as 50 percent of the interests of the Free World and, therefore, must have an important bearing on what kind of program is most suitable for the whole Free World.

(c) Have our citizens and Congress had an opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with all the aspects of this "liquidity problem"—or have we been subjected mainly to arguments that temporarily may suit a powerful political faction, forgetting that in a free enterprise system like ours the basic foundation of our economy is not a political question but a fundamental need for all, just as healthy surroundings, in preference to pollution of water and air, must remain a fundamental and not a political issue?

In an effort to answer these questions, we propose to analyze the problem from three angles:

First. What are the essential facts surrounding the IMF's "special drawing rights" proposal which may call for action by Congress? According to the first reaction of the majority of the original founders of the IMF, is the new proposal likely to solve the economic problems of the Free World, including those of the United States? Why has the proposal been made and would it stand the test of time?

Second. Who is apt to recommend that the United States should agree to the proposal? Would such recommendation be based on a thorough knowledge of the subject, or on the judgment of certain so-called experts, reputed to have a thorough knowledge of the subject both from a domestic and from an international point of view?

Third. Are there any valid arguments against the special drawing rights plan? If so, is there any alternative that might prove to be more suitable?

I. THE ESSENTIAL FACTS SURROUNDING THE SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS PROPOSAL OF THE IMF

An Outline Plan that "is intended to meet the need, as and when it arises, for a supplement to existing reserve assets" has been made public by the International Monetary Fund (see Appendix 1).

The principal aspects appear to be the following:

1. Each member nation of the IMF would be granted special drawing rights in addition to its existing rights to borrow from that organization.

2. These special drawing rights would be allocated to and included in the monetary reserves of the respective countries as a supplement to their holdings of gold, dollars, and pounds, and could be transferred within specified limits from the central bank of one

country to that of another in settlement of international payments imbalances.

3. Following approval by the IMF and ratification by the legislative bodies of the member nations of that organization, the plan would become operative at a time and in an amount to be decided by the affirmative vote of at least 85 percent of the total voting power of the IMF.

(The latter provision is especially significant. At present only the United States has a veto power over IMF decisions. By increasing the required majority to 85 percent of the total voting power, the six European Common Market countries together would have sufficient votes to block implementation of the new proposal. Thus, those countries may expect to obtain a means of restricting the inflow of inflationary credit from the deficit countries.)

4. It appears that the new special drawing rights will not become available until the European countries authorize their distribution, and those countries have emphasized repeatedly the need for the United States to remedy its balance-of-payments problem before using any new reserves.

5. The amount of new drawing rights to be authorized has not been decided, but that amount probably will be the equivalent of about $1 billion a year, for an initial five-year trial period. The highest, and very unlikely, figure mentioned appears to have been $2 billion a year.

6. About 24 percent of the drawing rights would be allocated to the United States. This would probably amount to $240 million, but only 70 percent of these drawing rights, i.e., about $168 million, could be used without need for repayment within a span of several years.

7. While somewhat unclear, it would appear that this 70 percent of the SDR would be repayable in case of liquidation or withdrawal in a manner similar to that of the General Account of the Fund (Article XVI, Section 2; Article XVIII, Paragraph (c); and Schedule D and E).

8. No nation will be required to accept more of the new credits than double its own quota which, in turn, is based on its present quota in the General Fund.

9. It would appear that a participant who does not vote in favor of a decision to allocate special drawing rights, may elect, in consequence, not to receive them.

10. A moderate rate of interest will be paid on holdings of special drawing rights to be assessed proportionally against all participants.

11. The unit of value for expressing special drawing rights shall be equal to 0.888, 671 grams of fine gold per dollar. This means that the concept of an unchanged gold value in relation to the U.S. dollar is preserved.

Although the essentials seem to have been roughly agreed upon, the finer touches and details may not yet have been worked out; nevertheless, there is enough material to show that, in practice, the working of the SDR concept will be very complicated and time consuming for the participating members and the Board of the IMF.

This applies even more to the directors, officers, and staff of the IMF, who, in turn, may be compelled to further expand an organization which—as many of the founders felt—should work almost automatically and be relatively simple to administer, into a "super bureaucracy" which, in practice, instead of serving the members is apt to dominate them.

How the IMF founders might react

If some of the founders of the past were faced with this new scheme, they might well ask: "Why all these complications? The more important a task, the greater the need for simplicity."

They would probably add:

"Nothing has happened during these two decades that has not happened in history over and over again only to be solved in a manner which—considering all circumstances—enabled most of the Free World to retain its freedom, and which subsequently increased world turnover and productivity quite satisfactorily.

"By all means, endeavor to augment world reserves commensurate with world turnover, but make it simple, easy to understand and to carry out in practice.

"In reality, your main trouble seems to be that the two countries—the United Kingdom and the United States—which in 1944–45 were singled out as economically sound and strong, have proved to be too weak to function as expected. In the circumstances, why don't you use the medicine that rarely has failed: Give them a long-term loan purchased by capitalists in creditor countries, with the proceeds of which the debtors can pay off their short-term obligations and work hard and diligently over 20 or 25 years to gradually strengthen their economy and amortize their long-term loans?"

"No," is the answer. "No single creditor country or combination of such countries would be strong enough to arrange for such enormous loans of perhaps $20 billion needed by the two countries.

"Besides, if the United Kingdom and the United States paid off their current debt, we would not have enough reserves left for the IMF, because we have considered the sterling and dollar current debts as additional monetary reserves which, in consequence, would drop from what we have considered to be about $70 billion to, say, $44 billion."

"Remember," say the founders, "real reserves can never perish (except for a very small percentage which may occasionally be lost through an act of God; for instance, as when a ship loaded with gold is lost in a storm). You have erred grievously because you tried to make something—namely, a currency—that time after time throughout history has proved to be unstable, into something indestructible—namely, a reserve. Hence, you are like a speculator who takes both a long and a short position of the same stock, and is bound to lose. If the reserve currencies are no good, your reserves are fakes and will be diminished; and if they are good and, consequently, one day are paid off, your reserves also diminish. That seems poor judgment and complicated. But why try to make matters still more complicated?"

"Well," is the reply. "Now we have hit on something new and better, namely, the so-called *special drawing rights*. You ask what they are. They are rights to draw against a bouquet of several good world currencies and may at first add to world reserves and in time probably replace sterling and U.S. dollars which then would become only two of the many currencies of the countries that provide drawing rights."

Answer: "Now you are repeating your mistake of the past of considering any currency as a reserve! It would undoubtedly have been less catastrophical to stick to the two present large reserve countries than to get involved and be dependent on the stability of a greater number of smaller countries which, right through history—apart from economic and social instability—periodically have had to face wars and revolutions, and which have shown time after time their inability to defend themselves. Indeed, who knows whether one day we may not find some of them absorbed by an enemy camp.

"The reason why international transactions and credit risks are, and must continue to be, quite different from domestic is primarily because within his own country the creditor has protection of the courts, police, etc., but when dealing with foreign countries he must rely primarily on the character of the people he deals with. In that respect the risk of dealing with the United Kingdom, for instance, even despite an occasional devaluation, is far less than that of dealing with many other countries.

"But even sterling and dollar holdings are quite unsuitable for reserve purposes, because like any other reserve based on a currency, they vanish when the currency is paid off, and no fundamentally sound country will want to continue to have short-term debts floating around just to please some ignorant economic crackpots.

"If you are short of reserves, you must as soon as possible find some really sound reserves—meaning, indestructible payment media—and gradually get rid of sterling and U.S. dollars, at which time those two currencies will still be very useful and popular among private enterprise and institutions, not as reserves but as handy daily tools for the clearing of international transactions."

Thus might have spoken some of the old founders.

Why has this proposal been made?

When it was found that not only in theory but also in practice, neither the pound sterling nor the dollar could serve properly as reserve currencies—except perhaps for small amounts—other countries (Switzerland, Germany, Holland, France, etc.) were considered, but not one of them was willing to face the temptation of overspending or of accepting the doubtful honor of having their currencies serve as "prostitutes."

To delay any deflationary tendency and to help in the financing, mainly the U.S. balance-of-payments deficits, several expedients have been introduced over the years, such as: general agreement to borrow, swaps, increases in the drawing rights in the IMF. Those schemes having been used to the hilt, the special drawing rights proposal now appears as a further along the road of spending encouragement.

In desparation, and for lack of any sound procedure, the concoction of a bouquet of many sound currencies was acceptd by these praiseworthy and innocent countries, based undoubtedly on the philosophy that "misery loves company."

The special drawing rights proposal is not apt to solve the Free World's problems mainly because this principle is just as unsound as that of the sterling and U.S. dollar reserve currencies—and in practice more risky and complicated because of the much greater political risk that some of the many smaller countries are more likely than the two strategically well-placed nations to come to grief through wars, revolutions, or other complications.

The proposal will not stand the test of time, partly for the reasons given and partly because it is apt to create eventually one of the worst panics the world has ever faced.

Let us take a look at some rough figures. Suppose we assume that—considering world turnover and prices—we would need, say, $100 billion of reserves in 1970–72 at a time when new SDR had been used for a few years. The picture might look roughly as follows:

[In billions]

Actual gold increased to	$50
Reserve currencies remaining	25
New created SDR	25
Total	100

Since the new created reserves are guaranteed by gold, it would mean that half of the world's real gold might stand as a guarantee for the "created reserves" while the reserve currencies—if sound—might have to scramble for the other half.

Alternatively, if a way has been found meanwhile of doing away with reserve currencies and merging the British and the U.S. contributions with SDR:

[In billions]

Actual gold	$50
Created SDR	50
Total	100

Since the "created reserves" are to be guaranteed with gold it would mean that the whole world supply of gold might stand as a guarantee for the "created reserves."

There comes a time—usually once in a generation, or every 30 to 35 years, as indicated by past economic history—when the increases in world activities and prices call for a readjustment of the reserves needed. The new arrangements might call for a readjustment every five years. In either case the world might, by the end of this century, need reserves of, say, $150 billion. Let us see how that would look:

[In billions]

Actual gold (no change because we have deliberately discouraged continued mining of gold in the free world, or made it economically impossible)	$50
Created reserves: SDR	100
Total	150

This would mean that the whole world supply of $50 billion monetary gold in effect would stand as a guarantee for $100 billion worth of created reserves (SDR). Two thirds would consist of SDR and it would not take much of a crisis to wipe out the equivalent of the value of the real gold, i.e., a margain of 33 percent.

Somewhere along the line, the intelligent leaders of world activities are apt to become aware of the unsound conditions. It would be irresponsible to assume that by that time we might have changed human nature. People will still continue to value real gold, the more so because they will see that perhaps over half of the world's peoples have respect for nothing but gold. It may then become clear that the SDR have proven to be just as unsound as were reserve currencies—because they were, in effect, based on the same principles. We face here practical realities and not the theoretical question whether some day in the distant future mankind can be weaned from the use of gold as a basis of values.

In the resulting panic, a readjustment would have to take place of prices and activities that could be carried by $50 billion actual gold instead of $150 billion assumed reserves, whereas today we might have to reduce the level of our activities to $44 billion actual gold from the $70 billion now erroneously considered as reserves.

Here we have followed the disastrous result of attempting to build a castle on sand—a world economy on a foundation of reserves which are unsound.

Real world reserves must exist to cover a certain turnover. The reserves must stand in proper proportion to the price level; in the absence thereof, prices must go down in proportion to the value of such reserves.

Unless a better and sound solution can be found soon, it is wiser to face that problem squarely now, when a relatively smaller adjustment would suffice, than to fool ourselves and postpone the evil day to such time when violent adjustments become necessary causing unprecedented hardship and suffering.

These are the main provisional reasons given by the elder statesmen why the described plan may well for a short period of time—barring increased world political upheavals—seem tempting and postpone the need for sound readjustment; but it will not provide us with the fundamental improvements which are necessary to give the IMF the proper basis for Free World activities. Nor will it solve the immediate economic difficulties of the United States, which cannot be separated from the general liquidity problem in view of the fact that the U.S. economy represents approximately half of that of the Free World.

II. WHO IS APT TO RECOMMEND THAT THE UNITED STATES AGREE TO SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS?

We may assume that within the near future the legal documents as described in the "Outline of a Facility Based on Special Drawing Rights in the Fund" (Appendix 1) will be completed. The United States cannot accept the amendment to the Articles of Agreement of the IMF—adopted July 22, 1944—without the approval of Congress.

This raises the question of the attitude of our government, particularly the Treasury Department.

Judged by public statements made by our Secretary of the Treasury—and in the absence of a complete change in our economic position and attitude caused, directly or indirectly, by the devaluation of sterling—it seems at present likely that he will urge Congress to accept the IMF proposal.

The obvious lack of understanding of the whole liquidity problem on the part of our Treasury Department and its "entourage" is demonstrated in a long statement by the Honorable Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, before the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments of the Joint Economic Committee, September 14, 1967.

The Secretary emphasized the following statements previously made by the Joint Economic Committee and Subcommittee, viz.:

1. "We cannot rely on supplies of new monetary gold being sufficient to assure the growth of international reserves, in keeping with the rising liquidity requirements of trade."

2. "Failure to provide increased international liquidity would inevitably result in a scarcity of reserves, a decline in international trade and commerce, and a slowing of word economic progress."

3. Both the Subcommittee and the Joint Economic Committee had called for "free world action toward the need for a mechanism to create additional reserve assets."

What does our Secretary of the Treasury really try to convey? What does it mean after we eliminate all duplications and double-meaning phrases and words?

He emphasizes: "We need a mechanism to create gold." True, he says "additional reserve assets." But facts have shown that throughout the recorded history there has never existed any real reserve asset except gold. Is our Treasury, in effect, really calling for a magical power to solve the problem through alchemy? Not necessarily. There is such a thing as creating more gold by more intensive mining. Is that what he means?

No. He says: "We cannot rely on supplies of new monetary gold being sufficient to assure the growth of international reserves."

Why not? They always did in the past. When prices of commodities—for instance, food—go up, why should that not be counterbalanced by prices of gold and other metals going up? And if there is more food available than in the past, that is also counterbalanced by there being more ounces of gold available.

The result is that the total value of both food and commodities increases as a result of both a bigger supply and a higher price. Precisely the same has happened right through historical times as proved by statistics and the records of the gold price which over the last 600 years has increased thirteenfold, i.e., from 20 shillings to 250 shillings an ounce.

It follows that what the quoted statement unquestionably meant to say was: Failure to establish a price for gold which is as fair to the producer of gold as is the price for general commodities prevailing in trade and commerce, may result in a decline in international trade and commerce, and a slowing of world economic progress.

But while we are at it—those quotations seem to be concocted by crackpots. Why? Well, it seems a sign of lack of experience and a habit of talking to nonentities who do not know the subject, to say:

"Failure to provide increased international liquidity would inevitably result in a scarcity of reserves." Lack of *liquidity* and lack of *reserves* being the same thing, you may as well say: Failure to provide enough liquidity would result in a scarcity of liquidity!

The following facts are indisputable:

1). Since during the last decades the new supply of monetary gold has been sufficient—indeed, ample—to pay a fair price for gold and assure a growth of international reserves, in keeping with any rising liquidity requirements of trade; and 2) since—except possibly in another world or on another planet—no mechanism or alchemic entity ever has existed or will exist that is capable of creating reserve assets—the statements quoted by the Secretary of the Treasury are obviously made either by naive people who do not understand what they are talking about, or by shrewd politicians who desire to mislead the public.

In either case, a proposal must be carefully weighed on its merits and not on the type of names that are purported to favor it or that, incidentally, in the process, give our Secretary of the Treasury "invaluable advice from their judgment and depth of experience"!!

There must be something new and constructive in statements that are purported to raise a fundamental and true issue.

Take, for instance, the statement "We cannot rely on supplies of new monetary gold being sufficient to assure the growth of international reserves in keeping with the rising liquidity requirements of trade."

If we passed a law prohibiting coal (or any other commodity) from being sold at a price higher than that prevailing in 1935, it would be safe to say: "We cannot rely on *any* coal coming to the market."

Hence, Secretary Fowler indulges in unsound arguments, and such arguments are damaging to anyone in his position—particularly if he represents a country whose official statements and policies should call for world respect and confidence.

Moreover, such reasoning can backfire. Statistics show that the world monetary gold stock increased in the past by about $1 billion a year. But now, for obvious reasons—namely, our gold policy (Gresham Law and increased cost of mining due to inflation)—it no longer increases but actually does, and of necessity must, face a yearly reduction.

This is the more deplorable because the good Secretary of the Treasury seems unable to correctly appraise the situation which he is contributing to create.

The suggested yearly special drawing rights are apt to amount to approximately $700 million with the result that the *Free World will go through all these cumbersome and costly SDR procedures and at best succeed in making up in part for the resulting inevitable yearly loss in the world gold fund!!*

But such "minor points" are apt to escape the Secretary and his group of prominent people who either are theoretical politicians and "spenders" or have become acquainted only with such a small part of the whole liquidity problem that they can be classified only as naive amateurs.

There is no reason to attempt to build this SDR proposal up as something wonderful that—as Secretary Fowler states—"represents one of the great forward steps in international financial cooperation—the greatest since Bretton Woods."

The facts seem to be that everybody here and abroad who understands the situation realizes that the plan, as tentatively agreed upon in Rio, falls short of the aim of our

spending school, because the idea of an "alchemic" reserve asset was discarded and the substitute of a limited additional drawing right seemed far too cumbersome, unelastic, and limited to significantly help the Free World's liquidity problem in general and the U.S. predicament in particular.

The fact is that our proportion of short-term debts now is so large that in reality we would need a large long-term loan which cannot and should not be bought by central banks, because such loans cannot be considered as proper reserves; instead, they should be bought by the investors of creditor nations.

A small nation could probably, without much difficulty, get such a 20 to 25 year loan, but our difficulty would appear to be that no investment market, or combination of such markets, seems to be big and powerful enough to be able to give the United States a long-term loan of the size of, say, $15 billion to $20 billion which we really need.

Cutting out details and superficial finesse, we have, in effect, in world opinion, attempted to get the equivalent of the benefits of such an unobtainable long-term loan in regular money markets by knocking on the door of the IMF and, in particular, of its wealthy members, often referred to as the "Group of Ten."

The result would, at best, be camouflaged as a concession to all members of the IMF. All would get a participation in a certain amount of new, somewhat complicated drawing rights that cannot be considered as real world reserves and our share of which, in reality, may amount to a minimum of, say, $168 million or a maximum of $336 million a year over perhaps a five-year period. Drawings may perhaps start two years from now.

Such a loan would be of the size that occasionally is given in Wall Street to private business organizations; it would be totally inadequate for our needs and, indeed, become an insult to the dignity and aspirations of the United States.

Only very extraordinary circumstances could justify a recommendation that such a proposal be accepted.

This will be considered in Chapter III and also in Appendix 2 which deals at some length with the general principles of reserves and with the liquidity problem as discussed by Robert V. Roosa, former Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, in his recently published book entitled, *The Dollar and World Liquidity.* (Random House, 1967.)

III. WHY THE SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS PLAN SHOULD BE REJECTED

Drawings under the plan could, at the earliest, take place some years (perhaps two years) from now. The amounts involved ($1 billion a year; maximum $2 billion) during the first five-year period would be relatively small; hence they would not be important and timely enough to actually relieve our present situation.

Since it is meant to be an additional means of increasing so-called world reserves over and above gold—in line with reserve currencies, etc.—it cannot be appraised, nor should it be decided upon, without a complete understanding of how our present IMF operates, how it should operate, and why we now seem to face difficulties resulting from:

1. an assumed lack of world reserves;
2. nervousness set in motion by—though not necessarily fundamentally resulting from—the devaluation of the pound sterling; and
3. our appalling net short-term debts of over $26 billion with, at most, $12 billion worth of gold, of which perhaps as little as half is free of entanglements (disregarding the need for the gold reserve against our local currency). Indeed, on proper analysis, we may find that we have no more free gold left than a responsible nation like the United States must keep for contingencies solely in connection with the Vietnam War and other Far East complications.

Let us see how we got into this position while operating along the lines laid down by the International Monetary Fund whose main purpose was to replace the old "gold standard" which had existed for almost a century.

The purpose of the International Monetary Fund was set forth in Article I (iii and iv) as follows:

"To promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements among members, and to avoid competitive exchange depreciation.

"To assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments in respect of current transactions between members."

The other aims were interwoven within this Article.

This task was to take place solely in the short-term monetary field and should not be associated or mixed with activities in long-term financial operations, such as those of the International Finance Corporation and/or the International Development Association, etc.

The Bretton Woods Agreement was conceived as an effort to re-establish an orderly gold standard along the general principles and lines prevailing for many decades before the two world wars, but with such improvements as experience meanwhile had shown to be desirable. While in the past currencies like francs, Dutch guilders, and subsequently the pound sterling during different periods had been predominant world currencies, no specific arrangements were ever made to designate those currencies as "reserve currencies." Each country could then freely decide which currencies—if any—it wished to hold as reserves or otherwise, over and above its stock of gold.

The reasons for the introduction of reserve currencies can be attributed to war conditions and may be summarized as follows:

Before the world wars the par value of the various currencies belonging to countries that practiced the so-called gold standard was expressed in terms of gold as a common denominator. This meant that every such single currency—Dutch guilders, Swiss francs, Italian lira, French francs, etc.—was expected to represent a definite weight of gold of specific fineness, which in turn determined its parity and through that process brought it into a definite relation of value to other currencies that also, by official decree, represented a certain quantity of such gold.

This procedure was not given up at Bretton Woods, but an alternative was provided for. At that time (1944) the exact value and pattern of the main world currencies, in general, was uncertain, but the U.S. dollar and its value was clearly definable. In consequence, the par value of the currency of a member could also, as an alternative, be expressed in terms of the U.S. dollar of the weight and fineness in effect on July 1, 1944. Hence, Article IV, reading: *"Section 1.* Expression of par values. (a) The par value of the currency of each member shall be expressed in terms of gold as a common denominator *or in terms of the United States dollar of the weight and fineness in effect on July 1, 1944."* (Emphasis supplied.)

This is one of the reasons which explain why our present system often is referred to as "the gold exchange standard" and not, as previously, "the gold standard."

It seemed at the time a sensible expedient and in many respects this difference has been greatly exaggerated. As the head of a European central bank recently has said, from the point of view of a non-reserve currency member country, there is no inconsistency in some considering themselves as adhering to the familiar "gold standard" and others to the "gold exchange standards," since no central bank can be forced to hold reserve currencies.

If that formal reserve currency arrangement were abolished, the world would no, doubt, continue to hold large quantities of dollars, but the system would become more equitable and sound. We must bear in mind that world conditions may change, new nations may join the IMF, while wars and disturbances in one country or group of nations should not prevent the IMF from continuing its operations with others.

These so-called reserve currenices were expected by many to be a temporary measure pending clarification of the composition of several other currencies which was accomplished in 1958. By that time reserve currencies should have been abolished. Meanwhile they were generally considered to have but relatively unimportant consequences as expressed by the expectation of, at the most, only a few billion dollars of reserve currencies outstanding.

But, no! The United States has continuously taken advantage of that reserve currency feature quite out of proportion to its original intent.

Why? There seemed to be a good excuse for taking advantage of it and running up enormous deficits, which—but for that clause (Article IV, Section 1)—would have had to be financed elsewhere, probably through the traditional long-term money markets of creditor countries (as in previous times, when England in effect regulated international payments), and soon would have been stopped. But the spenders used that loophole for what the traffic would bear.

It is important to refresh our minds on this in order to understand why those who nowadays speak of the "gold exchange standard" are not far apart from those who continue to speak of the old "gold standard." There should not be—and was not expected to be—much difference, but for the abuse of Article IV, Section 1.

The danger of the principle of any reserve currency lies in the fact that various individual member countries are expected to report their holdings of such reserve currencies as part of officially *recognized reserves,* as a result of which the IMF and statisticians in general have been apt to include them as part of the Free World's total *real reserves.* That is a technical mistake which can have serious consequences, irrespective of the strength and soundness of such a reserve currency.

Let us analyze why that is the case.

A liquid reserve is a liquid asset which can be used immediately and which is kept for the purpose of making payments whenever it is deemed necessary. Within a country, local currency can be a reserve insofar as it is legal tender and must be accepted in settlement of any debt. But you cannot impose such rules on citizens of other countries. Throughout history, therefore, indestructible and easily portable assets, such as gold, silver, or other metals or jewelry, have been accepted as the *international* equivalent of domestic "legal tender." Such indestructible items in usage were gradually reduced to gold or silver and, finally, more recently, in most cases, to gold.

Fixed investments abroad cannot generally be considered as reserves because the greater part is privately owned; moreover, even if that difficulty could be overcome, the assets are neither liquid nor readily salable—except, frequently, at an enormous loss—particularly under conditions when large reserves are apt to be needed.

In the absence of some additional real liquid reserves (like gold, mined and sold to central banks), the aggregate reserves of all countries concerned must, of necessity, remain stationary. The over-all surplus of one country must, therefore, correspond to the general deficit of one or more other countries. (This must not be confused with the reserves of several domestic capitalists who, theoret-

ically, could all simultaneously increase or decrease their reserves within a country.)

By the same token, a reserve, once it is created, cannot normally disappear. It can be transferred to some other country, but it cannot vanish.

Similarly, a given reserve cannot be enlarged. If a country holds, say, $1 million worth of reserves and borrows half a million dollars for reserve purposes against it, it still has only $1 million in reserves, because the original reserve is reduced in value to half, since it is subject to a lien of half a million dollars.

These, in substance, are the fundamentals of reserves, both from the point of view of the a-b-c of economics and from the practical experience of mankind for eons of time. It can be changed as little as can the law of gravity or nature's course.

It follows that if Holland at one time had $1 million worth of gold as a reserve and in addition held $1 million worth of British pounds sterling, it would have altogether $2 million worth of reserves only if the British actually had set aside $1 million worth of gold with which to pay—when called upon—the $1 million worth of sterling which Holland held.

In other words, if, in the absence of Holland's holdings, Britain had $10 million worth of reserves, that reserve would be reduced to $9 million in order to provide cover for the sterling held by Holland. Here, again, the two countries together would only hold $11 million—and not $12 million—worth of reserves.

It follows that if the monetary gold stock were worth $44 billion and if the interests surrounding the IMF at that time held, say, $10 billion of reserve currencies, the aggregate of the world's real reserves would not be increased from $44 billion to $54 billion because the gold held by the reserve currency countries (the United States and the United Kingdom) would not be specifically set aside against these currencies but would be included in the Free World's gold stock.

Putting it another way, if at that time the reserve currency countries had decided to pay off and withdraw all reserve currencies, it would presumably have compelled them to part with $10 billion worth of their actual gold reserves or their equivalent. There would still be a world gold stock of $44 billion because the countries that previously had held reserve currencies now owned their equivalent value in gold. But there would no longer be any reserve currency that statistically could be added to the $44 billion stock of real gold.

It seems clear, therefore, that the whole concept of a reserve currency is technically and theoretically unsound and misleading in practice.

The theoretical and practical mistake of regarding reserve currencies as real reserves has gradually, for some years, influenced central banks to limit—indeed, to reduce—their holdings of sterling and dollars. This contributed to the reduction of what was wrongly considered reserves.

At the same time the size of the Free World's only real reserve, namely, the monetary gold stock, was also disappointing. The yearly increase became smaller and smaller for obvious reasons, namely, the Gresham Law. In some quarters gold became more valuable than the fixed 1934 price of $35 an ounce, for which reason it was absorbed elsewhere; moreover, increased production costs reduced the quantity of newly mined gold.

During the past year the world's monetary gold stock has—perhaps for the first time in history—actually decreased. If present policies are continued, that situation must, of necessity, get worse.

During the last few years these developments encouraged the IMF to try to find something new to replace or augment the previous credit instruments (reserve currencies, agreements to borrow, swaps, increase in the quotas in the IMF, etc.) that might prove acceptable.

First came the idea of "created reserves" (CRU), but that proved to be a somewhat too obvious and irresponsible "innovation" and was replaced by the special drawing rights which, it was hoped, would be ready in time—some years hence—when they would be apt to be needed if the expected further reductions in the functioning of the other so-called reserves were to take place.

Meanwhile, to maintain confidence, the world was repeatedly informed that the general feeling of the delegates meeting in connection with the IMF or the Group of Ten was to the effect that: "There is no present evidence of any shortage of world reserves."

Came the devaluation of sterling—as a result of which it obviously has become increasingly difficult to find buyers for reserve currencies.

The idea of trying now to sell the pound sterling to a central bank for reserve purposes seems preposterous; reserve dollars have also been increasingly difficult to place.

Hence the urgency, mainly from the point of view of the United States, of getting the new SDR ready as soon as possible—if it is not already too late.

But, unfortunately, the SDR are probably, in the long run, less sound than the reserve currencies. It seems obvious that since they have as collateral currencies of various smaller countries and since no currencies—not even those of big, strong countries—can possibly be considered as reserves, the SDR are theoretically unsuitable.

In practice, and in the long run, reserve dollars and sterling would be less objectionable to hold because they represent bigger and less vulnerable countries which—as history has proven—are in the habit of being able to defend themselves and survive. Such cannot be said about the smaller countries which are supposed to stand behind the SDR.

This whole SDR proposal seems to be a desperate attempt to once more "gild the lily" sufficiently to go on spending in the hope that something will turn up eventually to save our admittedly difficult situation.

The proposal, which must be rejected, is the more regrettable because—as we shall see later—there are several simple and straightforward ways of handling the problem in a manner that should work out to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

On page 4 of his Statement of September 14, 1967, the Honorable Henry H. Fowler states:

"We must leave to history the final judgment of the contingency plan. Time alone can measure its value and the worth of our efforts during the two years of study and two years of negotiation that preceded the agreement.

"I am confident, however, that the agreement represents one of the great forward steps in international financial cooperation—the greatest since Bretton Woods—and that our action ultimately will advance the well-being of countless millions of people throughout the world."

It is feared that if that contingency plan were adopted, we would find out that countless millions of people in America and throughout the world soon would come to grief and suffer.

A Winston Churchill might well exclaim: "Rarely in the field of human conflict would so much be owed to so many by so few."

The SDR plan is technically unsound, useless in practice, and must be rejected in its present form if we want to safeguard American interests.

Our theorists and observers may think that they can safeguard our interests, but that is very doubtful. It would not be surprising if the industrial nations, after gradually—subtly, oh, so subtly!—sucking most of our gold away from us through the SDR and other apparently attractive schemes, would give up the SDR—requiring only 50 percent vote for such a step—and revalue gold multilaterally.

We would have the experience but no gold—and they would have all the gold at double its present price!

The Washington announcement of March 17, regarding two gold prices, tends to show what could happen if that scheme meant more than an attempt to relieve the United States from taking a definite stand on the dollar problem until after the November election.

By maintaining the present price for IMF transactions in gold, we have eventually to pay off our total debt on that basis. As an example, $35 million of this debt we must pay off by parting, in effect, with one million ounces of gold. With those one million ounces the recipient could then probably eventually buy some $70 million worth of other assets.

Such queer procedure not only makes the United States the loser, but also the laughing stock of the world.

Public opinion in the United States should reject the SDR plan because:

1. The consummation of the SDR scheme, as presented, would tend to further complicate the whole setup of the IMF, which originally was organized on American initiative to cope with the relatively simple, almost automatic task of facilitating international payments, not of initiating them.

2. No complicated long-term plans should be encouraged if they call for new provisions and changes in the Articles of Agreement so involved that some members of the IMF might hesitate and only be won over by persuasion. Such attempted persuasion might, in the long run, tend to weaken the organization.

3. The proposal shows an appalling lack of common sense and long-term political thinking which, in the not too distant future, would be apt to severely handicap—perhaps ruin—the Free World.

The reasons are simple. The scheme would, for all practical purposes, almost instantly end the mining of gold throughout the Free World.

"But that is precisely what we want," say the innocent theorists, often influenced, without knowing it, by subtle Communistic "propaganda phrases" and not realizing how keen Russia is to see the Free World temporarily abandon gold as a basis for all values.

The SDR plan must be rejected in its present form, but out of the ashes may appear a perfectly logical, sound plan that should be adopted simultaneously with the rejection of the SDR plan and thus bring about the sanitation of the basic philosophy behind the IMF.

Several observers want to be quite sure that the IMF is being used and will continue to be used for the purpose of strengthening the Free World economy and not for the purpose of crippling it by means of unsound economic Keynesian or Fabian dogmas or theories.

As an illustration, some instances may be given:

First. What logic is there in announcing that world reserves consist of only $44 billion in gold but should be, say, double that amount, and then proceeding to use all kinds of juvenile arguments to convince your fellow man about the complicated methods by which such additional reserves are to be created?

All complicated and sickly arguments seem acceptable for debate except the one obvious solution that always have and always will work, namely, "double the price of gold." Full stop! "Oh! Watch out!" Whoever dares to come out with such a common sense statement must have the callousness of an ox to attempt to break the monopoly which the aggressive, but fundamentally ignorant, so-

called New Economists of today try to create for themselves.

Second. Why insist on maintaining the the price of $35 an ounce of gold, which happens to be the price for gold fixed in 1934? Why keep that price? Why not insist on a price of 20 shillings per fine ounce prevailing 600 years ago?

Since then the price has increased on 13 occasions. Why stop at $35 an ounce? Has any other commodity price ever been frozen that way, unless it represented something which no longer was in demand?

But the very people who insist on leaving the price at $35 an ounce seem—through all kinds of devices—to find ways to buy at rather than to sell it!

What is the matter with those people? Many of them seem to be fools who are used as tools by anti-American or anti-Free World organizations to undermine our International Monetary Fund.

Obviously any organization must eventually perish if it lacks the flexibility to keep abreast of the times by changing its price structure.

Third. Why do certain countries occasionally desire to change the gold value of their currency?

Few of the so-called mysterious "experts" can or will tell you that a change in the gold price has been and can be made for two entirely different reasons.

We shall see in a following chapter that by far the more important reason for a change in the gold price is the so-called "multilateral revaluation"—a measure taken simultaneously by practically all member countries for the *sole purpose of bringing world reserves in line with requirements.*

Such a step is not only permissible but also at times absolutely necessary for the equal benefit of all member-countries.

Why don't we hear anything about the important basic need for establishing the proper gold price? Instead we hear arguments by officials who have shown in practice that they do not understand the basic conception of an international monetary organization and who wish to stick to a gold price of $35 an ounce, displaying no more logic than did our forefathers who stubbornly insisted on a good five-cent cigar!

It is explicitly stated in the "Outline Plan" (Appendix 1) that "the unit of value for expressing special drawing rights will be equal to 0.888 671 grams of fine gold" per dollar. This means that at the present moment gold is the only recognized real reserve medium. That feature has been preserved right from the beginning.

We have seen that this reserve medium can be increased in only two ways: a) by new production of gold channeled to monetary reserves so that the *quantity* of monetary gold increases, and b) in the absence of an increase in the quantity of gold, by an increase in the *value* of gold.

Before the price of sterling or other currencies was actually fixed in relation to gold during the last century, this process took place almost automatically.

If, as a result of wars or other catastrophes, prices—as expressed in currencies—rose, with a resulting larger turnover, gold would increase in relative value and the reserve requirements would almost automatically take care of themselves.

After the value of the various important currencies had been fixed in definite ratios to gold, this automatic adjustment of reserves no longer could take place, and it took the responsible statesmen some time before they realized that as a consequence of having linked the value of their currency to gold, they should from time to time raise or lower the price of gold as expressed in their currency, commensurate with the fall or increase in prices of the general pattern of commodities.

Hence, Section 7 of Article IV was introduced at the specific request of the United Kingdom and the United States, reading:

"Notwithstanding the provisions of Section 5(b) of this Article, the Fund by a majority of the total voting power may make uniform proportionate changes in the par values of the currencies of all members, provided each such change is approved by every member which has ten percent or more of the total of the quotas."

This clause was requested because the United Kingdom, and probably several older members, after many years of experience, had come to the conclusion that without such a clause, to be used on special occasions when the general price level had fluctuated to an unusual degree, the Bretton Woods Agreement would in effect be meaningless.

In spite of Section 7 of Article IV, our President made the following public statement on February 10, 1965:

"The dollar is, and will remain, as good as gold, fully convertible at $35 an ounce."

Statesmen have publicly stated in the past—probably sincerely—that no change in the gold price of their currency was contemplated, etc. Such statements may or may not have proved to be wise, but, at any rate, they were not insulting to anyone.

When, however, there exists a clause (Section 7, Article IV) which is included in the Bretton Woods Agreement and which provides for uniform proportionate changes in the par value of the currencies of members, i.e., *for multilateral revaluation* of currencies, then such a statement by the American President is no longer merely a domestic affair, but an event of international importance and quite offensive to the other members of the IMF.

When we consider further the stipulation that "such change must be approved by every member which has ten percent or more of the total of the quotas"—and everybody knows that the United States is the only such member—then it becomes still more offensive and indeed also a stupid statement.

To live up to our President's factual statement: "The dollar . . . will remain . . . convertible at $35 an ounce," we would a priori have to veto the use of the entire Section 7 of Article IV, without even listening to the arguments of other members!

Or if we decided not to veto it, we would have—again a priori—to make up our mind to exclude the dollar under the provision of the last five lines of Section 7, reading:

"The par value of a member's currency shall, however, not be changed under this provision if, within seventy-two hours of the Fund's action, the member informs the Fund that it does not wish the par value of its currency to be changed by such action."

In either case, the President's statement was not only unfortunate, but—though undoubtedly unintentionally—also an insult to other members of the IMF.

Such incidents show an apparent superficiality and carelessness in handling matters that may prove to be of international importance.

They also show an apparent desire to justify all kinds of destructive measures by a hodge podge of arguments somewhat as follows:

We must have an increase in our reserves, partly to provide for normal growth, but particularly because of the inadequacies of the reserve currencies.

The reserve currencies—used up to now—have proved to be theoretically undesirable and have no sufficient real liquidity behind them to be trusted and relied on.

We cannot increase the world's real reserves—namely, our gold reserve—sufficiently without increasing the present price of $35 an ounce, fixed 34 years ago. This is because we have seen in recent years that, with the increased cost of mining, matters are apt to become worse and perhaps no increase at all will be shown in the Free World's gold stock in the immediate future.

We cannot increase the price of gold because, in our opinion, it has practically no value.

We, therefore, propose to create new reserves in the form of SDR which should be intrinsically sound and acceptable because they will have an absolute gold guarantee!

Thus runs a typical so-called modern argument!

It is a clear understanding of the carelessness and mistakes of the past and the need for far greater concern and regard for the conduct of the future that is necessary before the relatively clear and obvious question of ample reserves can be settled by a simple and straightforward move.

It follows that no Secretary of the Treasury who has a thorough understanding of both the domestic and the international aspects of the liquidity problem could possibly recommend that, in their present form, the special drawing rights offered by the IMF be accepted by the U.S. Congress.

APPENDIX 1

OUTLINE OF A FACILITY BASED ON SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

INTRODUCTION

The facility described in this Outline is intended to meet the need, as and when it arises, for a supplement to existing reserve assets. It is to be established within the framework of the Fund and, therefore, by an Amendment of the Fund's Articles. Provisions relating to some of the topics in this Outline could be included in By-laws adopted by the Board of Governors or Rules and Regulations adopted by the Executive Directors rather than in the Amendment.

I. ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL DRAWING ACCOUNT IN THE FUND

(a) An Amendment to the Articles will establish a Special Drawing Account through which all the operations relating to special drawing rights will be carried out. The purposes of the facility will be set forth in the introductory section of the Amendment.

(b) The operations of and resources available under the Special Drawing Account will be separate from the operations of the present Fund which will be referred to as the General Account.

(c) Separate provisions will be included in the Amendment for withdrawal from or liquidation of the Special Drawing Account; Article XVI, Section 2 and Schedules D and E on withdrawal and liquidation will continue to apply as they do at present to the General Account of the Fund.

II. PARTICIPANTS AND OTHER HOLDERS

1. Participants

Participation in the Special Drawing Account will be open to any member of the Fund that undertakes the obligations of the Amendment. A member's quota in the Fund will be the same for the purposes of both the General and the Special Drawing Accounts of the Fund.

2. *Holding by General Account.* The General Account will be authorized to hold and use special drawing rights.

III. ALLOCATION OF SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS

1. Principles for decisions

The Special Drawing Account will allocate special drawing rights in accordance with the provisions of the Amendment. Special considerations applicable to the first decision to allocate special drawing rights, as well as the principles on which all decisions to allocate special drawing rights will be based, will be included in the introductory section of the Amendment and, to the extent necessary, in a Report explaining the Amendment.

2. Basic period and rate of allocation

The following provisions will apply to any decision to allocate special drawing rights:

(i) The decision will prescribe a basic period during which special drawing rights will be allocated at specified intervals. The period will normaly be five years in length, but the Fund may decide that any basic period will be of different duration. The first basic period will begin on the effective date of the first decision to allocate special drawing rights.

(ii) The decision will also prescribe the rate or rates at which special drawing rights will be allocated during the basic period. Rates will be expressed as a percentage, uniform for all participants, of quotas on the date specified in the decision.

3. Procedure for decisions

(a) Any decision on the basic period for, timing of, or rate of allocation of special drawing rights will be taken by the Board of Governors on the basis of a proposal by the Managing Director concurred in by the Executive Directors.

(b) Before formulating any proposal, the Managing Director after having satisfied himself that the considerations referred to in III.1 have been met, will conduct such consultations as will enable him to ascertain that there is broad support among participants for the allocation of special drawing rights at the proposed rate and for the proposed basic period.

(c) The Managing Director will make proposals with respect to the allocation of special drawing rights: (i) within sufficient time before the end of a basic period; (ii) in the circumstances of III.4; (iii) within six months after the Board of Governors or the Executive Directors request that he make a proposal. The Managing Director will make a proposal for the first basic period when he is of the opinion that there is broad support among the participants to start the allocation of special drawing rights.

(d) The Executive Directors will review both the operations of the Special Drawing Account and the adequacy of global reserves as part of their annual report to the Board of Governors.

4. Change in rate of allocation or basic period

If there are unexpected major developments which make it desirable to change the rate at which further special drawing rights are to be allocated for a basic period, (i) the rate may be increased or decreased, or (ii) the basic period may be terminated and a different rate of allocation adopted for a new basic period. Paragraph III.3 will apply to such changes.

5. Voting majority

(a) For decisions on the basic period for, timing of, amount and rate of allocation of special drawing rights, an 85 percent majority of the voting power of participants shall be required.

(b) Notwithstanding (a) above, the decisions to decrease the rate of allocation of special drawing rights for the remainder of the basic period will be taken by a simple majority of the voting power of participants.

6. Opting out

The Amendment will include provisions that will prescribe to what extent a participant will be required initially to receive special drawing rights, but will stipulate that beyond any such amount a participant that does not vote in favor of a decision to allocate special drawing rights may elect not to receive them under that decision.

IV. CANCELLATION OF SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS

The principles set forth in III relating to the procedure and voting for the allocation of special drawing rights will be applicable, with appropriate modifications, to the cancellation of such rights.

V. USE OF SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS

1. Right to use special drawing rights

(a) A participant will be entitled, in accordance with the provisions of V, to use special drawing rights to acquire an equivalent amount of a currency convertible in fact. A participant which thus provides currency will receive an equivalent amount of special drawing rights.

(b) Within the framework of such rules and regulations as the Fund may adopt, a participant may obtain the currencies referred to in (a) either directly from another participant or through the Special Drawing Account.

(c) Except as indicated in V.3(c), a participant will be expected to use its special drawing rights only for balance-of-payments needs or in the light of developments in its total reserves and not for the sole purpose of changing the composition of its reserves.

(d) The use of special drawing rights will not be subject to prior challenge on the basis of this expectation, but the Fund may make representations to any participant which, in the Fund's judgment, has failed to observe the expectation, and may direct drawings to such participant to the extent of such failure.

2. Provision of currency

A participant's obligation to provide currency will not extend beyond a point at which its holdings of special drawing rights in excess of the net cumulative amount of such rights allocated to it are equal to twice that amount. However, a participant may provide currency, or agree with the Fund to provide currency, in excess of this limit.

3. Selection of participants to be drawn upon

The Fund's rules and instructions relating to the participants from which currencies should be acquired by users of special drawing rights will be based on the following main general principles, supplemented by such principles as the Fund may find desirable from time to time:

(a) Normally, currencies will be acquired from participants that have a sufficiently strong balance of payments and reserve position, but this will not preclude the possibility that currency will be acquired from participants with strong reserve positions even though they have moderate balance of payments deficits.

(b) The Fund's primary criterion will be to seek to approach over time equality, among the participants indicated from time to time by the criteria in (a) above, in the ratios of their holdings of special drawing rights, or such holdings in excess of net cumulative allocations thereof, to total reserves.

(c) In addition, the Fund will, in its rules and instructions, provide for such use of special drawing rights, either directly between participants or through the intermediary of the Special Drawing Account, as will promote voluntary reconstitution and reconstitution under V.4.

(d) Subject to the provisions of V.1(c), a participant may use its special drawing rights to purchase balances of its currency held by another participant, with the agreement of the latter.

4. Reconstitution

(a) Members that use their special drawing rights will incur an obligation to reconstitute their position in accordance with principles which will take account of the amount and the duration of the use. These principles will be laid down in rules and regulations of the Fund.

(b) The rules for reconstitution of drawings made during the first basic period will be based on the following principles:

(1) The average net use, taking into account both use below and holdings above its net cumulative allocation, made by a participant of its special drawing rights calculated on the basis of the preceding five years, shall not exceed 70 percent of its average net cumulative allocation during this period. Reconstitution under this subparagraph (1) will be brought about through the mechanism of transfers, by the Fund directing drawings correspondingly.

(2) Participants will pay due regard to the desirability of pursuing over time a balanced relationship between their holdings of special drawing rights and other reserves.

(c) Reconstitution rules will be reviewed before the end of the first and of each subsequent period and new rules will be adopted, if necessary. If new rules are not adopted for a basic period, the rules for the preceding period shall apply unless it is decided to abrogate reconstitution rules. The same majority as is required for decisions on the basic period, timing of, or rate of allocation of special drawing rights will be required for decisions to adopt, amend, or abrogate reconstitution rules. Any amendment in the rules will govern the reconstitution of drawings made after the effective date of the amendment, unless otherwise decided.

VI. INTEREST AND MAINTENANCE OF GOLD VALUE

1. Interest

A moderate rate of interest will be paid in special drawing rights on holdings of special drawing rights. The cost of this interest will be assessed against all participants in proportion to net cumulative allocations of special drawing rights to them.

2. Maintenance of gold value

The unit of value for expressing special drawing rights will be equal to 0.888 671 grams of fine gold. The rights and obligations of participants and of the Special Drawing Account will be subject to an absolute maintenance of gold value or to provisions similar to Article VI, Section 8 of the Fund's Articles.

VII. FUNCTIONS OF FUND ORGANS AND VOTING

1. Exercise of powers

The decisions taken with respect to the Special Drawing Account, and the supervision of its operations, will be carried out by the Board of Governors, the Executive Directors, the Managing Director, and the staff of the Fund. Certain powers, and in particular those relating to the adoption of decisions concerning the allocation, cancellation, and certain aspects of the use of special drawing rights, will be reserved to the Board of Governors. All other powers, except those specifically granted to other organs, will be vested in the Board of Governors which will be able to delegate them to the Executive Directors.

2. Voting

Except as otherwise provided in the Amendment, all decisions pertaining to the Special Drawing Account will be taken by a majority of votes cast. The precise formula for the voting power of participants, which will include basic and weighted votes, and possibly the adjustment of voting power in relation to the use of special drawing rights, will be the subject of later consideration.

VIII. GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. Collaboration

Participants will undertake to collaborate with the Fund in order to facilitate the proper functioning and effective use of special drawing rights within the international monetary system.

2. Nonfulfillment of obligations

(a) If the Fund finds that a participant has failed to fulfill its obligations to provide currency in accordance with the Amendment, the Fund may suspend the right of the participant to use its special drawing rights.

(b) If the Fund finds that a participant has failed to fulfill any other obligation under the Amendment, the Fund may suspend the participant's right to use any special drawing rights allocated to or acquired by it after the suspension.

(c) Suspension under (a) or (b) above will not affect a participant's obligation to provide currency in accordance with the Amendment.

(d) The Fund may at any time terminate a suspension under (a) or (b) above.

3. Accounts

All changes in holdings of special drawings rights will take effect when recorded in the accounts of the Special Drawing Account.

IX. ENTRY INTO FORCE

The Amendment would enter into force in accordance with the terms of Article XVII of the Fund's Articles.

CENTRAL BANKERS' COMMUNIQUÉ AND IMF STATEMENT

(NOTE.—Following are the text of a communiqué issued on March 17, 1968, at the conclusion of the two-day meeting of the heads of seven central banks, the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, and the General Manager of the Bank for International Settlements, and the text of a Statement by the International Monetary Fund:)

COMMUNIQUÉ

The Governors of the central banks of Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States met in Washington on March 16 and 17, 1968, to examine operations of the gold pool, to which they are active contributors. The Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund and the General Manager of the Bank for International Settlements also attended the meeting.

The Governors noted that it is the determined policy of the United States Government to defend the value of the dollar through appropriate fiscal and monetary measures and that substantial improvement of the United States balance of payments is a high priority objective.

They also noted that legislation approved by Congress makes the whole of the gold stock of the nation available for defending the value of the dollar.

They noted that the United States Government will continue to buy and sell gold at the existing price of $35 an ounce in transactions with monetary authorities. The Governors support this policy, and believe it contributes to the maintenance of exchange stability.

The Governors noted the determination of the United Kingdom authorities to do all that is necessary to eliminate the deficit in the United Kingdom balance of payments as soon as possible and to move to a position of large and sustained surplus.

Finally, they noted that the governments of most European countries intend to pursue monetary and fiscal policies that encourage domestic expansion consistent with economic stability, avoid as far as possible increases in interest rates or a tightening of money markets, and thus contribute to conditions that will help all countries move toward payments equilibrium.

The Governors agreed to cooperate fully to maintain the existing parties as well as orderly conditions in their exchange markets in accordance with their obligations under the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund. The Governors believe that henceforth officially held gold should be used only to effect transfers among monetary authorities, and, therefore, they decide no longer to supply gold to the London gold market or any other gold market. Moreover, as the existing stock of monetary gold is sufficient in view of the prospective establishment of the facility for Special Drawing Rights, they no longer feel it necessary to buy gold from the market. Finally they agreed that henceforth they will not sell gold to monetary authorities to replace gold sold in private markets.

The Governors agreed to cooperate even more closely than in the past to minimize flows of funds contributing to instability in the exchange markets, and to offset as necessary any such flows that may arise.

In view of the importance of the pound sterling in the international monetary system, the Governors have agreed to provide further facilities which will bring the total of credits immediately available to the United Kingdom authorities (including the IMF standby) to $4 billion.

The Governors invite the cooperation of other central banks in the policies set forth above.

STATEMENT

During their meeting in Washington over the past two days, the active members of the gold pool have decided to stop supplying gold from monetary reserves to the London gold market or any other gold market.

This decision is readily understandable as a means of conserving the stock of monetary gold, which has recently been subject to heavy drains through such operations in the London market.

The decision, of course, involves no departure from the obligation of these countries to maintain the par values of their currencies established with the IMF.

Countries adhering to the Articles of Agreement of the Fund undertake to collaborate with the Fund to promote exchange stability and to maintain orderly exchange agreements with each other. It is most important that the monetary authorities of all member countries should continue to conduct gold transactions consistently with this undertaking, and that they should cooperate fully to conserve the stock of monetary gold. Such action will be an important contribution to the functioning of the international monetary system.

In the longer run, it will not be sufficient simply to conserve global reserves. In this connection, it is to be noted that work on the establishment of the Special Drawing Rights facility in the Fund is proceeding on schedule. It is to be hoped that this facility will enter into force with the least possible delay in order to make it possible to supplement existing reserve assets as and when needed.

CERTIFICATE FOR FIRST DISTRICT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, for your information I am pleased to read into the RECORD the text of a certificate I am sending to high school graduates in the First District of Georgia. It reads:

To All To Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greetings:

It is my pleasure to congratulate you upon the accomplishment of High School graduation. May this day begin a further achievement in ideals of citizenship in your community and for your country.

G. ELLIOTT HAGAN,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this certificate is not printed at Government expense.

FOR INNER SPACE, A HAWAII BASE

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, with the world's population soaring to record numbers each year, there is increasing evidence that the seas must be thoroughly explored for new foods, materials, and for scientific research. Where is there a better location to direct this search than from Hawaii whose entire life and existence is associated in some way to the seas. The Honolulu Star-Bulletin published an editorial on May 8, 1968, entitled, "For Inner Space, a Hawaii Base" in which it cites the benefits of locating the headquarters of an enlarged program of sea exploration at Hawaii, which article I submit for the benefit of my colleagues:

FOR INNER SPACE, A HAWAII BASE

President Johnson has taken a significant initiative toward making the exploration of inner space quite different from that of outer space.

In lieu of the intense Russian-American rivalry in outer space, the President has proposed that the two nations cooperate in an International Decade of Ocean Exploration (IDOE).

He has suggested that governments all over the world pledge themselves to cooperative deep sea exploration for a 10-year period that could begin in 1970.

Some 46 nations attended a State Department briefing on the proposal, though without making any commitments on participation.

The U.S. visualizes its contribution at $3 to $5 billion over the decade and suggests a like amount from the U.S.S.R.

The antagonisms and unnecessary duplications of the space race would be minimized. Cooperation would be the keynote.

The total U.S.-U.S.S.R. contribution of $6 to $10 billion would come to 60 to 80 per cent of the total cost of IDOE, a reflection of the fact that the oceanographic fleets of the two nations are 60 to 80 per cent of the world total.

Much of the contribution, in the case of both nations, would be money they would be spending anyway—but a greater total return would be realized through the joint effort.

IDOE is visualized as starting modestly sometime around 1970, building up to a first peak of activity two years later and building to a period of maximum activity about mid-decade when a variety of new platforms, including ships and buoys, come into use.

The principal product of IDOE will be oceanographic data. But its planners also visualize progress toward worldwide standardization of instruments and the establishment of international calibration facilities.

Prospects of U.S.S.R. participation in IDOE are hopeful, but no nations have yet made firm commitments to the plan.

Readers will be fascinated to note in this connection that international cooperation in oceanic exploration is for the U.S. as old as the nation itself—and not really a new idea of President Johnson's.

On March 10, 1779, at the height of the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin wrote a letter urging American ships to give safe conduct to Capt. James Cook, the British navigator, on his return from his voyages of exploration in the Pacific.

Not knowing that Cook had been killed in Hawaii three weeks earlier, Franklin wrote that Cook's early return to Europe was expected. "Consider her not as an enemy," Franklin urged of Cook's ship and asked that Cook be given any needed help.

He spoke of the voyage of the "celebrated navigator . . . to make discoveries of new countries in unknown seas" in these terms:

"An undertaking truly laudable in itself, as the Increase of Geographical Knowledge facilitates the Communication between Distant Nations, in the exchange of useful Products and Manufactures and the extension of Arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented and Science of other kinds increased to the benefit of mankind in general."

IDOE, too, can be an undertaking truly laudable in itself.

As IDOE plans move forward, we respectfully suggest that an ideal headquarters site for it would be Hawaii, where Capt. Cook died just two centuries before the end of IDOE.

We offer a community that has an intense interest in oceanography and one that can be said to be centrally located as regards the maritime nations of the world.

Hawaii already has been chosen as a site for a number of East-West meetings. Its East-West Center gives it an ideal backdrop for many such sessions.

Here is a hospitable climate at a crossroads in the world's greatest ocean. Russian oceanographers already have visited here several times aboard the research ship Vityaz and found their community reception a warm one.

Communications from Hawaii are excellent.

Pending new air routes will make the islands even more of an air hub than now.

Honolulu as the headquarters for IDOE is a proposal that should be advanced early and seriously.

U.S. CENSORS DISLIKE GREEK CENSORS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, what difference is there between censors and manipulators of the news—be they United States or Greek.

Is censorship whereby certain subjects are played down by the news media, any greater censorship than promoting and manipulating of controversial and emotional subjects such as riots, criminality and revolution?

And what about U.S. censorship keeping news stories on George C. Wallace, of Alabama, off the front page—in many cases out of the news. And that is not in Greece—it is here in the United States of America.

Can it be the U.S. censors fear George Wallace—or is it just because they do not have a ring in his nose that they censor him out and play down news about George Wallace.

I place an article from the Washington Post for May 9 at this point in the RECORD:

GREEK CENSORS

ATHENS.—Government censors ordered for the second time that newspapers limit coverage of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's U.S. presidential campaign. The order delayed the printing of most afternoon newspapers. In March, censors ordered news stories on Kennedy to be played in the inside pages. The directive was rescinded within 24 hours because of adverse reaction from the United States.

Anti-regime forces believe that if Kennedy is elected president, it will mean the collapse of the army-backed government.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, May 10 is a day of great importance to Rumanian people everywhere in the world because it is Rumanian Independence Day.

In these days it has special significance because the people of Rumania have been robbed of their national independence by the Russian imperialists.

It was 23 years last March 6 that the Russians destroyed the free government of that old and honored nation and imposed upon the Rumanian people a form of government which is completely alien to their rich culture, traditions, and love for human freedom.

In the darkness of those 23 years, the people of Rumania have never lost faith in the destiny of their nation.

They remain convinced that justice will triumph throughout the world—that the cause of freemen will prevail in the affairs of nations and that Rumania will rise once again in all the splendor and beauty of her ancient civilization.

It is this dedication, this unwavering conviction, which holds the people of Rumania in an unbreakable alliance with the people of the United States and all other free countries.

The people of Rumania will be prohibited from celebrating this memorable day by the alien government which has been imposed upon them by the masters of the new imperialism in Moscow.

No public observance of this day will be allowed because the Russians are dedicated to destroying all hope for a return of national independence and because such public manifestations carry the possibility of getting out of hand so far as the occupiers are concerned.

However, the Rumanian people will find ways to observe this historic day, despite the efforts to prevent them from doing so.

What rests firmly in the hearts of men cannot be wiped out by the order of a dictator.

Rumanians in the free world will properly celebrate this day.

I am happy and proud that in my District very significant celebrations take place commemorating Rumanian Independence day.

Free Rumanians will carry high the hopes of the captive people of Rumania.

They will, as in the past, remind all those who love freedom that these past 23 years of darkness have strengthened the determination of the Rumanian people to regain their national independence.

In this they will be performing a service for their adopted country, the United States, because the cause of peace with justice requires the dedication of all our citizens.

The eyes of the world are upon the negotiators in Paris who are meeting for the purpose of bringing to an end the terrible scourge of war existing in Vietnam. Let us all hope and pray that from this conference will come an opportunity for the people of Vietnam to exercise the right to national self-determination to choose their own form of government, to elect their own officials and to determine their own destiny. When the right of self-determination is given to all peoples and nations, large and small, then and only then can we look forward to a world of permanent peace and brotherhood.

I MOURN FOR HIM TODAY

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Extensions of Remarks a tribute to an American soldier killed in Vietnam. This tribute was written by Dr. H. Frank Collins, pastor, Calvary Baptist Church of Bellflower, Calif., just before the morning service on Palm Sunday of this year. This tribute was presented at the church services on that same Palm Sunday, and is so excellent that I would like to give it wider circulation:

I MOURN FOR HIM TODAY

Last week a man fell in battle. A man dedicated and devoted to peace and freedom. A man who was man enough to give his life for a cause that he believed in.

I mourn for him today.

He did not die in a plush motel in one of America's beautiful cities. He died in the horrible steaming jungles of a filthy, rotten, poverty-torn nation, thousands of miles from his home and country. He died in the arms of a buddy who believed in the same things he did—the right to live in a country where free men could assemble in worship—where little girls and women felt free to walk to Sunday School in their new frocks and bonnets. He died to give to men of all color the right for a free education in a state that would provide it with small cost—and limited only by the self-limitations of the individual.

I mourn for him today.

He died defending a country that has done more for the individual than any nation on earth. He did not curse the parents that bore him, loved him, and provided for him and gave him far more than they ever had themselves. He did not curse the society that taxed itself to the hilt to care for its poor and its aged. He did not defect from the country that provided its scenic highways, parks and luxuries that he and his fellow-man might enjoy the good things of life. He died as an example of civil obedience.

I mourn for him today.

No self-seeking politician sent a chartered jet for his widow to accompany his body home. He was shipped home in a government-provided casket, and Uncle Sam provided one non-commissioned service man as an escort. He did not have a large funeral. A soldier

sounded taps on a near-by slope as his body was laid to rest.

I mourn for him today.

No cities were burned and placed under martial law because he was shot. Our nation's Capital was not endangered by his death. It was, rather, made a little more secure by the supreme price that he paid to make it safe. The flag of our country was not lowered to half-mast. In the eyes of those who know the true value of such a sacrifice, it seemed to fly higher than ever over the "Land of the free and the home of the brave."

I mourn for him today.

Those who would vindicate his death today can be heard throughout our land as they organize into what patriots have always called our Military Service. They take up arms—rifles—bayonets—tanks and planes—but they aim them at the enemy—not their own country.

I mourn for him today.

There were no newspapermen nor TV crews to cover the events of his death nor his funeral. No dignitaries cancelled trips, that might save the lives of his buddies, to attend his funeral. But every statesman and politician ought to take at least one moment to slip silently to his knees and say, "Thank God for a great man." His contribution to our country's freedom is not known by his own generation. It is known only to God.

A great man fell in battle. The victim of a sniper's bullet. I mourn for him today.

REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the text of my regular report to the people of the Ninth District of Tennessee:

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL, OF TENNESSEE, REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, MAY 1968

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO PEOPLE OF THE NINTH DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE

The people of the Ninth District of Tennessee have done a fine job of participating in a poll on the vital issues of our times. We have just completed tabulating the answers to my questionnaire from some 13,000 citizens of the community I have the privilege to represent.

This widespread interest in the questionnaire is a fine example of government by the people. While we all recognize that as elected Representatives of the people, we must make the final decisions on how to vote on legislation coming before us, the use of the questionnaire and the interest of the people in answering it provides direct communication between the Representative and the people unmatched by any other means.

In answering the questionnaire, the people of the Ninth District of Tennessee have expressed themselves overwhelmingly in support of a cut in Federal spending. While reluctant to support a tax increase under any circumstances, many of them would do so if it is demonstrated that a real cut in spending will be made.

On the question of crime and riots, the people I represent believe strongly in the enforcement of law and order. They realize that there can be no solution to the many and complex problems which face us as a nation unless we begin with law and order.

The opinions of the people of the Ninth District on all of the eight questions put to them are contained in the complete report of the results as here presented:

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO RESIDENTS OF 9TH DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE—CONGRESSMAN DAN KUYKENDALL

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Are you in favor of the 10-percent surcharge income tax if there is a corresponding cut in spending?	38.7	58.0	3.3
2. Would you favor the increase even without a cut in spending?	6.8	88.3	4.8
3. Do you believe social security funds are being properly handled by the Government?	19.6	69.8	10.5
4. Do you believe crime and riots are caused by inadequate laws and enforcement?	68.8	28.3	2.8
5. Do you believe the main cause is hopelessness in our cities because of inadequate opportunity, education, lack of welfare care?	18.3	75.6	6.0
6. Do you believe the President's conduct of the Vietnam war will bring an end to the fighting?	11.8	83.8	4.3
7. Do you believe our present defense policies will prevent the outbreak of hostilities in other areas?	7.66	86.66	5.66
8. Do you believe the Communist movement is responsible for the major part of the unrest in the world?	84.5	12.6	2.8

HUMAN RENEWAL FUND

In March I joined with other Republicans in the House to sponsor a $2.5 billion Human Renewal Fund. In order to get this money we would cut back present Federal spending by $6.5 billion in programs that could be eliminated or deferred.

We have already made good progress in substantial cuts in the budget requests for the Post Office Department, Treasury, and the Civilian Space program.

The Human Renewal Fund is to provide for urgent human needs and the problems of the cities. Emphasis would be put on job training, vocational and technical education, home ownership for those in lower income brackets, and pollution control.

HOUSE CUTS BUDGET REQUESTS IN FIRST APPROPRIATION BILLS

As the first appropriation bills for fiscal year 1969 started through Congress, the House began making cuts in the budget requests. There are 14 appropriation bills which must be passed each year.

The first bill to come before us provides $8.1 billion to finance the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office, and four small independent agencies. The House cut the President's request by $181.7 million, but the total for fiscal 1969 is still $610 million more than this year. This is our big problem, to cut actual spending, not just cut proposed increases.

The Agriculture Appropriation bill was approved at about $5.5 billion which was a $1.4 billion cut in the budget request. The House approved $4.03 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, a cutback of $339 million. Most of this cut was in administrative costs and will not curtail the main thrust of our manned space probes.

Reducing Federal spending is an absolute must. We haven't had a balanced budget since President Eisenhower left office. Our national debt is $350 billion. Annual interest on the debt is $15.2 billion—more than $1.25 billion each month.

AWARD WINNER

Miss Rosemary Barringer, national winner of the Lucille M. Wright Citizenship award for the Girls Clubs of America, Inc. Part of Rosemary's prize was a trip to New York and Washington where she was a a guest in my office. She won the award for citizenship over 100,000 other girls in Girls Clubs across the Nation. She was accompanied on her trip to receive the award by Mrs. John Burnett. (Photo caption.)

WHO CONTROLS SPENDING?

Sooner or later in any discussion on reducing Federal spending, the question comes up, "Who controls spending, the President or the Congress?" There are many who try to pass the buck to Congress. Therefore, those of us who have been urging President Johnson to cut spending were pleased to see a recent editorial in the liberal Washington Post, which said, "Until now the White House has countered the pressures for expenditure reductions by tossing the ball back into the lap of Congress, asking it to specify what programs ought to be cut and by how much. That tactic is not going to produce a surtax. Expenditures . . . will have to be controlled. And that is the task of the Executive Branch with its budget-making apparatus, not the Congress."

HUTCHISON SCHOOL GROUP VISITS

Miss Helen Lowrence and Mrs. Douglas Mann, chaperoned students from Hutchison on a visit to the Nation's Capital. On the Capitol steps with their chaperones and Miss Emily Klyce of my staff are Julia Anderson, Alice Armstrong, Jennifer Baker, Lisa Blackburn, Jan Bond, Kristin Hunter, Ann Hoehn, Mary Miles, Margaret Milnor, Eleanor Nickey, Helen Overton, Laurie Saunders, Carrol Shannon, Cristie Upshaw, and Laura Yeates. (Photo caption.)

FHA AND VA GUARANTEED LOANS

The Congress has approved and sent to the President legislation to make more FHA and VA guaranteed home mortgages available in many areas. The bill removes the mandatory 6 percent interest ceiling on these guaranteed loans and authorizes the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, upon consultation with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, to set the interest ceiling. In many areas it has been practically impossible to find a lending institution which would make an FHA or VA home loan because of the 6 percent interest limitation. With the higher rate, possibly 6½ percent, it is believed that more money will be available from lending institutions for those who need FHA or VA financing for their homes.

CRIME TAKING OVER?

Since 1960 our population has increased 10 percent, crime is up 67 percent. This is due to encouragement of lawlessness by the permissive society.

STOP THIEF

In the 1929–33 depression, 10,000 banks in the United States failed, costing people with savings $1,300,000,000. But this was a small loss compared to what inflation cost in 1966. Rising prices brought on by heavy Federal spending robbed peoples' savings of $11 billion, nearly ten times as much in one year as the total loss during the depression. With cost of living up another 4 percent in March, the American people will lose more billions.

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE

There is a difference between the parties. In the rating of how members of Congress voted, the ACA keeps a running score on votes for Constitutional government and fiscal responsibility. In the cumulative total for the ten year period 1957 to 1967 the ACA Index shows that voting less than 20 percent of the time for sound money, protection of the individual were 0 Republicans and 160 Democrats. Voting over 80 percent for protecting the economy and your savings and in support of Constitutional government were 120 Republicans and only 15 Democrats.

KUYKENDALL BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

H. Res. 712 for a Congressional review of our policies in Southeast Asia.

H.R. 16859 to assist the City of Memphis in the construction of the Beale Street Interceptor Sewer.

H. Res. 1154 to prohibit the use of Federal property as campsites by demonstrators.

TAX FREEDOM DAY

Congratulations, taxpayer. You are now working for yourself. Up until May 5 every dollar you earned from January 1 went to pay Federal, state and local taxes.

CONGRESSIONAL ART EXHIBIT

Congressman Seymour Halpern (N.Y.) and I display our entries in a recent art exhibit at the Capitol Hill Club in Washington. (Photo captions)

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, today, May 10, marks the anniversary of the achievement of Rumania's independence and the founding of its kingdom. Rumanians all over the world are bringing to this day the honor which is its due.

Rumania has striven for her freedom for over a century. In 1881, the people crowned King Charles I who reigned over this prosperous country for over 60 years, more than 20 of which Rumania enjoyed unity within her historical boundaries. Rumania now lies behind the Iron Curtain, and May 10 can no longer be openly celebrated within the country.

Today not only commemorates Rumania's past glories and achievements, but is a symbol of the hope and dauntless faith, which is in the hearts of all Rumanians the world over, for when Rumania will once again be restored her precious freedom.

The Rumanian National Committee has furnished me with a short summary of the meaning of May 10 as Rumania's Independence Day, and I would like to include this statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

THE 10TH OF MAY: RUMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Tenth of May is the national holiday of the Rumanian people, celebrating three great events of its history.

On May 10, 1866, Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a scion of the Southern and Catholic branch of the Prussian royal family, was proclaimed in Bucharest Prince of Rumania, and thus founded the Rumanian dynasty. It was the successful outcome of the nation's long struggle to acquire the right of electing as its sovereign a member of one of the Western non-neighboring reigning families in order to put an end to the strifes and rivalries among native candidates to the throne. This ardent wish, though officially expressed as far back as 1857 by the Moldavian and Wallachian Assemblies—the "Ad-hoc Divans"—convened as a result of the Paris Treaty of 1856, was nevertheless opposed by the Russian and Austrian empires, equally disquieted by the growth in power and prestige of the young bordering nation they both secretly hoped to absorb some day. It was due to unrelenting efforts made and wise steps taken by Rumanian patriots, and also to the constant diplomatic assistance of Napoleon III, Emperor of the French (to whom Prince Charles was related through the Beauharnais and Murat families) that all political obstacles were gradually removed and what was to be the prosperous and glorious reign of Charles I could be inaugurated on May 10, 1866.

Eleven years later, on May 10, 1877, during the turmoil of the Russo-Turkish War, the Principality of Rumania, until then nominally a vassal of the Sultan, proclaimed her independence by severing the old and outdated bonds that linked her with the Ottoman Empire. This independence had to be fought out on the battlefields south of the Danube, where the young Rumanian Army, as an ally of Russia, played a noteworthy part in the defeat of the Turkish forces. The Congress of Berlin of 1878 confirmed Rumania's independence and conferred Europe's official recognition, a bright page in the country's dreary history though marred unfortunately by the loss of Bessarabia, cynically wrenched by Czar Alexander II and his government from the ally who helped them obtain victory over the Turks.

Another four years elapsed after the Rumanian people had proclaimed their independence and a further step was taken as they decided to raise their country to the rank of a kingdom. On May 10, 1881, Charles I was crowned, by the will of his people, King of Rumania. A prosperous era, which lasted over six decades, opened on that day for the nation. Its apex was attained when national unity within the historic boundaries was reached after World War I. The socially progressive country had now become a factor of peace and equilibrium in the South-East of Europe.

During all those years and up to the present time, Rumanians have cherished and revered the Tenth of May as their national holiday, the anniversary of happy and glorious events in their history, in which achievements of Monarchy and people were interwoven. It remains the symbol of their permanency and perseverance through woes and hardships to reach the ultimate end of freedom and well being.

The ruthless foreign rule which now oppresses the Rumanian nation has not been able to uproot the people's attachment to the traditional celebration of the 10th of May. In order to try and alter at least its significance, official celebrations were shifted from the 10th to the 9th of May, anniversary of the Soviet victory. But, though flags are now hoisted on May 9th, Rumanians in their captive homeland celebrate in their hearts the following day, waiting with faith and courage the dawn of new times, when freedom shall be restored to them.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, today, May 10, marks a special day in the history of freedom-loving peoples everywhere. May 10 is the day on which the Rumanian people gained the right of self-determination—a right which is basic to the development of a democratic system of government.

The Rumanians, unfortunately, have had a long history of being subject to foreign control. But, never through their long history has the spirit of the Rumanians been broken. Their indominable spirit has always risen above the oppressors that beset them.

Even today when the nation of Rumania is under the gun of the Soviet Union, when the armies of the Soviet Union are poised on its borders and when all the power that Russia can bring to bear on the Government of Rumania is being exerted to bring Rumania back to heel beside her would-be master, still, the people of Rumania fight back.

The indominable spirit of the Rumanian people gives me great hope that they will soon regain the right of self-determination so cruelly torn from their grasp. Some day the Government of Rumania will take her place among the governments of free men. Let us hope that day will not be too far distant.

JOBLESSNESS: THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, an article in the April issue of Business in Brief, a publication of the Chase Manhattan Bank, reports the approaches needed to further alleviate unemployment in the United States.

Race, an important factor, is not the sole factor in unemployment. The skills of the workers have become outmoded, the workers lack preparation for better jobs or promotions, and there is greater competition within local industries.

More Government spending to increase aggregate demand would only cause more inflation without creating new jobs. Washington should abandon fiscal expansion as a solution to today's joblessness and correct the labor market deficiencies that keep workers and jobs apart.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and other programs to increase training and skills are involved in the new way of viewing joblessness. These programs are not expected to work overnight, but in the long run they are expected to increase individual capabilities.

As manpower programs are still in an experimental stage, economic benefits cannot be established precisely at this point. According to the Chase Manhattan Bank, however, employment at the minimum wage rates would be a very satisfactory rate of return on the $2,000 per person investment involved in the manpower programs.

Although there are encouraging indications that required changes are beginning to occur, the manpower programs need companion efforts of unions and employers in on-the-job training, dismantling racial barriers, and preparing employees for promotions. Under unanimous consent I include this article from Business in Brief in the RECORD at this point.

JOBLESSNESS: THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE

The attack on joblessness in the United States is taking on new and expanded dimensions. And the federal government is becoming more deeply involved than it has been in decades in trying to put its citizens to work.

It has become clear that general economic expansion by itself will not be sufficient to eliminate the most serious instances of joblessness. For this reason, programs of manpower development are assuming new importance as the appropriate way to relieve unemployment. If successful, approaches now

being used could have lasting implications for workers, employers and the nation's remaining unemployed.

EVOLUTION OF A POLICY

Despite their significance, new efforts being made to end joblessness are evolutionary, not trailblazing departures in national policy. Concern for the unemployed is an established tradition in the United States. Recalling hardships of the Great Depression, when a fourth of the country's able-bodied men were idle, fiscal and monetary policies since the end of World War II have sought to insure that everyone willing, able and seeking to work could find a job.

A fairly impressive record has been established on this account—80-million persons now are employed, and fewer than 3 million unemployed.

But there is widespread belief that joblessness must be cut even further. There is a firm basis for that feeling. Unemployment though low on the whole, is intolerably high for some groups—notably negroes. And the existence of intricate ties between chronic joblessness, poverty and social unrest has become too clear to be ignored.

However, simple conclusions about the causes of joblessness are sure to be misleading. For example, race, though a key element in joblessness, is not the sole factor. Only 600,000 of the nation's recorded unemployed are negroes. Hence, many workers will lack employment even if racial barriers to jobs are eliminated. Skills have become outmoded and aging workers have been idled. Youngsters coming into the labor force in many cases lack preparation for the tasks they are required to perform. Local industries have succumbed to competition. These and many other factors are behind persisting unemployment in the United States.

DEVELOPING NEW PRESCRIPTIONS

Making further inroads into the nation's joblessness will not be an easy task. In the past, policy makers taking on the problem of joblessness usually faced a lagging economy as well. And their prescription was relatively simple: Increase government spending sufficiently to produce a sizeable budgetary deficit. Resulting deficits could be counted on to perk up demand for workers and bring down unemployment. The tax reductions enacted in 1964 simply injected a new twist into that approach.

Use of similar tactics now would be a mistake. For one thing, the federal budgetary deficit already is at a record level. In addition, the accelerating rate of price increase indicates that bottlenecks already exist in manpower and other ingredients needed to expand production. Though unemployment persists, expanding businesses are having difficulties finding workers they need. And job vacancies are plentiful. Thus the standard method of attacking unemployment—by expanding demand—would only bring more inflation.

BALANCING LABOR DEMANDS AND SUPPLIES

The extent of the imbalances between the demand for labor and the roster of unemployed workers cannot be established very accurately. Job vacancy data indicating the nature and location of job openings are not now available regularly. When they do become available on a regular basis, as they are expected to later this year, the extent of the mismatching that exists in the labor market will show up more clearly. Undoubtedly, the mismatching will be sizeable.

Recognizing such imbalances, Washington is turning away from general policy measures as the solution to today's joblessness. Correcting the deficiencies that keep workers and jobs apart is getting priority.

THE NEW EMPHASIS ON MANPOWER

These intensified efforts rest heavily on legislation enacted earlier this decade. Very prominently involved are the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Economic Opportunity Act, which in 1964 formally launched the "war on poverty." The first was inspired by rising concern over joblessness attributed to automation declining industries and other economic changes; the second, by an awareness of the social roots of both joblessness and poverty.

Key features of the acts that are being used include: on-the-job-training; classroom instruction in job skills; and the Job Corps. The ways in which they are being put to use are too numerous and varied to detail. But they do share a common objective: They seek to make the jobless more productive potential workers. Reflecting the growing importance of these programs, outlays proposed under authorizations aimed primarily at adult manpower development are in the neighborhood of $1.2 billion for fiscal 1969—double the level of just two years ago. State and local government contributions required under some programs will supplement that total. The number of trainees expected to be enrolled exceeds 600,000.

These programs will not achieve their objectives as fast or as fully as everybody desires. But it would be difficult to fault the soundness of their objective. In the longrun, improving workers' productive capabilities is the surest remedy for joblessness and poverty. Increased individual capabilities are precisely what manpower programs strive to achieve.

MEASURING THE BENEFITS OF MANPOWER PROGRAMS

How much improvement in productivity due to manpower programs will mean to the economy is hard to determine. Cost-benefit techniques devised by the Budget Bureau are being used to evaluate the purely economic returns on the programs. Costs of training are being weighed against the income realized through jobs obtained because of training programs.

Studies of experience to date have not produced evidence that would lead to a blanket endorsement of manpower development programs. For one reason, it is impossible to determine whether the public outlays involved were the decisive factor in placing a formerly unemployed worker in a job. In some cases, individuals concerned might very well have found work without special assistance and acquired essential skills at employers' expense. Thus, economic benefits cannot be established precisely at this point.

It seems very likely, however, that enrollment in a formal training program will grow increasingly vital as joblessness narrows to the "hard-core" unemployed. For those unable to get jobs because of obvious deficiencies, benefits of training programs will be easier to evaluate.

A rough comparison of the prospective benefits and outlays now planned suggests that the programs involved are a good investment. On a per-person basis, the $1.2 billion expected to be spent by Washington on adult manpower programs over the next fiscal year amounts to $2,000. If training under these programs turns a significant proportion of the idle into productive employees, that public investment would be quickly recovered in the form of increased output of goods and services for the economy. Even employment at minimum wage rates would be the equivalent of a very satisfactory rate of return on the investment involved. In addition, very large, but unmeasurable, social benefits would be realized.

PREREQUISITES FOR SUCCESS

Promising as these programs are as a method of upgrading the opportunities of jobless workers, they cannot succeed without companion efforts. More and more employers will have to institute on-the-job training programs. And jobs will be required for those completing training programs.

A healthy overall economy that encourages profitable business expansion is an indispensable prerequisite. In addition, improved private, federal and state employment services will be needed to bring jobless workers and vacant jobs together. A conscious effort by employers to prepare workers for promotion, so as to create starting level positions for new employees, will be essential. And employers, unions and individual workers on the job will have to agree to dismantle racial barriers that help create joblessness.

If realized, these objectives could have lasting economic significance. For workers, greater opportunities for promotions would result. For employers, improved productivity seems a certain outcome. For the economy as a whole, bottlenecks that occur in labor supplies during swift business expansions could be broken more readily through increased worker mobility.

THE HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT

There are encouraging indications that required changes are beginning to occur. The National Alliance of Businessmen, inaugurated in the President's Message to Congress on the Hard Core Unemployed, is a promising one. Under it, leading businessmen will be urging fellow employers to review their manpower requirements and to step up training and hiring of those who cannot seem to find jobs without help. The major share of training costs will be paid by Washington.

Direct involvement by business firms can be a very powerful weapon against joblessness. Actual experience in the business world can help to correct many inadequacies that handicap many job-seeking youngsters, despite years of formal schooling. Most important, a concrete job opportunity can frequently be just the incentive a jobless worker needs to improve his work capabilities. Of course, there is a considerable element of self-interest in business involvement in such programs—particularly in tight labor markets, where training the unemployed is a sheer necessity if manpower requirements are to be filled.

Unions, too, are beginning to take visible steps to bring down joblessness—including joblessness due to race. They have initiated on-the-job training programs in cooperation with the Labor Department and employers. In a very significant gesture, the AFL–CIO's building trades department, whose member unions have frequently been accused of racial bias, made a public pledge of nondiscrimination in accepting young men into apprenticeship programs. Apprentice positions with these trades offer attractive starting wages and prospects of a lucrative lifetime career. They thus are considered a plum for beginning workers.

THE TASKS THAT WILL REMAIN

The outcome of current efforts to reduce joblessness is not yet certain, despite these encouraging developments. Focus of many of the programs is on urban areas, where lack of job opportunities and capabilities are simply one facet of the handicaps facing Negroes and other disadvantaged groups. The creation of job openings and the institution of training programs for jobless members of disadvantaged groups should not be expected to overcome that whole range of handicaps. But such moves are an important element in any attempt to do so.

If joblessness in urban areas is significantly reduced, a continuing challenge will exist in the nation's small towns and rural areas, where unemployment—and poverty—remain widespread. Alleviating the economic hardships in backwater areas could be an even more complex challenge than urban joblessness is proving to be. Machinery for achieving that objective already exists—the Appalachian Regional Development Program, for example. It will require added resources as the attack on joblessness progresses.

ADDRESS OF HAROLD L. SCOTT, SOVEREIGN GRAND MASTER OF THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS AT THE TOMBS OF THE UNKNOWN

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, May 5, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows held its annual pilgrimage to the Tombs of the Unknown Soldiers, at Arlington Cemetery.

Sovereign Grand Master Harold L. Scott delivered the address preceding the laying of wreaths at the Tombs. It is my pleasure and privilege, as a longtime member of the Order, to spread this fine address in the RECORD and, under unanimous consent, thus to do:

As we have done each year for many years past, we have once again assembled to pay tribute to, and to honor and show our respect for those whose deeds of valor and whose sacrifices have secured the liberty, not only of the people of this Nation, but of the World. We pay especial tribute to the Unknown, but in so doing, we realize that the Unknown memorialize and represent all the dead of all wars, and more especially those who fell on the fields of honor in World War I, World War II and the Korean War.

The United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917. This was the most terrible war in the course of history to that time, when 8 million soldiers of all nations died.

Our nation was thrust into World War II by the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. This war was far more tragic than the "War to end Wars." Nine and one-half million soldiers of all nations died, and approximately 15 million civilians died. Our casualties in World War I exceeded 300,000 and more than a million in World War II.

Each new war seems more terrible than its immediate predecessor. Each war brings new instruments of death and destruction.World War I saw introduction of the armored tank, poison gas, the airplane and the submarine. All these instruments, except poison gas, were used in World War II, with all of them refined and improved to a point that seemed to reach the ultimate in terror. New instruments of death also then appeared: the flame thrower, rocket missiles, the atomic bomb, against which there is still no adequate defense, and perhaps never will be.

On August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb used in warware was dropped on Hiroshima, a Japanese city of 343,000 people. Most of the city was wiped out in the single blast. The Japanese people, already staggering, were stunned. The dropping of a second bomb brought the Japanese war lords to their knees and to unconditional surrender, thus ending the deadliest war in all history, on August 14, 1945. The atomic bomb served to warn the world that another war might mean the complete destruction of civilization. Winners and losers alike suffered from these great world wars, and it was hard to believe that nations of the world would ever take up arms again.

The League of Nations formed at the close of World War I to settle international differences, to preserve peace in the world, failed and was disbanded. At the close of World War II, with the vivid recollection of the recent horrors of two World Wars, mankind again in its quest for a means of solving the world's disputes, by peaceable means, created the United Nations. The civilized nations of the world still hope and pray that the United Nations will be able to maintain peace in the world.

We fought in World War I to prevent the Kaiser and his autocracy from dominating the world. We again fought in World War II for the same purpose, to stop Hitler and his so-called superior race of Nazis from tyrannizing the freedom-loving people of Europe, and eventually the World. In both world wars in which we have engaged, with the aid of Divine Providence, the heroism of our men on the fields of battle, the support of loyal and patriotic citizens on the home front, by the total and supreme efforts of all, we achieved victory.

Today our country is engaged in a life and death struggle to defend our liberties, our free enterprise system, our way of life, our democratic form of government under which we have grown to be the greatest nation in all history. We defend it against Godless Communism whose leaders have announced their plan to subdue the entire world and subject the world to their tyrannical and Godless rule. According to their plan, it is supposed that the capital city of the world would then be Moscow. Their leaders have said that they plan to bury us.

This worldwide struggle against Communism broke into open warfare in Viet Nam, where our armed forces are committed to the defense of the free people of South Vietnam. Our soldiers now fight and die in the jungles of Viet Nam to stop the Communists from taking over all Asia, its surrounding islands, the Philippines, and Australia and eventually the World. We fight in Viet Nam to prevent its ultimate swallowing up of America and to stem the tide of Communism in the world.

When a nation goes to war, as we have in Viet Nam, all previous debates and arguments as to the advisability of the war should be at an end. Our government has made the final decision which must be accepted by us all. Thereafter, it is the patriotic duty of every citizen to be loyal to his government in prosecuting the war to a victorious conclusion. The observance of these principles has always heretofore saved our nation from defeat, brought us victoriously through two great world wars, and preserved the honor and existence of our great nation.

Where are the American patriots today?

Instead of the love of country, the loyalty to our government, and the patriotism, that has sustained our nation in trying ordeals and past wars, we now have contempt for our government and behaviour that in any other era would have been regarded as treason.

Young men subject to be drafted into the military service are openly contemptuous of our country. They flagrantly tear and burn their draft cards in public demonstrations. Courses of instruction are offered and literature distributed in so-called "teach-ins" advising and encouraging young men to avoid the draft and instructing them in how to do it.

This utter disrespect for law and government was first conceived and spread by disloyal minority groups at our colleges and universities where a few misguided and disloyal college professors sometimes participated in the "teach-ins."

Some seek to ignore these student demonstrators with the comment that it is "mostly a bunch of kids." Let us not take this matter too lightly. Some of these student leaders are dedicated Communists. Let us remember that Hitler, Mussolini, and Castro came to power with the aid of their youthful marchers. Remember the 17 year old boys who loyally fought for freedom in World War II. They were not kids. Neither are the disloyal draft-dodgers of 1968.

We now have over 500,000 men fighting communism in Viet Nam. It is high time to enlist all Americans to fight Communism at home.

On the battlefields of three continents, on the land, on the sea, and in the air, in the trenches, the foxholes, the beaches, and the jungles, our soldiers, sailors, marines and airmen, in World War I, II, and in the Korean War have fought for God, for Freedom, and for Country.

Hundreds of thousands of these brave men, in the robustness of youth, sacrificed their lives in these great conflicts. More than a million men were returned hurt in body and mind. Many others who also served, fought, and exposed themselves on the battlefields and elsewhere were providentially spared to return unharmed to their native land.

These men did not tear up their draft cards. These men were patriotic, loyal, freedom-loving, God-fearing American Patriots. They answered the call of their country without a murmur. These men protected and preserved the United States of America for us and for the future.

The principle of our great fraternity is reflected in these "men of Arlington." Their efforts and supreme sacrifices have won the plaudits of generation after generation and those yet to come. Their lives exemplified the sacred truth of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. We, as members of this great fraternity, must see that their sacrifices were not in vain. It is our responsibility to lift the love of freedom to a yet higher plane where its power may be seen and felt throughout the world.

To these three soldiers of the Tombs of the Unknown, as well as those Americans who lost their lives while serving in the Canadian Armed Forces, who represent the living and the dead of all wars, we again express our pride in you, our thanks, and our eternal gratitude. If there is any group of individuals that the American people should appreciate and respect, it is those veterans who have served in the armed forces in wartime in defense of our country.

We now say to all the veterans of all wars, some of whom are now present—

We recognize your proven patriotism and integrity;

We recognize the superior wisdom and judgment, which is now yours by reason of your maturity and wide experience;

We welcome you to the counsel tables of our nation.

In these troubled times, your help and guidance is again respectfully requested in order that the torch of liberty which you passed to this new generation may never be extinguished.

I now conclude with a favorite veteran's poem:

"When the tumult of battle is over,
And the living their blankets have spread,
And the curtains of night have descended,
Like a mantle to cover the dead,
Then hark to the sound of the bugle,
Its tones silvery clear as a bell,
'Tis the soldier's divine way of saying
May God keep you, our dead, and farewell."

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 109th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

THE CORNUCOPIA OF SPACE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, in a talk to the St. Louis, Mo., section of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, has explained well the contribution of our national space program to education and other areas of our society and also pointed out the commercial utility of our continued efforts in space. Among the several factors that Dr. Welsh discusses are national space policy, and the support that both the President and Vice President of the United States have given to our national space effort. I commend this thoughtful and incisive discussion to your reading:

THE CORNUCOPIA OF SPACE

(By Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council)

When your distinguished Program Chairman invited me to talk with you this evening, he did an impressive selling job. He spoke of an informative visit to the McDonnell facilities; he referred to the Students' Technical Paper competition; he mentioned awards to be made to major aerospace contractors; he spoke glowing of the "Spin-off" Exhibit at the Planetarium; and then suggested that I might want to take this opportunity to talk about the benefits of the national space program.

While any one of those features should have been enough to cause me to accept the invitation, the reference to space benefits was the key persuader.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics is indeed a prestigious organization and one which has done much to add vitality to this Nation's progress in technology. I am pleased to belong to the AIAA and to have the opportunity occasionally to discuss policy issues with its members.

Some of you, however, may have heard me state on other occasions that there is a great abundance of meetings of professionals such as you in comparison with the extreme shortage of useful discussions about our space and aeronautics objectives and benefits with the general public. It is the Parent Teachers Associations, the Chambers of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, the Service groups, and other similar organizations which need the attention of those who understand the "why's" and "wherefore's" of the technological revolution in which we find ourselves. Partly to maintain a position of consistency and mostly because of this country's needs, I again urge each and every one of you, who believes in our space program and who has even the slightest ability to articulate about that program, to go out in your communities and explain the benefits of this great endeavor. You will find this to be a mutually stimulating experience.

I ask you all to meet this major educational challenge—a challenge which this country must handle successfully if it is to maintain its position of world leadership. Do not think for a minute that you have no responsibility to educate others. On the assumption that you understand and believe in the space program, I would consider you derelict in your responsibilities if you did not share with others your knowledge of, and your faith in, that program. A really vigorous effort on the part of each of you would make a real dent in the apathy, the complacency, and the ignorance which characterize too many of our fellow citizens on the subject of space.

ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPORT

It almost seems as if some people wanted to keep it a secret, but the fact is that the President of the United States has long been and still is a strong supporter of the space program. His leadership, while a Senator and while Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, has been very impressive. Then, this January he asked the Congress for more money for space for Fiscal 1969 than was appropriated by the Congress for space in Fiscal 1968. That was in the face of many other high priority demands for tax funds. What the Congress appropriates may be another matter, but I want the President's position on the space program to be clear. Moreover, just this January, the President sent a Message to the Congress in which he emphasized the benefits of the space program. In that Message he said that space technology has justified this Nation's commitment to meet and conquer the challenge of space. He stated that "the fruits of that technology have not been limited to space exploration alone," and then he referred to a number of ways in which "our space program has benefited our Earth-bound lives . . ." The President went on to state that "we can look with confidence to an expansion of these benefits as our space program moves into its second decade."

Even more recently, the Vice President again emphasized this theme of the beneficial nature of our national space program when he stated "the public needs more than ever before to have a thorough understanding of how space technology strengthens our economy, increases our educational capabilities, and enhances this Nation's welfare."

Many of the rest of us have likewise spoken seriously and factually about our national space program. It has all helped to keep our eyes focussed on the practicalities of a balanced effort. But, I fear we still have a large number of woefully uninformed citizens throughout the Nation who need your immediate attention.

By the way, the national advantages of space competence are recognized to some degree by countries other than the United States and Soviet Russia. In fact, actions to join the world's space club have also been taken by Italy, the United Kingdom, Canada, West Germany, Japan, Australia, Red China, and France.

SPACE VALUES

In an attempt to capsule the most important benefits of the national space program, so that they might form an outline for those of you who have the courage and are willing to seize the opportunity to spread the gospel, I have listed eleven points.

The national space program:

S Stimulate our production, employment, and income.
P Produces new goods and services.
A Applies technology to communications, observation, and navigation.
C Contributes to medicine, with new instrumentation and equipment.
E Encourages private enterprise.
V Vitalizes our educational system.
A Adds significantly to our store of scientific knowledge.
L Lifts to new heights the international prestige of the country.
U Utilizes systems analysis to solve community problems.
E Enables our country to lead the world in advanced technology.
S Strengthens our national security.

I listed those benefits in an abbreviated form so that they might more easily be remembered. Also, I placed them in that particular order so that the initial letters spell out the words "space values." That, again, may be useful to those who would find public education in the national space program an interesting challenge.

IGNORANCE VERSUS INVESTMENT

I have heard it said that critics of the national space program generally live in the leisurely world of ignorance. I would add that few who have been informed and who understand what the program does for the country continue to oppose it.

There are those, of course, who are trapped by the illogical proposition that if the money involved were not spent on space, it would automatically flow into projects in which they are more interested. They are the ones who refer to problems of health, housing, crime, air and water pollution, educational deficiencies, and other ills of our complex society and suggest it would be better if we invested our resources in those areas instead of in space technology and space exploration. I do not agree. It is not an "either/or" situation. In my judgment, if this country is great—and I know it is—it has the will, the ability, and the responsibility to handle both a vigorous space program and the social and economic problems which confront it.

In fact, our competence to solve the issues of the city is greater because of the space program. It is greater not only because of the improved technology and management experience which can be brought to bear on these problems, but it is also greater because the United States is wealthier as a result of the space program. When I said that the space program increases our gross national product and increases our national income, I could have added that it also raises our standard of living and makes larger our tax revenues which can be devoted to public service. We are indeed wealthier, not poorer, because of the national space program.

At this point, it may be instructive to note that not only does our space program, through its strong support of basic and applied research, make us better equipped to cope with our massive socio-economic problems, but history suggests that this kind of expertise is not nurtured and developed automatically. There is no precedent for the degree of support that the Government has provided for research and development since the advent of the Space Age. It is questionable whether this expenditure of money on research and development, in universities, industry, and government laboratories, with its enrichment of our over-all scientific and technological competence, would have occurred without the challenge of space. In the absence of such a challenge, we might have drifted fatally into the unenviable position of a formerly great nation.

COMMERCIAL UTILIZATION

Just as industrial research on Earth has become a vital import of the Nation's economy, so research in space itself offers a new and as yet untapped resource of vast and unpredictable dimensions.

Such a vacuum as exists on the Moon or in space generally is ideal for materials research, for thin-film technology, and for welding research.

By comparison with space, the clean research rooms of Earth are extremely contaminated. As for weightlessness, since we cannot duplicate it on earth, we must begin to pursue inquiries in space as to how this strange environment will affect such processes of commercial interest as the flow of fluids, heat transfers, and chemical reactions.

Many drugs must be manufactured under precisely controlled super-clean conditions—an environment which is readily available in space. Microelectronic devices involving tiny chips of materials for integrated circuits require super-clean conditions for their manufacture. In both these cases, the quality of the final product is so directly related to the super-clean environment that manufacture in space itself appears to promise unique advantages.

Space offers solar and cosmic radiation in abundance for industrial use unattenuated by Earth's atmosphere. Manufacturing processes using the vacuum and other special properties of space will yield whole new classes of useful devices. To gain such benefits will indeed require the achievement of excellence on a scale hitherto undreamed of. Yet, the promise of rewards is great.

In short, the potential of satellites to extract the maximum economic return from space has only begun to be appreciated and the potential of commercial return from this new environment has barely been defined.

INTANGIBLE VALUES

I am sometimes troubled by those who attempt to measure the value of our national space program only by the number and the importance of the material benefits which can be clearly identified. They count the inventions, the new products, the improved services, the electronic advances, and the multitude of related benefits and say this is the total. Actually, as important as those items are—and I consider them to be of great importance—there are other even more significant benefits flowing from the space program.

They may seem nebulous because they cannot be precisely measured or weighed or packaged. But I draw to your attention the fact that we cannot weigh or measure or package or even put a dollar sign on the value of education, or better health for our population, or greater national security, or a healthy competitive enterprise system, or better conditions of human welfare, or increased chances for world peace. Yet, even though they cannot be measured precisely, their values are so great as to make them priceless. And, the point I want to emphasize here is that the national space program helps us progress toward every one of these major goals. If serious cutbacks to the program are imposed, our achievement will be less and our objectives of social gain far more distant from attainment.

SPACE POLICY

We are engaged in an effort to reach out into the vast distances of space. We want to know more about this solar system which is our home. In the process of living up to these objectives, we create a greater ability to do things here on Earth. We create the competence which is essential if this country is to lead the world in human dignity and in human welfare. These benefits keep us going. And, therefore, I again urge that all who have the ability to speak do so in order that the program will continue to live and grow. Such is the policy of this Nation; but a policy, no matter how sound, can only result in major accomplishment if it is understood and supported by the general public. We have confidence that the road to space is the right direction to travel. We are convinced that to detour from this highway would give competitors an unearned advantage and cause us to lose some of the speed of our rate of national growth.

As an optimist and a crusader, I believe that this Nation will not neglect the priority of space for other important priorities but rather will distribute its resources among all the high priority programs. This we will do provided that the people understand the need.

HEARINGS ON NLRB SHOULD BE REVEALING

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, in a number of instances I have charged the National Labor Relations Board with pro-union bias to the extent that the activities of this supposedly impartial agency performs a disservice to the entire country. I have cited many specific instances and have charged, among other things, that the NLRB and union officials are engaged in a conspiracy to organize the workers of J. P. Stevens & Co., irrespective of their oft-expressed desire not to be represented by a union. The larger issue, however, is that the NLRB is engaged in a general conspiracy to help organize all workers who presently do not belong to labor unions.

In connection with the NLRB and its operations, I would like to call the attention of the House to hearings which are being conducted before the Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. The chairman of that subcommittee is Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., of North Carolina, a very able and knowledgeable man. His subcommittee is examining the operations of the Federal administrative agencies, and first on the list is the NLRB.

Some of the country's leading labor lawyers and experts have testified before Senator ERVIN's committee. Among them have been Sylvester Petro, professor of law at New York University; Bernard D. Meltzer, professor of law at the University of Chicago; Cornelius J. Peck, professor of law at the University of Michigan; Thomas E. Harris, associate general counsel of the AFL-CIO; Senators FANNIN of Arizona, and GRIFFIN of Michigan; Mozart G. Ratner, well-known labor attorney who frequently represents unions; J. Mack Swigert, of Cincinnati, also a well-known labor attorney who generally represents management and quite a few others. Some of the witnesses have criticized the NLRB and others have defended it.

From what I have seen of the testimony, I have been impressed by a thread which runs through it. The criticism of the NLRB is in specific terms. The defense of the NLRB as it is constituted today is in more general terms. However, Mr. Ratner devoted a good part of his time to criticism of the Board's actions during the Eisenhower administration. He charges, for example, that after a turnover in Board personnel in 1952, its members "made clear that they conceived it to be their function to implement the labor policy of the Republican Party and the current administration, rather than the Taft-Hartley Act, judicially interpreted and conceived." But he also argued that the scope of quasi-judicial body, is substantial even "where the congressional purpose is doubtfuly or fairly debatable." He also makes a somewhat puzzling statement: "Ambiguity may lurk in even the plainest language." I fail to fully grasp his meaning but I think his position is representative of the attitude of today's NLRB. This agency has ignored and thwarted the intent of Congress in instance after instance, even when congressional intent and the language in the statutes was as plain as the English language can be.

One area in which the NLRB has ignored the letter and intent of the law is the provisions relating to election by secret ballot to resolve questions concerning union representation. Section 9(c), which provides for Board hearings in representation elections, was amended in 1947 to provide:

> If the Board finds upon the record of such hearing that such a question of representation exists, it shall direct an election by secret ballot and shall certify the results thereof.

Obviously, if language means anything, a secret ballot of employees to determine their wishes before an employer is compelled to bargain with a union is mandatory where any question of representation exists. Yet, the Board has deliberately and systematically ignored this requirement and substituted the use of authorization cards obtained from employees in a variety of ways often ostensibly for purposes other than representation. Employers in instance after instance have been forced to bargain with unions never chosen by the employees through the secret ballot procedures directed by legislation and, in fact, without any other clear and unequivocal evidence of their desires.

One of the best known cases in which the congressional directive for secret ballot elections has been thwarted is that of Bernel Foam Products Co., 1964, 146 NLRB 1277. The Board's ruling in this matter is both astounding and fantastic. The union had lost a representation election. Yet, the NLRB allowed the union to file unfair labor practice charges against the employer, even though the alleged violations had taken place before the election and the union knew about them beforehand. As Mr. Swigert puts it in his statement before the Ervin committee:

> Thus, the union, knowing of the alleged labor practices, could proceed to an election. If it won the election, it would be certified. If it lost the election, it could still turn around, file a charge, get the secret ballot election set aside, and compel the *employer to bargain with the union in defiance of the wishes of the employees as expressed in the secret ballot election.* (Emphasis supplied.)

In Bernel Foam the Board reversed its longstanding rule that a union cannot delay pursuing its legal remedies in order to first test the sentiment of the workers. Previously in Aiello Dairy the Board established the principle that if a union believed that an employer had committed unfair labor practices in the context of an organizing campaign, the union could not proceed to an election, lose it, and then be heard to complain of employer misconduct and request a recognition order despite the election result.

The effects of this new rule and a classic portrayal of how the Board thwarts the intent of its own prior rulings, can be found in the Bryant Chucking Grinder case. In his statement before the Ervin subcommittee, Professor Petro laid out the facts of this case:

1. A union had been defeated in a secret-ballot election in 1959.

2. In 1962 that union began another organizing campaign. The record showed that the union circulated employee authorization cards on the basis of both public and private representations that the cards would be used in order to secure another election, not in order to secure immediate recognition of the union as exclusive bargaining representative.

3. Cards were signed by 198 of the 337 employees in the bargaining unit, but the employer refused to recognize the union on the basis of the cards, insisting instead upon an election (as the law permits the employer to do).

4. An NLRB-conducted secret-ballot election was held in November, 1962. *The union was rejected in this election by a vote of 184 to 124.*

5. In December of 1962 the union filed objections to the election alleging employer interference.

6. Entertaining the objections, the Board ordered a new election.

7. After the Board ordered the new election, the union (for reasons not explained) withdrew both its objections to the past election and its petition for a new election; instead, in January of 1963, the union filed unfair labor practice charges against the employer based on his pre-election conduct.

8. The NLRB Regional Director dismissed these charges on the ground that they were disqualified by the Board's decision in *Aiello Dairy Farms*, establishing the rule that charges would not be entertained when they related back to pre-election conduct.

9. The union appealed the dismissal to the NLRB General Counsel.

10. The General Counsel sat on this appeal for roughly two years while prosecuting other cases in which he argued that the Board should overrule the *Aiello Dairy Farms* decision.

11. Finally, in *Bernel Foam Products Co., Inc.*, the Labor Board overruled *Aiello*.

12. The General Counsel thereupon ordered the Regional Director to issue a complaint based on the charges filed by the union in this, the *Bryant Chucking Grinder* case.

13. Owing in part to delays common in the Board's glacial processes and in part to *exceptional* ineptitude on the part of the Board's Trial Examiner, an NLRB decision was not reached till late in 1966—some four years after the events in issue and the union's defeat by a vote of 184 to 124.

14. This NLRB decision held:

(a) that the employer had never been entitled to the 1962 election because he had not had a reasonable basis for a "good-faith doubt" of the "majority status" established by the 198 signed authorization cards proffered in 1962;

(b) that the employer's conduct prior to the election interfered with the free choice of the employees and thus invalidated the election; and

(c) that the employer had a duty to bargain with the union from late 1966, on, despite the election defeat, because of the card majority in 1962. The employer appealed to the Second Circuit.

Writing the court's decision, Judge Hays enforced the Board order with little attention to the facts of the case.

The ultimate result of Bryant, as Petro notes, was incredibly inequitable:

There were 337 employees in the unit in 1962. There were 400 in 1967. Equally significantly, at least sixty of the card signers had left *Bryant Chucking* in the intervening years. Thus . . . the Board was giving the union exclusive bargaining status for over 400 employees in 1967 on the basis of signatures by roughly 135 employees in 1962—signatures gained, moreover, on the representation that the cards would be used to secure an election!

In another case, Cumberland Shoe Corp., 1963, 144 NLRB 1268, a union organizer distributed cards to employees, telling them that his purpose was to secure a Board election. The card, itself, said that the union was authorized to act as bargaining agent. Despite the deception involved, the Board held that the language of the card was controlling. It directed the employee to recognize the union. Such acts by the Board, and there are hundreds as extreme, show the contempt of the NLRB for Congress and the law and also disregard for the rights of management, individual employees and the public.

The standard NLRB defense is that the courts have upheld its ruling in the card check cases and in many other debatable instances. Not all the courts have backed the NLRB in its card check rulings. For example, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in *NLRB v. Logan Packing Co.* (CA 4; 1967) 66 LRRM 2599, strongly criticised such court decisions in an opinion delivered by Chief Judge Haynsworth. He said:

That the Taft-Hartley amendments did restrict the Board to the use of secret ballots for the resolution of representation questions seems plain enough. They specifically repealed that part of Section 9(c) which had authorized the Board to employ "any other suitable method" of resolving such questions, leaving a secret election as the sole basis of a certification.

Mr. Swigert's statement before the Ervin committee characterized the result of these cases:

That the Board's card check rule is simply a pro-union device to help unions organize the unorganized is demonstrated by the fact that the Board never applies the rule when one union is running against another union, instead of just against *no* union.

I agree heartily also with another statement by the Cincinnati attorney whose integrity and knowledge are well known:

The acceptance of cards in substitution for secret ballots is a rejection of the democratic principles which characterize American society. There is no supervision or regulation of the solicitation or signing of these cards. The card can be signed by a half drunken employee surrounded by fellow employees or strangers in a corner saloon. Any kind of pressure device can be used against the employee to force his signature. Everyone around will see his "vote". Few employees would dare to say no under such circumstances. Yet this card—obtained under these circumstances—is accepted by the Board as the exact equivalent of a secret ballot in a Board conducted election. Indeed, under many circumstances, the card is accepted by the Board in preference to the employees' own secret ballot.

In Professor Petro's opinion much of the trouble lies in the fact that Congress expected the NLRB to function as a regular court. He said:

Unfortunately, however, the Labor Board members were asked to produce judicial results without being given one of the essential characteristics of federal judicial officers—life tenure—and without being placed in the only branch of the federal government which can, if it wishes, devote itself essentially to non-political disinterested interpretation of law—namely, the federal judiciary. Asking the short-term, politically oriented Labor Board members to act like a court was like asking a baseball pitcher to call his own balls and strikes.

Professor Petro says:

The Board's apparent objective is to quell all resistance to union expansion. If it succeeds, employees and their freedom of choice will be the principal victims.

Instead of fitting Congress' law to the facts as they exist, the Board persistently manhandles the fact so that they will produce the results it wants. *The Board wants every employee in the nation to wear a union label.* (Emphasis supplied.)

Professor Petro concludes that the National Labor Relations Board should be abolished and that Congress "must repeal its delegation of judicial power to the National Labor Relations Board and revest that power in the Federal courts." With that conclusion I am in complete agreement. As presently constituted, the NLRB is a partisan agency, dedicated to the objective of helping organize the workers of the country whether they want to be organized or not. The Board is dedicated also to helping increase the power of organized labor—or rather the leaders of organized labor—over the economy of the country and its political structure as well. And, furthermore, I agree with Professor Petro's fundamental conclusion:

The fact remains that a majority of the Board will always be governed sooner or later by the political position of the Administration in power; five-year terms expire; then the Administration's labor policies reflect themselves in the new appointments.

One of the authors of the Landrum-Griffin Act several years ago was Senator ROBERT GRIFFIN, of Michigan. This act, as the Congress knows, represented still another attempt to restore some balance in labor-management relations and to try to offset and rectify the persistent bias of the Board in favor of unions by amending the Taft-Hartley Act. Senator GRIFFIN testified before the Ervin committee. Like Professor Petro, Senator GRIFFIN concluded that the NLRB must be abolished. In its stead, he suggested a Federal Labor Court.

The Michigan Senator also gave a lengthy list of cases which illustrate the bias of the NLRB with particular emphasis on the Board's practice of subordinating the rights of the workers to the demands of union power. I will give an example taken from his testimony:

Richard Price, a 33-year-old veteran and father of five children, began working back in 1951 as a helper at Pittsburg-Des Moines Steel plant in Santa Clara, California. Price did not object when a union shop contract required him to join the United Steelworkers. Advancing job by job, Price finally became a crane operator. But as the years passed, he became disillusioned with the Steelworkers union.

Price not only dared to voice his opinion, but one day he drove 50 miles to the National Labor Relations Board's San Francisco office seeking some advice. Assured by a government lawyer at the NLRB that he had every right under the law to circulate a decertification petition, Price returned and proceeded to seek support among his fellow employees for a move to replace the Steelworkers local with a different union.

The leaders of the Steelworkers local reacted immediately and scheduled a June 1964 meeting to put Price on trial for "undermining the union". Gaveling down a request

for a secret ballot vote, the local president called for a show of hands. With less than a third of the local's membership present and voting, Price was "convicted" by a vote of 20 to 15.

Thereupon, Price was suspended from the union, fined $500, and charged the cost of his trial. Price then filed a charge with NLRB and asked for its protection. While awaiting help from the Board, Price stated that he found himself the target of continued harassment.

Finally, Price's case was decided, but the NLRB gave Price no help and no protection. The NLRB's decision conceded that under the law Price had a "right" to file the petition as he did. Nevertheless, the Board held that the union's "disciplinary action" against him was permissible. Richard Price v. NLRB and United Steelworkers of America, AFL–CIO #4208, 154 NLRB 692.

Senator GRIFFIN also called attention to the notorious Allis-Chalmers case, in which the NLRB ruled that a union could fine a worker for exercising the rights granted to him under section 7 of the act—to wit, the right to refrain from participating in concerted activities such as a strike—without violating section 8(b)(1) of the act which makes it an unfair labor practice for a union to "restrain or coerce" employees in their exercise of section 7 rights. In a narrow 4–4–1 decision—Justice White concurring with the majority only in respect to the particular fact situation in Allis-Chalmers—the Supreme Court upheld the NLRB. In his dissent Justice Black delivered a stinging rebuke to the majority and pointed up in classic manner the fundamental conflict between the Board and the courts on the one hand and Congress on the other, as follows:

Even were I to agree with the Court's three observations about the legislative history of Sec. 8(b)(1)(A), I do not think they alone justify disregarding the plain meaning of the section, and it seems perfectly clear to me that the Court does not think so either. *The real reason for the Court's decision is its policy judgment that unions, especially weak ones, need the power to impose fines on strikebreakers and to enforce those fines in court. . . .* Though the entire mood of Congress in 1947 was to curtail the power of unions, as it had previously curtailed the power of employers, in order to equalize the power of the two, the Court is unwilling to believe that Congress intended to impair "the usefulness of labor's cherished strike weapon." *I cannot agree with this conclusion nor subscribe to the Court's unarticulated premise that the Court has the power to add a new weapon to the union's economic arsenal whenever the Court believes that the union needs that weapon. That is a job for Congress not this Court . . .*

The National Labor Relations Act, as originally passed and amended from time to time, is the work product of draftsmen skilled by long experience in labor affairs. These draftsmen thoroughly understood labor legislation terminology, especially the oft-used words "restrain or coerce." Sections 7 and 8 together bespeak a strong purpose of Congress to leave workers wholly free to determine in what concerted labor activities they will engage or decline to engage. *This freedom of workers to go their own way in this field, completely unhampered by pressures of employers or unions, is and always has been a basic purpose of the labor legislation now under consideration. In my judgment it ill behooves this Court to strike so diligently to defeat this unequivocally declared purpose of Congress, merely because the Court believes that too much freedom of choice for workers will impair the effective power of unions. . . .*

Where there is clear legislative history to justify it, courts often decline to follow the literal meaning of a statute. But this practice is fraught with dangers when the legislative history is at best brief, inconclusive and ambiguous. This is precisely such a case, and I dissent because I am convinced that the Court has ignored the literal language of Sec. 8(b)(1)(A) in order to give unions a power which the Court, but not Congress, thinks they need. (Emphasis supplied.)

The effect of Price, Allis-Chalmers, and other similar decisions is to strip the act of the protections of the rights of employees intended and, indeed, specifically stated by Congress. The purpose of the act was primarily to protect employees and secondarily to balance and limit the powers of unions and employers. Today, as interpreted by the NLRB, the act serves the interests of the unions first, the interests of the employees a far distant second, and the interests of management, not at all.

Other witnesses appearing before the Ervin committee were Senator PAUL FANNIN, of Arizona, and Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas. They also charged the NLRB with bias and gave examples to illustrate their charges. Senator FANNIN summed up his case as follows:

1. The Board has liberalized picketing restrictions so as to permit picketing at the premises of a neutral employer under certain circumstances.

2. It has legalized picketing of a neutral secondary employer with signs asking the public not to buy goods made by the primary employer against whom the union may have a grievance.

3. The Board now permits a union which has lost a representation election to charge an employer with refusing to bargain.

4. The Board requires an employer to bargain with a union before deciding whether to close an unprofitable department. This is but one example of the impairment of management's prerogatives.

5. Congress has outlawed hot-cargo contracts. But the Board has circumvented this by permitting work-standard clauses under which unions may forbid employers to do business with others whose work standards are not up to theirs.

6. The Board has imposed restrictions on free speech thus denying employees the right to hear both sides in an election.

7. An employer who moved his business from New York to Miami was required by the Board to bargain at the new location with the union he had in New York even though the union was unable to show that the Miami employees wanted a union.

8. And a very important case, of course, involves the famous Philadelphia Pre-Cut Door decision to the effect that members of the carpenters union on a building job may refuse to install prefabricated materials. The Landrum Griffin Act outlawed contracts which required an employer to cease handling products of any other employer. Predictably the Board ruled that the law does not mean what it says.

What this means is that in building a house, the Union is given the power to arbitrarily and artificially create work for its members at the expense of other union members and to deny the owner of the house the benefits of modern technology and mass production. The Supreme Court upheld this decision of the Board by a 5–4 decision. Can it be said that Congress intended any such absurd result as this? If ever there was an example of defying Congress' will, this is it.

The logical extension of this ruling, and it has already been fastened upon by unions in some parts of the country, is that the decision applies to all kinds of prefab components. If this interpretation prevails, it is obvious that a severe brake could be imposed upon our economy. If Congress does not specifically prohibit such boycotts, unions will have the power to keep new products and new techniques from being used to lower construction costs and prices.

Among other things, Senator MCCLELLAN said:

The rights, privileges and immunities of labor unions have been magnified and inordinately extended by the National Labor Relations Board and the Supreme Court. The inevitable result of their decisions has been the amplification of unrestrained and awesome power in the hands of the leaders of organized labor. This imbalance in power in favor of labor organizations has made a mockery of the processes of collective bargaining. It is little wonder, therefore, that collective bargaining has not been working as Congress hoped it would. And until equality of bargaining power is restored at the bargaining table any hope on the part of Congress or the public, that we will soon be free of strife and strikes, will be a futile hope indeed.

I have been sharply criticised for statements that the NLRB operates on a pro-union bias. But some of the country's leading labor experts agree with me. In reality, the evidence of NLRB bias and discrimination is overwhelming. The almost unforgivable sin in the eyes of Board members is for an industry or a company to resist organization of its employees, regardless of the circumstances.

In a House speech in October 1967, I said that the efforts by the Textile Workers Union of America, assisted by the AFL–CIO and the NLRB to organize the workers of J. P. Stevens & Co., the country's second largest textile firm amounted to a conspiracy. I repeat that charge today.

Much has been made of the fact that the NLRB found the Stevens firm guilty of unfair labor practices. The company was charged with discriminating against employees who favored organization.

But anyone who has studied the practices of the Board in cases involving organization efforts would agree, I think, that a verdict against Stevens was a foregone conclusion from the time the charges were filed. The NLRB examiners decided the company was guilty through a very simple process. They decided that the witnesses for the company were lying and that the witnesses for the union were telling the truth. This is a simple, direct, and most effective way of reaching the objective—to help unionize Stevens employees. Much has been made of the fact that the verdicts against Stevens have been upheld by the second circuit court of appeals in two cases. In one case, the Supreme Court refused to review the case, thus letting the decision by the circuit court stand.

Anyone familiar with the rulings of the Federal courts in NLRB cases should not have been surprised at the decisions by the second circuit. The Federal courts, or most of them, habitually defer to the so-called expertise of the NLRB and the Supreme Court, itself, has been guilty of decisions on labor matters that have flagrantly ignored the law and the intent of Congress.

The unions and the NLRB take the view that the national labor policy, requires unionization of all industrial workers in the United States, regardless of statements in the Taft-Hartley Act that a worker has a right to join or not join a union. Any resistance to unionization, resistance such as the Stevens Co. has shown, is regarded as action against the interests of the workers despite all indications to the contrary on the part of the workers themselves. The premise is based on the conclusion that unionization will be beneficial to the employees.

This conclusion needs careful examination. A recent labor controversy is a case in point. About 60,000 copper workers were on strike for nearly 9 months. The fundamental issues did not involve wages or working conditions. They involved an attempt by the unions to achieve uniformity of contract items, including wages within the major copper firms, through the technique of coalition bargaining.

Coalition bargaining is a device intended to achieve companywide or industrywide bargaining in industrial situations involving more than one union and in which plant or unit bargaining has been the rule and is economically necessary. It ignores local conditions and, once established, coalition bargaining means that the wishes and needs of local unions and individual members will amount to very little.

The 26 unions did not succeed in their objectives. The final settlements excluded the conditions the unions deemed necessary to establish companywide bargaining—uniform economic terms, simultaneous contract expiration dates, and companywide settlements. Also, the settlements were on terms only marginally better than that which the companies would have given without the 8 months of idleness for the copper workers, 40,000 of whom were members of the steelworkers union. Or to put it another way, the copper workers lost and lost heavily for something which their leaders wanted but which would have been of little benefit to them. The individual worker will require years to recover his losses, and most will never recover them.

But the steelworkers union, which directed the strike and to which most of the striking copper workers belonged, did not lose. Most of its members are members of the aluminum and steel industries and steel and aluminum are among copper's principal competition. The losses by the copper industry probably will be balanced by gains for the aluminum and steel industries.

This strike furnishes an instance and a most recent one where union membership worked to the detriment of the individual member. There are many other instances which could be cited, and which the NLRB might consider, occasionally, in its hectic, emotional, and assiduous program to unionize, by any means available, all of America's workers. At least many indications point that way. As I see it, when workers join a union voluntarily, the members control the union; but when they join involuntarily the union controls them.

REMARKS OF HON. SILVIO O. CONTE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT BANQUET OF UNICO

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Congressman SILVIO O. CONTE, my able and distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, was honored last week by the West Springfield, Mass., chapter of UNICO, an Italian-American men's club chartered for public service.

Citing Mr. CONTE's outstanding career in the Massachusetts Legislature and in the U.S. House of Representatives, the organization awarded him its certificate of Government achievement at its annual dinner last Saturday.

In his acceptance speech Mr. CONTE traced the history of Italian immigration to the United States, outlining the enormous contributions that Italian-Americans have made to this Nation.

With permission, I would like to insert Mr. CONTE's speech in the RECORD at this point:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE SILVIO O. CONTE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT ANNUAL BANQUET OF UNICO, WEST SPRINGFIELD CHAPTER, FOUR-60 TOOL HOUSE, WEST SPRINGFIELD, MAY 4, 1968

It certainly is a great pleasure for me to be here tonight with you and I am deeply honored to have been chosen by West Springfield's UNICO Chapter to receive this certificate of government achievement.

At the outset, I would like to congratulate your organization for all of the fine work it has done and for all of the excellent contributions it has made, both in our own Western Massachusetts community, and across the nation.

I also think it is wonderful that the proceeds of this affair will be going to such a deserving cause as the Retarded Childrens Fund. I have always strongly supported legislation providing federal assistance in the areas of mental retardation and mental health.

I am, as we all are, an American first. But I am also proud of and deeply indebted to my Italian background. We are all the products of our past and mine has been greatly influenced by the cultural and spiritual attributes which have been passed on by generations of our Italian ancestors.

It is therefore especially rewarding for me to be honored by a group of people with similar backgrounds and experiences as mine, a group whose recognition gives me the satisfaction of believing that I have been able in some ways to live up to the goals and standards established for us by our Italian forefathers.

I am aware that one of UNICO's pet goals for this year is to create a greater public awareness of the contributions that Italians have made to our nation.

I wholeheartedly applaud your efforts along these lines.

There has grown up in this country a completely false and unjustifiable association of our people with the world of crime and frankly I'm just sick and tired of it.

Certainly there are people of Italian background who live in a world of crime and outside of our society. But there are men of every other background you can possibly think of who do the same thing.

And for every Italian-American who may infect and attack our society there are hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of thousands of honest, forthright and hardworking men and women of Italian background making enormous contributions to our nation.

This is a story which should and must be told and I believe that efforts such as yours are most important in bringing out the true picture.

It is a story which dates back to 1492 when an Italian named Columbus became the first European to set foot on American soil. Ever since men and women of Italian blood have been on the march in this nation of ours.

The first American soldier killed in World War I was of the same stock as Columbus. Ever since—and long before—Italian-Americans have fought and died for the nation to which Amerigo Vespucci gave his name. The great love of our kinsmen for the United States can be seen in the high numbers of applications that they file each year to become citizens.

We number millions in America and yet in all the years before the Civil War fewer than 5,000 entered the United States—mostly traders, scholars, and political refugees.

About 50,000 Italian immigrants came in 1880. From then on the tide grew. In one year alone—1907—more than 300,000 entered the Port of New York. Because the bulk of our forefathers did not arrive until the end of the last century and this century, they did not have the natural advantages of older residents who had inherited lands, tools, furnishings, dwelling houses and friends from earlier colonists. Often the first Italian newcomer had to leave his wife and children in the Old Country until he got settled in a job in the new world. Some were exploited by the Padrone System of job-slavery, some at first could find only hard manual labor tasks.

We, their children, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to our fathers. Because of their great dreams, their back-breaking toil, their sacrifices, many of us have had a better chance in life than they had.

We also owe unfailing gratitude to our mothers. These splendid women—women of the race from whom the great painters picked their models for the Madonnas—kept the family together and brought up their children in the Christian faith which today sustains us.

Yes, we are justly proud of the great names our homeland has given the world: Cesare, S. Agostino, S. Tommaso d'Aquino, San Francisco d'Assisi, Fra Angelico, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raffaello, Cremona, Galileo, Marconi, Mazzarino, Garibaldi, Marco Polo, Caboto, Stradivare, Verdi, Donezzetti, D'Annunzio, De Gasperi, Pope John, Pope Paul and many others since the days of Romulus and Remus. To list the Italian "Who's Who" is to call the role of many of history's most illustrious sons. But let us be equally proud of the thousands of lesser known men and women who had the vision and courage to come as strangers to this continent and by their coming gave to you and me the opportunity to become Americans.

Our ancestors built the famous Roman roads—the finest roads in the world—by which civilization was spread north to France, Spain, Germany and England. Their descendants built the famous American highway that linked the regions of our land into a true United States. The railroad tracks that span the continent were laid by Italian fingers. The skyscrapers that pierce the heavens were erected by Italian hands.

Building is in our blood. So is creating. We are workers and doers and accomplishers.

Italian-Americans have been active in every phase of life in this nation from agriculture to the arts, from public service to the professional world, from the arts to the sciences, from the world of athletics to the world of entertainment.

Just this past week Constantine Brumidi, who worked in the Nation's Capitol Building

under six Presidents recreating the glory of America in his frescoes and portraits was honored in Washington. A bust of Brumidi was dedicated and placed in the Nation's Capitol in honor of his work there.

Italian-American efforts have taken place all over this land.

In California such efforts initiated the cultivation of grapes and olives and the Di-Giorgio Fruit Corporation became one of the largest agricultural enterprises in America.

And who became the greatest producer of peanuts? Obibi, an Italian-American. You can imagine how many children as well as adults he has brought happiness to at a ball game or a circus.

In California and in Massachusetts, Italian-Americans are becoming the largest group of fishermen in this country. It is only fitting that a people whose patron Saint is Saint Peter should carry on in the same trade as that great Apostle.

Many other laurels have been won—in many fields—by outstanding Americans of Italian blood. Millions of Americans have been enchanted by the music of Caruso, Martinelli, Toscanini, Luisa Tetrazzini, Frank Corello. And millions of women still react to the voice of Frank Sinatra today as they did many years ago.

Our children may not have seen him but where is the baseball fan among my generation who did not marvel at the performances of Joe DiMaggio whether he was or wasn't a Yankee fan. Think of aircraft and we think of Bellanca; of education and there is Angelo Patri; of finance and its Giannini; of science and Enrico Fermi.

Think of politics and there is our own great Governor John A. Volpe, and what American but thrills at the memory of that greatest of all American mayors, honest, incorruptible Fiorello LaGuardia.

I do not mean to imply that we should or can separate ourselves apart as a group from the history and the culture and the society of America. It is rather the wonderful melting pot qualities of our land which has been a primary factor in the greatness of this nation.

Lincoln was of English stock but he was our Lincoln too. Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt were of Dutch stock but they are kin to all of us. The poet Longfellow belongs as much to us as does Dante while spaghetti is now as American as baked beans.

We are in truth all Americans, sharing together the talents of every race whose forebears came here. The terrible lists of war casualties from Vietnam contain the names of Adams and Parker, of Taylor and Jones, as well as the names of Scolponetti and Annunzio.

We are in the end all Americans sharing our mutual fears and our mutual joys.

But at the same time, however, I believe it is perfectly proper for us to take great pride in the heritage that we have been blessed with by our ancestors, a heritage which not only has benefitted us but which has benefitted our nation.

I certainly take great pride in that heritage.

I know that everyone of you also does.

And while we can look to the many names of past and present who have brought fame and recognition to this country's descendants of Italy, in the final analysis the role played by the average Italian-American citizen, is the greatest cause and reason for pride in Italian-American contributions to this land.

His patriotism and love of country, his dedication and devotion, his industriousness and resolve have been a normal part of his daily existence.

He has been a solid citizen in this nation, someone you could always count on when the chips were down.

He has been a citizen who cares, a citizen who has channeled his well-known passions not inward but rather outward to meet the problems and the troubles that challenge our times.

The work of your organization and similar organizations certainly evidences this.

If someone ever says to you, "my ancestor came over on the Mayflower," I would suggest you acknowledge his family pride with respect. I would also suggest that you remind him that ours came over just a little earlier on the Santa Maria.

For some 475 years we have been a vital and a vibrant part of this nation. Our role has been an important one and our contributions have been enormous. I am proud of that role, I am proud to be an Italian-American, and I am proud to receive the honor which you, my fellow Italian-Americans have bestowed upon me tonight.

FOREIGN OPINION AND AMERICAN POLICY

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles World Affairs Council is a nonpartisan and nonprofit community educational organization, with a membership of 5,000 representative citizens. It is dedicated to the belief that an informed public opinion is the democratic basis for sound foreign policy and that public understanding of international relations is essential to the formation of such a foreign policy.

Leonard H. Marks, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, addressed the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, May 3, on the subject "Foreign Opinions and American Policy."

While underscoring the true importance of foreign opinion as a factor in the formation of American foreign policy, he also revealed that there were certain common myths and misunderstandings about just what constitutes public opinion.

Mr. Marks clearly detailed why an international information program is a major dimension of American diplomacy, at the same time discussing both its potential and its limitations.

The text of USIA Director Marks' speech before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council follows:

FOREIGN OPINION AND AMERICAN POLICY

(An address by Leonard H. Marks, Director, U.S. Information Agency before the World Affairs Council, Los Angeles, Calif., May 3, 1968)

At the outset, so that there will be no misunderstanding of what I say later, let me make clear two points:

I have nothing against taxi drivers.

I do not advocate discontinuing the use of statistics. My third point I prefer to save for the conclusion.

In August, the United States Information Agency will celebrate its fifteenth birthday. There were predecessor organizations in the Department of State, but even they postdated World War Two. Before 1947, the United States—then 171 years old—had never had a peacetime government department concerned with explaining this country to the people of other countries.

When USIA came into being, there were those who thought it unnecessary, and some who considered it practically un-American.

The former did not believe it mattered much, if at all, what foreigners thought of our actions, policies, or culture.

The latter held that, no matter what you called it—information program, cultural exchange, or whatever—the Agency's mission was propaganda, and propaganda was simply not in the American tradition.

These skeptics were sincere and well-intentioned, but time had passed them by.

Once, it did *not* matter what the *people* of other countries thought of our policies and actions. In most cases, they—the people—did not have access to sufficient information even to form an opinion. And if they did, they were powerless to do anything about it. How their *governments* viewed us was something else again. The traditional diplomatic procedure of governments talking only to other governments was thus not only proper, but realistic.

And for a long time, especially during and following the era of Goebbels, Mussolini, and company, propaganda *was* a dirty word, with connotations decidely *not* in the American tradition.

World War Two, however, changed more than the art of warfare:

Science entered the atomic era.

Transportation moved into the jet age.

And electronic communication conferred real, and irrevocable, meaning upon the word *mass* in the term *mass media*.

Nothing was ever again to be the same.

Villages isolated by geography, weeks or months of arduous overland travel away from urban centers, suddenly found themselves thirty minutes removed by air. People in jungles, deserts, and the high plateaus, whose only contact with the outside world had been through occasional travelers, all at once acquired the means to learn of other and better ways of life beyond the horizon. And masses whose only image of an all-powerful government was the unwelcome tax collector, or soldiers, or police, came to understand that it was upon the consent of the people that the distant government's power was dependent.

Neither domestic politics nor international relations were immune to the change. It was a brand new game, with the ground rules not yet established.

The title of my talk is *Foreign Opinion and American Policy*.

This was not selected for balance or provocativeness.

Neither was it selected at the last moment, without real meaning, to satisfy the requirements of a program committee.

It sums up a thesis: when foreign opinion truly became a consideration in the formulation of American policy, at that moment in history an official U.S. information program directed at the people of other countries became a necessity.

In a few civilizations prior to the twentieth century, public opinion played a part in the scheme of things. The publics, however, were fewer in number and considerably limited as to size. And the means for expressing opinion were primitive.

As described by James Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*, "In the earlier or simpler forms of political society, public opinion is passive. It acquiesces in, rather than supports, the authority which exists, whatever [that authority's] faults, because it knows of nothing better, because it sees no way of improvement . . ."

With this in mind, we might consider that, as late as 1824, only 5.1 per cent of the eligible voters voted in the United States presidential election of that year.

Yet, by 1859, John Stuart Mill could state: "In politics it is almost a triviality to say that public opinion now rules the world." And Lincoln could note that "with public sentiment on its side, everything succeeds; with public sentiment against it, nothing succeeds." Napoleon, meanwhile, had con-

cluded that "four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets."

There are numerous reasons for the spread of public opinion and the growth of its importance in modern times.

One factor has been the growth and spread of educational facilities. As a people become better-educated, ideas are multiplied, aspirations are expressed, intellectual unrest is stimulated, and the opinions of the masses become more urgent and more vociferous.

Another factor has been the diffusion of democracy and the extension of suffrage.

Most important, however, has been the improvement in, and devising of new means of, communication among peoples and between peoples and their governments. Most significant of these has been the development of the mass media in our "electronic age of communications." Consider, by way of example, just one of the electronic media—the transistor radio, a post-World War Two development.

Several years ago I visited a small village, near the Khyber Pass, lying in an area long contested by Afghanistan and Pakistan. There were no paved streets, no modern hotels. The chief attraction was a small bazaar where travelers came from great distances to buy ammunition for their rifles, cloth for clothing, and a few staples for use in the home. But, in this little bazaar, there was a stall where transistor radios from Germany, the United States, and Japan were being sold. I asked the proprietor which programs could be heard. As a good salesman, he decided to show me, rather than tell me. He twirled the dial and, in rapid succession, tuned in Radio Moscow, Radio Peking, Voice of America, and the BBC. Here, in this remote hinterland, the sophisticated voices of the East and West were heard loud and clear.

As printing opened up vast new horizons to fifteenth century Europe, so the transistor radio is bringing the world to hundreds of millions still isolated from the twentieth century.

Here is a more graphic description of what is happening throughout the world:

"On the grassy Tanzanian plain, a stately Masai herdsman strides behind his scrawny cattle, a lion-killing spear in one hand and a . . . Japanese transistor in the other. Transistors sway from the long necks of plodding camels deep in the Saudi desert and from the horns of oxen plowing the furrows of Costa Rica. Radios are replacing storytelling dervishes in the coffeehouses of Turkey and Iran, and they are standard equipment in the tea stalls of Pakistan. Thailand's *klongs* echo to transistor music from peddlers' sampans; a visitor to an Ecuadorian *minga*, in which the Indians come together for communal road building, calculated that at least one tiny transistor radio was sounding its unavoidable message every twenty yards along the two-mile road."

In a book he wrote thirteen years ago, Egypt's Nasser said it this way: "It is true that most of our people are still illiterate. But politically that counts far less than it did twenty years ago . . . Radio has changed everything . . . Today people in the most remote villages hear of what is happening everywhere and form their opinions. Leaders cannot govern as they once did. We live in a new world."

Not surprisingly, there are now fewer skeptics who question the need for an American governmental agency charged with communicating with the people of other countries.

In their place, however, are many who

Have a distorted or erroneous view of foreign public opinion, or

Go to one of two extremes regarding our information program: under-estimating its potential or, conversely, attributing to it impossible capabilities.

There are people who take a trip abroad, for a period of days or weeks, visiting one or more countries, and then return to expound upon public opinion in the countries they briefly visited. They obtained the information upon which they base their estimate of public opinion from two or three English-speaking taxi drivers.

Now, as I said at the beginning—my first point—I have nothing against taxi drivers. But two or three taxi drivers hardly constitute a sampling of any nation's public. As a matter of fact, from what I have observed of taxi drivers and their individualism, I would say it does not even constitute a valid sampling of a nation's taxi drivers' opinion!

There are others who are able to read the language of the country they visit. They study the daily newspapers carefully. They read the editorials and commentary. They analyze the news content. They perceive various lines of thought on current issues. And they conclude—also erroneously—that this reflects public opinion. Many are not aware that the literacy rate in some countries is only 10 to 25 per cent, or that the "newspapers" are organs of a political faction or special interest group.

To cite one more example, there are more sophisticated observers of this or that foreign country, who carefully study public opinion polls which have been taken there and published. So far, so good. But these observers, on the one hand, often fail to compare survey results with other indicators of public opinion and, on the other hand, frequently attempt to project the data and predict a future course of public opinion.

I am reminded of a short item I read not long ago. A survey, it reported, revealed that in 1940 each car on the road contained an average of 3.2 persons. In 1950 occupancy had declined to 2.1 persons per car, and, by 1960, the average was down to 1.4 persons. Projecting these statistics, can we not conclude that in 1980 every third car going past would have nobody in it?

My second point was, "I do not advocate discontinuing use of statistics," but I insist that objective statistics can never replace subjective reasoning in dealing with the minds of men.

What I am getting at is this:

Before foreign public opinion can be considered a factor in the formulation of American policy, it must be determined on the basis of several sources of information. Public opinion surveys are just one of those sources. The press is just one. And so are taxi drivers.

Assuming that an adequate number of sources can be tapped and that the opinion of a foreign public on a given issue can be determined, that is still not enough.

A military commander would have little use for intelligence presenting an enemy's capabilities without complementary intelligence about that enemy's intentions. Similarly, knowledge of a public's opinion on an issue, without corresponding knowledge of the intensity with which that opinion is held, is of little value to the policy maker. Experience shows that opinions lightly held by large numbers of people frequently have less influence upon the course of affairs than intensely held opinions of the few. "Then men who care are a match for a hundred who do not."

A failure to understand this point could easily result in directing an information program toward the wrong audience, with the apparent support of scientifically valid data.

The mass media of the electronic age multiplied publics and made possible the birth and growth of public opinion where it had never before existed.

A revolutionary change has been wrought in the power bases of domestic politics everywhere and in the conduct of international relations.

The essentiality of an information program becomes self-evident within this context. I am speaking, I wish to make clear, of an information program which

Seeks to inform, not mislead;

Deals in truth, even when unpleasant, rather than lies, no matter how glittering; and which

Has as its objective *not the manipulation*, but the *informing* of public opinion.

Informing a foreign audience, however, involves considerably more than presentation of data. And communicating the truth cannot be accomplished by simple recitation of the facts.

In his book, *Public Opinion*, published back in 1922, Walter Lippmann stated:

"If we cannot fully understand the acts of other people until we know what they think they know, then in order to do justice we have to appraise not only the information which has been at their disposal, but the minds through which they have filtered it. . . . The identical story is not the same story to all who hear it. Each will enter it at a slighly different point, since no two experiences are exactly alike; each will re-enact it in his own way and transfuse it with his own feelings. . ."

If we are to be effective, our personnel must understand the background, culture, and prejudices of intended foreign audiences. We must rely on communicators who can package messages so that they will be received and understood by the intended audiences. We must have technicians who can assure that the messages will get through. A radio broadcast which is not heard, or not understood, is as useless and frustrating as an undelivered letter.

And now my final point:

An information program is *not* a diplomatic frill, *not* a policy afterthought, *not* a foreign affairs luxury.

An information program *is* an integral part of American foreign policy—an indispensable dimension of American diplomacy—and it can become the principal access artery of the road to peace.

There are, to be sure, limits to what an information program can accomplish:

While it can inform public opinion, it cannot be expected in a short period of time to alter long-held, deeply-rooted attitudes or prejudices.

It cannot confer instant political responsibility and enlightenment upon an audience which lacks the requisite twentieth century education.

What an information program *can* accomplish, however, is vital to the achievement of American policy objectives. That is why I have invited your attention to the negative side, to what it cannot accomplish. It is far too important that our information program achieve its realistic goals for us to even consider—much less permit—squandering of resources on pursuit of what may not be attainable.

We can—and do—enlighten people who have no other means of learning about American domestic and foreign policy.

We can help those in less developed areas by bringing them vital information about economic, social, and political affairs.

We can shed light in dark corners, blow fresh air into closed societies.

We can make men everywhere realize the aspirations shared by their brothers—regardless of their race, color, language, or heritage. These things we *can* do, and I believe, we *do well* today.

As long as people lived in isolated communities separated by high mountains and impassable jungles, they were not only uninformed, but suspicious and distrustful of their neighbors. There are still places in Africa where the local language has no word for *stranger*. The word used for *stranger* is the one which means *enemy*.

The electronic age of communications has demolished these barriers and has rendered frontiers obsolete.

Even the once formidable barrier of illiteracy has been breached, with the electronic media conferring what I call "instant political literacy."

As a result, there is an ever-widening spread of knowledge of world events and a corresponding improvement in relations between neighboring states.

Powder kegs may still exist, but more and more they are being de-fused. India and Pakistan now discuss their differences, and Greece and Turkey can talk about the Cyprus problem. And no matter how frustrating and futile it may at first seem, while nations or peoples talk over their differences, the guns are silent.

This development has not been limited to the free world. The electronic media penetrate the curtains—whether iron, bamboo, or cane. Because of electronic developments, it is simply no longer possible for a regime to prevent its people from acquiring outside information.

Jamming of the Voice of America broadcasts was abandoned by Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe in 1963 and today exists only under the most rigid and unyielding regimes: North Korea, Communist China, Bulgaria, and Cuba. Aside from the fact that it can never be one hundred per cent effective, the institution of jamming is self-defeating in that it makes outside information more attractive and stimulates the curiosity of those who are prohibited from hearing the truth.

NBC Moscow correspondent Irving R. Levine reported: "Radio broadcasts like the Voice of America are forcing the Soviet authorities to acknowledge events to their own people that they would otherwise prefer to ignore. . . . Russians are able to notice that the Soviet version of events usually comes several days after broadcasts from Washington and London. Russians are able to note the discrepancies between reports from overseas and those published in Russia, and you may be sure the Russian people draw their own conclusions about what is the truth."

Another aspect of the political revolution being wrought by electronic communications may be seen clearly in the increasing attention paid by the regimes in closed societies to public opinion.

From Warsaw, Poland, comes this most interesting item:

On April 13, the Polish press indirectly attacked several government agencies, two of them headed by members of the Communist Party's ruling Politburo. This in itself is significant. But even more so is the following passage from an article in the Party newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu: "Public opinion has the right to know* how it happened that a diplomat who enjoyed the full confidence of the leadership of the Foreign Ministry, a diplomat and a chief of a responsible and important post, committed such dishonorable acts." [Italics supplied.]

Just imagine: *"Public opinion has the right to know!"* In a communist country!

We have now reached—and come to rest upon—a plateau. The path is still upward and ever brighter. Technology *continues* to improve the access of all peoples everywhere to knowledge and truth, and the future is even more exciting than the past.

The result cannot be other than improved understanding among the peoples and nations of the world, and, as has always been the case, the fact of increased understanding becomes the first giant step on the road to peace.

In conclusion:

No more can the destiny of nations be settled in hushed corridors of diplomatic missions.

The voice of the people comes through loud and clear. Governments have no choice but to listen. And to stay in power, leaders must tune in to the people's wave length.

Physical barriers—mountains, jungles, and oceans—have disintegrated. Language barriers have been overcome. And when reasonable men listen to and understand their neighbors, they cease to fear the unknown. The more one sees and hears of those experiences common to all men, the less likely is one to fight over those issues which separate us. The word *stranger* need *not* be synonymous with *enemy:* we can make it mean *friend.*

The age of electronic communication has demonstrated that the free flow of ideas is an irresistible force—piercing iron or bamboo curtains, entering closed societies, opening closed minds; that men everywhere cherish the same dreams—freedom from want, ignorance, disease. Men everywhere seek the same reasonable goals—a satisfying job, a secure home, a nutritious meal, and an atmosphere of peace in which to raise children who can make this world a better place in which to live.

I pray that we may reach that promised land.

THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY OF VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, 1968 marks the 21st anniversary of the Voice of Democracy, a program sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, its ladies auxiliary, and cooperating National and State Associations of Broadcasters.

Heyman "Sandy" Rothbart, a friend and constituent, who became the first VFW all-American department commander out of New York State, has been New York State chairman of this fine program for 12 years. His work with American youth through the Voice of Democracy program has made a distinct contribution to the development and enrichment of our Nation's citizenry.

The Voice of Democracy program is designed to give high school students the opportunity to voice their opinions on patriotic themes and to convey them via the broadcasting media to all America. The program is open to all 10th, 11th, and 12th-grade students in public, parochial, and private schools in the United States, its possessions and to children of military and civilian personnel serving with the Armed Forces overseas.

The program is not confined to any specific doctrine but, rather, it is designed to give expression to the aims and goals of American youth without emphasis on conventional views. This year's theme is entitled "Freedom's Challenge," and the participants are asked to speak about freedom and positive Americanism and not against other ideologies.

I recently had the privilege of meeting with the New York State winners of the program as well as the many individuals who have contributed to the program's success. Among them are New York County Surrogate S. Samuel Di Falco, Civil Court Judge Louis I. Kaplan, and NBC Moderator Ben Grauer, all of whom are residents of my congressional district. I also met with the prominent judges who serve on the program's panel: State Commander John R. Ray, New York County Commissioner Frank Gigante, and my colleague and friend Congressman SEYMOUR HALPERN.

In light of the many problems our country now faces both here and abroad, the Voice of Democracy program must be commended for its efforts to stimulate and encourage American youth in its understanding and expression of freedom today.

I know that my colleagues will want to join me in celebration of the 21st anniversary of this fine program.

RUMANIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues here in the House to the celebration of the 91st anniversary of the independence of Rumania.

On May 10, 1877, the Rumanian people realized their goal of an independent state which was the result of a turbulent and often violent history of oppression and domination.

The election of Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as prince and the adoption of a new constitution providing for a legislative body and certain powers granted Prince Charles marked the end of domination by the Ottoman Empire over the Rumanians in 1866. Though Rumania now possessed its first constitution and parliamentary government had been introduced in the country, there still remained certain special powers reserved for the monarch alone.

It was the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 that Rumania was able to fully take advantage of the deteriorating power of the Turks, against whom she had fought in alliance with Russia, and declared its independence on May 10, 1877.

This independence was affirmed by the Treaty of San Stefano on March 3, 1878, which marked the end of the war and provided Turkish recognition of Rumania's independence.

It was in June of 1878, through the Treaty of Berlin that Rumania's independence was finally recognized internationally. Formal recognition from great powers of the world followed, and having disclaimed all ties with the Ottoman Empire, the Rumanians crowned their first King on May 22, 1881.

Rumania, as an independent state, made its mark in years to follow in international politics throughout Europe.

As a participant in the second Balkan war, coupled with her assistance to the Allies against the Central Powers during World War I, and finally through Rumanian involvement in World War II, Rumania was able to play an integral role in the changing structure of the European Continent, despite the threats which existed to her independent state at the time.

Mr. Speaker, the conclusion of World War II brought to the soil of Rumania an overwhelming threat that could not be halted, even by the strong determination which existed in the hearts of the people themselves to be free.

The Soviet armies which occupied Rumania brought with them the promise of future domination, and it did not take long before certain government positions were held by Communist representatives. The force which confronted the people of Rumania could not be revolutionized. The choice of government was no longer their own.

In December of 1947 the Rumanian People's Republic was declared, marking the total communization of Rumania.

Although today marks the independence of a country no longer able to enjoy the self-rule achieved 91 years ago, it is fitting for us to pay tribute to the continuing spirit of joy which remains in the hearts of Rumanians and Americans of Rumanian descent.

The dogmatic observance of May 9 as the anniversary of Soviet achievement in Rumania continues in accordance with rule in that country today.

The silent and resolute observance of May 10 as the anniversary of Rumanian independence continues in accordance with reason—until the opportunities of our time again bring freedom to Rumania.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, 90 years ago today the people of Rumania achieved a centuries-old dream of national independence. On May 10, 1877, in the midst of the Russo-Turkish War, Rumania proclaimed her independence and thus severed the anachronistic ties that had bound the Rumanian people to the Ottoman Empire.

Like the United States, Rumania had to fight to establish its independence. And like the United States, Rumania was successful.

In the wake of independence Rumania set about the business of government. Democracy was instituted; social institutions were strengthened; a civil service was organized; and economic foundations were set.

Rumania grew and prospered and became an important member of the European community of nations.

But Russia would not forget its historical ambition to control Rumania.

In the months following World War II Russia included Rumania in its occupation of Eastern Europe. The precious and hard-earned Rumanian freedom was lost.

Today, 90 years after that freedom was first declared, we must think, believe, actually know, that that freedom will be reestablished. On this Rumanian national holiday we must join in rededication to Rumanian independence.

VIETNAM: AN INFORMED VIEW

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I include part 5, the conclusion, in the series on Vietnam by Mr. Edwin W. Dean, Jr., publisher of the Inglewood Daily News:

VIETNAM—V

WAR VACATIONS AID EFFICIENCY

Rest and recreation, removal and recuperation, relocation and rehabilitation, whatever you call it the program of short vacations run by the military in Vietnam is a good one. The troops call it simply R and R.

Sometime during his one-year tour in Vietnam, every soldier is given a week off. He is offered the chance to go to Quala Lumpur or the seaside resort of Penang in Malaysia, or to the seaports and shopping centers of Singapore or Hong Kong, or to lively Bangkok in Thailand. If he wants to go farther afield he can choose Tokyo, Manila, Formosa, or Australia.

But, by far the most popular, even in competition with these exotic areas of the Orient, is the long trip through Guam to Hawaii. The R and R traffic to Hawaii comes from two directions. The fighting men come from Vietnam and their families come from the United States to meet them. The men travel free of charge to all these places. Families must come at their own expense. The men pay all of their own expenses at the R and R location and must wear civilian clothes while they are there. They travel in lightweight tan uniforms.

The trip begins when the men leave their units for the trip to the R and R processing center they will leave from in Vietnam. Traveling by whatever transportation they have been able to arrange, trucks, buses, planes, helicopters, and boats, they arrive alone or in small groups.

At the center they are assigned a bed, if they will need it, told when they will process, and directed to the mess hall, post exchange, and clubs. Enlisted men are restricted to the center, mostly for their own good since you lose your R and R if you miss your flight. Officers are free to come and go since they often combine official business with the trip.

Like all military operations there is quite a bit of paperwork involved in going on R and R. It is handled efficiently by the R and R processing team and the only time men resent it any less is when they are going home, on the long R and R. No passports are required for the men because of agreements with the host countries. Most of the paperwork is concerned with currency exchange and control and customs.

When the great moment finally arrives everyone gets onto buses with their baggage. They are taken directly to the airport. At least hopefully that is what happens. On one memorable short ride the bus engine quit and resisted all of the driver's efforts to restart it. Enraged at the possibility of missing their trip, the passengers took immediate corrective action.

A senior officer replaced the driver at the wheel of the bus. Minutes later they were moving again only to falter and stop a few blocks farther on. The stubborn bus resisted all further efforts and exhortations to get it to move. Not to be denied, the passengers swarmed into the bustling street and attacked and overwhelmed another bus. Holding their prize in the middle of the one lane road they created a traffic jam that was a real tribute to American know-how. Minutes later they gleefully drove away, to a chorus of screaming voices and honking horns. With time to spare the bus charged into the airport with all the flourish of the cavalry coming to the rescue.

When the flight is called the men line up to go to the plane. Officers first, then sergeants, and the rest. On the plane they settle down for the long flight to what may not be leisure and relaxation but is certainly recreation. The officers talk shop about the war, the sergeants recall old assignments, and the men talk about home.

At their destination they are met by members of the local R and R team. One of these team members rides with them on the bus in from the airport and gives a briefing on the local area. At the local R and R center another, more formal, briefing is given, currency is exchanged, and the men go their separate ways.

The local team has provided them with a packet of information, helped them pick rooms at carefully checked hotels, and informed them the R and R office is open 24 hours a day to help with problems. Now the men are free to do as they wish. They take tours, shop, swim, go to movies and night clubs, date girls, and do everything else 500,000 imaginative young men can conceive in a year.

A few days later they are back, ready to fight again in Vietnam. In a tension filled war, where every man is subject to attack every minute, the R and R program provides a great break. Its success seems to be indicated by the fact there is less mental illness among the troops than in any previous modern war.

COMMUNICATIONS ARE A PROBLEM

"Sir, the bird called in about ten minutes ago. Says it took him 20 minutes to raise us. He says the 'little people' are jabbering on the net again and the MPs have been using it to look for a bug bomb for the last half hour."

"What's been done about it, Sergeant?"

"The Captain's mad as Hell, Sir. He told the cops to get off the air and they told him not to interfere with military police business. He blew up and really chewed 'em out. Told 'em to look up our call sign and find out who the Hell we were and what kind of business they were interfering with."

"Do any good, or are they still looking for an insect spray?"

"Quieted them down. They must be looking up our call sign like he told them."

"What about the 'little people?' "

"We don't hear them down here. They must only be getting them in the air. The Captain says he thinks they're ours, not theirs. They're not jamming, just screaming at each other. Says it sounds like the same outfit we've been getting. The one we can't identify."

"OK. What have you done?"

"I tried to phone the MPs. They're Field Force cops at Ding Hoa. But I can't get through."

"OK. Keep trying to get them on the telephone. Tell them as long as we have to share this net we have priority."

"Wilco, Sir. I'll keep trying, but it'll probably take a couple of hours this time of day."

"Yeah, I know. These phones are right out of World War I. Just keep trying 'til you get it done. It's unbelievable an aircraft in a dangerous situation can't get through to us on the radio because some idiot is looking for a can of bug spray."

It's not unbelieveable. It really happened in Vietnam. And it is typical of the type of thing that happens all too often. The telephones aren't really "right out of World War I" they just seem like it. When the Sergeant was finally able to get through to the military police they were very cooperative. They had looked up the call sign and found it identified as division headquarters.

But the solution to the problem was only temporary. New men replaced the old in the military police unit and the whole thing had to be done again a few months later. It will have to be done again and again in units all over Vietnam. It's the sort of thing that doesn't get passed on in the excitement of going home.

The real problem lies in the communication system itself and in the way it is used in Vietnam. Communications are the nerves of a modern army. They tie it together and make it react. Face to face conversations, briefings, paperwork of all sorts, radios, telephones, and light and hand signals are all parts of the communications system. Because of their rapidity and convenience, radio and telephone messages have become so popular they have created several problems.

The new radios, introduced into the army in the early part of this decade, are a vast improvement upon the old ones. They are smaller, more reliable, easier to use, and give better performance. Telephones are another matter. Even though modern techniques like radio relay are used the system does not work as well as it should.

Calls often must be routed through five or six switchboards. This can take hours. And all too often the caller is left holding a dead line when the operator forgets him. When connections are made they are often very weak. A familiar sight in any operations center is a number of men with a phone at one ear and a finger in the other shouting into the mouthpiece.

One of the problems is too many people use radios and telephones for business that could be handled by another means of communication. Radio nets and telephone circuits are jammed with routine administrative traffic. This delays more immediately important business.

There is a system of priorities to be used for essential calls, but it is an expedient to be used in crucial situations. And, like any system based upon an individual's judgment of the importance of his own business, it is subject to abuses. This system applies only to telephones, leaving the radio problem even more unresolved.

There are also direct telephone links between two points having a great many important messages to transmit. And the most important units have their own radio frequencies reserved entirely for their use. Of course, the only problems in these cases come from equipment failures.

Because of the extensive use of radios and telephones for administrative and planning traffic and as instruments of convenience communications security has suffered. A general assumption seems to be the Viet Cong have no capability to monitor our communications and gather intelligence from them. Intelligence data indicates this is not true. Aside from posters warning the enemy may be listening no program demanding communications security is being applied.

Messages are sent in ordinary language or in part in improvised, relatively useless, codes. Only coordinates, the locations of things on maps, are regularly put into standard codes. The amount of information the Viet Cong probably is gaining from these unsecured communications is great.

To solve these problems army headquarters in Vietnam needs to do several things. It should cut back the number of radios to those absolutely essential to operations. A new radio with lower power should be developed and issued to units with only a short range radio requirement. Some present smaller radios might be used instead if a study shows they are adequate. A rule that the high power setting on radios is used only when contact cannot be made on low power should be strictly enforced.

And a directive should be issued stating the types of messages which will move by each form of communication and in what circumstances exceptions will be made. This directive should also detail procedures for encoding messages, completely specifying what parts of messages will be encoded and what codes will be used. Unless the necessary steps to reform the situation are taken the problems will become worse as our troop strength increases.

DECORATION POLICY NEEDS CHANGES

Awards and decorations are given to promote morale. They do this by giving the individual soldier visible evidence of his accomplishments. They recognize service, training, and unusual effort and valor.

Awards testify to service and training feats. They include ribbons for service in various locations and campaigns, and also aviation and parachute wings, combat infantry and medic badges, ranger tabs, and qualification badges. They are given to every soldier who meets the specified requirements.

Decorations are given for specific efforts or acts of valor by individuals. The decoration given is decided by the particular circumstances of each case and the rank of the individual. In decending order of importance these decorations for the Army are: Medal of Honor, Distinguished Service Cross, Legion of Merit, Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, Bronze Star, Air Medal, and Army Commendation Medal.

Of these, only the Legion of Merit is given exclusively as a reward for distinguished service. It is, usually, presented only to Liteutenant-Colonels and higher ranks. The Commendation Medal is given to lower grades. Only the Medal of Honor is given only for valor. All of the others are given for either meritorious service or valor.

There are several small changes which could be made to improve what is a fine system. One would be to stop giving the same medal to honor both service and courage. The Commendation Medal would thus be reserved for service, and the Distinguished Service Cross, Silver Star, and the Bronze Star for valor. Many recipients of these medals feel the mixed usage cheapens the distinction. The idea behind mixed usage seems to be to allow more people to get more medals. It seems to reflect an urge to make it possible for every man to win every honor, which doesn't coincide with the original intention of the system.

A manifestation of this is the "packet" system of awarding medals. Under this system a man who has done well in a particular job is given a group of medals when he ends his service in the job. The medals included in the group vary according to the job, regardless of the man's qualifications to receive them. A battalion commander might receive the Legion of Merit, Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, and an Air Medal.

Packet recipients are almost always fine soldiers, deserving of honor. But the chances are they will not have performed some of the acts some of the medals they receive were designed to commemorate. A battalion commander may have had no opportunity to perform a feat of personal courage. Rewarding heroism is largely the opportuntiy to do your duty in observed spectacular circumstances. And he may not have had the chance to perform an outstanding action while flying. This doesn't mean he couldn't win the medals. It means he has not won them. Justice requires decorations only be given for feats actually performed.

Another improvement would be to give more medals and to award them promptly. The increase should go almost entirely to the lower ranks of the fighting men. Their efforts do not go unrecognized, but many times more medals could legitimately be given to them. Standards for the award of decorations could well be eased. All too often a man is given a lower decoration than the one for which he was recommended. The people fighting in the field are better judges of what is proper than a man at a desk in Washington.

Men feel cheated and resentful when this happens and it erodes the value of the decoration to its purpose of boosting morale. Another detriment to the system's value is the long delay between the act and the award. This is caused by the processing of the Army bureaucracy. Field commanders should be authorized to award all but the highest medals without the consent of the bureaucracy.

This would enable prompt awards to be made. Some commanders do this now, and let it be worked out afterward. The benefit to morale is considerable. Having a general swoop down in a helicopter and pin on a medal right after a fight does more for a man's morale than having to wait for months and then receiving it at his next assignment. There is no reason, which is valid in comparison to the benefits to be gained, why the paperwork can't be done after the presentation.

MANPOWER WASTE CUTS EFFICENCY

The leaders of the war in Vietnam cry for more and more men. The current force level there is 500,000 U.S. troops. The schedule calls for 525,000 by July. There are current demands for more men to be supplied more quickly. Officials in Washington have asked whether the men now in Vietnam are being used efficiently. They seem to be unable to get an accurate answer. That answer is no.

Like any modern army, the forces in Vietnam have an enormous body and tail behind the teeth that bite the enemy. Only one man in ten fights, the rest support him. Any modern army, and particularly an American one, has large supply requirements. It takes manpower and machines to move the supplies and provide the other support needed. But the ratio of men fighting to men in support roles is the same in Vietnam as it has been in our more recent wars.

This indicates little or no improvement has been made in the supply system. Slightly more supplies may be moving through the system but it is taking just as many men to move them. And many of the supplies moving are not being used for fighting men. They are being consumed by the support echelon itself. The size of the support echelon directly influences the amount of supplies needed to maintain the army.

Reduction of the time supplies spend in the pipeline, and reducing the amount of handling they require will lower the manpower requirements of the supply elements. With fewer men engaged in supply activities, more men will be available to fight or supply requirements will diminish. Modern communications, inventory and packaging methods, and air transportation make this possible.

Supplies should move to the front with as few breaks in the journey as possible. Every break in the journey adds to the requirements for protection, transportation, handling, storage, and administration. Each of these functions must be performed by men who must be supported. They must be provided food, shelter, medical care, recreation, communications, clothing, and a vast array of other items. And the people who provide those must be supported in turn.

Thus, the system tends to feed upon itself and consumes far more men and materiel than is needed to support the fighting troops. Every small increase in efficiency will result in large decreases in manpower requirements, for this reason. By properly applying modern methods to our ground forces supply systems, it should be possible to at least reduce the ratio from nine to one to eight to one. Even this small improvement would make 50,000 men available.

If this were done the question would then become one of using these men. Military organizations are bureaucratic in nature. Part of the nature of a bureaucracy is the

tendency toward empire building. The philosophy of empire building is that status is directly proportional to people. The more people a man controls the more important he is in the organization. Bureaucrats tend to add people rather than increase efficiency.

Vietnam has prime examples of this. The character of the war dictates decentralized control of operations. Fast moving operations using large numbers of divisions are not a part of this war. And yet two headquarters exist for this purpose. This wastes manpower. Higher headquarters are notoriously overstaffed, and Vietnam is no exception.

The two field Force headquarters are the equivalent of the Corps headquarters of other wars. They perform no valid military purpose in Vietnam, but employ enormous numbers of men. There are too few U.S. divisions in Vietnam to need control at this level, considering the way they are used. The only motivation for their existence seems to be to provide more officer positions, follow tradition, and aggrandize the bureaucratic organization of United States Army, Vietnam.

More manpower waste is caused by the duplication of effort which exists between the headquarters of United States Army, Vietnam (USARV) and Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV). Eliminating this duplication would release more men. It makes little sense to have two groups of men at two different locations performing almost the same jobs at the top of our effort in Vietnam. An intelligent merger should reduce their manpower requirements by 50 per cent.

The Air Force is probably the fattest military service in Vietnam, as it is elsewhere. The ratio of support personnel to fighters is far higher than the other services. Part, but not all, of this can be attributed to the complexity of their operations and the highly technical nature of their equipment.

No worthwhile reduction in wasted manpower will be achieved by the military services themselves. As mentioned previously, the very men who would have to make the decisions required are those who are least likely to do so. If Washington wants to use the men it has sent to Vietnam more efficiently it will have to appoint civilians to do the job. These civilians should have good backgrounds in military operations and in modern, efficient techniques of supply and administration. And the program should be a continuing one, since it deals with a problem that always reappears in bureaucratic organizations.

AMERICAN GENERALS MUST AVOID LUXURY

White linen, crystal, silver, and fine Japanese china sparkle on the table. Diffident waiters offer a succession of tantalizing dishes. Good wine flows freely. Pleasant music murmurs in the background. Lively conversations animate the distinguished looking diners. Subdued lighting bathes everything in a pleasing glow.

A sophisticated dinner party at a fine restaurant, not necessarily, it could be supper in the general's mess of a U.S. division in Vietnam. In that case, the guests would be attired in starched jungle fatigues and polished boots. The service implements would have been acquired by officers sent as far as Japan on special missions for that purpose.

The food, different from that given to the troops, would have been delivered that day by a special team of trucks, helicopters, and personnel set up for that purpose. Many of the waiters and cooks would be troops diverted from other duties to serve there. In one case, 15 men were used to feed 21 diners in the general's mess, while six men have tried to feed as many as 550 men in the other division headquarters mess hall.

Next to the general's mess tent stand four single width, air-conditioned house trailers. These are used as housing for the three generals who command the division and for the full colonel who is the chief of staff. These are the facilities used when the division is in the field. When it is in its base camp tropical buildings are used.

Rank has always had its privileges. And the higher the rank the greater the privileges have been. History offers many examples of how generals have used their privileges. It shows great fighting generals who have lived frugally and others who have established an almost royal establishment. Rommel, the great German front line leader in North Africa, cared so little about food that one day when he had invited an Italian general to lunch with him he was dismayed to find he had nothing to offer but a share of three stale sandwiches and water.

The Italians, of course, were famous for lavish living of their generals in the desert. And they even went so far as to have three different standards of foods for their army. But history gives no firm basis for a correlation between style of living and performance of duty. Many generals who have lived well have fought brilliantly. The most that can be said is that an unduly great attention to personal comfort detracts from the performance of duty. How much is too much is governed by the capacity and ability of the man involved.

Responsibility, as well as power and privilege, increase with rank. As the weight of responsibility of decisions increases the environmental factors which interfere with their consideration should be reduced. Decisions concerning the lives of thousands of men and the vital interests of a great nation should not be colored by sweat or indigestion.

The minds and bodies responsible for these decisions should not be bothered by petty irritants. They should be free to deal with the problems at hand. Pleasant surroundings at the time of decision, as opposed to the time for action, are a necessity. The opportunity to discuss these problems in a relaxed atmosphere with key subordinates is a vital factor in determining the quality of the decisions which will be made.

However, our nation has a strong tradition of democratic and purtian concepts. And, it seems fitting that as leading figures of that nation, our generals should supply themselves with what is necessary to do their jobs efficiently, but should not go beyond into excessive luxury. In Vietnam, with our tremendous capability to move supplies, it is all too easy to miss this point under the strain of combat. Some of our generals there need to consider this and reexamine their personal retinues.

EVERYBODY INTO THAT BUNKER

Captain Dreyfus sat comfortable and relaxed in the officers' club at Ding Hoa base camp in Vietnam. An old, old movie was spluttering and jerking across an improvised screen in very fuzzy focus. Ceiling fans spun busily in a losing fight with the 87 degree temperature and the 98 per cent humidity. But with a cold drink on the table and a cigar in his hand, Captain Dreyfus was content. He was going home tomorrow, after a year in the field.

Suddenly the wail of sirens sounded through the muggy night, insistent, demanding, the warning of a mortar attack. The movie ground to a halt and faded from the screen as the crowd moved toward the door in an orderly, noisy mass. Lean and tanned Captain Dreyfus rose deliberately from his chair. Even though he was casually dressed in a sport shirt, light slacks and loafers his bearing had an air of military purpose to it as he moved directly to the bar.

Armed with a fresh cold drink, he followed the last of the crowd to the door. A quizzical expression on his face, Captain Dreyfus listened for the dull crump of incoming mortar rounds. He heard none and reflected that Ding Hoa base camp had never been attacked in the two years it had been established.

Outside, in the dark of the blacked out camp, he took up a position near the entrance of the bunker, which was close to the door of the club. Setting his cold drink on the spare tire of a jeep. Captain Dreyfus surveyed the scene. The bunker stretched away into the night, a long, sand bag covered mound with an entry hole at each end. Around each entrance to the bunker was a group of people, chatting happily and complaining good naturedly about the disruption of the evening activities.

Turning to the shadowy figure standing beside him, the captain asked, "Is this a practice alert?"

"Roger, that's right," said a bright, pleasant voice, "we have these darned things at least every two weeks, and sometimes three or four times a month."

"Very warlike," commented Captain Dreyfus.

"Yes, isn't it," answered the voice. "We do take casualties here though, you know."

"Oh!"

"Sure! About two weeks ago, during the last practice alert, a guy broke a leg jumping into a bunker."

"Tough luck. What's the drill from here on out?"

"Oh, we just stand around for an hour or so while the perimeter is checked, and the ready reaction force is organized."

"Don't know if I can stand the excitement."

"Don't worry, you'll get used to it."

"Not me, I'm going home."

"Very lucky!"

"Yes, and very deserving."

"Aren't we all."

"Some more than others. Look out, here comes the war."

And as Captain Dreyfus spoke these prophetic words out of the darkness strode a militant figure garbed in all the regalia of war. The figure stopped directly in front of the pair and from under the steel helmet a gruff voice demanded, "What's your name?"

"Dreyfus, what's yours?" It was too dark to read name tags or identify the dark colored insignia used in Vietnam.

"I am Lt. Col. Yerg, the assistant base commander, what's your rank?"

"Captain."

"Captain, what?"

"Captain, Armor."

"That's not what I meant."

"Captain, United States Army?"

"No!"

"Captain Dreyfus?"

"No! You ever been in a mortar attack, captain?"

"Not since last night."

"What do ya mean, not since last night."

"I mean I have not been in a mortar attack since 0200 last night when the Division headquarters at Lu Ku was hit."

"You are with Division headquarters?"

"That is correct."

"And now I suppose you think you're a real veteran because you've been in one mortar attack. Did you just get in country, captain?"

"No."

"No, what?"

"No, I didn't just get in country."

"Oh, been here a few weeks, have you."

"Fifty-one and a half, to be exact."

"Yes, well, you still need to practice."

"Yes sir, practice what?"

"Getting in that bunker."

"I know how to get into a bunker."

A voice it was impossible to identify called out from the crowd, "Sir, it's real muddy down in the bunker."

"That just makes it better training," shouted Lt. Col. Yerg. "Now all of you get into that bunker."

"Yes, sir," said Captain Dreyfus softly.

"Yes, sir," echoed the crowd.

SOUTHEAST ASIA WILL FALL IF VIETCONG WIN

We've come a long way from the World War II days of "V for Victory" and "unconditional surrender" in our war in Vietnam.

Definitions of victory in Vietnam are a dime a dozen and no one mentions "unconditional surrender" instead of negotiations. In order to define victory for a particular war it is necessary to know what the war was intended to achieve.

If the purpose of a war is clearly defined, what constitutes victory is also clear. It is the degree of military success necessary to achieve the purpose of the war. The purpose of a war should be defined in terms of the peace to follow. If this is not done it is possible to win the war and lose the peace. An example of this is World War II. The only defined purpose of the war was to defeat the Axis powers. This was done. But two of our great allies of the war, China and Russia, emerged in the post-war period as our major enemies. Over 20 years of cold war turmoil has been the result.

Sifting through the many statements and opinions on why we are fighting in Vietname produces a basic concept of our purposes in waging this war. The primary purposes seem to be the prevention of the military overthrow of the government of South Vietnam and the achievement of a military situation which will permit that government to continue to function after the withdrawal of a major part of our forces.

The secondary aims of the war appear to be the economic redevelopment of South Vietnam and the establishment of a political atmosphere there which will permit the long term growth of a basically democratic governmental system. Both of these aims require the pacification of most of the country. Nothing indicates any intention of trying to extend any of these goals to North Vietnam.

Victory for North Vietnam is a much simpler thing. It can range from the conquest of South Vietnam to merely ending the war as it started. Even if we achieve all of our goals the North Vietnamese can, and will, claim a victory because they have lost nothing. They will say they have fought one of the world's great powers to a standstill and since they are smaller the victory belongs to them. Essentially, this is what happened in Korea.

Victory for the Viet Cong is a more elusive thing. If they conquer the country with their allies they will be dominated by them. They realize this and may feel true victory for them lies in negotiations. In negotiations they would have a chance to play a prominent role in the government of South Vietnam and maintain their independence from North Vietnam. During the course of the war they must struggle to retain control of their own organization.

North Vietnamese influence in the Viet Cong has always been great. The question no one can answer on our side is whether it is totally dominated by them. As the scope of the war has grown, Viet Cong dependence on the North has increased. The movement never has been a true popular revolt of the people, resulting in a civil war. There has always been inspiration and direction from the Communists and the North in it.

The fighting in Vietnam is not a civil war, just as a conflict between East and West Germany would not be one. It is an exploitation of local circumstances by the Communists. The same was true of the confrontation in Europe following WW II, which resulted in the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Korea was the same thing. Whenever the possible results have justified it, the Communists have backed their bets with force. When their efforts have been thwarted they have been smart enough to change the form the next time they try. Korea was a modification of the unsuccessful European formula. Vietnam is a lesser modification of the partially successful Korean formula.

The major Communist powers, China and Russia, always have been primarily land powers. They prefer to use or threaten to use their power, which is based on ground forces, in areas they can reach by land. They quickly withdrew from Cuba, when confronted by the United States, and their efforts in other areas have been in the nature of subversion and armed revolt. Vietnam seems to be the final testing ground of the subversion and armed revolt approach. It has met with mixed results elsewhere. Vietnam is the test of whether it can succeed against determined opposition if supported more strongly than in the past. If the Communists decide it can, they will support other such actions more strongly.

Russian developments in strategic mobility, including the expansion of their surface fleet, the construction of helicopter aircraft carriers, and the establishment of a force of marines, show they are preparing to extend their military influence overseas in a more active manner.

Victory for Russia in Vietnam is having the war continue, anywhere in Southeast Asia. This keeps China occupied and relieves the pressure on the long border the two countries share. It keeps more than half a million U.S. troops tied up and reduces the alternatives available to America to counter Russian moves in other parts of the world. A victory for the United States would destroy these advantages, while enhancing American prestige. The benefits of a Communist victory would all accrue to China because of her geographical position. Russia has no desire to see China strengthened.

Victory for China is the conquest of all Southeast Asia. If this could be accomplished, China could dominate the area, and use its resources for her own ends. Singapore would give her another point of controlled contact with the outside world, as Hong Kong is now. Of China's three choices for expansion, this area offers the greatest possibilities, Russia is too strong to invade. India has so many problems it would do no good to conquer her. But Southeast Asia is rich and could provide much of what China needs.

If South Vietnam falls, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, and Malayasia will come under Communist domination in turn. There may be long, bloody wars in some of these countries. And the United States would almost certainly be involved in one or more of them, but eventually they would all go the way of South Vietnam. Because its example that our resources and resolve were insufficient would always be there to cheer our enemy and discourage our allies.

Victory for the United States consists of a clear cut demonstration that this kind of war is not a proposition where the aggressor cannot lose anything and may gain a great deal. We must make it perfectly obvious to everyone everywhere that aggressors stand to lose a great deal. No nation in history has been as generous to others as the United States. Few have operated on as high a moral level. But force and fear continue to be primary elements in the relationships of nations. And, because they are understood and valued by others, we should use them to build a better future. If we do not there will be other Vietnams fought all over the world.

WAR PROGRESS HAS BEEN VERY SLOW

The war in Vietnam is not stalemated. We are winning. But we are winning at such a slow rate it will take 20 or 30 years to achieve what we need to do. And if our rate of progress slows down much more we will not be winning at all.

Our rate of progress has been falling off since the middle of 1967. Now it has dropped almost to zero. The initiative has passed to the enemy, almost by default. And the enemy is attempting to take advantage of the initiative we have let fall into his hands. He is pursuing his plan of conquest.

That plan now has three stages. The first is to strengthen his position relative to the United States in Asia. He must demonstrate the U.S. is vulnerable and to do it he must win some significant victories at any cost. These would show the world that after almost three years of major efforts by the United States he is still undefeated and capable of great efforts and successes. Such victories would demonstrate the fact mentioned above, in its present form it will be a long, long war.

Once this fact is generally recognized the enemy will be ready for the second stage of his plan. The second stage is to achieve the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. The enemy knows he cannot conquer the country as long as these forces remain there. He knows too he cannot completely defeat these forces, regardless of any local successes he may enjoy. His hope lies at the conference table where he can negotiate what he is unable to do by force.

Once the American withdrawal is complete the enemy will be free to violate the agreements he has made and complete the third stage of his plan. This is the conquest of South Vietnam. With the American barrier removed, any number of roads to this goal lie open. The southern government will be forced to devote all of its energies to defending itself and to abandon its efforts at revitalization, which are barely beginning to be rewarding.

Many Americans feel the South Vietnamese should fight this battle by themselves. They express the thought that if the South is not strong enough to win its own fight it does not deserve to be independent. They tend to forget the United States was not able to generate enough strength to win its own independence. At Yorktown, the climactic battle of our War of Independence, about half of the troops on our side were French. The French fleet was the strategic key to the battle. And most of the American troops were dressed in uniforms supplied by the French, used French weapons and ammunition, and were paid with French money.

In fact, the French alliance was the key to our victory in the war. Besides money, troops, ships, and supplies, they provided much of the military skill we needed so badly, particularly in technical areas. And the French provided somethings we are not supplying the Vietnamese. They used diplomacy to isolate the British far more effectively than we have isolated our enemy. And they attacked other British possessions to force the British to limit their commitment in America. There is a good deal of evidence to indicate this tactic is being used against us.

We are not doing as much in Vietnam as French did to aid us in that earlier war. It is not because we lack the power, we don't. It is because of the politically inspired limitations placed upon our military power. Our military efforts are limited not by what is possible but by what is permitted. Our diplomacy is restricted because other nations have been allowed to feel their positions will have no effect on their relations with us. They think, correctly at present, they can oppose us on the war and aid our enemies without giving up the benefits they have been receiving from us.

And they will continue to do it. Nothing delights the perverse nature of human beings so much as biting the hand that, literally in some cases, feeds them. Dogs have made themselves the best-loved and most civilized of animals by gracefully and gratefully acknowledging their dependence. They return service for their keep and stand by their benefactors in a show-down. Fortunately, we do not expect as much from some of the nations we aid. But, at least, we could expect them to refrain from acting against us.

As long as we continue to think we can wage the war in Vietnam on a business at home and abroad as usual basis we are in danger of losing it. If we lose it we will be faced with the prospect of fighting more such wars or withdrawing into a partial replica of pre-World War II isolationism, because we will be challenged in many places. A return to isolationism would be appeasement on a global scale, offering the Communists many nations to conquer. No other nation has the power to prevent them from falling. Appease-

ment doesn't quench the appetite of tyrannies for conquest, it whets it. And, as World War II showed, such a course may lead to the gigantic conflict everyone wishes to avoid.

We are fighting in Vietnam like a small conventional power. We are not using any of the weapons that make us a super-power, by our own choice. We are using a small force, easily matched by the enemy and the difficulties of the circumstances, because of the great distance and expense. And because of these limitations we are following a strategic course that will take us years to reach our goals.

We could be quickly and decisively demonstrating aggression does not pay. We could be showing war is, if not out moded in technique, at least out dated and unprofitable as a means of settling disputes. And, by doing so, we could deter future aggression and make the world a better, safer place for us and our posterity, and for everyone else.

WE CAN WIN IN VIETNAM

The first thing to do to win the war in Vietnam is to make it a real war. Congress should declare war on North Vietnam. This would show the world our resolve to achieve victory. And it would show the American people exactly where each of their elected representatives stand when the chips are down. North Vietnam is clearly the enemy. Without the support of the North the enemy war effort would collapse.

The second step should be to issue a statement of our goals and purposes in fighting the war. The federal government owes its people a clarification of its previous confused mumblings and must offer them a standard to which they can rally. Such a statement would be a basis for deciding which nations of the world are our friends, our allies, our enemies, or are truly neutral. Our relations with other nations should then be based on their reactions to our declaration of war and statement of purpose.

The statement should make several other things very clear. One, we intend to end the war as quickly and decisively as possible, in order to stop the long-term suffering, begin the reconstruction of the country, and deter future agreement. Two, we will use any weapons we have to achieve our goals. Three, we will attack into any territory used by our enemies, if it suits our purpose and aids our cause.

Following these steps we should destroy Hanoi with a nuclear weapon. This should be done for two reasons. It would show the instigators of aggression are not immune from the death they bring to so many others. Fear deters petty dictators who believe in the use of force better than anything else. And such an attack would destroy the centralized power structure that controls North Vietnam and its side of the war.

The statement should make several other things evident with several small attacks on lesser objectives, would disrupt the overland supply system feeding the enemy's war effort. Major parts of the command, control, and communications structures of his war effort would be destroyed and records and top administrative systems eliminated. The enemy support system would begin to falter and his war effort slow down.

This attack should be delivered without warning. A warning would not reduce civilian casualties. It would only give the enemy a chance to remove the military items and personnel that are the target. This target should be defined as exactly as possible. The smallest possible weapon should be used to destroy it, keeping civilian casualties to a minimum.

With the destruction of his overland supply system, the dependence of the enemy upon the port of Haiphong will increase. At this stage, Haiphong should be destroyed with a nuclear weapon. In this case, warning should be given to permit the foreign ships in the port to sail. A naval blockade should be established temporarily to prevent unwarned ships from entering the harbor. The destruction should be limited to the port and allied transportation facilities.

The loss of major portions of his supply and command structures will seriously weaken the enemy forces in the field. These should be attacked vigorously and destroyed. To do this, it will be necessary first to conquer the jungle, where he will try to hide during his weakness. The jungle can be conquered by the use of three techniques described in earlier articles, landing zones created by nuclear weapons, a grid observation pattern created by permanent defoliation, and the extensive use of long-range combat patrols.

Construction of the landing zone pattern should begin in the northern part of South Vietnam to bring pressure to bear on the enemy as quickly as possible. The observation grid pattern should be started in the same area. As soon as substantial parts of both are complete operations should begin. The observation grid pattern will help find the enemy. The landing zone will permit troops to go where they can best defeat him. Both will enable the conduct of a pursuit to destroy him after he has been defeated; something not possible now.

Long-range combat patrols air-lifted ahead of the enemy should be used to ambush him, slowing his retreat. These patrols, usually striking at night when the enemy would be moving to avoid our airpower, could escape into the darkness and be picked up at nearby landing zones. The enemy would not have time to pursue them since he was being pursued by our main forces.

Pursuit should continue wherever the foe runs until he is destroyed. This may involve crossing borders into other countries. Nations are obligated to maintain their borders inviolate if they wish them respected. They cannot allow them to be used as havens for another nation's military forces. If they are unable to do this the battle must flow across them.

The enemy has enjoyed the strategic initiative in Vietnam. We have been forced to defend everything. He defends only what he chooses. As the final part of winning the war, this situation should be reversed. Strong helicopter and marine forces should be used to raid into enemy territory in North Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. These raids should be fairly short, staying only long enough to destroy military installations and equipment, disrupt the communications system, and propagandize the people.

When these purposes have been achieved the force should be withdrawn and used elsewhere. As part of these operations, key enemy personnel who are captured should be evacuated to prisoner of war camps in the South and civilians wishing to escape from Communism should be provided transportation.

War is always a bloody, brutal business. Time is a factor in the destruction caused by a war. The lack of economic development during a long war is a form of positive destruction. Nothing is really destroyed, but many things are not created. A long war demoralizes the people when no clear cut end is in sight. They become numbed and apathetic from the constant year to year fear and tension. This has happened in Vietnam.

If wars must be fought, they should be quickly ended. Like cancer, all of the rot of war should be cut out in one short operation. Some of the good must be destroyed to assure all of the bad is removed. If this is not done the patient dies a slow, agonizing death. We have the power to cure the cancer of war in Vietnam. And, like a doctor who would let a patient suffer or die unnecessarily, we will be guilty if we do not use it.

AUTHOR'S INTENT, BIAS, BACKGROUND

This article is the last in my series on Vietnam, possibly it should have been the first. My intention is to give you some sort of picture of myself which you may use to give balance to the opinions I have expressed.

Most of these concerned the military aspects of the war. My military background consists of two active duty tours with the United States Army and service in the reserves. My first active duty tour was in Germany in a tank battalion during the period when the Berlin Wall was built. My second was spent at Fort Ord, California and in Vietnam with the 1st Infantry Division.

The military has been a hobby of mine. I have over 100 publications dealing with it in my library, and have read many more. I am a subscriber to several military periodicals. The reasons for my interest in the subject are something of an enigma to me. But the fact it exists is perfectly clear.

Possibly it is fascinating because the fate of nations turns on it. Or possibly it is because war is man's most civilized endeavor, if civilization is measured in terms of the time, effort, and money expended on an activity as we are all too prone to do. Whatever the reasons, I have spent a great many hours studying and thinking about it, not because I had to, but because I wanted to and enjoyed doing it.

Many of my opinions have been somewhat critical of the army and its officers. Officers determine the quality and performance of an army. There are many officers for whom I have the greatest respect and admiration. There are at least as many more for whom I feel nothing but contempt. My opinion of their performance as military leaders and as men has been the criterion for my judgments Taken as a whole, I think the army officer corps is the best of any service.

And on the whole, I like the army. Several times I have considered making it a career. Only the greater attractions of journalism have lured me away. As with anything you like you wish to see it improve. My criticisms have been aimed at this, pointing out problems and offering solutions. The army was better prepared for the war in Vietnam and has performed more efficiently in it than any other service. And I am proud to have been a part of it and of such fine fighting units as the 2nd battalion of the 2nd infantry regiment and the 1st infantry division. During part of the time I was with each of them they were as good as any units the world has ever known.

I returned from Vietnam 31 years old and a Captain. Contrary to some opinions, age and rank have never been valid criteria for determining military competency. One of the most respected military writers of modern times was a Captain. Alexander died in his early thirties, after conquering most of his world. Napoleon seized power in France at 30 after victorious campaigns in Italy and Egypt when he was even younger. Custer was a general, and a good one, in the Civil War at 25, Sheridan was at 32. By the same token, real military worth may not be noticed or rewarded in normal army routine. There is no guarantee the best men stay in to make careers of it and automatically rise to the top in a regular, steady manner. Sherman and Grant both left the army and returned and rose to fame during the Civil War. Pershing was still a first-lieutenant at 40. And Eisenhower and Patton were still lieutenant-colonels as World War II threatened.

The series was intended to give background information on the military aspects of the war and to provide a feeling for it. If the feeling is one of frustration you are sharing it with many of the men who have fought in Vietnam.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr Speaker, for 400 years the freedom-loving people of

Rumania fought unsuccessfully against the Ottoman Empire in an effort to gain independence. Finally, on May 10, 1877—91 years ago today—the indomitable spirit of this courageous people prevailed and they were successful in declaring themselves a free and independent nation. Tragically, they were unable to keep that freedom for even a century.

Unfortunately, Rumania's geography placed her on the border of the Soviet Union, causing her to be one of the first victims of Soviet aggression in World War II. As a consequence, some 17 million Rumanians are again cruelly dominated by an oppressive conqueror.

Though bound by chains of tyranny, the glow of freedom still burns brightly in the hearts of Rumanians in the homeland and those fortunate enough to be in one of the free nations of the world.

Today, then let us in this House dedicated to the preservation of freedom, join with our Rumanian friends in America in the prayerful hope for the day when their kinsmen in the country of their heritage can rejoice that freedom has been regained.

REPORTS ON A STUDY MISSION TO VENEZUELA AND CENTRAL AMERICA

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, in January the North American Newspaper Association invited Don Granger, associate editor for public affairs of the Wichita Eagle and Beacon, to join a group of 15 newsmen for a 2-week study mission to Venezuela. Mr. Granger followed this mission with a week in Central America and another week in Mexico. His observations and findings resulting from interviews were included in a series of feature articles in his newspaper. Because of the great interest which the Congress has in Latin America and all of our neighbors to the south, I call attention to three of Mr. Granger's articles which follow. They are most revealing and provide a first-hand comparison of several Central American countries. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, the reports of Don Granger follow:

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Sunday Eagle, Feb. 25, 1968]

OIL, GEOGRAPHY MAKE VENEZUELA VITAL TO UNITED STATES

(By Don Granger)

Of all the 13 countries on the South American continent, Venezuela is the most important to the United States.

There are good reasons for this medium-sized country (its area is equal to Oklahoma and Texas combined) with a population of only 9 million to be considered our most important neighbor:

Money. U.S. financial investment in Venezuela is in excess of $2.7 billion—far more than in any South American country and, with the exception of Canada and the United Kingdom, greater than in any country in the world.

Oil. Venezuela is one of the greatest oil producing countries in the world. Every day 3,700,000 barrels of oil are produced by Venezuelan wells. The biggest customer and the biggest investor is the U.S.

Geography. Venezuela is like the Roman god, Janus, in that it faces two directions at the same time. Venezuela dominates the north of South America from British Guiana on the east to Colombia on the west and it penetrates 800 miles into the continent—to the border of Brazil.

On the other hand—Venezuela's northern coast borders the Caribbean Sea for 1,750 miles and Venezuela has always thought of itself as part of the Caribbean community as well as being a part of South America.

The geography is spectacular in every section—from the Andes in the west to the jungles of the Amazon territory and from the coastal range to the Llanos—the vast flat land that resembles western Kansas for six dry months of the year. During the other six months torrential rains force the slow-moving rivers out of their banks to produce enormous flooding.

Natural resources are so great they've never been accurately evaluated. One of the world's greatest oil deposits is at Lake Maracaibo in the west. Mountains of iron ore are found in the east. The great Orinoco River and its tributaries are a potential source of enormous power. The Guri Dam now being constructed across the Caroni River will supply hydroelectric power for all of Venezuela's needs and provide plenty for export.

This will be the first Venezuelan use of a hydro-electric power source. Power and light now are produced thermally—by burning an apparently inexhaustible supply of natural gas to make steam to turn the electric generators.

Politics. Venezuela is the focal point of Latin America attention. Venezuela was the prime target when Fidel Castro decided to export his revolution from Cuba to the South American mainland.

If Romulo Betancourt, then president of Venezuela, had not fought back against the guerrilla terror (even to the extent of suffering severe bomb injuries himself), if the people of Venezuela had not fiercely rejected Castro and his form of communism, half the countries of South America might be openly Communist today.

What about Venezuela today? It would be a pleasure to report that 45 years of prosperity (Venezuela has the highest per capita income in South America) would automatically produce a well-balanced economy, stable government and a contented and well educated people.

But every follower of soap opera is aware that riches do not produce happiness. All these years of wealth have not been an unalloyed blessing for Venezuela.

EXTREME POOR VISIBLE

The economy is in better balance than it has been for several years but there are still highly visible areas of intense poverty, both rural and urban, which contrast with great riches and with a cost of living index as high as any country in the world.

The government is more stable—today.

But the thing to remember is that Romulo Betancourt, who took office in February 1959, was the first Venezuelan preseident to serve out his term and then turn over the office to a duly elected and qualified successor.

The successor, Dr. Raul Leoni, is serving the last year of his five-year term. He cannot succeed himself. Dr. Leoni's dearest wish is to serve out his term and, in February of 1969, turn over the high office to a president fairly elected.

TEN-YEAR DEMOCRACY

This means Venezuela has only had 10 years of experience with the democratic processes of government—and these years included violent attacks both from the far right as well as from Fidel Castro.

Another thing to remember is that the political situation in Venezuela cannot be evaluated on the same basis as the political situation in Kansas—for instance.

"Venezuela is just learning how to make the democratic processes function," a spokesman told a group of touring newsmen. "Our situation can be compared with the man who must tame a horse at the same time he is learning to ride it."

This is an election year. At least six parties will have candidates for the presidency. At least two Communist-line parties will boycott the election. That is as of today. The polls won't open until the morning of Dec. 10, and by that time six more complete shifts of alignment are possible.

Betancourt, the old fox, came back to Venezuela from his self-imposed European exile to help cure a split in his own party, Accion Democratica, but his influence may not be great enough.

UNIFYING THREAD

In spite of the ferment there is a unifying thread that connects all the parties. The responsible leaders want an honest election and another peaceful transfer of the presidency. The U.S. knows that no single party can get enough votes to be truly dominant and that government must be based on the coalition of three or more parties. We can live with most of the men who have indicated their candidacy. The only real problem would be a takeover of the government by force, either from the military on the right or by Communists.

This doesn't seem likely.

To understand today's political situation, it is helpful to understand a little of the history of Venezuela.

It is not essential to know that Christopher Columbus discovered the country nor that Simon Bolivar liberated it from Spanish rule. The key thing to remember is that during most of its history (particularly in the 20th century) Venezuela has been dominated by a series of savage military dictatorships.

TRIP COSTS DICTATORSHIP

Gen. Cipriano Castro conquered Venezuela from within in 1899. He ruled until 1908, when his excessive attention to women ruined his health and sent him to Switzerland for a delicate operation. The surgery was successful but the trip cost Gen. Castro his dictatorship.

The man he trusted most, the one he left in charge, was Gen. Juan Vicente Gomez, who waited only two days after his boss left to seize power and run Venezuela for 27 years as a one-man show until he died in bed in 1935 at the age of 78.

Oil was discovered in 1922 during the Gomez dictatorship. The general promptly established a pattern of using oil wealth to enrich himself and a few favorites instead of putting it to work for the public good.

To understand Venezuela, it must be remembered that most of the influential men in business and politics were born in an era of ignorance, despotism and completely autocratic rule.

OLDER GENERATION RULES

Betancourt, the ex-president, was a member of the Generation of 1928—when young men were distinguished by being either jailed or exiled by Gomez because of their political beliefs and activities. The group includes President Leoni and political leaders in all parties.

This in itself is a political factor. The Generation of 1928 is no longer young. All its members are well into their 60s. Younger men are eager to hold high office, too.

Another important thing to remember about Venezuelan politics is that almost no one in Venezuela is conservative by any of the U.S. Standards used to measure conservatism.

COPEI (for example) is a Christian Democrat party and therefore one of the most conservative of the five or six major parties. However, COPEI's stand on social responsibility and public ownership of resources

begins way out to the left of Hubert Humphrey and Americans for Democratic Action. In the current situation COPEI sees absolutely nothing wrong in accepting the help of violent Communists if it will help the chances at the polls.

BASIC PROBLEMS EXIST

No matter who the winner may be in December, basic problems will have to be dealt with.

The problem for the Venezuelan politician is to be vehemently aggressive in public toward "foreign oppressors who exploit Venezuelan resources for capitalist gain," and at the same time behave calmly enough in private to avoid frightening foreign investors away.

Foreign oil companies must be squeezed tightly but not strangled. Remember that oil taxes provided 70 per cent of the Venezuelan government's income last year. That is 30 per cent of the entire gross national product.

There must be a continuation of the race to diversify the nation's economy and thus diminish Venezuelan dependence on oil.

The huge industrial complex of Ciudad Guyana in the east—the steel mill and the aluminum mill and the Cerro Bolivar, an entire mountain of iron ore, will be augmented by the new factory to produce briquets of iron ore, by the expansion of the petro-chemical plant in Puerto Cabello so that more fertilizer can be produced and farmers taught how to use it to increase food production.

LAND GIVEN FARMERS

Whichever side wins will be committed to continuing the program of distributing free plots of land to farmers. The question is how much and how soon.

For the past 10 years The Betancourt-Leoni governments have committed themselves to broadening the horizontal base of education. New schools pop up all over the country. Classrooms are crowded before they are finished. There aren't enough teachers. There aren't enough universities.

Every political party is committed to building more universities and providing free education for everyone.

Something has to be done about Caracas. The rugged hills that surround this beautiful capital (a city that has attracted 2 million of the country's total population of 9 million) continue to tempt poverty-stricken rural families who will accept every kind of hardship to be close to the opportunities in Caracas.

Poor families build the humblest kind of shelters—nothing substantial is needed in this pleasant climate. Entire communities spring up. They develop political character—and power. They must be served with water and sewers and electricity. TV antennas begin to sprout. Schools are built. YMCA portable recreation equipment is sent out. Churches are built.

WAY ALL CITIES GROW

The phenomenon is not peculiar to Caracas. All major cities of Venezuela grow in this way. A program to provide improved rural housing has done little to stop the rush to the larger population centers.

Venezuela is uniquely rich and therefore faces unique social and political problems.

Somehow she must maintain stable government, develop her natural resources, free herself from dependency on oil, provide education for a great number of people, carry on a program of land reform, keep food prices down, and resist the pressures from the far right and the far left.

None of this is easy, but one natural resource remains—the people. There is a good feeling about Venezuela, in spite of the problems.

The people one meets in every social and financial strata are eager to learn, eager to push ahead, to get a better job, win a promotion, get a better car, a bigger house, a better education.

They give the impression that the next election will be held, that power will be transferred peacefully and that Venezuela will be closer to stability.

PANAMA LESS DYNAMIC

There isn't as much dynamic stirring around in Panama, even though a national election is coming up in April and even though Carnival began Saturday.

Panamanians are more relaxed. They aren't happy about the canal but there's no feeling that they're ready to take it away from us, either.

Costa Rica is relaxed, too. This is one of the best educated countries south of the Rio Grande.

Its capital, San Jose, is beautiful. The city is up high, about the same altitude as Denver. San Jose preserves strong colonial touches. Horses still pulled painted carts in the main streets. Ox teams show up downtown every once in a while. No one is alarmed.

Costa Rica doesn't have an army. It spends its money on education. The president is a professor. When his term is ended he will go back to teaching. Everyone in Costa Rica respects a professor. Not everyone respects a president.

GUATEMALA IS SHOCKING

The contrast in Guatemala is shocking. This is a military government. Men with guns patrol the streets. If you drive after dark in Guatemala City it is a very good idea to turn on the interior lights of your car. Then the men with guns will know who you are. If you forget to turn on your interior lights the men with guns will help you remember. They will shoot the tires of your car. Then you will remember.

Guatemala has been ruled by the military for many years. Only 30 per cent of the people can read and write. One of the most beautiful post office buildings in the world is in Guatemala City. Isn't it a pity that two-thirds of the people don't know how to write a letter or how to read one if they get it.

And yet—Guatemala is a truly beautiful country. The public buildings are astounding. The hotels are spotless. The country is an archeological treasure house. If they ever get those armed men off the streets, Guatemala will be one of the finest countries to visit in our Western Hemisphere.

MEXICO LIKE HOME

Mexico was the last stop on this trip. It was like coming home. The policemen are learning English, bless their hearts, and they enjoy a chance to practice with any North American strolling on Avenida Juarez or the Paseo de la Reforma.

The consuming interest in Mexico nowadays is the XIX Olympiad, the first Olympic Games ever staged in a Spanish-speaking country. Mexico is determined to make the world proud of her—in spite of all the money Gen. De Gaulle spent on HIS winter Olympics in Grenoble.

All the major buildings seem certain to be finished long before the games begin on Oct. 12. They're working 24 hours a day on the new subway that will run downtown from the airport. They've got San Latran all torn up now because of the subway but it just means one more traffic jam and Mexican policemen can always handle one more.

PROUD OF PEACE, SCHOOLS

It is well to remember the things Mexico takes pride in—30 years of uninterrupted peace, for instance—a classroom built every hour during the Diaz Ordaz administration—land equivalent in size to all the productive land in France brought into irrigation during the Diaz Ordaz term.

Mexico spends more on education every year than on national defense. The current enrollment at the University of Mexico is 93,000—that's right, 93,000. They have produced a big middle class of well-educated people: engineers, doctors, teachers, artists, skilled technicians. These are ambitious and intelligent people. They make things go.

The post office building in Mexico City isn't terribly attractive but most Mexicans can write a letter and read it and they're proud of it.

[From the Wichita Beacon, Mar. 5, 1968]

PRIESTS GLADDEN VENEZUELAN LIVES

(By Don Granger)

For the past four years the lives of thousands of poor people in Barquisimeto, Venezuela, have been affected by the direct, personal participation of the Catholic Diocese of Wichita, Kansas.

The size of their homes—the condition of their teeth—the health of their children—the music they listen to—the games they play—these and many other areas are affected by the activities of four priests still directly attached to the Wichita Diocese.

How is it that Fr. Colin Boor and Fr. Joseph Bergkamp and Fr. Harold McCormick and Fr. Tom Riley are involved in the lives of 40,000 (more or less) unprosperous dwellers in the third biggest (pop. 350,000) city in Venezuela?

They are in Barquisimeto because Pope John XXIII made a special appeal during the Congress of Rome for help in South America. Bishop Leo J. Byrne offered the cooperation of the Wichita Diocese and the Wichita priests have been in Barquisimeto since Jan. 10, 1964.

They didn't go there just to preach. In fact, you can't tell their calling by the clothes they wear at work. They've shed the priestly collar and dark jacket for sport shirts and a heavy coat of perspiration.

"How does it feel to be out of uniform?"

"Marvelous."

They started from the ground up—with concrete blocks. Caritas (the Catholic charity) got Fr. Bergkamp and Fr. McCormick started with block-making machines and things haven't been the same in the slums of Barquisimeto since then.

They taught their parishioners to make blocks. All it takes is the simple machine, sand, concrete and gravel.

Fr. Bergkamp and Fr. McCormick helped organize credit unions to finance the sale of blocks. Blocks can build houses and additions to houses. Family life is very strong in Venezuela—it is the custom for mothers and mothers-in-law and aunts and uncles and grandparents to live in the family unit—all sleeping in one room if that's all there is.

If inexpensive blocks and a little credit is available more rooms can be built. The family lives better.

Churches can be built with blocks. The beautiful Holy Trinity Church in Fr. McCormick's parish was made of blocks. The block machinery is still in the church yard—near the concrete block recreation building.

This is the building where the sewing machines are stored. Sewing lessons will be given to the women in the community. Fr. McMormick hopes to set up a small clothing factory. This will provide employment, develop skills, bring money into the area.

There is room in the building for the ping-pong table the boys delight in. There is room for dancing. All Latins, particularly Venezuelans, are enchanted by music and dancing. The families gather at the recreation building for music and parties.

The concrete block credit union building—El Triunfo—provides space for the neighborhood committee to consider loans and payments.

A room in the building has been set aside for weekly visits to the community by the dentist. Treatment is free.

There is more to work than concrete blocks.

Fr. Bergkamp has the help (and the responsibility for) three Sisters of St. Francis who have just arrived from Pittsburgh, Pa. Sister Ursula Nielan of Philadelphia and Sister Teresita Morales of Puerto Rico are nurses. They have set up a clinic. They treat the sick and give classes in nursing. They will give classes in nutrition and baby care. Sister Marie Aline Eichhorn, of Frontenac, Kan., will hold classes in domestic skills, cooking, housekeeping, sewing.

Fr. Bergkamp's responsibilities include two Papal volunteers, Carmel Calclough and Rita Dunne, both of Dublin, who work with children and mothers and teach handicraft.

Fr. McCormick supervises and watches over four missionary nuns from Bogota, Colombia. At the mother parish, La Parroquia de Christo Rey, Fr. Boor and Fr. Riley have the help of three nuns from Medellin, Colombia and three lay volunteers.

The nuns spend most of their time in the schools—teaching religion.

Fr. Boor, Fr. Bergkamp and Fr. McCormick each has responsibility for an autonomous parish—each with a population of approximately 15,000 Catholics.

There are the poorest of the Barquisimeto parishes—poverty-striken in every way. They have grown in much the same way every Venezuelan city grows—by the appearance of poor squatters on publicly-owned land—by development of minimum houses and eventually recognition by municipal authorities.

When Fr. McCormick first went to his area in Holy Trinity Parish the authorities pointed out an empty area (empty except for cactus and dust) and said: "We have set aside this ground for the church. It is 120 meters by 60 meters. Use it to build your church." It is the site of Holy Trinity Church.

What of the future?

Fr. Bergkamp led the way to the top of a windy hill where he conducts mass every week in a tin shed barely strong enough to support the roof.

He pointed to the west, to the area stretching beyond the last of the crude shacks.

"That is the 'Zona de Expansion'," he said. "That's where the new families will move in. We've been asked to work with them just as we work with the others. We'll be ready."

[From the Wichita Beacon, Mar. 6, 1968]

VENEZUELA TURNS TO KANSAS FOR MODERN SCIENCE

(By Don Granger)

For the past three years the basic structure of scientific education in Venezuela has been hammered into shape by two dedicated men—one a Venezuelan, the other a Kansan.

Venezuela has never had any tradition of scientific education. The educational structure always has been dominated by the classical tradition of Central University in Caracas where science was pushed aside in favor of the law, literature, history, philosophy and politics—particularly politics.

Establishment of education in science began in the small new Universidad de Oriente in Cumana, because of the determination of its president, Dr. Luis Manuel Penalver.

Dr. Penalver is short in stature but tall in determination. He managed to talk the Ford Foundation out of a $400,000 grant in 1964 and then he went shopping for exactly the right North American university to help him set up a school of basic sciences at Universidad de Oriente.

Dr. Penalver liked the atmosphere at Kansas University better than any other school he visited. One of the reasons was the sympathetic enthusiasm of Dr. Bryon Leonard, then chairman of the KU department of biology.

The assignment accepted by Dr. Leonard went right to the heart of the problem. He agreed to:

Establish a school of basic sciences at Universidad de Oriente.

Develop a program in mathematics, physics, biology and chemistry.

Provide for teaching by members of the KU faculty and at the same time arrange for training at KU for graduate students from Universidad de Oriente.

Develop teaching techniques to be used by members of Universidad de Oriente faculty.

Finally, Dr. Leonard agreed that when the school of basic sciences was established he would find and recruit a suitable man to serve as director of the school.

The program began in the summer of 1965 when Dr. Leonard left the hills of Lawrence, Kans., for the tropical beauty of the campus in eastern Venezuela. The building in which the school is located is a marvel. The classrooms are built around a patio lushly planted in trees and flowers.

Four Kansans live and teach in this atmosphere. While Dr. Leonard has served continuously at the school, other teachers from KU usually have accepted only one year assignments in Venezuela.

The staff this year includes Dr. Vaughn Nelson, 32, a Ph.D. in physics. Dr. Nelson taught physics and coached basketball at Harper High School from 1957 to 1960. He remembers that his teams' record was five wins and 51 losses but in spite of this Dr. Nelson has just been named player-coach of the Universidad de Oriente team. There is no gymnasium. The games will be played on an outdoor court.

Robert Branden, a graduate of Kingman High School in 1960 and KU in 1964, teaches microbiology. He is a candidate for the doctoral degree in biology. His wife, Betsy, is completing her degree in linguistics at KU, where her father, Paul Wilson, is a professor of law.

Richard Eckert, a physicist specializing in magnetic resonance, is busy teaching math and physics. Prof. Eckert has proved his interest in his assignment by marrying a Venezuelan girl.

The atmosphere at Universidad de Oriente is different in every way from that of any U.S. school and different, too, from that found in the dominant Central University in Caracas.

There are few disciplinary problems for Dr. Leonard and his staff. Students in the school of basic sciences have no time for political demonstrations like those in Caracas or for projecting pictures of naked women on dormitory walls in the KU style.

As a matter of fact—there aren't any dormitories at the Universidad de Oriente. Students live in dark, crowded, noisy residences operated by landlords who see no reason to waste money on big, expensive light bulbs when 40 watts will do.

Therefore, many of Dr. Leonard's students use the well-lighted streets of Cumana as study halls, not as arenas for political debate (as in Caracas) nor as the rallying point for a panty raid.

It is commonplace to see 15 or 20 students huddled under the street lights, studying for next day's assignment.

They face a brutal curriculum—particularly the freshmen who must take math (at the calculus level), biology, chemistry, physics, English and Spanish. The university is required by law to accept without examination any graduate of a Venezuelan secondary school.

More than 2,500 are enrolled in the school of basic sciences. Half that number will be lucky to graduate.

Those who do will find a market for their skills. Industry waits for them. Venezuela's schools desperately need teachers trained in science. Almost all the supply will come from the Universidad de Oriente.

Almost all of Dr. Leonard's basic assignment has been completed. The school of basic sciences is established. There is a flourishing program in math, physics, biology and chemistry. Teachers have been indoctrinated with KU methods. There has been a productive exchange of teachers with KU and Venezuela has benefited by it.

And finally, Dr. Leonard has found a suitable scholar to take over the directorship of the school of basic sciences—a former student at KU, Dr. John De Abate, an entomologist.

The program is scheduled to end in 1969, when the first graduating class goes out into the world. This will be the first group shaped by the influence of Kansas scholarship—one that will be the foundation for teaching science in Venezuela for years to come.

HOPE FOR MELANOPENIA VICTIMS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have from birth been victims of melanopenia can take new hope from recent medical science developments, especially in the areas of transplants and of research on human biology.

The deficiencies in skin pigment, specifically of melanin, which cause melanopenia, are not significant biologically, our society having adjusted to the need for protective housing and clothing which the condition requires.

As the distinguished scientist, Dr. Joshua Lederberg points out:

Biology is a very recent science, and most of our social institutions and attitudes were crystallized before we had any scientific understanding of human diversity.

There have developed, therefore, unfortunate group identifications relating to the unfortunate victims of melanopenia that have created complex social and economic problems.

In an article in the Washington Post on April 27 Dr. Lederberg discussed this serious genetic disease and his prognosis for its eventual cure. I request permission to include his article at this point in the RECORD:

CELL TRANSPLANTS HOLD HOPE IN "WHITE SKIN" EPIDEMIC

(By Joshua Lederberg)

Melanopenia is one of the most serious genetic diseases to afflict the population of the United States and Europe. In the United States it affects almost 90 per cent of the population and, being aggravated by the social and political climate of that country, it has an unparalleled virulence. In fact, it may destroy that Nation.

Because of its most obvious manifestations, melanopenia is popularly known as "white skin." One of its more subtle effects is that its victims, far from recognizing that they suffer from a genetic defect, often look down on their fellows who have a more complete enzyme system in their skin.

Like many other diseases, the primary lesion in melanopenia is not inherently very serious, and it is the interaction of a mild disability with a particular environment that generates the full-blown epidemics. The biochemistry of melanopenia is not well understood, but some investigations suggest that it is a defect in the enzyme, tyrosinase, which blocks the synthesis of melanin pigment.

Two or three major genes control the level of tyrosinase activity in the melanocytes

(pigment making cells) of the skin. However, the enzymes from the different genetic types have not yet been isolated for detailed comparison. Studies on domestic animals suggest that deficiencies in skin pigment should confer only a minor disadvantage, especially if protection from ultraviolet light in sunshine can be afforded by protective housing and clothing. The biological significance of melanin in man, is still controversial, but it seems likely that it can help protect the deeper layers of the skin, and some physicians report that, as a consequence. Negroes retain more youthful facial skin into more advanced age. One form of reduced pigmentation is associated with the disease phenylketonuria (PKU). The mental retardation of PKU can, however, be mitigated by a careful control of the infant's diet.

The ravages of melanopenia in contemporary life are, then, all out of proportion to its biological signifiance. Biology is, however, a very recent science, and most of our social institutions and attitudes were crystallized before we had any scientific understanding of human diversity. Precisely because skin color is so superficial a character. It has become an indelible label for group identification, one which reinforces the universal trend in human affairs for the exaltation of in-groups at the expense of outcasts.

With our new knowledge of genetics and biochemistry, we should soon be in a position to make a direct attack on melanopenia—to enable every individual to be just as black as he wishes. This is still a futuristic dream, whose accomplishment needs further concentration of research on human biology. However, it should not be any more difficult than the control of diabetes or hemophilia.

Even now, we can speculate on the possibilty of transplanting competent melanocytes, if necessary at an early age, to compensate for the genetically defective ones in patients with melanopenia. Thus, research on transplantation of hearts and other major organs may serve an unexpectedly broad social purpose.

Meanwhile, some melanotic individuals may find some use in procedures which temporarily lighten their skins. This may be for relatively frivolous cosmetic purposes, like trying out blond hair, or as a generous gesture of social solidarity and compassion for biologically inferior melanopenics.

It would be naive to asssume that America's racial problems are amenable to such a quick fix from biological technology. Human prejudice is too ingenious for that. Only a few individuals might care to modify their complexions. But some of the special virulence of racial conflict might be alleviated if the adoption of skin color were indeed to become a matter of personnal convenience and preference.

CONGRESS SHOULD INVESTIGATE TV PRICES

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the Belleville Times of Belleville, N.J., has published an editorial, "Congress Should Investigate TV Prices," that raises a number of important questions about which I, too, have been wondering.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS SHOULD INVESTIGATE TV PRICES

For almost a year now the public has been waiting for the price of color television to go down.

But, curiously, color set prices have remained almost rigid. Unlike the history of black and white television, a story of declining prices as production soared and competition increased, color television prices have been maintained at high levels in recent years despite increasing production, lower unit costs. There is little justification for present price levels, in the view of many, and little justification for the amazing similarity in minimum prices.

Estimates have been made that color sets could be profitably marketed for $200. Since many dealers count on color maintenance contracts as much as on the profit from sales of receivers, it is puzzling that more special sales, and lower prices, are not seen. This would likely prove a fertile field for congressional investigation.

FIREARM LEGISLATION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Vermont, House Joint Resolution No. 44, in opposition to S. 1 and H.R. 5384. This legislation, as presently drafted, would do a great deal to strip law-abiding citizens of their right to purchase firearms for legitimate sporting and defense purposes.

The resolution of the State of Vermont points out the vices inherent in this legislation and sets out with considerable precision major objections to that outrageous legislation.

The resolution follows:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 44

A joint resolution relating to the sale of firearms

Whereas, a bill (S. 1) has been introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut which would affect mail order sales of firearms to individuals and would permit such sales only between licensed importers, manufacturers and dealers and would place restrictions upon responsible citizens who wish to order recreational firearms by mail, and

Whereas, a bill (H.R. 5384) has been introduced in the United States House of Representatives by Representative Emanuel Celler of New York on the same subject which would make any violations of its provisions a federal crime and which would preempt such state firearms control laws as are in conflict with it, and

Whereas, the right "to keep and bear arms" as provided in the United States Constitution and the Constitution of the State of Vermont implies the right to purchase arms and ammunition for lawful purposes, now therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives:

That we, while recognizing the necessity for control of the sale of firearms to assist in the prevention of crime and disorder, do hereby urge the Vermont Congressional Delegation to oppose any arbitrary restrictions on the sale of firearms that would have the effect of nullifying the natural and necessary right of self-defense and protection; that would vitiate the provisions of Article II of the amendments to the constitution of the United States and Article 16 of the Vermont constitution; and that would place unreasonable or prohibitive restrictions on the sale of firearms and related materials by licensed dealers to responsible citizens, and be it further

Resolved: That the secretary of state be hereby directed to forward copies of this resolution to the members of the Vermont congressional delegation.

Approved, March 26, 1968.

MR. BALL AND THE UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADORSHIP

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 2 there appears on page 11631 an article from the Government Employees Exchange concerning a phone monitoring facility at the State Department which monitored the conversations of State Department employees and "approximately 85 journalists and newspaper correspondents." According to the article, "Under Secretary of State, Mr. Ball—George W. Ball—assumed control of the 'espionage room' in November 1961." On Friday, May 3, Mr. Ball appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning confirmation as Ambassador to the United Nations and was asked by the chairman of the committee whether such a facility existed. Because of the importance of the testimony, I am inserting at this point the exchange between Mr. Ball and Chairman FULBRIGHT:

The CHAIRMAN. There has come to my attention, Mr. Ball, a matter which is not directly related to your new appointment but it does relate to your previous employment, I mean your previous position, in the Department of State. I think it might be helpful for the record since I don't think I will have an opportunity to inquire of anyone else, at least it ought to be straightened out, if it can be.

There is an article in the May 1st publication of the Government Employees Exchange. It describes a facility in the Department of State, and this would relate to your previous employment.

Mr. BALL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And previous position. It says, it describes a facility in the Department of State as an electronics room, a bugging room, an electronics laboratory, these are the words that are used. The story suggests rather strongly that this facility can be and is used to monitor and record conversations unbeknownst to the telephone participants. The article also suggests that you were at one time in a position to authorize its use. Is there such a facility in the Department of State?

Mr. BALL. I am unaware of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not aware of it?

Mr. BALL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, to the best of your belief is that equivalent to that you do not believe it is correct?

Mr. BALL. This is a device for monitoring telephone conversations of people in the State Department?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, that is what the article says.

Mr. BALL. I think that is totally erroneous.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you ought to say so.

Mr. BALL. I certainly would have been aware of it had there been such a room, had there been such a device and there was none. There is none.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think it ought to be clarified. It alleges in this that this is used to pick up incoming conversations and telephone conversations also of the employees, the members of the Department, to outgoing particularly, particularly it has reference to conversations between members of the staff and reporters.

Mr. BALL. I am totally unaware of that, Mr. Chairman, and I am sure it is erroneous.

The CHAIRMAN. And they also allege that tapes, records are made of conversations between Senators and members of the State Department.

Mr. BALL. I am certain that that is wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. So you can say positively that that is not so?

Mr. BALL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it ought to be knocked down. It is a very current story, and a front page story of this publication, which is natural, if it were true would be very disturbing to the Committee.

Mr. BALL. Certainly in my experience in the Department this is totally untrue.

This exchange originally appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page 12202 of the May 7 issue. On that same page there is included a memorandum supplied by the Government Employees Exchange entitled "History and Location of 'Espionage' or 'Electronic Laboratory' Facilities at the Department of State." The memo describes a facility of four rooms, with room numbers, which, along with a lecture room, comprised an island in a moat of corridors completely surrounding the facility. In addition, a drawbridge consisting of a locked door, sealed the facility off from the so-called corridor 8 of the third floor. The memo went on to name some of those who were authorized to enter the facility, access to which was denied even to security officers. A brief history of the use of the facility was included in the memo.

As can be seen from Mr. Ball's testimony, he denies the existence of a facility for monitoring phone conversations and added that "I certainly would have been aware of it." Either Mr. Ball gave the Senate committee a deceptive answer or he was truly uniformed as to the existence of the facility, and especially its misuse in monitoring certain phone conversations. It must be understood that there are legitimate functions for so-called electronics laboratories. Other agencies have them, and they are used to devise new electronic equipment to counter and neutralize electronic eavesdropping by alien and unfriendly forces. But Mr. Ball specifically denied that a facility existed which was put to the use of monitoring phone conversations of State Department employees and "reporters."

The record shows that Mr. Ball was aware that phone monitoring had taken place in the State Department. When three State Department officials, John Reilly, David Belisle, and Elmer Dewey Hill, were found to have given misstatements—or possibly lied—to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, concerning the bugging of Otto F. Otepka's phone, they were requested to write letters to the subcommittee "amplifying" their testimony. Mr. Ball was the "go-between" between the three and Secretary Rusk.

The testimony of another State Department official, Abram Chayes, confirms that Mr. Ball was very much involved in the Otepka case. In testimony before the Senate Internal Security Committee on August 14, 1964, there occurred this exchange between Mr. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee, and Mr. Chayes:

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us if it is correct that Mr. Rusk and Mr. Ball have made most of the decisions, have themselves made most of the decisions in the Otepka case?

Mr. CHAYES. Well, you say most of the decisions. Every major step in the case has been considered either by Mr. Rusk or Mr. Ball.

In addition, I have been reliably informed that the Otepka case was Mr. Ball's "baby." It is my understanding that he handled the Otepka affair and should have been aware of the chicanery that characterized the whole operation.

In January of this year Secretary Rusk, at a press conference, was questioned by Clark Mollenhoff of the Cowles Publications as to why perjury charges had not been referred to the Justice Department in the cases of Reilly, Belisle, and Hill:

MOLLENHOFF. Well, it has not been sent to the Department of Justice, and they were informed, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the criminal division in the last week or two has informed a member of Congress that it has not been referred to the Department of Justice.

Secretary RUSK. Well, that it not my recollection of it four years ago. But nevertheless . . .

The above answer by Secretary Rusk indicates that he had not been aware of the many ramifications of the case and that he had not followed the developments closely. This would be understandable if the case had been referred for handling to Mr. Ball.

It is also my understanding that more information concerning Mr. Ball's part in the Otepka case will be brought to public attention next week.

The crux of the issue concerning Mr. Ball and the phone monitoring facility boils down to this: Regardless of whether Mr. Ball was aware of any facility or device, did he:

First. Authorize, direct, or approve, electronic security people to monitor or listen in on telephone conversations of certain State Department employees, or journalists?

Second. Receive any reports from electronic security people or the Director of Security of the Department of State concerning any monitored conversations of any State Department employees or journalists?

Mr. Ball should be made to answer these questions—this time under oath—before he is confirmed as the Ambassador to the United Nations.

COURAGEOUS GOV. LURLEEN WALLACE

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully include the following telegram which I have sent to the Honorable George Wallace on learning of the passing of his lovely wife, Lurleen, Governor of Alabama:

Hon. GEORGE WALLACE,
Montgomery, Ala.:

It is with real sorrow we have learned of the passing of your lovely wife, Gov. Lurleen Wallace, of Alabama. She certainly was a lovely, courageous person whom we all admired. She has left a heritage which every American woman can look to in high honor and pride.

JIM FULTON,
Congressman from Pennsylvania.

SENATE—*Monday, May 13, 1968*

The Senate met at 10 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rev. Carl H. Douglass, Jr., minister, Duncan Memorial Methodist Church, Ashland, Va., offered the following prayer:

Dear Father of all men, who loves us more than we know and who is nearer than we suspect: we pray for ourselves, for our loved ones, and for our enemies; we pray for our Nation and our world. Heal our wounds and teach us the way of brotherhood.

We confess that we are small in mind, slow in deed, and often cowards before the truth. Make us humble that we might learn the more; save us from the pinched mind and the loud mouth. Deliver us from taking our honors more seriously than our responsibilities.

Give us self-respect that we might be able to respect all persons. Give us a vision that includes more than our own way. Give us principles that center on persons. Make us both kind and brave. And give us an awareness of Thy presence that carries us through our small day to Thy everlasting light. In Thy name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, May 10, 1968, be dispensed with.

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

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

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

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in