

tered, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 21 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, May 17, 1968, at 12 noon.

**NOMINATIONS**

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 16, 1968:

**NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION**

The following-named persons to be members of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for a term expiring May 10, 1974:

Philip Handler, of North Carolina, reappointment.

Harvey Brooks, of Massachusetts, reappointment.

Norman Hackerman of Texas, vice Rufus E. Clement, deceased.

Frederick E. Smith, of Michigan, vice Henry Eyring, term expired.

R. H. Bing, of Wisconsin, vice Katharine Elizabeth McBride, term expired.

William A. Fowler, of California, vice Edward James McShane, term expired.

Grover Murray, of Texas, vice Edward Lawrie Tatum, term expired.

James G. March, of California, vice Ralph Winfred Tyler, term expired.

**POSTMASTERS**

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

**ARKANSAS**

Tharold O. Galloway, Armorel, Ark., in place of G. M. Vinson, retired.

**CALIFORNIA**

Wanda J. Robertson, Cantua Creek, Calif., in place of V. M. Norton, retired.

Larelda G. Heim, Silverado, Calif., in place of I. M. Odem, retired.

**DELAWARE**

Joseph L. Marshall, Lewes, Del., in place of A. L. Brittingham, deceased.

**IOWA**

Robert L. Kerkvliet, Larchwood, Iowa, in place of B. F. Snyder, transferred.

Keith W. Davis, Malcolm, Iowa, in place of P. D. Varnum, transferred.

**KANSAS**

Geraldine M. Samms, Sylvia, Kans., in place of D. L. Long, resigned.

**KENTUCKY**

Noah C. Adkins, Jackson, Ky., in place of J. T. Allen, retired.

Elizabeth W. Meredith, Smiths Grove, Ky., in place of W. H. Meredith, deceased.

**MAINE**

Wilfred A. Weed, Deer Isle, Maine, in place of L. C. Weed, deceased.

**MARYLAND**

Randolph L. Wallace, Cecilton, Md., in place of M. B. Boulden, retired.

**MASSACHUSETTS**

Russell A. Pejouhy, Jr., North Pembroke, Mass., in place of E. H. Turner, retired.

**MICHIGAN**

Homer L. Blamer, Atlanta, Mich., in place of Waldo Whitehead, retired.

Elwood F. Barkkari, Chassell, Mich., in place of J. H. Sauvola, retired.

Thomas S. Dzarnowski, Gaastra, Mich., in place of W. M. Duff, retired.

Thomas A. Greene, Kinde, Mich., in place of M. L. Yaroch, retired.

Sidney D. Reinbold, Pellston, Mich., in place of Paul Grobaski, retired.

Benjamin L. Bement, Webberville, Mich., in place of H. H. Johns, deceased.

**MINNESOTA**

John F. Hughes, Marble, Minn., in place of C. J. Passard, retired.

**NORTH CAROLINA**

Mamie B. Hartman, Advance, N.C., in place of G. T. Ratledge, retired.

Frances J. Dennis, Star, N.C., in place of A. E. Maness, retired.

**OHIO**

Darrel I. Kesselmayr, Holgate, Ohio, in place of C. E. Archambeault, retired.

**OREGON**

Bessie E. Wells, Merlin, Oreg., in place of R. I. Lendberg, retired.

**PENNSYLVANIA**

Wilma J. Lacey, Buena Vista, Pa., in place of H. E. Schwirian, resigned.

Henry A. Hebda, Kane, Pa., in place of V. N. Deane, transferred.

Basil A. Freeman, Port Allegany, Pa., in place of E. W. Anderson, retired.

**SOUTH DAKOTA**

Virgil K. Djonne, Clear Lake, S. Dak., in place of R. L. Chambers, retired.

Warren W. Sinkler, Wood, S. Dak., in place of E. A. Sinkler, retired.

**TEXAS**

Elizabeth R. Griffis, Italy, Tex., in place of G. F. Sheppard, retired.

Thomas J. Leatherwood, Sr., Tyler, Tex., in place of F. M. Bell, deceased.

David M. Sears, Wolfforth, Tex., in place of C. D. Gamble, resigned.

**WEST VIRGINIA**

Robert L. Noll, Martinsburg, W. Va., in place of M. S. Eckerd, deceased.

George A. Biggs, Point Pleasant, W. Va., in place of O. K. Burdette, retired.

**WISCONSIN**

Roland L. Holtz, Algoma, Wis., in place of Q. M. Groessl, retired.

**WYOMING**

John D. Tennant, Rock Springs, Wyo., in place of S. A. Grobon, deceased.

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

**SALUTE TO SMALL BUSINESS**

**HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, this week we are celebrating National Small Business Week, saluting this Nation's small businessmen. And indeed, we should salute the small business community.

People in public office are prone to take the credit when times are good. But I think that all of us in Congress can appreciate that credit for the matchless prosperity we have enjoyed for the past 86 months belongs as much—if not more—to the private sector than to the public agencies. A lion's share of the credit rightfully belongs to the small businessmen of the United States.

There are good reasons why I feel this is so.

There are more than 5 million small businessmen in this country;

They make up 95 percent of all American businesses;

These small businesses employ four out of 10 of all our wage earners;

And they provide family income for more than 75 million Americans.

Such is the prominent place small business occupies in our economy.

And in a nation whose very beginning sprung from the concept of individual initiative and free enterprise, the dream of being one's own boss is still strong and bright.

In an age where big corporations have developed and mergers are the order of the day, small business faces many critical problems. Congress—knowing the right of the individual to own his own business and pursue his dream must be protected—created the Small Business Administration, charging the agency to preserve and expand free enterprise.

The Small Business Administration is fulfilling the mandate of Congress. The spirit of the agency is one of dedication to its goals; of seeking new ways to combat the ever-changing problems inherent in a rapidly expanding country.

The agency has made \$5.3 billion available to more than 117,000 borrowers through its financial assistance programs—regular business loans, economic opportunity loans for businessmen in poverty-stricken areas, local development company loans, displaced business

loans for companies forced to move because of federally aided projects, disaster loans. And about 42 percent of the \$5.3 billion—\$2.2 billion—came from the private sector.

SBA's local development company loan program, which has assisted more than 1,500 projects principally in smaller communities across the country, has produced more than 64,000 jobs since the program began in 1958. It is easily conceivable those jobs are now putting \$300 million a year into the economy.

The Small Business Administration programs are not confined, as many might think, to the urban areas alone. In fact, SBA activity in rural communities has increased substantially since 1963.

President Johnson has said:

Not just sentiment demands that we do more to help our farm and rural communities . . . the welfare of this Nation demands it.

The Small Business Administration has responded to the challenge. And not only through financial assistance.

For communities far away from an SBA regional office, circuit riders make regular trips to advise local businessmen

and bankers of the help SBA offers. Their visits are well publicized, so that as many people as can be assisted during the circuit rider's visit. In my district in the past 11 months, says SBA Regional Director Bob Strauss, circuit riders have made some 20 visits to eight cities—Redding, Chico, Yreka, Red Bluff, Auburn, Placerville, Bishop, Susanville, and Alturas—working with members of the chamber of commerce, local bankers, and small businessmen.

SBA offers, too, management training in the form of workshops and problem clinics. During this past 11 months in my district, there were six problem clinics held in Butte County, two problem clinics in Tehama County; a workshop and a problem clinic in both Lassen and Modoc Counties.

You have heard, I know, of SBA's very successful SCORE program, the corps of retired businessmen who volunteer their time and expertise to help and advise small businessmen.

SCORE volunteers have been working very hard in the Second Congressional District of California. They have been active this past year in 14 cities: Roseville, Chico, Georgetown, Placerville, Redding, Tahoe City, Sonora, Gridley, Etna, Auburn, Grass Valley, Oroville, Red Bluff, and Paradise.

These services, though they do not involve financial assistance, mean a great deal to our small businessmen.

You might think that all I have told you is a pretty big package. But here is the wrapping on the package. The advisory council.

Our Northern California Small Business Advisory Council, like its counterparts all over the United States, has worked diligently to develop strong lines of communication among the private sector, small business and the Small Business Administration.

Men like William Ealy, of Yreka; Colby Smith, of Redding; and Mayor C. L. Weisker, of Oroville, all members of the Northern California Small Business Advisory Council, and Nick Mandich, of Bishop; a member of the Southern California Small Business Advisory Council, devote a great deal of time and effort to the preservation of our small businesses.

We have heard SBA Administrator Robert C. Moot express the conviction that the key to an expanding balanced economy is the small businessman.

I share that conviction. The small businessman has to work for his community as well as for himself. He has to compete—to fight for his standing in the marketplace. As long as he does both, and as long as the marketplace gives him an equal competitive break, he will continue to succeed—and the American way of life will continue to flourish.

In the words of the President, in his 1968 proclamation of American History Month:

The history of the United States is not a record of blind forces sweeping human beings relentlessly along to an unknown destiny. It is the story of countless individuals whose success and sacrifice converted an idea into a free nation.

## NEED FOR ONE-STOP EDUCATIONAL SERVICE CENTERS

### HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on February 15, 1967, in a Senate address, I urged that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare establish one-stop service centers for school officials both in Washington and in Office of Education regional offices throughout the Nation. Such centers would be able to furnish information and make appropriate references not only on programs administered by the Office of Education and other divisions of HEW, but also on education programs administered by other agencies; for example, the National Science Foundation, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Veterans' Administration, and the Department of Defense, to cite the principal agencies with education programs. Some local education agencies and administrators, for example, pay as much as \$500 annually to keep abreast of Federal programs.

The information service which I suggested is now being put into effect by HEW.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Secretary Cohen, detailing the agency's efforts in this regard, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is to be congratulated for this step forward.

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

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,  
Washington, D.C., April 18, 1968.

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: Thank you for your letter of March 18 requesting a progress report on our study of the feasibility of establishing "one-stop" departmental information centers.

I am happy to inform you that such a departmental center has been established on the first floor of the HEW North Building and that remodeling will be completed and the center will be fully operational in midsummer. The U.S. Office of Education has established an OE information center as well.

In addition, the Department has been able to improve the information services provided by its regional offices and hopes to further improve them in the future.

In my letter to you of January 25, 1967, I outlined some of the additional steps being taken to provide information and assistance to local school officials. Since then, we have intensified our efforts to simplify and clarify communications between the Federal Government and State and local education agencies.

Several task forces in the Office of Education are working toward the establishment of greater uniformity in regulations, report forms, and other documents. In addition, we are moving toward the concept of "package" legislation which would group programs with common objectives into single

measures. A good example is the Education Professions Development Act. We have proposed the same approach with regard to student financial assistance and vocational education programs.

Please let me know if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

WILBUR J. COHEN,  
Acting Secretary.

## WHERE WE STAND NEAR THE OCEAN

### HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have the distinct privilege of bringing to the attention of my colleagues a recent speech delivered at the town hall meeting in Los Angeles by Mr. T. R. Gillenwaters, the oceanic adviser to Governor Reagan of California.

Colan Gillenwaters is one of the most able men in America in the field of ocean resources and is eminently qualified to speak on the vast and unlimited potential for development these resources can provide for America and mankind.

In representing a coastal district in northern California, I can testify to the fact that our people are becoming increasingly aware of this potential and have expressed their desire to accelerate our efforts toward exploitation, enhancement, and programing of these ocean resources.

Technological advancements during this past decade have been of such magnitude that equipment for ocean resource development permits literally unlimited opportunities.

This paper by Colonel Gillenwaters, on behalf of Lt. Gov. Bob Finch, is very timely and should be read fully and carefully by Members of Congress and our citizenry desirous of keeping abreast of the latest information in the ocean resource field.

The text of the paper follows:

#### WHERE WE STAND NEAR THE OCEAN

(By T. R. Gillenwaters, oceanic adviser to the Governor and staff)

California is greater in population, financial and resource availability than 111 of the 140 nations of the world. In this perspective let us think of our state as a nation. Particularly in view of our ocean potential and what the administration plans for it.

Of the major elements of ocean resources, I prefer to emphasize only four: first, our national defense; second, ocean transportation, including harbor and port development; third, living resources, including commercial and sport fishing and aquaculture; and fourth, the non-living resources which include oil, mining, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, recreation and water. For the purpose of discussion let us not consider recreation as part of the social overhead. Let us reason that the cost of recreation should be considered on a cost effectiveness basis and with few exceptions should be planned, developed, and operated as a business.

After many years of inexcusable neglect, our national oceanographic program is now

receiving considerable attention. The Marine Science and Engineering Development Act of 1966 passed by Congress has resulted in the publication of the First and Second reports on Marine Affairs which are now available from U.S. Printing Office. California has made a major contribution to this national effort through the development of the finest corps of scientific and technological manpower to be found anywhere in the world. Our state challenge is to provide programs that will result in the utilization of this unique asset. We must accelerate its conversion to dollar input to the gross national product.

Recently, some politicians have been rightly accused of trying to pull a well known Russian trick on the Spanish explorer Balboa by claiming they "discovered the Pacific Ocean." It is now obvious the Russians long ago discovered the validity of an ancient prediction, "He who controls the seas controls the world." In the January, 1968, issue of Marine Engineering, Vice Admiral McCain, Jr., is quoted: "In 1960 the Soviets were in eleventh place among the fleets of the world; by 1965 they were in sixth place. By 1971, with a projected 10 million tons added to their merchant fleet, Soviet superiority over the U.S. may be 2-1. While the Soviet merchant marine has increased from 4.9 million dwt in 1960 to 9.6 million in 1965, it confidently expects to have the world's largest fleet (20 million dwt) by 1980. Today 80 percent of the Soviet fleet is less than 10 years old, while 70 percent of all U.S. flag cargo ships are more than 20 years old."

There is some comfort in the fact that many of our leading maritime authorities and some of our industrial organizations are determined to overcome this dangerous gap by the better utilization of modern technology. The broadest adaptation of modern technology in the form of harbor facility improvement, containerized cargo handling, systems approach to ship building, utilization of hover-craft, and uniquely designed submarine cargo tankage appear to be our only chance to compete during the coming decades. In order to accomplish these improvements in the shortest possible time, we must devise broader incentive methods for the involvement of private enterprise.

This same principle will apply to the remaining major elements of ocean resources to which I have previously referred, but time does not permit further details at this point.

Early in 1967 Governor Reagan re-activated the Governor's Advisory Commission on Ocean Resources. This commission was composed of Californians of international and national prominence in the field of oceanic, industrial, educational and research activities. Dr. David S. Potter of the General Motors Defense Research Laboratory, Santa Barbara, served as chairman.

In August, 1967, acting upon the recommendation of the Commission the Governor created, by executive order 67-25, the Inter-agency Council for Ocean Resources and appointed Lt. Governor Robert Finch, Chairman. He also appointed as members, Honorable Houston Flournoy, Chairman of the State Lands Commission, Honorable Norman Livermore, Administrator of the Resources Agency, Honorable Gordon Luce, Administrator of the Transportation Agency, and Honorable Spencer Williams, Administrator of the Health and Welfare Agency. The responsibility of the Council is to maintain the coordination of ocean projects, establish priorities and designate lead agencies within government. In addition, it is to maintain liaison with the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development and other federal agencies.

The legislature with the concurrence of the Reagan Administration enacted the Marine Resource Conservation and Development Act

of 1967, the first such state act in the Nation. This act gave the Governor a mandate to prepare and submit to the 1969 legislature a Comprehensive Ocean Resources Plan (CORP). The act states "it is the policy of the State of California to develop, encourage, and maintain a comprehensive, coordinated state plan for the orderly, long-range conservation and development of marine and coastal resources which will ensure their wise multiple use in the total public interest."

Of course, we are expected to accomplish the following at once and without money, (a) preserve all living resources of the ocean for sportsmen, biologists, scuba divers, surfers, commercial fishermen, and wildlife enthusiasts, all this in spite of the fact that the Russians and Japanese operating modern trawlers and floating fish processing plants are now ranging freely up and down our coast just off the 12 mile limit, and, (b) in addition we are to increase our foreign trade without building any modern vessels or modernizing our ports, we must be prepared to desalinate one billion gallons of new water per day without building atomic plants along our coast, they could possibly destroy the natural environment (obviously an impossible feat under present conditions).

Enough for the satire. We must, however, face up to the facts—the environmental diet of our burgeoning population must be accommodated in an orderly manner. This implies multiple use of our limited ocean resources. Unless we develop sound management programs now we cannot hope to meet the demands of 30 million residents in 1980 plus multi-millions of tourists. As an example, one day last month, in a limited ocean area, 5000 salmon were caught by sportsmen and checked in by the Department of Fish and Game.

Fortunately, we have the technology to contend with most ocean resource problems but we have not developed a method of equitable funding of the required projects. We have the proven technology for profitable offshore oil production and soon the same will be true of mining, underwater living and related activities. We have the need, we have the manpower, (scientific, engineering) and the resources. A plan coupled with financing is required. We must recognize that neither the federal, state nor community governments can meet this challenge my way of traditional taxation methods so we must look elsewhere.

Having clearly in mind the urgency for developing our ocean resources, the state administration is taking into consideration the advice of such well known individuals as Dr. Simon Ramo, who on February 2 publicly suggested the creation of a public-private company, also proposed by Dr. Ray Jallo, Vice President and Senior Economist of United California Bank. Dr. Jallo stated on February 18, 1968: "The newly advanced suggestion of the establishment of a public-private company on the order of Comsat for oceanographic research and development should be given serious consideration. . . . The mixed enterprise for a specific purpose has many advantages: (1) public-private companies will provide an excellent opportunity for business, government and labor to work together toward the solution of social and economic problems in areas where such cooperation is necessary and workable."

With the approval of the administration we have been exploring this approach and now recommend it as essential. It appears logical that once we begin to think of the ocean as one massive "public utility" that must be managed for the greatest good of the people of California, the problems of multiple use will come into better focus. In the use of the ocean no one segment of our populace can be favored to the exclusion of all others.

The nearshore resources are now being inventoried. Once we are able to identify those that qualify for investor financing, as opposed to purely sociological overhead development, then the public-private corporation will definitely be justified and hopefully come into being. To develop our ocean resources it is estimated that \$500,000,000 of investment capital can be utilized over the next 7 years. This figure does not include the primary costs of harbor dredging, military expenditures nor the multitude of on-going ocean related projects or those contemplated by the federal government through the Navy, U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Bureau of Reclamation and some 23 other agencies or departments. It does not include the present and future commitments by existing corporations.

The proposed California Ocean Resources Corporation (CORC) must follow a secure and conservative course, deriving one half of the invested dollar from the individual investor and one half from the industrial sector. It is planned that the individual and corporate investors will elect an equal number of directors and others will be appointed by the Governor and approved by the Senate. Under no circumstances will this public-private corporation usurp local jurisdiction nor will it be in competition as an operator. In operation it can be compared to the original concept of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation before it became prostituted by an irresponsible bureaucracy. The California Ocean Resources Corporation (CORC) will be subject to legislative scrutiny but must always be controlled by the investors who furnish the money.

On Friday, April 5, Assemblyman Pete Wilson of San Diego introduced Assembly Bill 1470 and Assembly Joint Resolution 31 calling for the establishment of a public-private corporation as described above and hearings will be held soon after May 6.

We must expand our defense, double our harbor tonnage, triple our harvest of living resources and quadruple our returns from the ocean's non-living resources including water by 1980. To do this we must utilize the best of management methods supported by the leverage of invested funds.

California has been the Nation's leading maritime state for many years. Now we must enlarge that leadership and expand our influence not only into the Pacific Rim countries but around the globe. We have the greatest accumulation of technology and science in the world. Incorporating these with the proper planning and funding, our wondrous ocean will become a treasured utility of indefinite duration.

TRIBUTE TO CHARLES A. MORAN,  
ATLANTA, GA.

### HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the Georgia House of Representatives in its recent session of the general assembly recognized Hon. Charles A. Moran for the dedicated service that he has rendered the State.

I join the legislature in commending Mr. Moran, and ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the house of representatives be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

H. RES. 814

Resolution commending Hon. Charles A. Moran; and for other purposes

Whereas, Charles A. Moran, native Atlantan, disabled overseas veteran, a retired State employee, last September was invested a Knight of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, the first and only layman in Georgia to receive this distinction; and

Whereas, the Order of the Holy Sepulchre reportedly dates from St. James the Apostle, the first Bishop of Jerusalem; and

Whereas, during the Georgia Bi-Centennial he planted a dogwood tree on the Capitol grounds adjacent to the General Gordon Monument which attracts many local people and tourists each year; and

Whereas, as a member of patriotic groups he has been active in the area of Americanism, exposing and focusing attention of our fellow Georgians on the Communist menace; he was actively interested in having the words "under God" included in the Pledge to the Flag, reference to it appearing in the Congressional Record at the time; and

Whereas, to spark the flame of continuing patriotism in all and to promote nationwide unity, a love of God, Country and Flag, he became the originator of the Hall of Flags in our Capitol building which daily attracts visitors from many states; and

Whereas, for several years he was actively interested in the Youth of the Community, escorting some of the Pop Warner Junior League Football Teams to be recognized by this body after having been received by the Governor; and

Whereas, he has requested that legislation be effected to refer to our Flag as the "U.S. Flag" and/or the "Flag of the United States".

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives that this body does hereby salute fellow-Georgian Commander Charles A. Moran of Atlanta for his display of citizenship and heartily congratulates him in being invested a Knight of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.

Be it further resolved that the Clerk of the House of Representatives is hereby authorized and instructed to transmit an appropriate copy of this Resolution to Commander Charles A. Moran.

Read and adopted in House, March 4, 1968.  
GLENN W. ELLARD, Clerk.

## A PARLIAMENTARIAN'S VIEW OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 1968, Representative GEORGE P. MILLER delivered an address to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France. This organization comprises parliamentarians from the countries of Western Europe and is an important forum for international cooperation. Mr. MILLER was especially invited because of the work in national science policy which has been accomplished by his Committee on Science and Astronautics. He was accompanied by Mr. Richard A. Carpenter, senior specialist in the Science Policy Research Division of the Legislative Reference Service.

The Council of Europe is concerned with the role which parliamentarians can play in overcoming some of the disparities between the United States and Europe in scientific and technological fields.

Mr. MILLER's address, "A Parliamentarian's View of Science and Technology," and the response by the rapporteur for the Consultative Assembly, Mr. Sven Gustafson, and a member of the Parliament of Sweden, constitute a revealing account of the opportunities for useful exchanges of views among the legislators of various nations.

I commend the attention of the House to the texts of the remarks which follow:

### A PARLIAMENTARIAN'S VIEW OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

(Address by the Honorable GEORGE P. MILLER, chairman, Committee on Science and Astronautics, to the Consultative Assembly, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France, May 8, 1968)

I am very pleased to represent the United States Congress in this discussion of science policy today. It is an honor to meet with the consultative assembly and a great pleasure to see old friends and to begin new friendships.

Our theme for this meeting is, and I quote, "disparities between the USA and Europe in the scientific and technological fields—ways and means of remedying them." I wish to emphasize remedies and not disparities, for I feel the latter have been so well documented, "demystified," and discussed that we are all ready to proceed to a more positive, constructive debate.

I commend the organization for economic cooperation and development for its thorough study and your colleague, Mr. Gustafson, for his excellent review which you have before you.

We have seen that technology does not flow evenly throughout the world. The fruits of technology do not appear uniformly in every country, State or geographical region. I can assure you that these disparities are just as troublesome among jurisdictions within the United States as they are between continents.

The transfer of technological information is a subject of much concern to us. It is at the heart of the disparity problem. It is also a subject which we should be able to do something about without encountering great political questions. The remedy lies in standardized information handling procedures implemented through electronic data processing techniques. I am pleased to learn of the OECD effort in technology transfer which is getting under way. We have an experimental program in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration which is beginning to indicate the most useful procedures and techniques. I look forward to the closest cooperation among the developed nations to increase technology transfer.

The use of technology (regardless of wherever it may have originated) is the more crucial problem. The use of technology depends on a climate for innovation within a country or State. This climate can be changed and controlled as the leadership and people of a nation grow to understand science and technology. The simple message I bring today is that the parliamentarian has a vital role to play in constructing a climate in which technology will thrive. My experience of 24 years in the Congress, coinciding with the explosive growth of technology, suggests a few observations which I would share with you. The answers are not all in hand, I assure you. But some of our activities appear pertinent to the discussion.

### POLICY FOR SCIENCE AND SCIENCE FOR POLICY

Science policy in the United States, as in other countries, comprises two aspects. First,

policy for science means the management principles which assure the health of the Nation's scientific activities. This sort of policy involves basic research, science education, experimental facilities and apparatus, and scientific and technical information systems. Science is not a function of government, but research is supported by public funds on the basis of the eventual, if unspecified, benefits to society. An important aspect of these benefits concerns the training and education of highly skilled manpower.

The second aspect is science in support of policy. This means that virtually all goals and functions of a modern government are to some extent affected by science and technology. National policies lead to missions which are carried out by designated agencies. Analysis of the mission requirements frequently indicates that research and development are necessary and can be justified in practical terms of achieving the stated goal.

Since the U.S. Congress participates fully in the origination and formulation of national goals, the legislative branch has a direct concern with the ways in which science can be applied in their pursuit. The separation and balance of authority under our Constitution through the executive, legislative and judicial branches, through the bicameral system in the Congress, and through the two-party political system, means that science policy is the result of diverse and numerous viewpoints. Further diversity comes about since the majority of government R & D expenditures is to support a variety of missions. Thus, U.S. science policy is a mosaic of individual policies which stem from national goals expressing the general aims of our democracy.

The impacts which the Congress and the government can have on science are dominated by that of Federal funding for research and development. The total R & D performed in the United States in 1968 is estimated at about \$25 billion, 80% of which is development. Federal obligations will be \$16.7 billion or two-thirds of the total. Of these government funds, about \$10 billion will go to private industry. Thus, Federal science policies are a major factor even in non-government laboratories.

Other governmental impacts on science include tax credits for privately funded R & D, patent laws, and anti monopoly policies. The so-called climate for innovation is affected by a variety of legislative actions, often in a subtle manner.

### Changing congressional attitudes toward science

The United States learned the benefits of science applied to national goals during World War II. After that period, in 1950, the National Science Foundation was established to provide government patronage for research. Congressional approval was based on an acceptance that market place economics and private funds would not support a level of scientific effort which was necessary in an increasingly technical world. The motivations, at that stage, were chiefly those of faith that basic knowledge will find application in due time, and fear that insufficient scientific activity will deprive the nation of a base for industrial and military technology.

In this period most of the large expenditures were for security-classified projects in military or atomic energy programs. Public debate was rare and science policy was not a widely discussed issue in the Congress.

In 1957, the space age began an enormous awakening of public interest in science. At about the same time, the biological effects of radioactive debris from atomic weapon testing were vigorously debated. These implications of research led to increased scientific literacy in the electorate. The Congress responded by establishing standing committees, the Science and Astronautics Committee in the House of Representatives and the Aero-

nautical and Space Sciences Committee in the Senate.

More recently, the uses of technology in solving a great variety of problems for society have broadened the congressional interest in science policy. Air and water pollution abatement, education, crime detection and prevention, and transportation are examples of public goods and services which depend on scientific ingenuity and technological development. As these issues are debated, the Congress has required a vastly greater amount of technical information to integrate with social, political, legal and economic factors in arriving at legislative decisions. Mr. Gustafson has noted similar concern in European nations in attacking these complex social problems through more effective use of science and technology. I believe that this is an area where increased cooperation among our member countries can occur at an early date and produce meaningful results.

#### SCIENCE ADVICE FOR THE CONGRESS

In order to elaborate and control science policy, the Congress has equipped itself with a variety of information sources. Since scientists and engineers often do not agree among themselves on technical issues, a number of inputs are well warranted. The legislative branch is unlikely to contain any significant percentage of members with formal training and experience in science. However, members tend to specialize in certain programs and within a short time become quite familiar with the technical issues. In our Congress, committees are entrusted to study these matters in depth and report to the parent body with recommendations for action.

Advice for the Congress does not imply any abdication of responsibility for judgment. In fact, there are few issues which are purely technical. The scientific information is simply added to other factors in policy formation.

The executive branch offices are a major source of scientific and technical information. By means of public hearings, congressional committees can elicit comment and explanation on R & D programs in an atmosphere of an adversary proceeding. Questions and background material provided by the committee staffs bring about a probing of issues which penetrates the "salesmanship" of agency proponents to a great extent.

Independent information sources include trade associations, industrial contractors, professional societies, and university representatives. Persons and groups affected by specific legislation will quite naturally submit testimony. Invitations are issued to experts whose opinions are desired and who may be more or less free from vested interest.

In addition to these information sources, the Congress established, in 1964, a science policy research division in the legislative reference service of the Library of Congress. This group of 18 professional scientists and engineers acts as a bridge between the Congress and the scientific community. Answers are provided to factual inquiries from individual legislators and committees. But more importantly, major science policy issues are analyzed in a pro-and-con fashion to give the member as complete and objective a background as is possible.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

The legislative process includes three steps which affect national science policy. First, the authorizing function of the legislative branch often brings new programs into existence. Some scientific agencies operate under continuing authorization (e.g., the National Science Foundation, the National Bureau of Standards). The National Aeronautics and Space Administration must receive authorization of its program each year. Changes in emphasis and redirection have resulted from

the accompanying hearings. The recent increased attention to environmental quality has come about through congressionally inspired amendments to air and water pollution laws. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy conducts a detailed annual approval review of the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission. Thus, by authorization, new legislation or amendments, the Congress may propose and originate science policies.

Second, the appropriations function is a powerful means of directing the course of research and development. Projects of the executive branch which are endorsed by authorization may yet be delayed, or reduced in scope, or eliminated by an appropriations committee. Alternatively, additional funds over and above what are requested and authorized may be provided.

The results of committee actions in authorizing and funding science may be modified by conferences between the House of Representatives and the Senate, and further changed by floor debate during the passage of the legislation. Currently, science is being challenged at every juncture as a possible place to cut costs during this period of fiscal constraint. The gathering together of R & D budgets to give a coherent picture of Federal obligations has long been an efficient management scheme for the Government. But now this \$17 billion total is viewed as one of the few controllable expenses and is subjected to constant scrutiny. Unfortunately, the premise is wrong, for it has been shown that about 90% of this total is in mission support work. To cut R & D funds any appreciable extent would be to limit the capabilities of the agencies involved to accomplish their missions. National goals which the economy minded might support very strongly would not be achieved. For example, of the \$17 billion Federal R & D budget for fiscal year 1968, \$7.8 billion is for the Department of Defense. Of that figure, \$5.6 billion is for development, not research. So the amount of the "science budget" which could be pared without seriously effecting operational projects is much less than is often proposed.

Finally, the legislative process includes an overview function—to continually assess the performance of Government agencies, to search for "gaps and overlaps," to foster coordination when projects cross agency lines, and to seek the maximum benefit from tax dollars spent for science.

In recent years the Congress has established the Office of Science and Technology in the Executive Office of the President with an expressed purpose of reporting to the Congress on science policy matters. This office is responsible for coordination of Federal agency R & D activities and its director testifies frequently before committees of both Houses.

A major coordinating effort of the Congress has been the instigation of a national system for scientific and technical information. Beginning in 1961, the Congress has continually fostered improved information exchange as a means of increasing the efficiency of R & D and preventing needless duplication.

The above are two examples of legislative attempts to counteract the fragmentation of science policy among the executive departments and agencies. However, a similar division occurs among the committees of the Congress. The coordination of legislative approaches to science policy is a growing problem. Informal meetings between committee chairmen may be effective. Joint hearings and joint committees are infrequently used devices which can bring concerted action. Sources of advice themselves can provide a coordinating effect on a particular issue as they are sought by various members and committees. The all-pervading nature of science and technology in American civilization means that science policies are as varied and diffused as are the uses of science.

In conclusion may I reiterate: the climate of understanding and appreciation of technological potential can be greatly influenced by the parliamentarian. He called direct the application of science to serve his constituents; and he can lead the public to underwrite the risks of innovation. And these influences can lead to national attitudes which will reduce disparities in the use of technology throughout the world.

#### INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN A U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AND THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY, MAY 1968

Mr. GUSTAFSON. It is a privilege for us to have among us today the Chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives, the honorable George P. Miller. He is the member of Congress who has the most thorough knowledge of scientific policy and I have heard many American experts say that nothing can be done in the field of science and astronautics unless Mr. Miller approves it. We have all read with great interest and may I add with some envy the report of the U.S. Congress and Science Policy presented by Mr. Miller. When Mr. Miller tells us that since 1964 there is a Science Policy Research Division in the Library of Congress with 18 professional scientists and engineers acting as a bridge between the Congress and the scientific community—we understand that we in Europe have much to learn. A European scientist said in one of the very interesting panels organized by Mr. Miller's Committee "Parliaments are in many countries a brake on scientific development while the US Congress has become part of the motor bringing science to bear on the future. Almost everywhere in Europe Servan-Schreiber's book "Le Defi Americain—The American Challenge—is the subject of discussion. More than half a million copies only in France show how burning this question is. Servan-Schreiber's book is of great value as a means of catching the imagination not only of the politicians but also of the public opinion. However, we must not let it create a European inferiority complex towards the USA. There is a great potential in Europe both in the financial and technological fields. What we in Europe must learn is to translate it into action. I am not going to repeat the survey of the studies undertaken in different organisations regarding the so-called technological gap and the US investments in Europe. I would only mention three facts which should not be forgotten:

1. It is true that US investments in Europe are very big and have been increasing. But Christopher Layton has shown in his book Transatlantic Investments that the European long-term investments in the USA are of the same size. The big difference however is that while European investors mostly are sleeping partners in US corporation the US investors establish new, US-owned industries in Europe. If instead part of the European money were used to establish Europe-owned subsidiaries or new industries in the U.S.A. the whole picture would change;

2. It is true that U.S.A. spends much more money on R. and D. than does Europe. The newest figures show 110 dollars per capita in USA and about 30 in Europe. It is also true that many more scientists and engineers are engaged in R. and D. in USA than in Europe. However, the OECD report published in March this year gives us the rather sensational news that if you take into consideration all the engineers engaged in industry the European figures are higher than the American. The OECD report draws the conclusion that the European effort in technological education surpasses the United States efforts in both relative and absolute terms.

3. The OECD study has shown that there does not exist one single technological gap. Of eight sectors of industry investigated by

the OECD there is a gap of United States advantage in a few very important research-intensive fields whereas in other sectors no US superiority can be found.

However, we recently received some alarming figures from a US Congressional Committee as regards the so-called "brain drain". At the OECD ministerial meeting in March as well as in other organizations the emigration to the USA of about 2000 European scientists and engineers per year has caused grave concern. The new US figures show about 2200 in 1965, 2700 in 1966 and 4200 in 1967. I would appreciate it very much if Mr. Miller would tell us whether he regards the 1967 figure as an exception or as evidence of a new trend. I know that the new immigration laws in the USA will influence the future development and might even put a stop to the European "brain drain" during the next few years and I am sure that we all would be grateful for further information regarding this very important question.

Mr. President, as I see it we are in the beginning of a new industrial revolution. We are going forward at a tremendous speed. Let me give one illustration. In paragraph 15 of my paper I mention that in 1966 27,000 computers were operating in the USA compared with 6,000 in Europe. I have now got the US figure for 1967. It shows 40,000 computers in the USA compared with 27,000 the year before. Certainly we must see to it that we in Europe are not left behind. We cannot solve the industrial problems of tomorrow by using yesterday's technology.

Now what should be done to remedy the disparities. Before turning to the specific proposals in my report I would make a general observation. We in Europe should spend much more money on research and development not in order to try to match the Americans but because of the fact that it is the most profitable investment. Further we must have much more co-operation. Still there are often water-tight compartments between the European countries (also within the EEC) as well as between universities and industry.

But above all we must pay much more attention to the questions of management and of financing industrial expansion. It has often been said that the "technological gap" is to a very large extent a "managerial gap". It is not enough to make an invention. The invention must be transformed to an innovation and developed into a product that can be sold on the market at a competitive price. One of the points that emerge from the OECD studies is the frequency with which inventions and discoveries made in Europe have been left neglected and unexploited for long periods of time, only to be applied in the end by an innovator in the USA. There is nothing wrong with the quality of the European research but it is not properly organized and it is not integrated in the full innovation cycle.

Now we come across a very difficult question indeed. To what extent should Europe have its own research and development and to what extent should it import technology from abroad. Up to the middle of this decade at least US superiority had not had an adverse effect on the overall economic growth in Europe or on its world trade. Most European countries managed to increase their share of world exports. The explanation is, of course, that the European countries have drawn on the US innovations, a fact which is clearly shown by the growing deficit in the European balance-of-payments for patents and licences.

Of course we must try to avoid duplication of work. It has been rightly said that there is no need to invent a mouse trap twice. As I said just now an innovation can be made on the basis of research in other countries.

But if Europe should be as dependent on US fundamental research as is for instance Japan, we would run the risk of always lagging behind and would be able to enter trade in research-intensive industries only from

the technology is well established and the innovative element in competition is replaced by more traditional elements of advantage. And this takes some years. We should remember, that it is during the initial period that the big profits arise, profits which are essential to finance further expansion.

There is another important aspect of this question. In order to be able to make efficient use of imported technology the receiving country must be able to assimilate and adjust foreign technology. In order to profit by the innovation of others you must be able to make innovations yourselves. I now come to the suggestions made in my report in paragraphs 30 to 58. I shall not mention all of them but pick a few that I find most important. I have divided them into three sections. The first one deals with possible European efforts, the second with possible U.S. efforts and the third suggests some joint actions.

As regards European actions I shall limit myself to what the Council of Europe could do.

I was very glad to hear yesterday that the Secretary General of the Council of Europe has taken an initiative for co-ordination between the different organizations in Europe. The present difficulties with regard to ELDO and ESRO show the burning need for a concerted scientific policy in Europe, a fact that the Chairman of our scientific and technological committee M. Reverdin underlined yesterday in his questions to the representative of the Committee of Ministers.

The Council of Europe should also further study Mr. Harold Wilson's proposal regarding a European Institute of Technology which should examine case by case, area by area, industry by industry the means of greater European technological co-operation. Particularly now when the Benelux proposals and other efforts to arrive at European co-operation as well as the EEC commissions proposals regarding the medium-term policies are being held in abeyance, the Council of Europe should act in order not to lose valuable time.

With regard to the question what the United States can do to remedy the disparities we are of course waiting for the suggestions from our American friends. I do not know whether the Committee on Technological Disparities set up by President Johnson has come to any conclusions as yet.

We should also like to know to what extent the US balance-of-payments difficulties will affect the relations between USA and Europe.

I mentioned earlier in my statement the "brain drain" and the alarming figures now published. I should very much appreciate it if Mr. Miller would comment on a suggestion made by President Johnson's assistant in scientific matters Dr. Donald F. Hornig. In one of the very interesting panels organized by Mr. Miller's committee Dr. Hornig said that the immigration should be concentrated on young research scientists who have already established themselves in their own country, *who come to America with a purpose related to their activities in their own country and who have some day to return.*

What I would very much like to know is whether the new immigration laws coming into force of July 1st, this year, will in any way be used to serve this purpose. Under all circumstances I think this is a question which could be discussed jointly.

And lastly I come to possible joint actions: Most of them refer to the work that is already being done in the OECD which is a natural forum for intergovernmental co-operation across the Atlantic in these questions.

I have expressed the wish that OECD should not only be confrontation oriented but also become more action oriented. We owe much to the OECD. Its recent studies and the debate at the Ministerial Meeting in March has cleared away many misunderstandings and preconceived ideas. OECD has also drawn attention to the new fields in which an exten-

sive international collaboration is clearly called for:

Computer utilisation, educational technology, environmental technology, urban development technology, oceanography, and communications.

I would also suggest a new negotiating round on patents, licences and standards as part of an attack on non-tariff barriers to trade.

The question of co-operation with regard to space policy will also have to come up as a result of the present difficulties in the European space organisations.

As Parliamentarians we have much to learn from the US Congress.

To be prepared for this European Members of Parliament should as soon as possible take the following concrete action: (a) the establishment in all European national Parliaments of committees on science and technology; (b) the creation in all national European parliaments of an efficient instrument or service corresponding to the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress; (c) the organisation and holding of regular and frequent seminars on science and technology for MPs, scientists, industrialists and civil servants to which American Congressmen and specialists would be invited, to be held under the auspice of the Council of Europe on the model of the interesting and high-level panels organised by the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives.

#### PRIVATE SECTOR PARTICIPATION IN THE REBUILDING OF CITIES

#### HON. CHARLES H. PERCY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the Committee on Banking and Currency has been working for more than a year on legislation that will encourage private-sector participation in the rebuilding of our cities as well as make homeownership possible for lower income families. The committee has been deeply encouraged in its efforts by the increasing number of privately financed homeownership projects in cities across the country. An article describing such projects in Boston, Gary, Ind., and Pittsburgh was published in Tuesday's New York Times. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

**BOSTON TO BEGIN PROJECT FOR POOR—BANKS AND INSURERS LEND \$50 MILLION FOR URBAN PLAN**

BOSTON, May 13.—Mayor Kevin H. White announced today that a major new urban program would be started to expand home and business ownership among the city's poor.

Mayor White said the plan would be a privately financed \$56-million self-development program.

A key feature includes a loan commitment of \$50-million from Boston banks and insurance companies to support efforts in housing rehabilitation and new construction for low-income families. It will also make mortgage funds available to greatly expand home ownership in the inner city, the Mayor said.

The program provides for the establishment of the Boston Urban Foundation, a nonprofit organization that will attempt to

solicit \$2-million from the business community and the public.

These funds are to be channeled into disadvantaged areas to assist in financing small business ventures to be owned and operated by residents.

An Urban Development Corporation will be formed to supervise the allocation of the funds.

George H. Whitney Jr., chairman, New England Group, Investment Bankers Association, who will direct the fund drive, said that when the \$2-million was raised for equity purposes, commercial banks would lend the corporation another \$4-million.

Mayor White said that while the shared risk program was geared to aid slum areas, it would also apply to poor families throughout the city. He said he hoped that between 400 and 500 persons in the area would buy their own homes by the end of the year.

He said that besides the loan commitment, the backing concerns will provide the talent of lawyers, accountants, investment specialists and academic people to assist the new entrepreneurs.

**UNITED STATES STEEL JOINS GARY PLAN**

GARY, IND., May 13.—The United States Steel Corporation announced today here jointly with Mayor Richard G. Hatcher that it hoped to build from 250 to 300 moderate-income housing units.

George A. Jedenoff, general superintendent of the steel works here, declined to say how much the company would invest in the project, but estimates are in excess of \$5-million.

Mr. Jedenoff told newsmen in a press conference this morning with Mr. Hatcher that they had been working on the project since shortly after Mr. Hatcher's election last November.

About 56 per cent of this city's 475,000 population are Negroes who live in a slum area known as Midtown. Mayor Hatcher, who is a Negro lives in that area.

Mayor Hatcher said a feasibility study was under way. The site is a 48.4-acre undeveloped tract owned mostly by the Gary School system. It is near the site of a new high school under construction on the fringe of the slum area.

PITTSBURGH, May 13.—Two major corporations have announced separate plans to attack the problems of slum housing, principally in Negro slums.

The Westinghouse Electric Corporation will form a subsidiary, Urban Systems Development Corporation, to carry out all phases of providing better housing for low-income families throughout the United States.

The Equitable Life Assurance Society has allocated \$1-million to rehabilitate, purchase and refinance one- to four-family homes in the metropolitan Pittsburgh area, thereby providing mortgage money to low-income families.

Working under Government-supported programs and with headquarters in Washington, the Westinghouse subsidiary will develop low-rise apartment communities in contrast to massive housing projects erected in the past. It plans to train construction crews from among hard-core unemployed men in the slums.

**NORTH DAKOTA SECOND DISTRICT VOTERS BACK NIXON, OPPOSE VIETNAM PULLOUT**

**HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE**

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, recently I mailed a questionnaire to the 81,600

postal patrons in North Dakota's Second Congressional District, seeking their views on a number of issues and questions. The results:

Tabulated below are the combined views of the first 5,000 West District residents who responded to my recent questionnaire on current issues. Returns are still coming in—all will be counted. I deeply appreciate your cooperation in taking the time to participate in the poll and in giving me the benefit of your views. The replies showed:

On alternatives in Vietnam, 41.4% approved going "all out now to win, even if this involves massive bombing of North Vietnam, including Hanoi and Haiphong Harbor, a naval blockade, increased U.S. troop commitments and invasion of the North". Continuation of U.S. military operations "pretty much along present lines" was favored by 6.4%. Halting the bombing of North Vietnam "in the hope this will lead to a negotiated peace" was supported by 23%. Withdrawal of U.S. forces was favored by 17%. Undecided 12.3%.

In a similar poll conducted a year ago, 75% favored stepping up the war effort against North Vietnam, with 16% advocating withdrawal.

Since Governor Rockefeller was not a candidate when the questionnaire was circulated, only Richard M. Nixon was paired with the three announced Democratic Presidential candidates. The results:

Nixon 68.7%; Kennedy 16.1%; Wallace 6.2%; Undecided 9%.

McCarthy 23.1%; Nixon 61.9%; Wallace 5.9%; Undecided 9.1%.

Humphrey 17.5%; Nixon 65.6%; Wallace 6.8%; Undecided 10.1%.

For the proposed 10% income tax surcharge, if accompanied by a cut of several billions in government spending, 46.7%. Against 42.1%. Undecided 11.1%.

On the question of Federal income tax credits to private business for training hard core unemployed, 54% were opposed; 35.4% for.

In favor of the strategic grain reserve bill I have introduced, 75%; opposed 9.1%. Among farmers alone, the favorable percentage was even higher, 85%.

For continuing farm price supports and wheat certificate payments, 55.3%; against, 26.5%. Farmers voted 71.5% for; 21.5% against.

Changing the present Draft Board induction process to a lottery system was favored by 31.5%, opposed by 51%. The undecided group was large, 17.6%.

Federal control over sale and use of firearms: against 64.5%; for 29%.

On two other questions, those responding to the poll strongly indicated they do not believe they are getting accurate reports on the war in Vietnam, and also that they favor stricter law enforcement.

If Federal spending is cut, West District residents said they would like to see the cuts made in this order: 1. Foreign aid. 2. Space exploration. 3. Highway beautification. 4. Poverty war. 5. Federal civilian jobs. 6. Aid to cities. 7. Defense. (Very close between 6 & 7). 8. Agriculture.

**IDAHO'S TREMENDOUS MINING POTENTIAL**

**HON. FRANK CHURCH**

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, those of us in the Senate have engaged in many a debate in the past few years over the

increasingly scarce supply of gold and silver reserves in the United States and the free world. The ramifications of this scarcity have, indeed, been great. We have seen the end of silver coinage with the exception of the half dollar. Earlier this year we abandoned the gold cover on our Treasury reserves.

Clearly, if silver and gold are to continue to play a major role in our fiscal and monetary affairs, we are going to have to find increased sources of supply of these two precious metals.

I am happy to report, Mr. President, encouraging news from my native State of Idaho. Already Idaho produces more than half of the Nation's newly mined silver and its potential production is even greater, for Idaho possesses the greatest known silver reserves in the free world.

Gold, too, is important in Idaho. A recent U.S. Bureau of Mines survey shows that Idaho's gold reserves are larger than any of the other States.

An excellent article which sums up Idaho's unique position in the world of mining recently appeared in the Inter-mountain Observer, published in Boise. The article was written by William E. Irvin, president of the Idaho First National Bank in Boise. This article will be of much interest not only to the banking and industrial community, but to all who view with alarm the scarcity of gold and silver. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that Mr. Irvin's article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

**METALS PUT A ROSY GLOW IN IDAHO'S FUTURE**  
(By William E. Irvin)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The writer is president of the Idaho First National Bank in Boise. The article is reprinted from the April issue of "American Banker.")

If you hold that silver reserves are to be a factor in industrial and monetary considerations of the next several years—and if you believe that gold will occupy a place of similar importance, and that lead, zinc, and phosphate will continue to have an important bearing on the industrial-agricultural fortunes around the world, and if you recognize that, underlying all of this, man's program today is critically dependent upon an abundant supply of water, then . . .

You have begun to identify the state of Idaho as a tangible force in the financial considerations and industrial advancements of the United States and the free world.

Why should this be so? The silver reserve of the U.S. Treasury is today running about one-seventh of what it was just 10 years ago. In 1958 it was 2,100 million ounces, while in March of 1968, reliable estimates place the reserves at just over 300 million ounces.

With the redemption of silver certificates and other claims against this accelerating beyond 20-million ounces per month in March, 1968, it appears that not much more than a three- or four-month supply of silver remains, after 165-million ounces are set aside as strategic stockpile.

When we consider that the annual U.S. production of silver is about 31-million ounces and the industrial consumption is 150-million ounces, we begin to see the silver situation in a new and startling perspective. These figures vary slightly, depending upon source, but whatever figures we use do not change the picture materially.

Idaho's mining potential begins to emerge

from all of this when we witness continually rising industrial demands for silver in the light of lessening reserves and rising free-market prices. When the Treasury lifted the ceiling price of \$1.29 per ounce, silver prices began rising; and there are respected authorities predicting that this will be more than doubled by the end of 1968. Already it is just over \$2 per ounce in March, 1968.

This is where Idaho comes in. The Gem State produces 52% of all U. S. silver, and its deposits are recognized to be the greatest available in the Free World. For industrial needs alone, Idaho silver seems assured of new and healthy markets.

Gold has the world's attention now, and ties into the complex subject of international liquidity. The basis of settlements has been gold and, although programs are under way to add to the amount by other means, gold itself is a precious metal and will continue to have high value. With the upward pressures, we can expect the price to increase further rather than to decrease.

And here steps in Idaho: A very recent survey of the U. S. Bureau of Mines reveals that Idaho has the largest known gold reserves of any of the 50 states, including Alaska.

After literally billions of dollars in precious metals have been taken from Idaho mines, the state still remains the greatest hope of the United States in replenishing silver and gold supplies. But this is not all: Idaho produces 17% of the nation's lead and 10% of its zinc, both in great demand by industry. So Idaho's promise for the future in metals is great.

Conservatively, geologic experts say that Idaho mining is just coming of age. The potential is only now beginning to be realized. Over 30 new mining ventures have been incorporated in the past year and, in the year just past, nearly 2,000 new claims were located within the state.

As early as 1909, mineral experts predicted great things for Idaho's phosphate deposits. They took years to develop. Now, six decades later, we are just hitting the stride that makes this a giant industry.

Phosphate extraction and refining represents an investment of over \$100 million with a gross income of about \$60 million annually. When we measure this against the desperate need in the emerging nations in order to bring their agriculture to maximum efficiency, the potential is staggering.

Exploding populations must be fed, and they must be encouraged to grow their own food by way of modern fertilizing methods. Giant Idaho phosphate deposits are a good part of the answer—and at this time markets appear virtually without end.

There's another reason for the rosy glow to Idaho's future. It's reflecting off an abundance of water—pure, clean, mountain water. Water seems to be the common denominator to all progress in most parts of the world today. Talk of agriculture, industry, recreation, talk of people, and the need for water seems to be the all-important next question.

Idaho has water and is putting it to good use. It is undoubtedly as valuable a natural resource as any of the previously mentioned ones. Perhaps more so.

A complex of storage dams controls the release of water so that an adequate year-round supply is available to agriculture and industry. The importance of this can hardly be overemphasized in a day when many sections of our country experience water shortages by mid-summer of most years.

Silver, gold, other vital metals, agriculture and lumbering, plus plenty of water. This is Idaho. This is why we say that Idaho is so important to the United States financial-industrial progress and hence a viable force in Free World advancement.

## POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH— COLUMBUS, OHIO

### HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, an excellent job of reporting by the Columbus Citizen-Journal's reporter, John Milton, appeared in the Monday, March 13, 1968, newspaper as it relates to the current Poor People's March on Washington.

The article touches on a number of angles in the march which should be invited to the attention of all Members of Congress.

John Milton's story follows:

#### BLACK POWER JOINS "POOR" RANKS

(By John Milton)

The stated purpose of the Poor People's Campaign, and the reasons many of the participants are headed for Washington, D.C., appear to be two different things.

What has been reported as—and what may have started as—a massed effort by the nation's impoverished to obtain more federal aid, looks in reality like a black power movement, if those passing through Columbus are at all typical.

First inking of the attitudes of the guests came when black power chants drifted through open bus windows behind the police escort. One might have expected to hear, instead, slogans of food power or money power.

Any belief that the campaign is a solemn, single-minded mission of undernourished people was dispelled when the first bus began to empty into the parking lot Saturday afternoon at Shiloh Baptist Church, 720 Mt. Vernon ave.

The mood was light despite a gloomy canopy of gray which had been dumping rain on Central Ohio all day. There was laughter and a festive atmosphere as legs cramped by the ride from Dayton were stretched.

At least 95 per cent of the crowd was Negro, most of whom seemed in the 18-28 age bracket and were not married or bread winners of families. Many wore African type garb or sweatshirts emblazoned with "Soul Brother," "Soul Sister," "Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council," and "Black Power."

Columbus had expected the poor and was ready for them 750, at least, though earlier estimates had ranged as high as 2500. Barely 600 arrived.

At St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 787 E. Broad-st, a turkey dinner for 150 had been prepared and places for nearly that many were set.

When only about 25 filtered into the dining area of the church after unloading baggage from the bus, a surprised church worker asked, "Is this all of you?"

It was the same at all the other churches where food outnumbered the guests.

After eating, the marchers were taken to the Ohio Expositions Center's Youth Center to hold a rally and sleep.

Some expressed dissatisfaction at the same old routine—bus ride, dinner, rally, to bed, breakfast, and another bus ride to the next city.

Next stop on the agenda was Toledo, followed by Detroit, Cleveland, Akron, Canton and Pittsburgh and then the Nation's Capital.

This reporter offered three Milwaukee "Commandos," a brief look at the city. They accepted eagerly, thinking at first I was a VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) worker, or something of the kind. They learned later, only after asking, that their

tour guide was a reporter. They were surprised but only mildly concerned.

A "Milwaukee Commando" is a trained security guard from that Wisconsin city whose job is protecting marchers from belligerent crowds and the commandos say, occasionally police.

The commandos are unfailingly loyal to a white man, Father John Groppi, the outspoken, often-jailed Roman Catholic priest from Milwaukee who led marches culminating in open housing legislation in that city.

"That man is a god to them," exclaimed a prominent Columbus Negro.

The three Commandos befriended by this reporter wanted to see "where the action is," because, as one put it, "Too much work and no play makes Jack a very dull individual."

"Where the action is" in Columbus on a Saturday night is in an area where white people aren't—in the vicinity of Mt. Vernon-av and 18th-st.

I told them that the last time I was in the area, Palm Sunday afternoon following Martin Luther King memorial services at the Coliseum, a bottle was thrown, striking the side of the car.

One responded reassuringly, "But you didn't have a brother along, man."

We went into an all-Negro bar, had a beer while "soul music" provoked rhythmic shadows, and I didn't get the first threatening look.

I asked one Commando if he were tired of the long bus journey. He said "I was tired before I left Milwaukee. Now I'm just getting mad. I'm getting madder by the day. By the time I get to Washington I'm going to be real mad."

About 1000 were at the Youth Center later for live music, speeches and dancing which let off incalculable steam and prompted Clifford Tyree, community relations director, to wonder out loud if inner city street dances this summer might be desirable for the same reason.

At the entrance to the Youth Center hand-lettered signs were offered with messages such as "Income, is the American Dream Just a Dream?" and "Apple Pie, Rights," and "How About a Real War on Poverty."

Commandos formed a line in front of, and below, the stage during speeches. Then Father Groppi was introduced and received the loudest reception of the night.

After having been with the caravan through Chicago, Louisville and Indianapolis, Groppi had flown to Atlanta, and his Columbus arrival was unexpected.

Groppi was the angry, indignant clergyman, as always, asking for a united black-white assault on slum landlords, and promising the marchers will stay in Washington after a June 16 government deadline and "all go to jail together" if Congress fails to satisfy demands.

Dancing in the Youth Center went on until 3 a.m. Sunday. By 7 a.m. sleepers were being routed from bunks to eat hasty breakfasts.

While awaiting transportation people sat around, sleepy-eyed. The young were impatient. Children were restrained by mothers. Older people sat quietly, hunched over in their chairs—waiting.

William Stamps, 55, of Cincinnati, said he was making the trip "for our freedom."

Young Gary Miller, of 1040 Summit-st, who "just came out to help the people any way I can," said "it's a good thing—maybe it'll wake the people up."

Percy Robertson, 55, is blind, he was making the trip from Chicago with his wife. "I'm here with the rest of the people—for freedom, for freedom . . ." he said, his voice trailing off.

John Gaddie, 18, of Indianapolis, a sophomore at Indiana University, began the trip as a marcher, is now a staff member—a



marshal. He's going to Washington "because I believe in what they're doing."

Most felt facilities and treatment in Columbus rated as good as, or better than other cities. Though a Chicago man grumbled "sleeping in those bunks is like sleeping in jail."

The Poor People and the "Commandos" indicated there had been no trouble, even from hecklers, since the trek began.

A few complaints were muttered when a line of 16 Columbus Transit Co. buses snaked through the 17th-av gate. The seats weren't comfortable enough for some apparently accustomed to more luxurious travel, and a low top speed bothered those in a hurry.

Father Groppi and his entourage spent the night at Seneca Towers, at the invitation of owner Adolph Sommer, and stayed long enough Sunday morning to see that everyone got away.

With a cup of black coffee in one hand and a cheese sandwich in the other, Groppi said he was pleased with the reception the Poor People's Campaign has gotten so far.

He said enthusiasm is growing and "I think the crowd will gather as we go along."

Predicting violence if the Washington camp-in isn't productive, Groppi said "there had better be results—I think the salvation of the nation depends on it."

"If this takes all summer then that's how long we're going to be around . . . until we get something that is going to alleviate the sufferings of the poor in this country."

The buses had left, and a Commando at Groppi's side said "that's it—he has to go," and their party climbed into a car and drove away.

It was all over. One person had joined the caravan in Columbus, according to Bernard Wohl, director of the South Side Settlement House, and some 70 others were signed up to go directly to Washington and join those already there.

He said about \$8000 has been collected locally for the Columbus delegation's trip, but "I still think we're going to need \$3000 or \$4000 more."

Chairs were folded up and stacked against the walls of the Youth Center, and a trash truck rolled up to haul away tell-tale signs of the weekend. Stacks of blankets were piled outside entrances to dormitory hallways.

An exhausted Cliff Tyree said, "The whole community was tremendous," went home to bed.

## DEATH OF JAMES CARSWELL "MOODY" DANIEL, OF GEORGIA

### HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on May 4 the State of Georgia lost one of its most outstanding and best-loved citizens in the passing of James Carswell "Moody" Daniel.

Moody Daniel was my longtime friend, and I was profoundly saddened by his tragic and untimely death. He was an active citizen dedicated to his State and community, and he will be sorely missed.

I ask unanimous consent that obituaries and editorial comment concerning Moody Daniel's death be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Waynesboro (Ga.) True Citizen, May 8, 1968]

J. C. DANIEL

Funeral services for James Carswell (Moody) Daniel, 53, husband of Mrs. Lorraine Mallard Daniel, who died Saturday, May 4, in an Augusta hospital, were held Monday, May 6, at Waynesboro First Baptist Church. The Rev. Harold Rowland officiated. Burial was in Magnolia Cemetery, Waynesboro.

The son of the late James Carswell Daniel of Burke County, Ga., he was an honorary member of University of Georgia's Gridiron Society.

Mr. Daniel was a lifelong resident of Burke County. He was active in civic and political activities in Burke County and the state. He was chief aide to the speaker of the House of Representatives, consultant to the commissioner of agriculture in Georgia, and was a member of the Georgia Farm Bureau.

House Speaker George L. Smith, commenting on his death, said: "I think the state—and the House—has lost one of the most able servants. He always was highly conscientious and was widely respected by legislators and department heads."

He also was a member of the Waynesboro Masonic Lodge-Royal Arch Masons, was a past Worthy Patron of the Order of the Eastern Star, and a member of the First Baptist Church, in Waynesboro.

Survivors in addition to his widow include three sons, James Robert Daniel, Augusta, Jack Carswell Daniel, Selma, Ala., and Jerry Mallard Daniel, Macon, Ga.; two sisters, Mrs. Norris C. Tucker, Savannah, Ga., and Mrs. Leroy Kirkendahl, Sylvania, Ga.; brother, Rev. Robert C. Daniel, Augusta; mother, Mrs. Lucile Carter Daniel, Sylvania; four grandchildren.

Pallbearers were Paul Stone, Malcolm Mobley, Gilbert S. Peel, Frank Cates Griffin, James Posey, Tom Cooper, Ralph Elliott and J. C. Palmer Jr.

Honorary pallbearers were J. C. Palmer Sr., Quinton Rogers, M. A. Miller Jr., John W. Walker, Preston B. Lewis Jr., John R. Bates, J. D. Barger, Dr. J. M. Byne, O. J. Cliett, Raymond DeLaigle, Freddy McKinney, Jessie McCullough, Robert G. Stephens, Jack Ray, Phil Campbell, Glenn Phillips, Bill Bryan, Obid Davis, George L. Smith, Jack Eland, Bill Lanier, Al Fowler, Arthur Bolton, Ernest S. Vandiver, Julian Cox, Robert Troutman, A. T. Bray, Rountree Youmans, George Busbie, Crawford Pilcher, Dixon Oxford, Jim Gillis and Carl Sanders.

Hopper-DeLoach Funeral Home was in charge of arrangements.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle-Herald, May 5, 1968]

J. C. DANIEL DIES AT 53

WAYNESBORO, GA.—James Carswell (Moody) Daniel, 53, died at 6 p.m. Saturday at University Hospital after a brief illness.

Mr. Daniel was a lifelong resident of Burke County. He was active in civic and political activities in Burke County and the state. He was chief aide to the speaker of the House of Representatives, consultant to the commissioner of agriculture in Georgia, and was a member of the Georgia Farm Bureau.

He also was a member of the Waynesboro Masonic Lodge—Royal Arch Masons, was a past Worthy Patron of the Order of the Eastern Star, and a member of the First Baptist Church, in Waynesboro.

Funeral services will be held at 4 p.m. Monday at Waynesboro First Baptist Church, with the Rev. Harold Rowland officiating.

Survivors include his widow, Mrs. Lorraine Mallard Daniel, Waynesboro; three sons, James Robert Daniel, Augusta, Jack Cars-

well Daniel, Selma, Ala., and Jerry Mallard Daniel, Macon, Ga.; two sisters, Mrs. Norris C. Tucker, Savannah, Ga., and Mrs. Leroy Kirkendahl, Sylvania, Ga.; brother, Rev. Robert C. Daniel, Augusta; mother, Mrs. Lucille Carter Daniel, Sylvania; four grandchildren.

Friends may call at Hopper-DeLoach Funeral Home until the time of services.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, May 6, 1968]

LAST RITES TODAY FOR J. C. DANIEL

WAYNESBORO, GA.—Funeral services for James Carswell (Moody) Daniel, 53, husband of Mrs. Lorraine Mallard Daniel, who died Saturday in an Augusta hospital, will be held at 4 p.m. today at Waynesboro First Baptist Church. The Rev. Harold Rowland will officiate. Burial will be in Magnolia Cemetery, Waynesboro.

The son of the late James Carswell Daniel of Burke County, Ga., he was an honorary member of University of Georgia's Gridiron Society.

Friends may call at the home, 436 Pine St., Waynesboro.

Pallbearers will be Paul Stone, Malcolm Mobley, Gilbert S. Peel, Frank Cates Griffin, James Posey, Tom Cooper, Ralph Elliott and J. C. Palmer, Jr.

Honorary pallbearers will be J. C. Palmer Sr., Quinton Rogers, M. A. Miller, Jr., John W. Walker, Preston B. Lewis, Jr., John R. Bates, J. D. Barger, Dr. J. M. Byne, O. J. Cliett, Raymond De Laigle, Freddy McKinney, Jessie McCullough, Robert G. Stephens, Jack Ray, Phil Campbell, Glenn Phillips, Bill Bryan, Ovid Davis, George L. Smith, Jack Eland, Bill Lanier, Al Fowler, Arthur Bolton, Ernest S. Vandiver, Julian Cox, Robert Troutman, A. T. Bray, Rountree Youmans, George Busbee, Crawford Pilcher, Dixon Oxford, Jim Gillis and Carl Sanders.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, May 9, 1968]

JAMES CARSWELL DANIEL

When death claimed James Carswell (Moody) Daniel of Waynesboro Saturday, it was a distinct loss not only for his family and for Burke County neighbors, but also for the state of Georgia.

Mr. Daniels had carried out responsibilities and exerted a beneficial influence in many spheres, as a member of Masonic bodies, of the Georgia Farm Bureau and of the Baptist Church. It was in the political realm, however, that he possibly was best known and most widely effective in advancing democratic processes.

As chief aide to the speaker of the House of Representatives, he was well and favorably known. The homespun manner and cordial approach which were a genuine and deeply felt part of his nature won him many friends. And, as consultant to the Georgia commissioner of agriculture, he had a voice in farm policies of his native state.

His genial and sincere role in public affairs was one which few can fill.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, May 9, 1968]

STATE OFFICIALS PAY TRIBUTE TO MOODY DANIEL

A large delegation of state government officials headed by Gov. Lester Maddox attended funeral services in Waynesboro Monday for J. C. (Moody) Daniel.

In attendance with the governor, Lt. Gov. George T. Smith and House Speaker George L. Smith were numerous state officials and a majority of the members of the Georgia General Assembly.

The largest crowd in the memory of most Waynesboro citizens gathered to pay tribute to Mr. Daniel's memory.

EDITORIAL COMMENT: COMMUNITY AND STATE  
LOSE "MOODY" DANIEL

(By Roy F. Chalker)

The untimely passing of James Carswell "Moody" Daniel leaves Burke County with a distinct sense of loss.

Indeed, his loss to the state government will be felt in many places.

He was serving as Chief Aide to the Speaker of the House of Representatives as he had for several years, and as Consultant to the Commissioner of Agriculture. In these positions he had built up a wide circle of friends among the politically great and near-great. His kindly manner and helpful attitude to everyone earned him a place of indispensability in the legislative and administrative branches of state government.

Moody had been a close personal friend of the last four or five governors. All of them depended upon him in their relations with the legislature.

He was helpful to his home people. It was generally understood that he was one of the best people to secure attention and favors from state officials and departments.

Moody pursued his political battles with diligence, but he seemed never to carry a grudge. He was ready to do a favor for anyone, regardless of his previous political affiliation.

He could always be depended upon to do the hard and necessary work in any project that he felt was to the best interest of his community or Church. For instance, several years ago he personally conducted a campaign that resulted in air conditioning the First Baptist Church.

His place of leadership and friendship state-wide and in his home community will not soon be duplicated.

THE UNTOLD STORY OF MARTIN  
LUTHER KING, JR.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John S. Perilloux, of Ewa Beach, Hawaii, offers a documented story of Martin Luther King, Jr., with which he feels the American people should reacquaint themselves before the past is forgotten—and history written from halft truths.

I include Mr. Perilloux' "Untold Story" in the RECORD:

THE UNTOLD STORY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING

(By John S. Perilloux)

Few men have had so many words spoken and written about them as has had the late Martin Luther King, Jr. The Reverend King was the center of a storm of controversy and violence from the time he achieved prominence in 1955, when he led a successful boycott against the bus system of Montgomery, Alabama, until the day of his death in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968. Indeed, the controversy continues even after his death.

Because of his success in the bus boycott King gained the respect and admiration of many Americans. Overlooked by some, and unknown to most, were the character and backgrounds of the men and women chosen by King to assist him in his assault upon such formidable obstacles as segregation and racial prejudice. Had he enlisted the support of worthier people as his immediate aides, King could have been a potent force in strengthening America and uplifting his people. However, such was not the case, and

from the pinnacle of success in 1955 he descended to an all-time low in April of 1967 when he called the United States "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today".

Who was this man who has been commended as a man of peace and damned as an apostle of violence? To those liberal and bleeding hearts who have not intelligently discerned what King had been saying and doing during his twelve years of prominence this may come as a shock and a tragedy. To those of us who have followed his activities closely and have been aware of his questionable activity it comes as no surprise at all. In 1967 the real Martin Luther King stood up, and yet, where is the criticism he deserved and should have gotten?

On January 15, 1929, Michael Luther King, Jr., was born in a 13-room house in Atlanta, Georgia. When he was six his father changed both their names to Martin. He entered Morehouse College in Atlanta at the age of 15 and from Morehouse went to Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania.

In 1955 King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. On December 1st of that year a Montgomery bus driver ordered Negroes to stand so Whites could sit. One woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, refused and was arrested. Within hours Negroes began a boycott against the bus system which was to last for more than a year. King's gift of articulateness, his willingness to defy city officials, and his apparent lack of personal motives made him the natural leader of the boycott. When the boycott ended Martin Luther King had become world-famous.

But who had assisted King in toppling segregation on Montgomery buses? Surely, no one man, no matter how articulate or how brave, could succeed in such an undertaking alone. And who is Mrs. Rosa Parks?

Dr. King led the boycott as the head of the Montgomery Improvement Association which had been formed by the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, former convict who has also been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (1) The SCEF had been formed from the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Identified communist James A. Dombrowski was administrator of the SCHW. Paul Crouch, one of its founders, and an admitted communist from 1925 to 1942, testified that the SCHW "was intended to lead to class hatred and race hatred, dividing class against class and race against race". (2) The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee exposed the SCHW, stating that it was "conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 to promote communism in the Southern states". After the SCHW was exposed the Party replaced this organization with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. (3)

This new communist front continued to use the same address as the SCHW, the same publication, the same telephone number, and almost identical officers. Dombrowski continued to serve as administrator, identified communist Aubrey Williams remained on the board, and identified communists Carl and Anne Braden were made field secretaries. After conducting an investigation the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee described the SCEF as a communist transmission belt for the South. (4)

It is extremely interesting that the President of the SCEF was at one time the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, founder of the Montgomery Improvement Association and Vice President of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Also in the Montgomery Improvement Association with King and Shuttlesworth was Bayard Rustin. FBI reports state that Rustin joined the Young Communist League in 1936 while at the College of the City of New York and was active in this organization on the campus and elsewhere. During World

War Two he was arrested several times for advocating resistance to the war and served 26 months in Federal prisons for draft dodging. (6)

Rustin has worked closely with the War Resisters League, the World Peace Brigade, Liberation, the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, the Committee for Non-Violent Action, the Greenwich Village Peace Center, and similar organizations, often as an officeholder. (7) He has also been active in the American Forum for Socialist Education, a communist-dominated organization. (8)

In 1953, in Pasadena, California, Rustin was arrested on a charge of sex perversion and went to jail after pleading guilty. (9)

There are those who might argue that Rustin had mended his ways by 1955 when Martin Luther King hired him as his secretary and adviser. Let's follow Rustin's activities since 1955.

In 1957 the Communists Party invited him to its 16th national convention as an "observer". (10) He has been socially entertained at the Soviet embassy and in 1958 went to Russia under the sponsorship of the Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons. (11)

The January 1963 issue of Fellowship reveals Rustin to be a "friend" of Kwame Nkrumah, former Communist dictator of Ghana. The same issue of Fellowship credits Rustin with having worked to establish a "center for nonviolence" at Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, which has proven to be a training center for communist guerrillas. Terrorists, trained at this center, have conducted raids on Rhodesia and South West Africa.

In September 1963, at Richmond, Virginia, Rustin said that "more bloody Negro suffering should be encouraged so that squeamish Northern Negroes would be horrified into line". (12) It is possible that some would be horrified. However, it is certain that this is part of the strategy of the communists for propagating racial warfare in the United States.

On August 28, 1963, Rustin led a "march on Washington".

On August 29, 1963, he urged that the only hope for Negroes was to "go left". (13)

On February 3, 1964, Rustin was a leader of the New York City school boycott.

On February 4 he was photographed leaving a cocktail party at the Soviet mission to the United Nations. (14)

This, then, was the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association; Martin Luther King and two ex-convicts who were also communist-fronters.

And what of Mrs. Rosa Parks, the woman who precipitated the bus boycott?

Shortly before the incident on the bus, Mrs. Parks had attended the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. (15) To fully understand the nature and purpose of this school we must go back to the early 1930's, a time when the Communist Party had great dreams and expectations for using the Negro in the Party's plans for overthrowing the government of the United States.

It was in the 1930's that the party organized the People's Institute of Allied Religion. As part of its program this organization set up the Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas. It was organized around 1932 by identified communist James A. Dombrowski and fellow-traveler Myles Horton. It was cited by the U.S. Attorney General as a communist front (16) and fined \$2500 for violating the seditious statute of the state of Arkansas. (17) The faculty then moved to Monteagle, Tennessee, and organized the Highlander Folk School. In addition to Dombrowski and Horton those assisting in the school's operation included Don West, district director of the Communist Party in North Carolina (18), and identified communist Aubrey Williams. (19)

In 1945 the U.S. Senate rejected the appointment of Aubrey Williams as adminis-

trator of the Rural Electrification Administration because of his communist affiliations. (20)

Aubrey Williams was President of the Southern Conference Education Fund until 1963, at which time he became national chairman of the Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (21) This organization has been cited as a communist front.

Can there be any doubt as to what was taught at the Commonwealth College where the hammer and sickle was prominently displayed? Or at the Highlander Folk School where Rosa Parks was trained?

In March 1967 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was organized in Atlanta. Martin Luther King was installed as President, Fred Shuttlesworth as Vice President, and the Reverend Andrew Young as program director.

The Atlanta Constitution of July 24, 1963, had this to say about Andrew Young:

The Reverend Young has been headquartered rent-free in Savannah in the offices of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. The Subversive Activities Control Board, an agency of the Federal government, has found the union to be communist infiltrated. Another coincidence.

In 1957 King was photographed at the Highlander Folk School during the Labor Day weekend. Also in attendance and photographed were Rosa Parks, Aubrey Williams, Myles Horton, and Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. (22)

Now it would seem that the Reverend King would have gotten some inkling of the backgrounds of his associates at this school and the nature and purpose of the school itself. Nevertheless, on a form letter from school director Horton, dated May 15, 1963, the Reverend Dr. King is listed as a sponsor of Highlander. (21)

In December 1959 King called upon Southern Negroes to practice "civil disobedience" and to break openly any state or local law "not in harmony with Federal law". (32)

In 1960 Hunter Pitts O'Dell replaced Bayard Rustin as secretary and adviser to King. Let's delve a little into O'Dell's background.

In 1956 he refused to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, taking the 5th amendment when questioned about his communist activities. He repeated this performance in 1958. (23) In 1962 the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a report entitled "Structure and Organization of the Communist Party in the United States". On page 576 there is a list of those elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, as known to the House Committee in November of 1961. Among the names is that of Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

The facts are that O'Dell was district organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1956 (23), was a member of the Communist Party when Martin Luther King hired him, and was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party while on King's payroll.

On October 26, 1962, the St. Louis Globe Democrat printed an article stating that King had a communist on his payroll, so King claims to have fired O'Dell at this time. However, O'Dell then went to work as administrator in the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The SCLC, you will recall, is an organization of which Martin Luther King was President. Pressure from the press again caused King to "fire" O'Dell, this time on June 26, 1963. In July 1963 a reporter for United Press International phoned the New York office of the SCLC and was told that O'Dell was still administrator of that office. (24)

In 1960 there was the restaurant "sit in" in Atlanta, led by King. (25)

In 1961 demonstrations in Albany, Georgia, led to his arrest. He declared dramatically when arrested that he would remain in jail until the city desegregated public facilities. Two days later he was out on bail. (25)

In St. Augustine, Florida, after getting Negroes fired up for demonstrations King went to jail amid great fanfare. But two days later he was bailed out again so he could receive an honorary law degree at Yale University. (25) In the meantime, the aged mother of Massachusetts' Governor Peabody remained in the St. Augustine jail after having been arrested in the demonstrations. White segregationists "Hoss" Menuci and Connie Lynch were in St. Augustine whipping up mobs into a murderous fury. King was safely at Yale.

King's American Committee for Africa sponsored and financed the American tour of communist terrorist Holden Roberto, leader of the "war of national liberation" which began in Angola on the morning of March 15, 1961. A thousand whites were murdered and dismembered and also about 8,000 Africans. (34)

In October 1962 King met with communist Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria in a hotel in Harlem. (26) From the United States Ben Bella traveled to Cuba for conferences with Fidel Castro.

In 1963 there were the demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama. A bomb in a church, which resulted in the deaths of four Negro girls, was described as the work of white segregationists and the Ku Klux Klan. Possible. Equally possible is that it could have been the handiwork of agents provocateurs. Remember Carl Braden? He was indicted, tried, and convicted of conspiring with Negroes to bomb the house of a Negro and then place the blame on white segregationists. (40)

On October 5, 1963, state and local police raided the office of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at 822 Perdido Street in New Orleans. Quantities of communist literature were seized. Also seized were a check from James A. Dombrowski made out to and endorsed by Martin Luther King. There were letters from King to Dombrowski and the Bradens and a photograph of King, Dombrowski, and the Bradens. The photograph had been taken at the 5th annual meeting of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. (27)

King was directly responsible for a Supreme Court ruling in 1964 in the case of "New York Times vs Sullivan". The case dealt with a full-page ad placed in the Times by King and other civil rights leaders. Many statements in the ad, charging that Negroes in Montgomery were being abused, were proven false. Sullivan, a Montgomery city official was subsequently awarded a \$500,000 libel judgment. The Supreme Court reversed the judgment, ruling that criticism of official conduct cannot be termed libelous without showing actual malice, which is knowledge that the statement was false or reckless disregard for whether or not it was false. (28)

In 1964 there was the march from Selma to Montgomery. Who were the participants? An entry by U.S. Representative William L. Dickinson in the Congressional Record for March 30, 1965, will help to enlighten us.

Mister Dickinson says there were four distinct groups participating in the march. "One group was the Alabama Negro who participated to secure rights and privileges which he felt had been withdrawn from him illegally". A second group were the do-gooders from out-of-state, motivated by compassion for their fellow human beings. He describes the third group as "human flotsam: adventurers, beatniks, prostitutes, and similar rabble".

And what of the fourth group, the ones who welded the others together and gave them cohesiveness? Who were they? In the words of Congressman Dickinson, "the Communist Party."

Look at the speakers on the platform in front of the State Capitol in Montgomery or participating prominently in the march or demonstrations:

Carl Braden, a well-known communist who was convicted of conspiring to bomb a Negro's house.

Abner Berry, one of the directors of the Communist Party. He was in and out of the Selma-Montgomery area.

James Peck, who has a federal criminal record and who once tried to prevent the launching of our first nuclear submarine.

Bayard Rustin, who by his own admission in the Saturday Evening Post was a communist party organizer for 12 years.

Martin Luther King, who has amassed the staggering total of over 60 communist front affiliations since 1955 (41).

In the Congressional Record, volume 111, part 5, page 6334, there is an affidavit, sworn to under oath, by Karl Prussion, a former counterspy for the FBI. Part of the wording of that affidavit is as follows:

"I hereby also state that Martin Luther King has either been a member of, or wittingly has accepted support from, over 60 communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which give aid to or espouse communist causes".

In the New York World-Telegram for July 23, 1964, there is an article on page 2 in which King says he is sick and tired of people saying the civil rights movement has been infiltrated by communists and communist sympathizers. He said there were as many communists in the movement as there are Eskimos in Florida.

In November 1964 J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said King was the most notorious liar in the United States. (29)

In 1965 King began to make critical speeches about U.S. foreign policy. The communist press gave extensive coverage to his speeches, often featuring them on the Communist Party's official newspaper, the Worker. In September of 1965 he called upon Arthur Goldberg at the United Nations and urged the United States to press for a UN seat for Communist China. He also asked for a halt in U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam and recommended negotiations with the Vietcong. (25) Has anyone ever heard of the Reverend King calling on North Vietnam to halt its subversion, murder, and terrorism in the South?

In 1965 an organization known as the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty was founded. Respected author and writer George Schuyler had this to say about that organization:

Its officers include the Soviet-trained Reuther, Martin Luther King, black power promoter James Farmer, radical socialist Michael Harrington, ADL sneak Dore Schary, the Vietnik Doctor Benjamin Spock, and a team of other such revolutionaries crimson enough to dye the Pacific Ocean a brilliant red. (30)

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, commented, "We are at a new stage in the struggle, because this is the crossroads where the civil rights struggle meets the class struggle". (31)

In an interview on "Meet the Press" on March 28, 1965, King said, "I do think that there are two types of laws. One is a just law, and one is an unjust law. I think we all have moral obligations to disobey unjust laws". (32) And who is to decide which laws are just and which are unjust? King was advocating chaos and anarchy.

The connections between the civil rights movement and the Communist Party became stronger in April of 1966 when all three South-wide civil rights organizations lined up in opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam. These organizations were the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, and King's

Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They termed their merger a "meshing of the civil rights and peace struggles." (43)

The riots which began in Chicago on July 12, 1966, broke out just two days after King held a mass civil rights rally in Soldiers Field. The Chicago Tribune reported that prior to the riots King had shown films detailing the violence of Watts. Asked by the Tribune about this King replied that the films showing the Watts riots were to demonstrate the negative effect of riots. (Negative effects such as rioters carrying off color TV sets?) During the Chicago rioting King reportedly sped from one trouble spot to another, but reporters noted that he seldom got out of his car. (32)

The Allen-Scott Report of July 1966 states that King and company were contacting and enlisting Chicago street gangs and "bringing them into the civil rights movement to fight the 'power structure'."

In a speech in Los Angeles on February 25, 1967, King called for a "merger" of the peace and civil rights movements. He called the Vietnam war the result of "paranoid anti-communism." (44)

In a speech at the Coliseum in Chicago King again called for the merging of the peace and civil rights movements, saying, "We must combine the fervor of the civil rights movement with the peace movement. We must demonstrate, teach and preach, and organize until the very foundations of our nation are shaken." (45)

In a statement delivered April 4, 1967, King called upon Negroes and Whites to register their opposition to the Vietnam war by becoming conscientious objectors to military service. (28)

On April 4, 1967, the Reverend Martin Luther King rose to the speaker's platform in New York City's Riverside Church and delivered what was later described by a Presidential aide as "a speech on Vietnam that goes right down the commie line". In his speech King called the United States "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today". He charged the nation with "cruel manipulation of the poor" and said that U.S. troops "may have killed a million South Vietnamese civilians—mostly children". He added, "We test our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicines and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe." (32)

On April 13, 1967, Michael Laski, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, (Marxist-Leninist), told a press conference in New York: King knows what's going on. He is allowing himself to be utilized by the Communist Party. . . . King willingly enters into an alliance with the Communist Party. . . . Mr. King receives financial support from organizations and individuals that are tied to the Communist Party. He knows what is happening, and so does James Bevel. (33)

James Bevel just happens to be one of the top men in King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Bevel helped to organize the Spring Mobilization Committee and in July 1967 met with North Vietnamese and Vietcong officials in Stockholm, Sweden. Bevel's wife, Diane, visited Hanoi in December 1966 and conferred with women in Ho Chi Minh's government. (35)

One of the strongest statements from a fellow-clergyman came in April 1967 from the Reverend Henry Mitchell. As reported by the Chicago Tribune: The leader of a group of West Side Negro ministers declared yesterday that the Reverend Martin Luther King should "get the hell out of here". His civil rights marching last summer "brought hate".

The Chicago chapter of the NAACP, long critical of the civil rights tactics of King, formally split with King's group. (46)

From August 29, 1967, to September 4, the National Conference for New Politics held its convention in Chicago. Every subversive organization in the United States was represented.

A par-llist of organizations which participated include:

Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam.

Draft Resistance Union.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

Revolutionary Action Movement.

Socialist Workers Party.

Progressive Labor Party.

Communist Party, USA.

The keynote speaker for the convention was Martin Luther King. Part of his speech follows:

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression. Out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. We in the West must support these revolutions. . . . A morbid fear of communism has made Americans the arch anti-revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Communism is a judgment of our failure.

We have deluded ourselves into believing the myth that capitalism grew and prospered out of the Protestant ethic of hard work and sacrifices. The fact is that capitalism was built on the exploitation of black slaves and continues to thrive on the exploitation of the poor—both black and white.

The way to end poverty is to end the exploitation of the poor and ensure them a fair share of the government's services and the nation's natural resources. We must recognize that the problems of neither racial nor economic injustice can be solved without a radical redistribution of political and economic power. (36)

Lenin couldn't improve on that speech.

On September 21, 1967, King was made an honorary lifetime member of ILWU local 10 in San Francisco. (37) The ILWU, you will remember, is the labor union which was expelled from the CIO when it was found that the ILWU was communist-dominated. The leader of the ILWU, Harry Bridges, is a communist and was ordered deported from the United States. The deportation order was overruled by Roosevelt's Supreme Court at the urging of Eleanor Roosevelt. (38)

In November 1967 King was guest speaker at the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace in Chicago. In his speech King denounced the Johnson administration. (39) If communist press reports were accurate the "left wing" of labor dominated the convention. The Worker of November 19, 1967, says, "This was the most significant anti-war gathering of labor leaders ever held in this country. The conference radiated awareness that here was the force capable of mobilizing the decisive factor of the people, the working class, against the Vietnam war." Communist Harry Bridges got a standing ovation when he addressed the closing session.

On March 5, 1968, the Honolulu Star Bulletin carried an article in which King stated that flame throwers in Vietnam are fanning the flames in the cities of the United States.

In 1967 King began planning for massive demonstrations in Washington, D.C. The demonstrations were scheduled to take place beginning on April 22, 1968. In addition to recruiting thousands of the poor, he planned to organize and train black militants involved in last summer's riots for major roles in his campaign of massive civil disobedience.

King revealed this in private conferences with Stokely Carmichael, the pro/Vietcong, pro/Castro revolutionary, and other black militants.

At one point in their meeting Carmichael said that the time had come to begin disrupting American cities "to help our Vietcong comrades-in-arms". King, while stressing that he was vigorously opposed to the Vietnam war, argued that if such an objec-

tive were announced for his campaign it would backfire. King's plans included:

(a) Selection of five cities in which to train 100 neighborhood leaders. The suggested cities were Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Houston, and Atlanta.

(b) Contacts would be made with the residents of the poor community. Young men who were actively involved in last summer's riots were to be sought out and trained as leaders.

King also told Carmichael, "To dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be longer lasting, more costly to the society. It is more difficult for the government to quell it by force. The disruption of the cities you want will come much easier."

King also reported that ousted Congressman Adam Clayton Powell would play a major role in the Washington demonstrations. Powell himself has said, "My return to Washington in April will help rock the entire country." (42)

Take a close look at this again, ladies and gentlemen. Stokely Carmichael recently returned to the United States after conferring with Fidel Castro, North Vietnamese officials, and communist revolutionaries in many countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe.

James Bevel, who is on the staff of the SCLC which is drawing up the battle plans for the disruptions, conferred with North Vietnamese and Vietcong officials in Stockholm last July.

Adam Clayton Powell was in California recently where he attempted to organize students, white as well as black.

This is the groundwork for a revolution, and the only people who can possibly benefit from such a coalition are the enemies of the United States.

In late March of 1968 King's attention was drawn to Memphis, Tennessee, where a garbage collectors strike was in progress. He went to Memphis and organized a demonstration which culminated in a riot. During the burning and looting which followed, a 16-year-old was killed. A judge issued an injunction prohibiting any more demonstrations because of the explosiveness of the situation in Memphis, but King promptly announced he had no intention of obeying. He had again decided to disobey an "unjust law".

On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King was killed by a sniper's bullet fired by someone who has not as yet been apprehended, despite a massive investigation instigated by Ramsey Clark. The odd circumstances surrounding the murder are again suggestive of an agent provocateur.

On April 11, 1968, U.S. Representative John R. Rarick of Louisiana inserted in the Congressional Record a news item concerning King. On page 9816 there is the following: [From the Yakima (Wash.) Eagle, Nov. 30, 1967]

The first disclosure that an FBI report existed which tied Martin Luther King in communism was published in Washington Observer Newsletter No. 13 in the February 15, 1966 issue.

At that time Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach refused to turn over this file to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In fact Katzenbach, in the presence of Lyndon Johnson, lied and denied to Congressman John Bell Williams that the file even existed.

WO is now happy to report that the FBI report is not only in the hands of the HCUA, but copies are also in the hands of Congressman John J. Rooney of New York.

The lawmakers were so shocked at what they read in the FBI report that they plan to summon King before their committees and delve deeply into his involvement with communist conspirators. When the FBI agents had King under surveillance they observed him meet a well-identified Soviet espionage agent at Kennedy Airport in New

York. They also secured evidence that King was receiving large sums of money from a well-known American communist agent who gives King instructions which he implicitly obeys. The Federal agents also adduced evidence of his unsavory personal conduct in Washington hotels and elsewhere and the fact that he had violated the Mann Act (white slavery). This is a violation of the U.S. criminal code, but neither Attorney General Katzenbach nor his successor, Ramsey Clark, would allow the FBI to present the evidence to a Federal grand jury.

The record of Martin Luther King strongly indicates he had been grossly irresponsible in learning the backgrounds of his associates and associations or that he chose to use them for his own ends. The only other conclusion that a reasonable person can come to is that Martin Luther King covertly and consciously attempted to promote the cause of the Communist Party.

DOCUMENTATION

- (1) Louisiana Legislative Report on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, part 1, pp 13-14.
- (2) Communism and Race in America, p 36.
- (3) Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Report, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., p v.
- (4) The Communist Attack on U.S. Police, p 26.
- (5) Louisiana Legislative Report on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, part 1, p 13.
- (6) Allen-Scott Report, August 16, 1963.
- (7) National Review, August 20, 1963.
- (8) Annual Report—1957, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, pp 36-40.
- (9) This information is recorded in the files of the Pasadena Police Department under Rustin's official arrest number 33194.
- (10) Daily Worker, February 25, 1957, p 1.
- (11) Boston Globe, February 5, 1964.
- (12) Ibid.
- (13) Richmond News-Leader, September 27, 1963, editorial.
- (14) Boston Globe, February 5, 1964.
- (15) Testimony of J. B. Matthews given before the Florida Legislation Committee, volume 1, p 24.
- (16) New York Times, April 28, 1949, p 6.
- (17) Report of the Louisiana Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, entitled "Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund", part 1, p 25.
- (18) Testimony of Paul Crouch, leading Communist Party official in the South at the time. See House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 16, 1949, pp 191-193.
- (19) "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc." Report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, p 45.
- (20) J. B. Matthews, testimony before the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, volume 1, p 21.
- (21) It's Very Simple, by Alan Stang.
- (22) Photographs may be obtained from The Councilor, 1827 Texas Avenue, Shreveport, Louisiana, price \$1.
- (23) St. Louis Globe-Democrat, October 26, 1962.
- (24) UPI story in the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion-Ledger, July 26, 1963.
- (25) Reader's Digest, September 1967.
- (26) New York Times, October 14, 1962.
- (27) Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., in Louisiana, part 2, p 81.
- (28) Reader's Digest Almanac, 1968.
- (29) North American Newspaper Alliance, November 19, 1964.
- (30) George S. Schuyler in American Opinion, January 1968.
- (31) The Worker, February 13, 1966.
- (32) U.S. Representative John Ashbrook in Congressional Record.
- (33) Gary Allen in American Opinion, July-August 1967.
- (34) New York Times, March 20, 1961, p 3.

- (35) Esquire, November 1967.
- (36) Gary Allen in American Opinion, November 1967.
- (37) Imua Fact Finder, 568 Alexander Young Bldg., Honolulu, Hawaii.
- (38) Gary Allen in American Opinion, March 1967.
- (39) Imua Fact Finder #3, December 1967
- (40) New York Times, December 14, 1964, p 26, and October 2, 1964, p 6.
- (41) "Congressional Record, volume 111, part 5, pages 6333-6335."
- (42) Human Events, March 2, 1968.
- (43) The Worker, April 26, 1966.
- (44) The Worker, March 12, 1967.
- (45) The Worker, April 2, 1967.

WORLD REFUGEE REPORT, 1968

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1968

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, each year the U.S. Committee for Refugees—USCR—a New York-based private agency, publishes a worldwide refugee census and special reports on current refugee situations. The 1968 survey records some 4,500,000 more refugees than last year and underscores the need for the United States and other countries to continue their humanitarian concern and activities for the homeless throughout the world. The 1968 survey also includes reports on the refugee problems in Africa, Vietnam, and the Middle East.

I commend the USCR and its executive vice president, Dr. R. Norris Wilson, for preparing the annual survey, which I, as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, always find extremely helpful. Because I know the current survey will be of interest to many Senators, and to others as well, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

WORLD REFUGEE REPORT: 1968 ANNUAL SURVEY ISSUE

(By the U.S. Committee for Refugees, Inc.)

(NOTE.—The U.S. Committee for Refugees, a private Citizens Committee, now in its 10th year, brings the story of the world's refugees to the American people and their leadership in the Congress. It encourages support for more than 60 American voluntary agencies working for refugees all over the world and makes funds available to their projects for refugee assistance overseas.

(These outstanding Americans are behind the work of the U.S. Committee for Refugees: (Officers: Maxwell M. Rabb, President; Luther H. Evans, Chairman of the Board; George Meany, Vice President; Samuel W. Meek, Vice President; Roderic L. O'Connor, Vice President; Reginald H. Hefferich, Treasurer; Victor Jacobs, General Counsel; Frances Humphrey Howard, Chairman of the Executive Committee; R. Norris Wilson, Executive Vice President.

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THE REFUGEE STORY IN 1968

Ten years ago when the United States Committee for Refugees was organized the world's refugee population was estimated to be 16,500,000 including 6,500,000 in Europe. At January 1, 1968 the European refugee problem has been reduced to 716,000 persons but the world's refugee population exceeds 15,500,000.

Over the decade, many hundreds of thousands became refugees and were resettled in Korea, India, Pakistan, Kashmir and Algeria—as well as in Europe. Nevertheless, in recent years the number of refugees of record has steadily and tragically increased—in 1964—7,910,309; in 1965—9,790,699; in 1966—11,226,920; in 1967—15,594,090. The most dramatic increases during the recent period are shown for the Middle East, South Vietnam and Africa.

Africa, out of her turbulent new life, has created many refugee problems. There are 57 states on the continent; 35 of them are faced with a refugee problem. In the early months of 1967, the Ford Foundation requested the United States Committee for Refugees to make an on-the-scene study of major refugee problems in Africa. Material for this article by R. Norris Wilson, the executive Vice President of the Committee, was gathered in the course of a 3-month 28,000 mile visit to 17 African countries.

In Vietnam the refugee population has more than doubled in the last 12 months. There are 26 American voluntary agencies at work there in addition to the assistance and pacification programs of the United States Government. The work of the private agencies, in spite of many hazards and discouragements, is probably the most hopeful fact about this tragic country.

In spite of the saddening ambiguities and confusion which burdens the hearts and minds of many Americans, these agencies are a "presence," representing to the Vietnamese people the spirit of compassion and helpfulness of the American people.

The story "Behind the Statistics in Vietnam," by Richard J. Peters, Associate Program Officer of the International Voluntary Services, Inc., is a revealing account of the characteristic work of voluntary agencies.

The Middle East saw the eruption of new fighting in the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict. The war of June 5, 1967 has created fresh tragedy but also opened new possibilities for long-range settlement efforts. This tragic problem, now 20 years old, is carefully analyzed by Dr. Laurence V. Michelmore, Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

American readers of this Report will not marvel at the increasing size of our Directory of Agencies engaged in refugee service. These agencies are the creations of the American's traditional desire to be helpful and his effort to extend his help in the most direct, practical and economical way. Inter-governmental, governmental and private agencies all have their distinctive role to play and all are equally vital to the total effort. But it is the private voluntary agency that "sets the pace" and gives the most

"agile," flexible and imaginative expression to the humanitarian spirit. This is because the agencies are closer to the people—closer to the people in need and closer to the people here who give so generously to meet the needs of refugees. Agency workers on the field, in every corner of the world, labor in circumstances of appalling difficulty and heartbreak. We, comfortably at home, in our churches and temples, in our service clubs or offices, or simply as thoughtful individuals who give our money to support these workers, should be deeply proud of them, and take satisfaction in the fact that we share, in some small way, in their labors.

The shocking number of refugees on every continent is the most tragic evidence of man's inability to manage himself, his religion, his politics and his hungers with due concern for his fellow man. On the other hand, our continuing efforts to help the refugee, wherever he is—in his need, whatever its cause—is heartening evidence that the healing impulses of sympathy and

neighborliness are at work among us, nourishing man's hopes for peace and freedom.

#### WHO IS A REFUGEE?

This Survey is at most a fragment of the story of over 15,594,090 refugees. They are on every continent and in more than 80 countries. We need to remember that they become refugees one by one. Statistics are a useful, if sometimes misleading convenience—and we must not let our statistics blind us. A refugee is a homeless, hopeless and hungry person.

Whether man, woman or child, the refugee is the tragic result of the violent pace and ferment that characterizes our time. Wherever the refugee is—whether Africa, Europe, Asia, Latin America, or in our own country—he, by his rootlessness and need personifies modern man's inability to cope with his personal life, his religion, his ambitions and his hungers, with due concern for his fellow man.

Each refugee group, while it bears some similarities to other groups, is unique. The

reasons for their flight differ in each case; the circumstances of their asylum differ in each case; the opportunity for and/or rate of resettlement and integration differ in each case. Moreover, while the human situation for the refugee is always grievous, the political significance of the refugees' predicament varies in importance according to a host of circumstances.

Taking into account the many varied legal, political, economic and religious considerations which bear upon his status as a refugee, we say that a person is a refugee if his forced movement (whether within his own country or to asylum elsewhere) means that he is deprived of a minimally decent life.

If he (1) is still in a camp, though he may have a job; (2) has adequate housing, but no place to work; (3) is well cared for, though still separated from his family and uncertain whether they can rejoin him; (4) by his loss of citizenship or forced migration, is deprived of the fundamental elements of a minimally decent life—he is a refugee.

#### 1967 WORLD REFUGEE POPULATION

15,594,090 HOMELESS—VICTIMS OF WAR, INTOLERANCE, AND SOCIAL UNREST

[Definition of abbreviations: AKF—American Korean Foundation; AFSC—American Friends Service Committee; CPRA—Congo Protestant Relief Agency; CRS-USCC—Catholic Relief Services—United States Catholic Conference; CWS—Church World Service; DHEW—Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Government; EPEAA—Ecumenical Programme for Emergency Action in Africa (All Africa Conference of Churches); ICMC—International Catholic Migration Commission; IRC—International Rescue Committee; JDC—Joint Distribution Committee; LWF—Lutheran World Federation; ORM—Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs, Department of State, U.S. Government; PAIRC—Polish-American Immigration and Relief Committee; SRA—Spanish Refugee Aid; UNHCR—United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; UNRWA—United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees; WCC—World Council of Churches; U.S. Senate—Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees]

Country of asylum	From—	1966	1967	Source
<b>East Asia:</b>				
China	Russia	1,000	1,000	ORM.
Hong Kong	China	2,000,000	2,000,000	ORM; AFSC.
Macau	China	80,000	86,000	ORM.
South Korea <sup>1</sup>	North Korea	1,000,000	1,000,000	AKF.
<b>Southeast Asia:</b>				
Bhutan	Tibet	3,000	3,000	Office of Tibet, USA.
Cambodia	South Vietnam		20,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
India (Calcutta)	Pakistan (East)	2,000,000	2,000,000	CWS-Stroup report; others.
India	Pakistan (East & West)	283,177	1,000,000	ORM.
Do	Tibet	41,800	50,000	Office of Tibet, USA; ORM. Times of London.
Do	Burma	55,249	55,249	Indian Information Service.
Laos	(National) <sup>3</sup>	250,000	300,000	ORM.
Nepal	Tibet	10,000	9,000	Office of Tibet, USA; CWS.
Pakistan (East & West)	India	500,000	500,000	ORM; WCC.
Sikkim	Tibet	6,000	5,000	Office of Tibet, USA.
South Vietnam	(National) <sup>3</sup>	1,003,000	2,091,000	U.S. mission, Saigon; ORM.
Thailand	Vietnam	40,000	40,000	ORM.
Do	Burma	30,000	30,000	New York Times.
Do	China	7,300	7,300	ORM.
Various countries in Asia	Europe		2,000	UNHCR <sup>1</sup>
<b>Total, Asia</b>		<b>7,310,526</b>	<b>9,199,549</b>	
<b>Middle East:</b>				
Dubai	Zanzibar		200	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Gaza Strip	Palestine	307,000	316,716	UNRWA.
Israel		52,000	52,000	JDC.
Jordan (East Bank)	Palestine	259,924	509,924	UNRWA.
Jordan (West Bank)	do	458,000	480,000	UNRWA.
Lebanon	do	164,000	160,723	UNRWA.
Syria	do	140,000	240,009	UNRWA (includes 100,000 Syrian national refugees).
Turkey	Bulgaria, Rumania, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Albania	2,200	2,000	Turkish Embassy, Washington, D.C.
<b>Total, Middle East</b>		<b>1,383,124</b>	<b>1,761,572</b>	
<b>North Africa:</b>				
Morocco		2,700	1,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
United Arab Republic	South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique		500	USCR. <sup>4</sup>
Do	Sinal, Gaza Strip		39,000	UNRWA.
Do	Europe		500	USCR.
<b>Northeastern Africa:</b>				
Ethiopia	Mozambique		11	USCR. <sup>4</sup>
Do	Sudan	10,000	20,000	ORM, CWS, CRS.
Do	South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia	18	30	USCR. <sup>4</sup>
Do	Somali Republic	70,000	70,000	Ethiopian Government.
Somali Republic	French Somaliland		12,000	
	Ethiopia		189,000	Conference document, Addis Ababa, Oct. 12, 1967 (unconfirmed).
	Kenya		218,000	
Sudan	Congo		9,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Ethiopia		25,500	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> (refugees from Eritrea).
<b>Central and East Africa:</b>				
Angola	Zambia		3,500	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Burundi	Rwanda	50,000	54,000	UNHCR, EPEAA.
Do	Congo	20,000	25,000	UNHCR, EPEAA.
Central African Republic	Sudan	18,000	27,000	UNHCR, EPEAA.
Do	Congo	3,000	16,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> EPEAA, CWS.
Congo, Democratic Republic of the	Angola	400,000	500,000	CWS, CPRA.
Do	Rwanda	60,000	24,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Sudan	18,000	33,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Haiti <sup>5</sup>		1,500	USCR.
Kenya	Southern Africa		450	USCR. <sup>4</sup>
Do	Sudan	100	200	USCR. <sup>4</sup>
Do	Rwanda		50	USCR.
Malawi	Mozambique		20,000	USCR, ORM.
Do	South Africa		30	USCR. <sup>4</sup>

See footnotes at end of table.

1967 WORLD REFUGEE POPULATION—Continued  
15,594,090 HOMELESS—VICTIMS OF WAR, INTOLERANCE, AND SOCIAL UNREST—Continued

Country of asylum	From—	1966	1967	Source
<b>Central and East Africa—Continued</b>				
Rwanda	Burundi		12,600	CRS.
Tanzania	Democratic Republic of the Congo	2,000	6,000	ORM.
Do	Rwanda	25,000	13,500	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Mozambique	10,000	19,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> ORM.
Do	Rhodesia	20	20	USCR. <sup>4</sup>
Do	Malawi		600	CRS.
Do	Kenya	2,500	2,500	LWF.
Do	Various African countries		500	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Sudan		600	CRS.
Uganda	Rwanda	50,000	68,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> CRS, ORM.
Do	Sudan	40,000	55,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Democratic Republic of the Congo	38,000	33,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Zambia	Angola	6,000	3,800	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Mozambique	5,000	1,800	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	Malawi, Sudan		120	USCR.
Do	Others		565	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
<b>Southern Africa:</b>				
Botswana	South-West Africa, South Africa, Rhodesia		200	EPEAA.
Lesotho	South Africa		200	USCR. <sup>4</sup> WCC.
Swaziland	South Africa, Mozambique		90	USCR. <sup>4</sup>
<b>West Africa:</b>				
Dahomey	Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali	12,000	12,000	EPEAA, ICMC.
Senegal	Portuguese Guinea	55,000	61,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Various African countries	South Africa	800	6,000	Tanzanian Christian Council.
<b>Total, Africa</b>		<b>898,138</b>	<b>1,586,368</b>	
<b>Europe and United Kingdom:</b>				
Australia			37,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> WCC.
Austria		858	24,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Belgium			47,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> WCC.
France	Eastern Europe, North Africa	62,500	192,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> JDC, IRC, ORT.
Do	Spain	70,588	100,000	SRA.
Germany	Eastern Europe	17,564	180,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup> PAIRC, WCC, IRC.
Greece		4,775	12,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Italy	Eastern Europe	1,030	13,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Do	North Africa		2,500	ORM.
Netherlands	Eastern Europe		9,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
New Zealand	do		500	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Spain	Cuba	15,000	17,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Sweden	Eastern Europe		20,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Switzerland	Tibet	399	495	Office of Tibet, USA.
Do	Various		20,500	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
U.S.S.R.	China	70,000	70,000	U.S. Senate hearing report.
United Kingdom	Various		167,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Yugoslavia	Albania		26,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Europe, various	Tibet	600	600	Office of Tibet, USA.
<b>Total, Europe and United Kingdom</b>		<b>243,314</b>	<b>938,595</b>	
<b>Western Hemisphere:</b>				
Argentina <sup>6</sup>	Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay	1,000,000	1,000,000	New York Times.
Bahamas	Haiti	132	12,000	Do.
Dominican Republic	do	5,000	5,000	IRC.
Puerto Rico	Cuba	6,000	14,938	DHEW.
Do	Haiti	5,000	5,000	IRC.
United States	Cuba	91,148	350,000	ORM.
Do	Tibet	48	70	Office of Tibet, USA; New York Times.
Do	Haiti	6,000	6,000	IRC.
Do	Various		550,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
Various Latin American countries	Cuba	35,000	50,000	ORM.
Venezuela, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Colombia	Europe	130,000	115,000	UNHCR. <sup>2</sup>
<b>Total, Western Hemisphere</b>		<b>1,278,328</b>	<b>2,108,008</b>	

SUMMARY—TOTAL WORLD REFUGEE POPULATION

Area	1966	1967
Asia	7,310,526	9,199,549
Middle East	1,383,124	1,761,572
Africa	898,138	1,586,368
Europe and United Kingdom	243,314	938,595
Western Hemisphere	1,278,328	2,108,008
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,113,430</b>	<b>15,594,090</b>

<sup>1</sup> There remain approximately 1,000,000 of the 4,000,000 persons who moved from North to South Korea during the Korean war. It is assumed that most of the refugees have been "integrated." Yet only 1 country in the world (India) is receiving the assistance of more registered American voluntary agencies than Korea.

<sup>2</sup> These figures, as of Jan. 1, 1967, represent the estimated number of refugees in each country (whether resettled or not) subject to the protection and/or assistance of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In nearly all cases, other agencies confirm these figures.

<sup>3</sup> Refugees in their homelands who, because they have not crossed an international border, retain citizenship.

<sup>4</sup> These figures represent a small but significant number of refugees from southern African states seeking employment or educational opportunities.

<sup>5</sup> In April 1967, there were reported to be 1,500 Haitian refugee teachers working in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

<sup>6</sup> We know of the presence of 1,000,000 persons who have moved from Chile, Bolivia, and Paraguay to the outskirts of the city of Buenos Aires in Argentina. They are refugees in the sense that they have no proper travel documents and also because they are, for the most part, jobless and homeless—in other words, in need of most of the services normally thought appropriate and necessary for refugees. They are undoubtedly many hundreds of thousands more of these so-called economic migrants, especially in Africa.

<sup>7</sup> There are many thousands of refugees in transit whose movement from their homes to new home in asylum countries is now accomplished quickly enough to prevent their settlement in camps. For example, 4,000 persons per month are moved from Cuba into Miami and out to new homes in a matter of days. Similarly, refugees from behind the Iron Curtain are being processed so rapidly and so efficiently that their numbers of approximately 34,000 per year do not enter our calculations. Only refugees that are visible can be accounted for.

OUT OF SIGHT—OUT OF MIND

The principal objective of this survey of the world's refugee problems is to give visibility to 15,594,090 persons—men, women and children—who are today's refugees and suffer the effects of being "Out of sight—out of mind."

The international apparatus for resettling European refugees has been radically improved. Now most of the camps are gone. Refugees from Eastern Europe who make their escape just as they did in the late 1940's and 1950's are moved to new homes in asylum countries in a matter of days. It is

tragic irony that a European refugee, receiving as he does the much improved service from the international community, has become "invisible" and is, therefore, no longer seen or felt as a burden on the heart and conscience of the free world.

Moreover, the scene has changed. The most

serious refugee problems are no longer in Europe—they are in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. These refugees, in vast numbers and in serious need, are "invisible" too.

The refugees in Africa and Asia are "invisible" partly because of their distance from us, partly because of the confused, almost frantic pace of the world's life, partly because, as distinct from the European refugees, the refugees in Africa and Asia have no large and influential body of American citizens related by blood or national origin to plead their cause. Moreover, few, if any, of the millions of refugees in Asia and Africa will be resettled in the U.S.A. This is another reason why their tragedy does not "come home" to us. And so, tragically, the refugees of Africa remain "invisible" to the eye and conscience of Americans.

Even in South Vietnam where there are more than 2,000,000 refugees in various stages of resettlement, we do not really SEE the problem. The plight of those who have had to flee their homes because of the constant to and fro of the fighting has been obscured by the confusion in the United States over the ends and means to our national effort in Vietnam.

The American citizen has always responded with sympathy and generosity to any humanitarian need. But when he gave his heart and his money for the relief of the distressed, it was because he had been given a believable vision of the need which had to be met. There is a deep-seated connection between "seeing" and "believing." This is why we believe that giving "visibility" to the problem of the refugee is a task of fundamental urgency. We need to see!

A Refugee is a person—his needs are personal—we need to "see" him—that is, to imagine him and accept him personally with all his distress—in our minds and hearts.

#### REFUGEES IN AFRICA

(By R. Norris Wilson, executive vice president)

There are 57 states on the continent of Africa; 35 are faced with the problem of refugees. Of these, 11 (all in Sub-Sahara) have given asylum to refugees from more than one country. For example, Uganda has refugees from Sudan, Congo and Rwanda. Of these, 11, 7 are both receiving and exiling countries. For example, Congo-Kinshasa has given asylum to 560,000 refugees. At the same time, 63,000 Congolese have sought and found refuge in neighboring countries. The total number of refugees who have moved and are moving en masse is 1,586,366.

In addition, and quite distinct from the mass flight of refugees into adjacent asylum countries, there is the small but quite serious problem of refugees from Southern Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa. At any one time there are 1,500 to 2,000 (mostly young men) moving from, say, Francistown in Botswana to and through the major cities in East Africa as far north as Cairo. They are seeking education, jobs, or, in some cases, are engaged in "rebel" activities against the governments of their homelands.

For many generations, African people have moved freely within their often ill-defined tribal areas in search of game, more fertile soil or forage for their herds. National boundaries did not limit this more or less casual and sometimes seasonal movement. But with independence, these boundaries—once merely arbitrary lines on the map often crossing through traditional tribal grounds—have increasingly become barriers to movement. These boundaries are carefully watched and often defended. The people who cross them now, in far too many cases, are refugees seeking asylum and peace for themselves and their families. This study takes no account of this traditional movement. We are concerned only with the desperately real, con-

tinuing and growing problems of persons who are in flight from oppression and escapees from the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary fighting in their homelands.

The situation in most African countries is so volatile and precarious that additional and new flights of refugees are a continuing possibility. The power struggle in many states is the result of an interplay of internal and external forces, tribal animosities old and new, hunger, hope, colonialism and great power tensions. The ferment of these forces will not subside quickly. It is likely, therefore, that while present refugee problems can and will be solved, others perhaps far more serious, will arise.

#### Repatriation: An unlikely answer

Repatriation seems a natural solution to refugee problems. Whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa, it has always been one of the possibilities for solving the problem of mass flight from an emergency situation, whether from political or natural causes. Officials of nearly all asylum countries refer to the ultimate return of the refugees to their "homelands." It is, on the face of it, the simplest and most ideal solution. In Africa, repatriation is a basic presupposition of refugee policy in most asylum countries. In some places, there is currently some small, and I think significant, evidence to support this presupposition.

On the whole, however, *repatriation is not a promising solution for any considerable number of refugees in Africa at the present time.* Moreover, the continued talk of repatriation on the part of the asylum governments and their apparent belief in its possibility is a deterrent to the proper resettlement of refugees. As long as the refugees are told that they are going to be repatriated or that there is a possibility of repatriation, they are not going to make significant progress in their resettlement. For example, the problem of the Sudanese refugees has been aggravated by Khartoum's diplomatic effort to persuade the surrounding asylum countries that the refugees are going to return.

In general, repatriation is not a promising solution for any refugee problem in Africa mainly because the causes which brought about the flight of refugees in the first instance are still present and unsolved. This is true in the Sudan; it is true in the Portuguese territories; it is true in the Congo; it is true in Rwanda. The refugees have found asylum, they are safe and they are setting up new homes. They do not want to return to the countries from which they are exiled as long as the circumstances in those countries remain hostile, as they are at the present time.

Repatriation—ideal solution though it may be—must always be a voluntary and never forced solution. It must be based on the refugee's real choice. He must be given the choice as to whether he wants to stay where he is or to return to what was his former residence. In the resettlement areas which I have seen, it would seem unlikely that, refugee resettlement having progressed as well as it has, any significant number of refugees would opt for a return to their countries. They are in almost every respect better off where they are. They have schools and medical facilities; they have planted gardens, trees, orchards and tea; their economic status is probably superior to what was. The promise of the future is certainly encouraging—so much so, as to seriously affect their willingness to be uprooted again and return to what might be called their homes.

Another aspect of this problem is what I think to be the difference in the concept of "home" or "homeland" as between, say, Europe and Africa. An African, at the present time, may be living 100 or 200 miles from his

former residence but he is, at the same time, among his neighbors who fled with him and probably within the area occupied by his fellow tribesmen. He regards himself, in these respects, as being "at home." In Europe, on the other hand, the refugee who wants to return from, say, Austria to Hungary has in his mind, as he thinks of home, a particular house on a particular street in a particular city. This is not the case in Africa where men and women have wandered within vast areas but kept tribal connections and ways. They never felt as they moved from place to place that they were not at home.

I think we must accept the refugee resettlements, by and large, as permanent and base our actions and future plans on the presupposition that repatriation is, for the most part, a possibility *only* in exceptional circumstances. The asylum countries are going to recognize that, as the refugee applies his mind, heart and spirit to the development of his new home, he becomes a resource of inestimable value to them. I think as time goes on, there will be less and less talk of his possible repatriation. By the same token, of course, the countries which have exiled the refugees have suffered an absolute loss. I have no idea what recompense, if any, can or need be made to them.

Every refugee problem in Africa is different from every other. Each has its peculiar history—tribal, political, religious and linguistic.

Nevertheless, there are common needs and a general order of priority in meeting them. Refugees fleeing to safety in an asylum country must have basic relief services first. There are medical needs. Some have been injured by gunfire or accident along the way. There is disease, exhaustion and malnutrition. Food and clothing are primary needs. Often, as in flight from Angola or the Sudan, refugees have lived "in the bush" for some days or even months before they have sought asylum. They are hungry and their children are sick and undernourished, their clothing in rags.

Land and temporary housing must be found. Refugees often cross the border to safety and find asylum in their own tribal areas. In these circumstances they find an initial welcome among people who know them. In the lower Congo, the Angolan refugees have been permanently resettled in just this way. They need only the immediate emergency services on their arrival and food and clothing rations for a year. They soon find a home plot, plant their crops and build their homes. Normally, within a year, they have made permanent settlement.

It is not always so simple. Refugees may settle first on land near the border where they receive emergency service and later (often sadly, too much later), they are moved further from the border to insure their protection and prevent continuing border strife. This has happened in Uganda and is happening now in the Central African Republic.

Refugees in mass flight while suffering the physical disabilities of their journey also suffer the spiritual and psychological wounds of separation, rootlessness and frustration more grievously. They have been defeated. Some want to continue the fighting, and do. These wounds heal slowly, especially if the flow of refugees continues and the settlers are frequently aroused by new refugees fresh from the fighting. These problems are the most enduring and create the most serious and persisting difficulties for the host government, the High Commissioner and the private voluntary agencies, all of whom are seeking to help the refugees.

#### Contribution to development

The resettlement activity of the United Nations High Commissioner, as it is seen in most places, is obviously a positive contribution to the development of the country. The land on which the refugees have been resettled is almost always land which has



never been under cultivation before. The very fact of its having been brought under cultivation is a contribution to the resources of the host country.

One marvels, for example, as one sees Bibwe in the Kivu Province of the Congo—the resettlement involving 1,250 families from Rwanda. They have cleared 15,000 acres of forest, planted crops, established schools and formed cooperatives. They have now reached the point where they have a common tea plantation (a cooperative) which markets 10,000 pounds of tea per month. The refugees also manufacture furniture which they sell to the cooperatives as well as their agricultural produce (beans, ground nuts, etc.). This settlement, now five years old, has reached the point where it is making a positive, obvious contribution to the general economy of the country.

I think, also, of the settlement at Mugera in Burundi where some 23,000 Rwandese were moved all at one time into an area which was almost entirely swampland. The High Commissioner, with the cooperation of the ILO and other UN Bodies as well as the AIDR (a Belgian organization representing both the Belgian Government and the private sector), has resettled these people with magnificent speed and success. Certain large investments had to be made at the outset. The swamps had to be drained and pipelines laid for an adequate supply of water. Once this was done, the refugees were assigned their homes and garden plots and began their development. It would appear to the observer that they, working together with a great deal of determination and courage, have added to the economy of Burundi a very large and a very impressive capital asset for the long future.

#### *The role of the voluntary agencies*

I have made many references to the active cooperation with the High Commissioner of voluntary agencies from many countries. Some of them are familiar to us in the United States—Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, the American Friends Service Committee, etc. The High Commissioner has invited voluntary agencies into partnership in resettlement activities wherever he is working. They have brought food, clothing, money and personnel to the task in amounts so significant as to be absolutely invaluable and indispensable to the High Commissioner's program.

This pattern of cooperation is not always easy and uncomplicated. Many of the organizations involved with refugees in Africa have a religious motivation and are not used to dealing with the extremely complicated political factors which involve the High Commissioner's activities in Africa. I do not want to be misunderstood. The High Commissioner is engaged in purely humanitarian service but the arrangements under which this service can be rendered to the refugees are based on arrangements that must be made with the Officers of the host government. In many cases, the negotiations surrounding these arrangements are touched with the political considerations that prevail in the host country. It is, I think, a tribute to the skill and patience of the High Commissioner that he has been able to effect these arrangements in the face, sometimes, of very difficult problems which must be talked through and accommodated into his planning.

It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the representatives of the voluntary agencies are not always entirely aware of the negotiations which underlie the High Commissioner's work and feel that he is engaging with the host government on political grounds in arrangements with which they either cannot agree or do not support.

This being true, it is marvelous to see the extent and generosity of the cooperation

between the two groups. I believe that the High Commissioner's representatives make every effort to be understood and give in an open-handed and open-hearted way the credit to the voluntary agencies which they so rightly deserve. The voluntary agencies, for their part, are more than ready to contribute where and as they can in the execution of plans that have been worked out by the High Commissioner.

There are many countries in Africa which have refugee problems where the High Commissioner has *not* been invited by the host government to participate. In these places, I have found the voluntary agencies working on their own and, in all cases, making their plans with as much care and executing them with as much fidelity of purpose and clarity of objective as the High Commissioner. Malawi is a good example of this kind of undertaking.

The voluntary agencies but especially the Church and mission-related agencies have unique and crucially valuable strengths for service to refugees in Africa as elsewhere in the world.

They have been there a long time. Mission stations, with hospitals, schools and churches, were planted many decades ago. The teachers, doctors, nurses and other trained personnel close to the people and their needs have a deep understanding and sympathy, born of long friendship. Much of the good work of governmental and inter-governmental agencies is dependent upon this special and rare understanding.

Representatives of these agencies, because they are present as trusted friends and are not working within the limits of governmental agreements are able to protect the rights and welfare of refugees more quickly, generously and flexibly than even the most sympathetic government offices. Governmental and intergovernmental representatives are quick to express their gratitude to the private agencies. They are especially grateful for the material assistance of the private agencies—food, medicines, clothing, tools and the like. While there is never enough, it is commonly true that the only resources of this kind, and always the *first* to be offered, are the gifts of the American people through these agencies.

Nothing is simple or easy. Religion is a part of the tumultuous ferment in Africa. In many places it is a source of deep enmity and strife. Refugees from the Sudan, for example, are refugees partly because of an old and deep-rooted antipathy between Moslems and Christians. Moreover, Christian missionary, educational and medical service is often linked with "colonialism," and present day workers for these agencies are often regarded with suspicion and treated with hostility.

In spite of these difficulties and others more obvious—inadequate transportation, slow communication and the limitations of developing countries—one feels a warm admiration for the gallantry and devotion of these servants of God and men.

I have referred before to the close relationship between representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the private agencies. The importance of this cooperation, indeed interdependence, cannot be overstated. Each has his role to play and they are complementary.

In most of the countries where I visited, I found Church World Service or Catholic Relief Services engaged in projects related to the problems of refugees. They were using, for example, in Senegal, Public Law 480, foods for work projects. They were, in some cases, supplying rations for the refugees along with clothing and medicines. Personnel, agricultural advisors, nurses and other persons who had become members of the team were working either in the resettlement

projects sponsored by the High Commissioner or in projects of their own.

A most important contribution of the private agencies is their work with the refugees from southern African states who are moving slowly through the "underground railway" up through East Africa as far north as Cairo. In each of the "way stations," there is a small committee, sometimes quite anonymously known or, if not anonymous, quite ambiguously titled, which is dealing on a case-by-case, person-by-person basis with these young men and women and the terrible problems that they are facing as they seek opportunities for employment or for their education. Mr. Chidzero, the resident representative of the United Nations Development Programme in Nairobi, told me that the contributions of the private voluntary agencies to the High Commissioner and to other refugee services were absolutely indispensable. He spoke in glowing terms of the generosity and persistence, not only of the American agencies, church-related or not, but the efforts of private citizens from many countries.

I have seen the work of these agencies in every country I visited and I believe that the contribution of the private citizen through his church or other association, all over the world, is a crucial factor in the solution of refugee problems in Africa.

#### *The brighter side of the coin*

It may appear from reading this account that the refugee is both the *product* and the *producer of disorder*. His physical and spiritual problems—sickness and malnutrition, rootlessness and despair—are upthrust out of the ferment of the "new" Africa. In asylum countries where he has been allowed to settle, his hosts often call him a "rebel," a "threat to security" or a "subversive."

But we must read the other side of the coin too! He became a refugee, a "rebel," because he rebelled at what he thinks was an attack on his human rights. His rights to the elemental freedoms of education, vocation, religion, privacy and association were violated. His flight was an act of courage. It was an extremely costly protest which he judged was worth making in order not only to save himself (that is, to "get out of harm's way"), but to say something for the sake of his conscience about human dignity and aspiration. The work of the Government and of the intergovernmental and private agencies is a story of almost miraculous success. Indeed, taking into account the wide range of "hard" problems that have been met, and are being met and faced—it is a miracle!

However, what makes this story a miracle is not only the wisdom, patience and generosity of those who work with the problem—it is also the evident courage and the refugee's will to live and make live. He has a kind of dauntlessness—or he wouldn't have become a refugee in the first place.

How many times before we have seen what we now begin to see among the Sudanese in Uganda, the Rwandese in Burundi, or the Mozambiquans in Tanzania. Whether from Germany or Spain or Russia or Italy or China or Palestine—or wherever—in the long past or now—the refugees brought with them, as they emigrated, precisely those strengths of mind and spirit which their homelands could least afford to lose.

It is not foolish to say that among the refugees in Africa, there are nation builders. On the other hand, it is foolish not to see that, for example, in the rather forlorn clusters of migrant refugee students in East Africa, there are leaders of industry, science, politics and human welfare.

Most of us haven't seen this hopeful side of the refugee problem. We see much that is primitive and cruel—like the ruthless reach

and clutch of power. Africa's "image," in the Western World at least, gives little hint of what her tumultuous life is providing these highly generative groups of people. Through the experience of becoming refugees (terrible as it is in so many ways), many of these people will become "leaven" in the nations that have given them asylum.

So if the UNHAR, Church World Service, Catholic Relief Services and the host of others who work with refugees count their work as gain, it is because they are working with some of the most highly endowed people of Africa. It is because the agencies have had the patience and imagination to begin where the people are and to provide for the refugees the very fundamental nourishment for these powers of mind and spirit that are the basic ingredients of peace development.

The assistance the refugee receives—modest and limited as it appears to be—may be the most helpful and provident investment in all Africa today.

AIRLINE STEWARDESSES' UNIQUE PROGRAM AIDS REFUGEE CHILDREN: "DOOLEY DOLLIES" SCORE SMASH HIT

(By Wilma Doble)

In Southeast Asia, a strikingly pretty and talented group of young ladies, affectionately known as the "Dooley Dollies," are chalking up a success story that rivals Broadway's "Hello, Dolly!" for rave reviews. Both "Dollies are attracting Standing Room Only audiences but the fans dramatically differ.

The SRO crowd waiting to see the "Dooley Dollies" are solemn-faced refugee children. Some have miraculously crossed the highest mountains in the world to escape the bloody occupation of their homes in Tibet by the Red Chinese. Others are heart-breakingly innocent victims of war-torn Vietnam.

The "Dooley Dollies" are actually airline stewardesses from 15 major airlines in the United States and from abroad. They are under the direction of Dr. Verne Chaney, President of the Thomas A. Dooley Foundation, Inc. and their only payment is the thanks of the Foundation and the satisfaction that comes from knowing their humane services are helping to better the lives of tomorrow's citizens.

Two Pan American stewardesses, Marleane Thompson and Margie Burgy, are credited as the first "Dooley Dollies." Inspired by the work of the late Thomas A. Dooley and with an enthusiastic desire to be of practical help to his ideals, the young women flew to Southeast Asia to explore the possibilities near the end of 1961. Their ideas and observations materialized into the Stewardess Program of the Dooley Foundation.

"For four months we worked six days a week from morning 'til night, teaching nursing, playing, singing and mothering," Miss Thompson recalls. "These children became the most important things in our lives and still are. Thus the Stewardess Program began."

The trial run of the "Dooley Dollies" was an immediate success and in a very short time stewardesses from the various other airlines joined the Pan American girls to volunteer their services. Today over 120 are participating in the Stewardess Program. "Hostesses are probably the most natural individuals for this type of work," Miss Thompson believes. "Our airlines expose us to civilizations, culture, and religious customs which are not our own. They teach us to recognize people's needs, to respond in a gracious manner and they train us thoroughly in first aid. Consequently, the stewardess is a very effective as well as dedicated individual representing the Dooley Foundation."

The stewardesses volunteer for a three-month period and their services cover a wide variety of projects. In Katmandu, Nepal, supplementary teaching assistance is given to a Nepalese Orphanage housing over 150 chil-

dren and a Nursery Care Center has been established at a Tibetan Refugee Camp. Teaching assistance is also given in Laos and Khong Island.

American Airlines' Kay Billings, a music therapy graduate of Michigan State University, is enthusiastic about the educational program the stewardesses have developed. She spent her time in Katmandu working with the Nepalese youngsters. "If I could feel we have taught them to think for themselves, my stay will have indeed been worthwhile," Miss Billings said on her recent return.

Stewardesses also administer to minor medical needs, work in hospitals and clinics, issue vitamins and regulate the milk supply.

A Pan American stewardess recently initiated a public health program aboard a new Thomas A. Dooley medical houseboat and uses puppets as a teaching aid. This floating clinic treats villages along the Mekong River in Laos.

Joan Hvezda, an Eastern Airlines stewardess, kept a diary which reflects some of the experiences the "Dooley Dollies" have encountered. "June 28—Muon Khong, Laos," she wrote. "A distraught mother stood on my doorstep in the middle of the night with a screaming baby in her arms. They had traveled all day. The child's ear was badly swollen and some horrible-looking gook (black magic potion) was smeared over his head. All night, by flashlight, Dr. Davis and I forced medicine into the little body. By sunrise the baby's fever finally broke."

Looking back on her experiences, Miss Hvezda said thoughtfully, "I have a patience and understanding I didn't have before. I feel so much more aware of myself in terms of the world at large. Yes, of course, I want to go back."

The Stewardess Program has proven to be a reciprocal education for the volunteers and children. For many "Dooley Dollies," it is their first introduction to a different culture, a new way of thinking and living. TWA's Pat O'Hara, working on Khong Island, commented, "It (Khong) is an absolutely beautiful place with wonderful people. Being a city girl I never really knew what was so 'nice' about the people from the country. I guess what I like best about these people is their complete lack of suspicion toward strangers."

Despite hard work and inconveniences, the stewardesses still find time for fun and relaxation. The warmth and friendliness of the people have frequently brought them more social invitations than they can fulfill. Sometimes they are invited to a Laotian wedding and take part in all the pomp and ceremony, including the fascinating custom of each guest tying a string on the wrist of fellow guests as a token of good luck. Often they have the rare opportunity of celebrating two distinctly different New Years—their familiar Western one and the colorful pageantry of the Chinese New Year. They are given seats of honor on special feast occasions and have learned with delight the many native dances and songs.

Dr. Chaney is optimistic about the future of the Stewardess Program. He says, "It is very impressive to the local people that these young stewardesses care enough about them, even in these trying times, to come there and help. It gives them hope because there are no angles, no strings attached. That is the beauty of this type of program."

#### BEHIND THE STATISTICS IN VIETNAM

(By Richard J. Peters, associate program officer, International Voluntary Services, Inc.)

Refugees have long been a problem in Vietnam, but with the escalation of the war the problem is rising in geometric proportions. The official figures for refugees stand at nearly 2,000,000 (or more than 10 per cent of the

population) but the true number is unknown. The official count in Saigon, for instance, is zero but perhaps half of the people in Saigon are refugees of some sort.

Refugees are not new to the world but the aspects of the problem in Vietnam are. Seldom before have refugees been purposely created and transported from a few to sometimes hundreds of miles from their homes in order to clear the area for an operation or a free-bomb zone. To be thus displaced in Vietnam carries special meaning, not only with relation to the attachment to one's native land, but also because one's ancestors are more than likely buried in that land. Ancestor worship is a major Buddhist religious belief and is present to some extent even in Vietnamese Catholicism.

In the process of "creating" refugees, they are usually transported and grouped around province capitals where there is safety but no land to farm, no work under already-crowded urban conditions, and the suspicions of the native city dwellers with which to contend. To be suddenly moved to an area where it is impossible to work, cut off from one's livelihood, and placed in a hostile atmosphere (in many cases by foreign soldiers) is the plight of most refugees in Vietnam. Not all, certainly, are purposely generated. They group themselves around safe areas and province capitals for a variety of reasons, most of them having to do with personal security. Escaping from military operations, Vietcong terror and intimidation or American bombing and napalm are all much the same to them; they are uprooted, lost human beings.

Where possible, the volunteers have found it most beneficial to confine their activities to one village or grouping of refugees because of the personal attention which they need and the number of emergencies which continue to arise in the camps. The refugee camps, although full of people who see little but their miserable condition and uncertain future, offer a good opportunity for true Community Development efforts in the direction not only of projects and material advancement but the building of a "community" and, in many cases, even institutions. Tom Fox's efforts in the refugee village of Ninh Tinh near the city of Tuy Hoa demonstrate this:

"I have made a deal with USAID, asking them to supply cement at the rate of two bags per family to refugee families who would go out and gather rocks with which they could build cement floors to make life a bit more comfortable than the sand on which they were living. USAID agreed and so, too, did the refugee families.

"Within three days the word had spread and within five, every single one of the 91 new families in the new section of the camp had a pile of rocks which they had gathered from a mountain area about three kilometers away. Jon, Nonoy and I demonstrated a cement-laying technique in one of the compartments. A good number of refugees said they were uncertain as to how one goes about leveling, etc. With a rock base and a sand-cement mixture for the surface, we presented the demonstration. Then I agreed to deliver 50 bags to 25 families.

"When they had finished the 25 floors, 50 bags more were agreed to be delivered and so on, until all 91 huts had been made more livable. The communal psychology worked rather well for there was a great deal of discernible pressure brought to bear on the families with cement. It took two weeks until all 91 floors had been laid. There was also a bit of competition detected among the families. Some laid entrances to their little huts; others made little kitchens out in back, etc. The cementing serves the dual purpose of uplifting spirits within the camp by allowing the families to add a personal note to their

own meager living quarters and, at the same time, raise health standards by making the huts a lot easier to keep clean."

The refugee problem continues to keep ahead of even the best efforts of the Vietnamese and American governments. The increasing numbers often do not stay in one place for long unless they receive good leadership or are forcibly restricted. If they get the chance, they may even return to their homes in the middle of a communist-controlled area or a free-bomb zone. The day-to-day process of looking after the best interests of these people and attempting to raise community spirits, tapping the resources that are inevitably there, and attempting to give the community a sense of its own existence are the concerns of the IVS refugee worker.

Since 1960 in Khammouane Province of Laos, 17,000 refugees have sought the protection of the Royal Lao Government because of military activities in eastern sections of the Province. The insecurity has driven them southwest and west towards RLG Route 13. This has resulted in 21 groups of refugees in various stages of resettlement.

The basic activities in the Khammouane Province Refugee Program include: 1) emergency relief to area refugees and planning for requirements for new refugees, and 2) assisting as many refugees as possible to become self-sufficient by providing groups in new areas of good agricultural development potential where it would be possible for them to re-establish a normal life.

Initial steps toward resettlement have been taken in 11 sites. Assistance with producing field rice and, for the first time, paddy rice is going on in a program of improved seed distribution and buffalo loans. Self-help programs in schools, dispensaries, and wells are going on as well as agricultural programs in vegetable and fruit tree distribution.

Of major importance are the home industries and handicraft programs. Wood shingles are now being used for self-help projects and permanent refugee housing. The refugees are being encouraged to produce various handicraft items for sale. A craft center will soon be built to train villagers in improved techniques. A sewing and weaving program for women and girls is also under way.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S JOURNAL

The World Refugee Report provides a way for the Committee and its staff to record for its wide circle of friends some of the highlights of our work in the last year.

The United States Committee for Refugees—

Assists the United Nations refugee agencies by providing them public information and program assistance in the United States;

Brings to the members of the Congress and to appropriate Government agencies information and recommendations on refugee and immigration legislation, and provides testimony for Congressional Committees considering pending legislation;

Operates an information clearing house on the work of the more than 50 recognized refugee relief agencies in the United States;

Serves the communication media as a source of information and material on all aspects of the refugee problem;

Provides, through its World Refugee Report, current comprehensive and authoritative data on refugee situations throughout the world;

Maintains a referral service (to relief agencies) for refugees, former refugees, relatives of refugees, and citizens interested or involved in individual refugee situations;

Furnishes individual students, colleges, universities, and secondary schools with educational materials on the world refugee problem as a part of the social science curriculum;

Makes financial grants to operating agencies according to the availability of its funds for special emergency projects proposed by the agencies. Presently, 8 private and inter-governmental agencies are receiving grants from the Committee.

#### African Journey, February 17-May 30, 1967

The Committee's "on-the-scene" study of refugee problems in Africa was its most important undertaking in 1967. The study, made at the instance of a Foundation, covering the resettlement efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the needs of refugee student migrants, as well as the service to refugees by private voluntary agencies. The extensive work of preparations, briefings, and the drafting and editing of the 220-page report involved the staff of the Committee fully for several weeks before and several weeks after the journey.

Throughout the long 27,000 mile trip, we had the fullest cooperation of the United States Embassy and Mission personnel, the United Nations agencies, local Government offices, representatives of voluntary agencies, and the refugees themselves. The Committee expresses its thanks to all participants, but especially to the sponsoring Foundation.

#### Item: The Middle East Crisis, June 5, 1967

The Committee was asked to organize and provide staff service for a two-day consultation of distinguished American scholars, social scientists, Government and Foundation officers on the refugee problem in the Middle East. The purpose of the discussion, informal and off the record, was to try to find a sense of direction toward new and imaginative solutions to this 20-year old problem. The consultation was held at the Plaza Hotel in New York City on July 17-18.

It is our impression that the sustained, quiet and dispassionate discussion of this most difficult and unyielding problem by these distinguished participants has proved germinal to new undertakings for emergency and long-range solutions to the refugee problem.

#### Committee's members and friends finance world refugee report

The United States Committee for Refugees, Inc. is a service organization (see above) and one of its major responsibilities is "Telling the Refugee Story." In the late summer, because of the extraordinary strains on our budget, we seriously doubted that we could finance the publication of the World Refugee Report. We shared this problem with our 50,000 members and friends across the country in a special mail appeal which brought us a total of \$26,000. This issue of our World Refugee Report is, therefore, really the result of the generosity of our members and friends. We are deeply grateful to them for their help in this crisis.

We sometimes think our services, essential, useful and quiet as they are, do not excite popular attention and support. If this is true, it means that the giving of our many friends is all the more meritorious.

#### "Tree of Life" gift wrap sales, October and November

We are pleased to say that during the pre-Christmas season, 16,000 of our friends bought 23,000 packets of our "Tree of Life" Gift Wrap. Our buyers gave \$33,000 in contributions over and above the purchase price of \$2.00 per package. From these funds and the receipts from our special appeal, we have made further and final payments on our special emergency grants to Catholic Relief Services, The Thomas A. Dooley Foundation, International Social Service, American ORT

Foundation, and United Church Board for World Ministries.

#### USCR board meeting, December 9, 1967

The Board of Directors, at its regular meeting, heard reports of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and Dr. Laurence V. Michelmore, the Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. The December meeting is usually timed to hear the results of the United Nations debates, actions and decisions taken in response to the reports of these two refugee leaders.

The meeting also elected a new Treasurer, Dr. Reginald H. Helfferich, General Secretary, Division of World Service of the United Church Board for World Ministries, Dr. Helfferich succeeds Abram Claude, Jr. of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, for whose devoted service across the years the Board expressed its appreciation.

Dr. Helfferich is an officer of many organizations giving service to refugees and has been a member of the USCR Board for six years.

#### UNRWA AND THE NEW REFUGEE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Laurence V. Michelmore, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees)

The renewal of hostilities in the Middle East in June 1967 caused tens of thousands of Arab families to flee from their homes and seek refuge beyond the Cease-Fire lines. The plight of these 350,000 displaced persons, many of them refugees for the second time in their lives, brought a ready and generous response from every continent.

In the United States, voluntary organizations which had long been providing aid for the Palestine refugees stepped up their appeals and began shipping emergency supplies. The Government, too, was prompt in appropriating funds for the emergency and in organizing an airlift of 10,000 tents for the homeless in Jordan. A number of prominent citizens in the United States—among them industrialists, educators, publishers—felt that this new human tragedy in the Middle East demanded an exceptional effort from the American people. They set about creating an *ad hoc* committee which would raise substantial sums of money in a relatively short period of time from the private sector. General Dwight D. Eisenhower agreed to act as Honorary Chairman, with James A. Linen (President of Time, Inc.) as President and Chairman of the Board. Under this distinguished direction, NEED (Near East Emergency Donations) was established in early August to raise money for the relief of Arab refugees, the major part of the funds were to be channeled through UNRWA.

#### Before the hostilities

UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees) was established by the United Nations General Assembly in December, 1949 and it began operations in May 1950. Its task has been to relieve distress and promote rehabilitation among the Arab refugees who lost their homes and means of livelihood as a result of the conflict in Palestine in 1948. Over the years, while continuing to provide basic relief—food, clothing and shelter—it has also developed a considerable range of technical services for the health, welfare, education and training of the refugees.

Since it was established, UNRWA has fed and kept in tolerably good health a refugee population which now numbers about 1,300,000 persons. It has established camps providing shelter for more than 500,000 people, served 120,000,000 meals to children and distributed 10,000 tons of clothing. A simple but effective community health service has been

built up with technical guidance from WHO; there has never been a major epidemic among the refugees in UNRWA's care. A whole new education system has been developed with technical advice and guidance from UNESCO. There are today more than 250,000 children receiving full-time education, either in 440 schools constructed or rented by UNRWA or in government or private schools subsidized by UNRWA. In addition UNRWA has established 10 well-equipped, residential centres for training young refugee men and women as teachers or in a variety of industrial and semi-professional skills, with the result that UNRWA has become one of the most important channels for this type of technical assistance in the Middle East.

The economy of UNRWA's operations is demonstrated by the simple fact that assistance to the refugees averages 10¢ (U.S.) per person a day. Of this sum, about 5¢ is spent on relief, 1¢ on health and 4¢ on education.

With the passage of time, the emphasis in UNRWA's work has shifted more and more towards the provision of education for the children and youth of the refugee community. The high proportion of UNRWA's funds that are now devoted to education and training (42 per cent in 1966) goes a long way towards explaining the solid, constructive progress that had been made in dealing with the economic and social aspects of the refugee problem, despite the continuing deadlock on the political plane. *The widespread assumption that the refugees have been stagnating in idleness in the refugee camps throughout the years since 1948 is false. The truth is that, up to the time of the recent hostilities, a slow but steady process of rehabilitation had been at work and, in recent years, had begun to make an evident impact on improving the refugees' economic and social condition.*

As long ago as 1959, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, had urged the international community to regard the Palestine refugees "not as a liability but more justly, as an asset for the future . . . a reservoir of manpower which in the desirable general economic development will assist in the creation of higher standards for the whole population of the area." Ten years ago this seemed a visionary concept. But with each year that has passed since then, the vision has assumed more solid substance and reality.

Commenting recently on the gradual but evident process of rehabilitation which has been at work among the Palestine refugees, the present United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, said:

This progress has been primarily due to three factors: first and foremost, the rapid economic development of the Arab host countries and of the Arab world generally, in recent years; second, the energy, intelligence and adaptability of the refugees themselves, who have fortunately shown themselves to be eager for work and very capable of profiting by any opportunity given to them; and third, the education and training which the host Governments, various voluntary agencies and UNRWA have been able to give the young refugees to enable them to take advantage of any opportunities of employment that might come their way. A subsidiary but not unimportant adjunct to these principal factors in the rehabilitation of the refugees has been the economic aid supplied by UNRWA in the form of rations, shelter and other relief services. The regular provision of this relief assistance over an extended period, even though on a meager scale, has certainly helped the refugees not merely to survive but to recover their capacity to support themselves."

#### *Consequences of the hostilities*

Renewed conflict and upheaval in the Middle East have brought in their wake a greater need than ever for the established services—relief, health and education—which UNRWA

has been providing in the past. About 130,000 of the refugees from the 1948 conflict have been uprooted for the second time, and the flow of refugees seeking new asylum still continues at a rate of some thousands a month. The whole refugee community has suffered twice in a lifetime the impact of armed conflict and the ensuing disruption of their lives.

In the Gaza Strip, the poorest of the poor among the refugees have been engulfed in the tide of war for a third time in the space of twenty years. Even in those areas which were not directly touched by the fighting, the economic consequences of the conflict have been severe and it is the refugees who have suffered most, since their foothold in the economic life of the host countries was bound to be more precarious than that of the ordinary, settled population. Thus, many of the refugees from the 1948 conflict have now again lost the capacity, which they were rapidly recovering, to support themselves. For the time being at least, the gradual hopeful trend towards individual rehabilitation has been halted and set back. All must hope that this process of economic recovery through individual rehabilitation will soon be re-started. Meanwhile, the dependence of the refugees on UNRWA for food and clothing, shelter, medical care and education has much increased.

#### *A new massive human problem*

While thus severely aggravating the still unresolved problem of the refugees from 1948, the recent conflict has also created a new massive human problem. Some 350,000 persons were newly displaced as a result of the hostilities in June 1967 and have found refuge in East Jordan (200,000), Syria (116,000), and the United Arab Republic (38,000). Of these newly displaced persons, about 130,000 were already refugees from the 1948 conflict; they are divided between East Jordan (110,000), Syria (16,000) and the United Arab Republic (3,000). The number of displaced persons in East Jordan is still increasing as more come across each day from the West Bank and Gaza.

#### *New and old refugees*

In assessing the needs of the people affected by the recent conflict, it is hardly practicable or humane to try to distinguish between the new and the old refugees or between the newly displaced and those who, though not physically displaced, have had their lives disrupted by the impact of the hostilities and their aftermath.

In the tented camps on the East Bank of the Jordan, displaced refugees from the West Bank and Gaza are living side by side with newly displaced persons from the West Bank who face the miseries of refugee existence for the first time. All the inhabitants of those tented camps are receiving food, shelter, clothing, medical care and education services from the Government of Jordan and UNRWA working together in a combined operation, without distinction being made between the two categories of displaced persons.

Again, in the hutted camps established by UNRWA elsewhere in Jordan, in earlier years many thousands of the newly displaced persons have found shelter with friends and relatives and are sharing their dwellings and their food. UNRWA is distributing rations to all these displaced persons, either on its own account if they were already registered with the Agency, or on behalf of the Government, if they are new refugees.

Similarly the UNRWA feeding centers which provide cooked meals for children have been opened to "old" and "new" refugee children alike. Throughout the country the newly displaced persons are given medical care and their children attend school in either UNRWA clinics and schools or in those belonging to the Government, whichever happen to be nearer and more convenient.

And, as already explained, many of the "old" refugees already established in East Jordan have been hard hit by the economic consequences of the conflict and the ensuing upheaval and need help almost as much as the newly displaced themselves. In practical terms the problems of the refugees, both old and new, in East Jordan are indistinguishable.

Elsewhere—in Syria and the United Arab Republic—the displaced Palestinian refugees have been somewhat more clearly segregated from the newly displaced citizens of those two countries. But again there is some overlapping, with new and old refugees accommodated together in the same camps and villages, and again the Government authorities and UNRWA have cooperated in meeting together the needs of the displaced persons by whatever means seemed most convenient and effective.

In Syria, and in Lebanon also, many of the "old" refugees who were not physically displaced as a result of the conflict have nevertheless been affected by its economic consequences and now face new difficulties and need more help. Again, it is the Palestine refugees on whom the economic impact of the conflict bears most heavily since the place they painfully gained in the economy of these countries is still unsure.

No one can yet say what the future may hold for the refugees remaining in Gaza and on the West Bank. But for the immediate present it is certain that the recent conflict's impact on them has been severe and that they are now in special need of help, particularly help designed to increase their chances of productive employment in the longer term.

#### *Present and future tasks*

For UNRWA a primary task in present circumstances must clearly be to insure the continued operation of its established services for the refugees from the 1948 conflict. Even before the recent hostilities these services not merely helped to meet the crying present needs of a people who had suffered more than their share of human misery. They also gave them hope for the future through the education and training of their children to enable them to lead lives of usefulness and self-respect.

Indirectly, the steady, unobtrusive operation of these services afforded a rare element of stability in a dangerously unstable region of the world. Although a precarious peace was broken and conflict prevailed, this outcome only reinforces the case for maintaining and extending whatever stabilizing elements may exist in a situation of continuing, explosive danger.

In fact, almost without interruption, UNRWA has succeeded in maintaining its services throughout the period of the emergency. And in spite of the accumulating financial difficulties which have threatened to disrupt its operations in recent years, the Agency believes that, from one source or another, sufficient funds will be forthcoming to keep its services going on their existing basis for as far ahead as can be foreseen at the present time.

#### *News burdens*

Over and above this continuing primary obligation to maintain its established services, recent events have thrust upon UNRWA two new and heavy burdens:

First, in the shorter term, it has the task, in cooperation with the governments concerned, of helping to secure the survival and to relieve the distress of persons displaced as a result of the recent hostilities, particularly those who now face a grim winter in tented camps.

Second, in the longer term, it has a much enlarged task in helping to reactivate and expand the process of progressive rehabilitation among the refugees, in order to offset as far as possible the adverse economic impact of recent events.

### 1. The Short Term

The short-term task involves emergency action to provide shelter, food, blankets, clothing, cooking utensils and medical supplies and care. It also involves rendering the tents as weatherproof as possible before the onset of severe winter weather and, in general, improving the living conditions in the emergency camps by the provision of more solid shelter, surfaced roads and pathways, adequate water supplies and adequate latrines and sanitation services. The basic needs of shelter and food have not been met but much remains to be done in improving the camps and the associated medical services.

### 2. The Longer Term

The second, longer-term task—the contribution which UNRWA can make towards promoting rehabilitation among the refugees—is important, indeed essential, but limited in scope. It is not within UNRWA's financial capacity to engage directly in the promotion of economic development which is designed to create employment opportunities on a large scale.

In a special report published in 1959, the then Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, approached the problem of the Palestine refugees from the viewpoint of regarding them as a part of a general problem of unemployment and underemployed population in the whole Middle East region. He worked out the magnitude of investment that would be required in order to create jobs and absorb into productive employment the whole of this unemployed and underemployed population, including the refugees, over a ten-year period beginning in 1960.

The total investment required was of the order of \$14 billion. While it could be expected that a considerable part of this capital would be derived from within the region itself (assuming that the oil-producing countries would be prepared to invest in the capital-deficit countries of the region) funds for development would also be required from foreign sources.

For the refugees, an important implication of these calculations was that they would be unlikely to be given priority over the jobless and underemployed citizens of the countries concerned; hence, their turn to benefit from the creation of jobs through such massive new investment might not come until towards the end of the whole process.

In fact, no such planned, regional approach to the general problem of unemployment and underemployment in the Middle East was ever attempted. But a high rate of economic growth in certain countries of the region, particularly Jordan, has had a marked effect on local unemployment, and the refugees have benefited in common with the local residents from such general economic development.

The magnitude of the investment envisaged by Mr. Hammarskjöld makes it clear that UNRWA, with its limited resources, could not have contributed significantly to the direct creation of employment opportunities even if such an approach had been adopted by the governments concerned. The funds available to UNRWA have never reached \$40,000,000 a year and have always been preempted for maintaining the Agency's established essential services.

### UNRWA's role

The most useful role which UNRWA has seen for itself in these circumstances has been to equip the young refugees by education and training to take advantage of any opportunities of employment that might come their way. Fortunately they are intelligent and adaptable, eager to learn and eager to seize any chances that life may offer them to make good. They are growing up in an age of social change and technological develop-

ment in the Arab world, an environment in which education is the key to opportunity and progress. They start their lives with many disadvantages and handicaps but education can go far to offset and compensate for this.

### A policy of hope

UNRWA is now faced with an even greater and more urgent need than ever to promote the processes of rehabilitation among the refugees. UNRWA believes that, after meeting immediate needs to ensure survival and relieve distress, it should devote as much as possible of any special contributions it may receive in connection with present emergency to improving and expanding its education plant and apparatus. Much of this had to be hastily improvised in the years immediately following the first exodus of refugees in 1948 and should now be scrapped and replaced.

In so doing, the Agency will be committing itself to an act of faith, a policy of hope. This means investment in a future which is still uncertain. It presumes that, in spite of present set-backs, the Arab countries of the Middle East will again achieve a rapid rate of economic development; opportunities of productive employment will again be created and will demand an increasing supply of educated and trained men and women.

It presumes also that, in the future, funds will be forthcoming to meet increased operating costs arising from the investment in new, improved and enlarged schools, laboratories, libraries and training centres. But this will not be the first time that UNRWA has proceeded in faith. So far its trust in the resilience of Arab society, in the energy and ability of the refugees themselves and in the generosity and humane concern of governments and peoples elsewhere in the world has not been misplaced. Indeed, there is no alternative if the refugees are not to be left to stagnate and fall further back in their struggle to recover their economic independence.

### AGENCIES WORKING WITH REFUGEES

Agencies working with refugees all have distinctive forms of service. The Voluntary Agencies are at work in 119 countries and on every continent, often in active partnership with Governmental and Intergovernmental bodies. The descriptions of their work in this Directory are necessarily brief. All agencies invite the reader's further inquiry.

#### I. Intergovernmental agencies

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017: The work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is of a social and humanitarian nature. It provides international protection to refugees and seeks permanent solutions to their problems, either through voluntary repatriation or, if this is not possible, through assimilation within new national communities. The scope of the High Commissioner's mandate is global. Only those refugees who are the direct concern of other UN offices (such as the Palestine refugees who are the concern of UNRWA) and those who have the nationality of the country granting them asylum or equivalent status (for example, refugees in Vietnam) are not the High Commissioner's responsibility. The UNHCR's role is to promote, organize, coordinate and supervise international action on behalf of those refugees who are its concern. It acts upon the request of governments and works in close cooperation with UN Specialized Agencies and other UN programs, regional organizations such as the Council of Europe, the Organization of African Unity, and the Organization of American States, as well as many Voluntary Agencies and non-governmental organizations.

At the beginning of 1967, an estimated 2,350,000 refugees were subject to UNHCR

protection and/or assistance activities, in some 50 countries throughout the world. The concentration of refugee situations of concern to UNHCR has moved from Europe to Africa and Asia where vast new refugee problems have arisen during the last few years.

UNHCR programs: All UNHCR material assistance programs are financed through voluntary contributions, primarily from governments. In spite of modest yearly target figures intended to meet the minimum requirements agreed upon by the UNHCR Executive Committee, adequate financing of these programs has been one of the High Commissioner's constant preoccupations. The target figure agreed for the 1967 program, for example, was just under \$4,850,000 but, by May 1967, was still \$1,500,000 short. More than half of the 1967 program (\$2,600,000) consisted of assistance projects for refugees in Africa.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017: War in the Middle East in June 1967 brought tragedy and suffering to many innocent persons. Many of those most affected are Palestine refugees and UNRWA at once put into effect emergency measures to provide food and medical care for the desperately needy. A provisional agreement concluded with the Government of Israel has made it possible for UNRWA to continue its essential relief, medical and educational services for approximately 700,000 Palestine refugees who remain in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the River Jordan areas. This cooperation with the Government of Israel implies no commitment of position by UNRWA with regard to the status of any of the areas in question or of any instrument relating to them, but is concerned solely with the continuation of its humanitarian task.

UNRWA is a subsidiary organ of the United Nations established by the General Assembly to aid the Palestine refugees. In cooperation with the "host" Governments, it carries out its task of providing relief (basic food rations, shelter, supplementary feeding and welfare to refugees in special need) and health and education services for more than 1,000,000 refugees.

The Palestine refugees are the Arabs who, as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict in Palestine during 1948, left their homes in the territory which is now Israel and took refuge in the neighboring areas.

At the beginning of 1967, there were 1,330,077 refugees registered with UNRWA, of whom 859,966 were eligible for all UNRWA services, including food rations.

UNRWA headquarters are in Beirut, Lebanon, and the Agency operates in Lebanon, Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan and in the Gaza Strip and West Bank areas occupied by the military forces of Israel, with liaison offices at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland and at the United Nations, New York.

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017: The movement of European refugees to countries offering them opportunity and security is a major function of ICEM. To ensure the efficient resettlement of 35,000 to 40,000 uprooted people each year, ICEM works closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United States Government through the U.S. Escapee Program, as well as with other governments, international organizations and voluntary agencies.

From 1952, when the agency began operations, to December 31, 1967, ICEM moved a total of 1,527,340 persons of whom 704,866 were refugees.

For the period January 1 to December 31, 1967, 34,936 refugees were resettled by ICEM. The main countries of resettlement were: Israel (10,002)—USA (9,201)—Australia (8,772)—Canada (3,035)—Europe (2,920)—South Africa (580), etc.

The ICEM 1968 Refugee Program approved by the Council in November 1967 foresees the emigration of 32,800 refugees at an estimated cost of \$6,395,700.

## II. U.S. Government

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Welfare Administration, Washington, D.C. 20201: Total registrations at the Cuban Refugee Program's Miami, Florida Center reached 269,095 persons as of December 15, 1967. The U.S. chartered flights operate twice daily, five days a week between Varadero, Cuba and Miami, Florida. The relative-to-relative airlift from its start December 1, 1965, through December 8, 1967, brought 90,413 Cuban refugees. Total arrivals in that period were 97,327; resettlements 75,063, or 77% of arrivals. Almost 4,000 refugees a month arrive in the United States via this means.

Established by Presidential directive early in 1961, the Program's mission has been to relieve the burden imposed on Miami-Dade County, Florida by the sudden exodus of thousands of destitute Cubans fleeing oppression in their island home. While resettlement is the main objective of the Federal operation, emergency financial assistance is available to eligible refugees in Miami as well as surplus food distribution, medical care, and—for certain airlift arrivals—housing.

Federal funds underwrite health and educational activities in Miami-Dade County to meet problems created by the large refugee population.

As of December 15, 1967, over 63% of total registration (or 169,971 refugees) had been resettled to homes and job opportunities in more than 2,200 communities and in every state of the nation. This vast and continuing resettlement effort is carried out by four national voluntary resettlement agencies with offices at the Cuban Refugee Center in Miami.

### Department of State

Agency for International Development, Voluntary Foreign Aid Service, Washington, D.C. 20523: AID cooperates very closely with the private voluntary agencies engaging in a wide variety of overseas programs. These programs, while not always exclusively limited to refugees, do in fact reach a large portion of the world.

AID's Voluntary Foreign Aid Service serves as the point of contact between the voluntary agencies and AID.

In addition to its contractual arrangements, AID encourages, through the Voluntary Foreign Aid Service, informal non-contractual relationships in technical cooperation overseas between voluntary agencies and the AID missions.

Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20520: The United States has a deep humanitarian concern for refugees throughout the world and since the end of World War II has provided massive amounts of assistance to refugees. Most of United States Government assistance to refugees overseas is administered by or in coordination with the Department of State. Well over two billion dollars of U.S. Government assistance have been provided for refugee programs and current expenditures are at the rate of over \$130,000,000 a year. Some programs are operated directly by the Department of State working through contracts in cooperation with American and international voluntary agencies. In addition, the United States supports and contributes to the programs of the United Nations and other international organizations which assist refugees.

Several programs are administered directly by the State Department through its Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs. The United States Refugee Program (USRP) operates in Europe and the Near East where, through contracts with voluntary agencies, it assists

directly in the integration and resettlement of refugees from European Communist countries. USRP assisted over 10,000 refugees in 1967.

Through the Far East Refugee Program (FERP), ORM provides assistance to refugees from Communist China in Hong Kong and Macau. FERP projects include educational facilities, medical services, vocational training, resettlement assistance and other projects which help the refugees to become self-sustaining.

Through the Department of State, the United States supports the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in its vital role of resolving refugee problems throughout the world. The United States is a member of the Executive Committee of the UNHCR and is the principal contributor both in cash and food commodities.

The Department of State also provides United States support to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) of which the U.S. has been a member since its inception in 1951. Through its contributions to ICEM over the years, the United States has assisted in the transportation and resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Approximately 35,000 refugees were moved by ICEM in 1967; the United States contribution for that year was \$3,350,000.

Many African refugees, primarily young people, have left Southern Africa in search of educational opportunities denied them in their homelands. Since 1961, the U.S. Government has maintained a scholarship program to provide higher education for these refugees. More than 400 students from a number of southern African countries are currently studying in the U.S. under this program, for which the U.S. Government allocated approximately \$2,300,000 in 1967.

The total United States contribution for the support of the above programs in 1968 will be over \$7,100,000.

Over the years, the United States has been the principal contributor to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). Since the establishment of UNRWA in 1950, the United States has contributed nearly 70% of the funds received by UNRWA from governments to meet its overall costs in behalf of the Palestine refugees. The U.S. contribution to UNRWA's regular program for 1967 was \$22,200,000 in cash and food. In addition, a special U.S. contribution of \$2,000,000 was made to UNRWA in 1967 to help fund UNRWA's emergency relief program following the Middle East hostilities.

The Agency for International Development (AID), of the Department of State has arranged for other major contributions to refugee programs in Asia and Africa. For example, during 1967, AID provided about \$20,000,000 in Public Law 480 foods to refugees under the Food for Freedom Program and about \$22,000,000 to refugees in Vietnam and Laos through regular AID programs. Other general AID programs provide substantial peripheral benefits to refugees.

### III. Voluntary agencies

American Council for Emigres in the Professions, Inc., 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017: The American Council for Emigres in the Professions, Inc. specializes in counseling and placement services to refugee professionals. It also retrains persons whose foreign academic background is not immediately adaptable to the requirements of employment on a professional level in the United States.

In addition to the approximately 2,000 academically-trained emigres currently in its active files, ACEP registered 1,086 new refugee professionals during the fiscal year ending May 1, 1967. The number of registrations shows an increasing trend in the cur-

rent fiscal year. New registrants were trained originally in some professional field including architecture, engineering, medicine, social, political and natural sciences, education as well as in the arts.

During the past fiscal year, the Council made a total of 313 professional and 81 interim placements, and have 71 students enrolled in educational institutions. In order to eliminate the hurdles inadequate English presents to the newcomer, ACEP maintains an English Tutoring Program in which 70 volunteer teachers give intensive English courses to more than 1,000 students each year.

In recognition of the fact that there is urgent need for trained personnel in several professional fields, ACEP carried out special retraining projects geared to meet the requirements for these employment opportunities. For example, the Lawyer-Librarian Retraining Project was initiated 9 years ago. 104 applicants received their Master's Degrees in Library Service and found immediate employment. A Social Work Training Program, with two sessions per year, is sponsored by ACEP at the School of Social Work of Columbia University. 105 registrants were retained as social-worker assistants by June 1967.

The American Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund, 201 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022: Believing that Jews can be at home in every truly free society and that refugees of Jewish faith should be allowed the widest possible choice of countries of resettlement, last year the Philanthropic Fund assisted in the resettlement of 2,176 refugees of Jewish faith through offices in Paris, Rome, Vienna, Stockholm and New York. During 1966, the Fund's two primary concerns were: (1) North Africans of Jewish faith seeking to achieve final resettlement in France; (2) Iron Curtain refugees aided both in their initial asylum in Western Europe and in resettlement in the United States. Within the year, the Fund brought its 500th refugee immigrant to this country. The Fund also continued its support of institutions in Israel including the Shaare Zedek Hospital.

American Council for Nationalities Service, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018: ACNS and its member agencies are primarily concerned with services to immigrants and refugees after they arrive in American communities.

ACNS also helps in the resettlement of refugees and is particularly involved today with refugees from Cuba and Hong Kong. ACNS cooperates actively with the several resettlement agencies, aiding in finding jobs and housing for Cubans. ACNS, through its San Francisco International Institute, has sent a staff member to Hong Kong to provide pre-immigration planning for the Chinese.

Member agencies of ACNS, which number 36 in 18 different states, also seek to stimulate and maintain a spirit of "welcome" and acceptance for the foreign-born. To this end, member agencies have organized nondenominational resettlement committees composed of representative elements in the community.

American Council for Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003: The American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service was established in 1943 to provide a means for consultation, coordination and planning and to assure the maximum effective use of contributions by the American community for the assistance of people overseas. Through the Council, 44 member American voluntary agencies engaged in programs of active service overseas now coordinate their plans and activities both at home and abroad, not only among themselves but also with non-member agencies and governmental, inter-governmental and international organizations. Since 1955 the Council has operated the Technical Assis-

ance Information Clearing House under contract with the United States Agency for International Development.

American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa., 19102: The AFSC's major programs to aid refugees are in the following areas:

**ALGERIA**—AFSC has established a series of community development programs in rural villages composed of former refugees and displaced Algerians which includes training in manual skills, health education, agricultural extension work and assistance in the organization of community projects. 250,000 returning refugees have merged with the rural population and benefit from this program.

**Hong Kong**—A program has been established within the largest resettlement housing project, offering such services as a cooperative nursery school, a mothers' and fathers' club, counseling and recreational groups for youth and vocational training. Community development projects have been established in fishing villages inhabited by refugees near Hong Kong. 10,000 refugees were directly involved in AFSC programs while some 55,000 were reached indirectly.

**Austria**—Some 100 refugees are involved in the final stages of phasing out a resettlement program for Hungarian refugees.

**Central Africa**—Material aids are supplied to approximately 50,000 Angolan, Congolese, and Sudanese refugees in the Congo and Uganda.

**Vietnam**—Relief work in Quang Ngai, South Vietnam, consists of a child day-care center, physical and occupational therapy, and prosthetics services for amputees.

**American Foundation for Overseas Blind**, 22 West 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011: As the world's only specialized agency dealing exclusively with the problems of all blind people regardless of nationality, race, color or creed, AFOB provides service to thousands of refugees who are among the world's 14 million blind people. Programs in agricultural training, industrial training, rehabilitation and education reach a large refugee population, especially in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. AFOB cooperates with agencies of the United States Government and the United Nations in providing these services.

**American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Inc.**, 1775 Broadway, Room 430, New York, N.Y. 10019: There has been substantial increase in the number of refugees escaping Czechoslovakia from Communism into Germany, Austria and Italy and other West European countries during the last several years. The AFRC caseload now totals more than 4,500 refugees, including approximately 1,300 new refugees. The AFRC program is one of continuing assistance in resettlement, counseling, local integration, material and medical help, education, recreation and rehabilitation of refugee children. Newer refugees are resettled as soon as possible in the United States or other free-world countries.

**American Immigration and Citizenship Conference**, 509 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022: The AICC, as an association of voluntary agencies, does not conduct programs of direct relief but its work is of importance to refugees in that it bears upon their admission to this country and integration once they are here. The AICC is a coordinating agency for over 90 non-profit and non-political agencies interested in promoting a non-discriminatory immigration policy. Standing committees initiate and carry out studies on immigration legislation, immigrant integration, citizenship preparation, international migration affairs and immigration research. AICC acts as a clearing house for information, stimulates conferences on immigration and refugees and provides the means for joint action by its member agencies.

The American-Korean Foundation, 345 East

46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017: Thousands of Korea's 4,000,000 refugees from North Korean Communism are still living in makeshift hovels and without the skills to earn an adequate livelihood. There is a shortage of over a million houses, with an estimated 230,000 squatter shacks throughout the country. To help overcome this situation, the AKF is providing earth block "do-it-yourself" houses, vocational training opportunities, scholarships and school buildings; it is conducting a bench-terracing program to reclaim thousands of acres of unused land for food production.

**AMA Volunteer Physicians for Vietnam**, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610: This program was initiated in 1965 and is financed by contract with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

**Personnel**: 32 volunteer physicians. In 1967, approximately 200 volunteer doctors served in overlapping two-month tours. Thus far 236 physicians have participated.

**American Middle East Rehabilitation, Inc.**, 777 United Nations Plaza, Suite 7E, New York, N.Y. 10017: AMER's aims and objectives are three-fold: (1) to help provide vocational training for Palestine Arab refugee youths; (2) to provide emergency relief when needed in the Middle East, and (3) to promote and help support projects designed to help raise the standards of living in the Middle East.

AMER solicits cash donations and "gifts-in-kind" (chiefly medical supplies) the proceeds of which are used to provide scholarships chiefly in UNEWA's vocational training schools and, also, at the Jordan River Project of the Arab Development Society. As of November, 1967 AMER had provided 432 of these scholarships to worthy Palestine Arab youth.

**American ORT Federation**, 222 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003: ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) services to refugees are directed toward the problem of their economic integration and the education of high-school-age members of refugee families. The program includes vocational and technical training for adults, vocational training for youth, apprentice placement for on-the-job training and aid in finding employment. The programs are primarily for Jewish refugees.

**Asia**: Newly arrived refugees in Israel received training and schooling at various levels at 33 localities. The Teheran ORT Center trained Tibetan youngsters to become trade school teachers for Tibetan refugees in India.

**Europe**: Many special courses were organized at the ORT centers in Paris, Lyon, Strasbourg, Toulouse and Marseilles. About 4,000 Jewish refugees from North Africa received assistance in these programs. ORT centers in Rome and Genoa continued the dual operation of language training and trade instruction to refugees enroute to English-speaking areas of ultimate settlement.

**North America**: The ORT vocational school in New York, which is entirely devoted to refugee aid, enrolled about 720 persons last year.

**American National Red Cross**, 17th and D Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006: The American National Red Cross provides assistance in certain refugee situations in cooperation with other National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The latter two international organizations work closely with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and often serve as the operations service for that organization.

The American Red Cross meets refugee needs by providing funds, supplies and assistance of qualified specialized staff. Other services including reuniting refugees with their relatives in this country and maintain-

ing an international foreign location inquiry service to help refugees locate missing family members.

**Brethren Service Commission**, 1451 Dundee Avenue, Elgin, Ill. 60120: BSC, cooperating with Church World Service (CWS) and the Mennonite Central Committee, serves refugees in South Vietnam through the Vietnam Christian Service program. BSC also operates service centers across the United States where material aid, clothing, blankets and medicines are processed for Church World Service, Inter-Church Medical Assistance and Lutheran World Relief. BSC works with CWS in resettling refugees in the United States including those from Cuba.

**Catholic Relief Services—United States Catholic Conference**, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001: Catholic Relief Services USCC maintains relief, social and economic development projects and various health, education and welfare programs in more than 80 countries throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. These programs include food, clothing and medicine distributions to the needy—regardless of race, religion or color—as well as vocational training, rural education, urban renewal projects, the provision of emergency supplies and other services.

During the 1966 fiscal year, CRS sent relief supplies overseas (including U.S. government-donated foodstuffs) valued at the highest total in the agency's history—\$135,867,910.

**South Vietnam**: CRS continues to place its major emphasis on assistance to war victims in Vietnam. CRS supplied food, medicines and clothing to 200,000 refugees awaiting resettlement. Where the need existed for refugee shelters or camps, CRS constructed temporary shelters for 100,000 refugees.

**India**: CRS is providing food and clothing to 21,000 Tibetan refugees as part of its continuing program in India.

**United Arab Republic**: CRS is providing food and clothing to 7,532 Palestinian refugees through units of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

**Christian Children's Fund**, Richmond, Va. 23204: The Christian Children's Fund provides a wide range of aid—financial, medical, educational, food, clothing, care, adoptions—for both refugees and non-refugee children all over the world. Its principal refugee relief projects last year included:

**Israel**: Educational and emergency aid to children of Arab refugees near Bethany.

**Hong Kong**: Assistance to several rooftop schools for refugee children, providing books, clothing, emergency medical aid, and one meal a day.

**India**: Maintains refugee children from Tibet in orphanages close to the border areas.

**Korea**: Financial aid to orphanages caring for children of North Korean refugees, either abandoned or separated from their families, as well as assistance to many displaced and deprived widowed families through Family Helper Projects.

**Vietnam**: Orphanages for children of parents killed in the war receive financial aid. Family Helper Projects for children of refugee families are established and maintained.

**Church World Service**, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027: Church World Service, a program of the National Council of Churches, is the coordinating and administrative facility for major Protestant refugee and relief agencies in the United States.

Church World Service works in close fraternal relationship with the Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugees and World Service of the World Council of Churches whose headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland.

Refugee relief and rehabilitation have been included in CWS programs of assistance in some 50 countries during the last 20 years. In 1966 this program was supported by cash disbursements of \$11,355,810 and material aid distributions valued at \$36,865,455.

Notable refugee assistance programs of CWS include:

**Congo:** Food, clothing, blankets, emergency medical treatment and self-help through the plowing of fields and distribution of tools and seeds, all through the Congo Protestant Relief Agency. Refugees are from the Sudan and Angola and are a result of continuing internal political strife.

**Burundi:** Food, blankets, clothing, soap, medicine, and vitamins provided for refugees from Congo during their brief asylum.

**Tanzania:** Material aid supplied through Lutheran World Federation; support for self-help projects using indigenous staff. Refugees are from Rwanda, Mozambique and other countries.

**Hong Kong:** Hot lunches provided through the Children's Meals Society; family planning, TB and dental clinics within the Hong Kong Christian Welfare and Relief Council.

**India-Pakistan:** Resettlement and temporary material aid to refugees created by border disputes.

**Middle East:** A wide variety of long-range self-help and rehabilitation projects for Arab refugees are conducted under the auspices of the Near East Council of Churches Committee for Refugee Work.

**Church Agencies Cooperating through CWS:** World Relief Committee, American Baptist Convention; Brethren Service Commission, Church of the Brethren; Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ); Cumberland Presbyterian Church; Division of World Mission, Evangelical United Brethren Church; Lutheran World Relief; Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief (MCOB); Department of Overseas Relief and Inter-Church Aid, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.; Division of World Relief and Inter-Church Aid—The Protestant Episcopal Church; Reformed Church World Service; Board for World Ministries, United Church of Christ; Committee on Relief and Rehabilitation, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

**Vietnam Christian Service:** Vietnam Christian Service is a cooperative relief and service program of Church World Service, Lutheran World Relief and the Mennonite Central Committee; administration by the MCC. VCS staff includes 55 Americans, 1 Swiss, and 8 Canadians; agriculturalists, home economists, social workers providing medical and administrative personnel, and a sizable number of Vietnamese who were on the staff at mid-1967. Additional U.S. staff were in training or en route. Twelve Protestant groups are represented. Most are in Vietnam for two to three years with the first two months for intensive language study.

The program is service-centered but uses some food and other material aid in certain projects. Multi-service community development teams form the core of the program, working in 8 locations. Supplementary medical and other services are provided in 3 other places.

**Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere, Inc.,** 660 First Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016: In its daily operations, CARE does not serve refugees as a special group but directs its aid to them as part of its assistance to all groups of needy.

In consistent efforts to provide refugees with the means of re-establishing themselves economically, CARE has given and continues to give substantial support to resettlement and job-training projects in South Korea, Israel, Hong Kong, Jordan, the Gaza Strip and other regions.

**Community Development Foundation,** Boston Road, Norwalk, Conn. 06852: Community Development Foundation, having worked in the past with refugees in Greece, Korea and France, is currently laying the groundwork for a future program with Arab refugees in the Middle East and actively involved with program services for refugees in Vietnam.

**Vietnam:** The nature of CDF refugee service is a training program preparing Vietnamese personnel to initiate and implement self-help activities in order to improve living

conditions in temporary camps and to prepare for economic and social needs of resettlement.

Through a contract with the U.S. Agency for International Development and an agreement with the Government of South Vietnam, CDF is responsible for developing and operating a refugee welfare training program that will help the refugees to help themselves.

**Direct Relief Foundation,** 27 East Canon Perdido Street, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101: Direct Relief Foundation, in its Self-Help to Health International Medical Program, donates pharmaceuticals and medical supplies to needy hospitals where they are used for treatment of destitute patients and refugees regardless of race, creed or nationality. Shipments are assembled according to needs outlined by a physician who is responsible for receipt and use of these drugs and medical supplies. In 1966, the total value of shipments exceeded \$9,000,000.

**The Thomas A. Dooley Foundation,** 442 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94102: The Dooley Foundation provides technical and material assistance to the developing nations of Asia in the fields of medicine, health education and community development. Assistance programs are presently carried out in India, Nepal, Vietnam and Laos.

In Northern India, a mobile health unit program is provided for Tibetan refugees.

In Nepal, a national health survey undertaken as a joint effort with the Government of Nepal and the School of Public Health of the University of Hawaii is nearing completion. With the assistance of volunteer airline stewardesses, help is also provided to a Tibetan refugee nursery and a Nepalese Leprosarium. Full-time nursing and medical technician training is provided to the Bir General Hospital in Katmandu.

In Vietnam, assistance is provided to the orphanage of An Lac in Saigon which cares for 350 war orphans.

**Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.,** 352 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010: Foster Parents' Plan, Inc. a non-sectarian agency, has a twofold purpose—the relief and rehabilitation of destitute children in war-ravaged and underdeveloped countries and the preservation and rehabilitation of the family through help to one of its members. This is done by means of financial "adoptions." A United States or Canadian individual or group "adopts" an overseas child. The Foster Parent pays \$15 a month for a minimum of one year. Benefits to the child and his family include monthly cash grant, new clothing, household equipment and medical care, plus counseling and guidance by local social workers. Emphasis is on the education of the children.

Of the 47,300 children currently enrolled, 20,000 live in Vietnam, Korea and Hong Kong. Many are refugees. Foster Parents' Plan has a long-range program for all children in its care. A Foster Child remains with Plan until he becomes 18 so long as the family continues to need assistance and the child remains in a suitable form of education.

Plan develops person-to-person relationships between Foster Children and their Foster Parents by encouraging a monthly exchange of letters (original and translation are transmitted).

During the last fiscal year, Foster Parents' Plan, Inc., spent \$7,881,024 in direct aid to Foster Children and their families.

**Hadassah,** 65 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022: Although the Women's Zionist Organization of America does not deal directly with refugees, its work does affect refugees who are being resettled into Israel. Hadassah's health, social welfare and education facilities benefit refugees as well as native Israelis. Last year the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center handled 200,000 patient visits at its outpatient clinic, gave inpatient service to 17,000 people, provided 6,000 patients with surgery and treated

16,223 emergency cases. Hadassah's Oncology Department treated approximately 1,700 patients, which constitutes almost 50% of all cancer patients in Israel. It is impossible to determine the number of resettled refugees who availed themselves of these medical services and other Hadassah facilities.

**Heifer Project, Inc.,** 45 Ashby Road, P.O. Box 278, Upper Darby, Pa., 19084: Refugee self-help and resettlement programs are the beneficiaries of Heifer Project and which takes the form of donations of livestock, poultry, tools and technical services.

HPI made grants and shipments in 1966 as follows:

Europe and the Middle East:

Greece: \$3,000 (Congregational Christian Service Committee) to purchase heifers for the flood and earthquake areas.

Jordan: \$1,881 (Near East Council of Churches for Refugee Work) to purchase goats for refugees.

Africa: 9,300 baby chicks (Congo Protestant Relief Agency).

Far East: \$500 to Hong Kong Church World Service (revolving loan fund to help farmers).

HPI helped 30 different agencies in Korea in several shipments of 59 heifers, 5 bulls, 31 pigs, 95 goats as well as \$738 sent to buy chicks. Heifer Project has two committees in Korea but uses Korean Church World Service as consignee.

South America: HPI completed two plane-load shipments of 13 heifers, 28 bulls and 20 pigs to the Heifer Project Santa Cruz, Bolivia committee.

International Rescue Committee, 386 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016—

Asia: Operations in Hong Kong and Vietnam.

Europe: Programs in Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Italy and Spain. Refugees from behind the Iron Curtain; refugees from Cuba, primarily in Spain; Jewish refugees from North Africa and Egypt. Caseload: 12,000.

Nature of program: Resettlement services, local integration, emergency assistance, specialized services (legal protection, indemnification, etc.).

U.S. programs include Cuban refugees, resettlement of refugees admitted from Europe and Hong Kong, and a special project for Haitian refugees.

European and Chinese resettlement caseload in 1966: 2,000 plus.

Cuban caseload: Registrations in Miami as of May 26, 1967: 50,570. Resettled from Miami: 29,633.

The IRC office in Montreal handled only European refugees admitted to Canada. 1966 caseload: 300.

Latin America: Operation in Mexico City, Relief activities for Haitian refugees in the Dominican Republic and the Bahamas through the good offices of Catholic Relief Services.

Caseload in Mexico: About 1,000 Cuban refugees.

Nature of program: Material aid and resettlement services.

**International Social Service, American Branch, Inc.,** 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017: International Social Service American Branch is part of a worldwide network of individualized services to families and children whose problems require help in more than one country or involve nationals of more than one country. It aids thousands of refugees with problems of divided families, lost or missing parents, international marriage, lost or abandoned children.

Established in 1921, ISS world headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland.

**Hong Kong:** Large numbers of refugee Chinese are now able to enter the U.S. because of changes in the immigration laws (10,000 were expected in 1967 alone).

**Vietnam:** ISS American Branch is a major source of support for the Saigon office which is administered through the Geneva headquarters of ISS.



All ISS services in Vietnam involve refugees and especially orphaned and abandoned children.

ISS believes that the children of Vietnam should not be confined in orphanages or hurried off into other countries without safeguards for themselves and their families. ISS is working with agencies of the South Vietnam Government to help develop better protection for children who may be adopted and taken out of their homeland.

ISS American Branch and International Social Service also have programs in Argentina, Venezuela, Greece, France and Switzerland.

International Voluntary Services, 1555 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036: International Voluntary Services, Inc. is a private, non-profit corporation chartered under the laws of the District of Columbia. It was incorporated in July 1953, is non-sectarian, non-political and is governed by a 21-member Board of Directors representing a cross-section of American academic and professional life. It was organized for the purpose of providing technical assistance to people of developing countries with an objective of developing the human resources through direct involvement of people of the host country in planning and implementation of programs. IVS participates in a supporting role.

Since its inception, IVS has fielded teams of young men and women to 14 countries. Current programs operate in Vietnam and Laos. In Vietnam, 159 volunteers from 10 countries work in agriculture, education and community development. In Laos, 106 volunteers from 5 countries work in education and rural development.

Joint Distribution Committee, Inc., 60 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017: In 1966 the Joint Distribution Committee assisted 36,000 refugees, repatriates, etc. Of these, 9,200 were citizens in a country of asylum; 26,800 did not have the protection of citizenship and were scattered over a number of countries. In addition, there are thousands of former refugees living among the "settled" populations of their new homelands who still do not have citizenship status. The JDC helped these refugees with food, clothing, shelter, medical assistance, vocational training, low cost loans and school and guidance counseling. JDC also maintained a community assistance program which provided funds and technical assistance to synagogues, schools and community centers.

In 1966 JDC focused particular attention on the following refugee areas:

France experienced an influx of 29,100 refugees during 1966 mostly from Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Egypt and Eastern Europe. Smaller groups of refugees also made their way to Italy, Austria and Belgium.

JDC is still assisting some 5,000 residual refugees and displaced persons from World War II. Most of them (3,100) are in Australia. There are also 350 in Sweden and a lesser number in Belgium, Portugal and Spain. JDC aid is also going to approximately 1,000 refugees from the Hitler era in such widely scattered areas as Tangier, Haiti, the Philippines, Portugal and Spain.

In 1966 the health, welfare, rehabilitation and cultural programs on behalf of some 400,000 refugees and other needy Jews in all parts of the world were sustained by a budget of \$22,594,800, provided chiefly by the campaigns of the United Jewish Appeal, a contribution by the United States of 14,710,000 pounds of Food for Peace supplies, valued at close to \$900,000 and other material aid.

Lutheran World Federation, U.S.A. National Committee, 315 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010: During 1967, the American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church in America contributed through Lutheran World Action about 22% of the cost of the refugee services of the LWF Department of World Service, budgeted annually at over \$2,750,000. This does not in-

clude the \$10,000,000 worth of clothing, food and medicine shipped annually by Lutheran World Relief.

**Australia:** Resettlement of immigrants from Europe through travel loans; housing, trade, craft and farming loans (under agreement with ICEM); counseling, welfare relief, assistance to the immigration chaplaincy and referral service.

**Hong Kong:** In addition to distribution of material aid from Lutheran World Relief and other relief source, the LWF-WS administers a large program of self-help and rehabilitation; education, youth work and vocational training (800 students); and medical and health services, primarily for Chinese refugees.

**India:** Resettlement aid to several thousand refugees from East Pakistan and Tibet including housing, farming, production co-operatives and food-for-work projects such as building schools and digging wells and reservoirs.

**Jordan:** Distribution of food and clothing to refugees and needy persons both East and West of the Jordan River. LWF-WS operates work projects, a vocational training center (120 students), a handicraft center for 36 blind boys, a nurses' school (60 students), a hospital (subsidized by UNRWA) and 13 medical clinics (5 mobile).

**Syria:** LWF-WS operates five medical clinics in the Damascus area and contributes to the nursing school of the Palestine Arab Refugee Institute.

**Tanzania:** At least 33,000 refugees in Tanzania have received help from LWF-WS. This includes 18,000 Mozambiquans, 12,300 Rwandese (most Watutsi), 2,500 Kikuyus and 300 Congolese. A tripartite agreement between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Tanzania Government and the LWF made possible the creation of an agricultural community in the Mwesi Highlands of Tanzania for 3,000 refugees from Rwanda.

**Zambia:** LWF provides resettlement aid in Zambia as in Tanzania. In cooperation with UNHCR and the Zambian Government, the LWF established the "Zambia Christian Refuge Service" early in 1967 to express the ecumenical concern of Protestant Christian groups. Three comprehensive rural settlements are now under development with 4,000 Mozambiquan and 1,500 Angolan refugees who fled civil upheaval in their homeland.

**Vietnam:** LWF provides services in Vietnam through Vietnam Christian Service (See Church World Service).

Meals for Millions Foundation, 1800 Olympic Boulevard, P.O. Box 1666, Santa Monica, Calif. 90406: There's a David and Goliath story unfolding these days in Santa Monica, California, that may eventually become as universally familiar as the famous Biblical version. The modern-day concept concerns a relatively small organization known as Meals for Millions which is engaged in fighting mankind's biggest killer, world famine.

The Meals for Millions Foundation attacks the problem of world hunger in two ways. One is a protein-packed food enriched with vitamins and minerals—Multi-Purpose Food (MPF). It's made of unusual items like soybeans and sunflower seeds, peanuts and fish protein concentrate—a lot of them foods that would ordinarily be thrown away. Then the MPF is mixed with the native diet: rice in Asia, beans and tortillas in Mexico and Brazil, noodles in Ecuador and bread-like chapatis in India. However it's made and mixed, the results are always the same: it fortifies deficient native diets and fights off frightening hunger pains.

The Foundation's second strike against hunger—and a more permanent one—is a self-help program that helps to set up high-protein food supplement plants in developing areas, then gets them going on a self-sustaining basis.

The Foundation has helped set up five high-protein foodstuff plants in India and

one each in Mexico, Japan and Brazil. More are in the making in Ecuador and Chile.

Relief shipments continue to the critical hunger areas of the world. Since its inception in 1946, Meals for Millions has sent over 15 million pounds of high-protein food supplements to 129 countries and territories.

During 1967 relief shipments were allotted for 20 countries, many of them distributed among refugee groups.

An agency working with the Tibetan refugees in Nepal received 8,250 pounds. Some 2,688 pounds were sent to relief agencies in Hong Kong. In India, Angola and Israel more shipments were received, many designated for refugee groups. Vietnam received 2,112 pounds of high-protein food, much of this earmarked for displaced Vietnamese.

Medical Mission Sisters, 8400 Pine Road, Philadelphia, Pa. 19111: The Medical Mission Sisters, in their 33 hospital and medical centers in the newly emerging nations, are in constant contact with the refugees and migrants of those areas, serving their sick and diseased.

South Vietnam: In Qui-Nhon, the Holy Family Hospital gives medical care to many of the refugees there.

Uganda: Medical Mission Sisters visit groups of Watutsi, displaced in tribal uprisings, and treat hundreds of them.

India: In hospitals operated by Medical Mission Sisters in New Delhi, young Tibetan girls who fled their country when the Communists invaded, are being trained as nurses' aides.

Over 1,000,000 patients were cared for by the Medical Mission Sisters in India, Pakistan, Ghana, Uganda, Vietnam, Venezuela, Jordan, Indonesia, The Philippines, Kenya, Malawi, Ethiopia, Orange Free State of South Africa in 1967.

Mennonite Central Committee, 21 South 12th Street, Akron, Pa. 17501: The Mennonite Central Committee, the official agency of the North American Mennonites, conducted refugee relief operations in Asia and Africa. Last year, the Committee assisted refugees in India, Hong Kong, Jordan, Vietnam, Burundi and the Congo. The relief program in these areas consisted of:

India: A health program, self-help project and educational program in a government-assigned refugee colony for East Pakistanis in Calcutta.

Hong Kong: Educational and family-child assistance to 450 children and general distribution of clothing.

Vietnam: Assistance to refugees from North Vietnam with donations of food, clothing and medicines. Medical treatment at Nha Trang was expanded. A doctor and nurse were sent to Pleiku to initiate another medical project.

Vietnam Christian Service: A new joint program sponsored by Church World Service, Lutheran World Relief and the Mennonite Central Committee. Administered by the Mennonite Central Committee (See Church World Service).

Congo: Shipments of food and clothing distributed through the Congo Protestant Relief Agency for refugees from Angola.

Burundi: Food, clothing and medical supplies for refugees from Rwanda and the Congo. This work was conducted in cooperation with Church World Service and the World Relief Commission.

Jordan: 76,000 pounds of blankets and clothing were distributed to refugees on the East Bank. On the West Bank 10 tons of flour, 3½ tons of meat, 3 tons of bedding and clothing and 6 tons of soap were distributed.

Polish-American Immigration and Relief Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010: PAIRC conducts a continuing program for Polish post-war refugees in Western Europe as well as newly arrived escapees. The scope of the Committee's work covers immigration and integration help for new refugees, registration and documentation for "old" refugees under special immi-

gration schemes, provision of sponsorships for regular immigration cases, financial assistance to needy refugees and cooperation in UNHCR integration programs.

Project Concern, Inc., 1262 Kettner Boulevard, P.O. Box 2468, San Diego, Calif. 92112: Project Concern is an independent non-profit relief organization; has established four outpatient medical clinics in Hong Kong and treats over 500 patients a day; has a feeding program for more than 1,500 children at the Hong Kong clinics; has a 42-bed hospital in DaMpaio, South Vietnam, also provides outpatient services at the hospital and has a mobile clinic unit regularly visiting two dozen villages and strategic hamlets; has developed a six-month training program in basic, preventive medicine. Trainees are local Vietnamese, Montagnard, and Thai refugees who "graduate" as Village Medical Assistants and return to put their training to use in their own villages; has an international staff of more than 100 doctors, nurses, pharmacists, laboratory technicians, teachers, and volunteers in many capacities.

The Salvation Army, 120-130 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011: The Salvation Army is serving refugees in several countries as part of its overall social service programs in those areas. Elsewhere, refugees are aided from time to time on an individual basis.

In Hong Kong, The Salvation Army operates nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools which offer education to 5,400 children. Free libraries are attended by 700 to 1,000 children daily. At Salvation Army vocational training centers, more than 300 persons annually learn a trade that will enable them to support themselves. It also operates a shelter for street sleepers, a children's convalescent home, medical clinics, and gives direct relief to the needy, especially the aged and ill.

In Calcutta, The Salvation Army Social Service Center, with the financial backing of OXFAM (Oxford Famine Relief), carries on a daily "Meals on Wheels" service, which provides meals and dried foodstuffs for approximately 1,000 poor people, of whom it is estimated about 125 are displaced persons. Of the 125, there are about 25 lepers. They and their dependents receive food each day.

In Bombay, there is a similar program. Every day (Sundays included) since July, 1964, an average of 800 needy people have been fed. The only qualification is need.

The Salvation Army is also aiding Cuban refugees in Florida. In Key West, it is the agency responsible for distributing government commodities to refugees and also assists with emergency relief. In Miami, Cuban refugees make up the largest part of the Salvation Army's emergency family relief program which involves food, assistance with rent, utilities, clothing, etc.

Save the Children Federation, Inc., Boston Post Road, Norwalk, Conn., 06852: Save the Children Federation has worked in the past with refugees in Greece, Korea, and France and is currently active in a program for refugee children and their families in South Vietnam.

In 1966, Save the Children Federation established field headquarters in Bin Dinh Province in South Vietnam and began a Sponsorship program to help refugee children and their families. American families, schools, business firms or clubs enrolled as Sponsors exchange correspondence with Vietnamese families. They support a program which provides funds and counseling to help families add to their resources for better child care, increase their ability to be self-sustaining, and join with others in self-help projects to establish services and facilities desired by the community.

Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., 80 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y., 10003: Spanish Refugee Aid, organized in 1953 to aid the Spanish Republican refugees who had fled to France after the Civil War, faces the dual

problem of sharply rising costs in France and the need of an increase in aid as the refugees grow older. Of the 100,000 still in France, 10,000 need help currently, 1,549 persons over the age of 60, 1,300 invalids, 282 persons with tuberculosis and 42 blind men and women are on SRA lists. SRA gives general financial help to the neediest. It sponsors an adoption program (278 refugees have been adopted), a scholarship program (69 students are being helped through school) and a special fund-raising campaign for the hospitalized refugees.

At the Foyer Pablo Casals, a center for old people in Montauban, France that was organized by SRA, 259 refugees receive monthly food packages and clothing as against 243 last year. SRA maintains 3 offices in France which are used as distribution centers, and staff workers make regular visits to homes. The problem of the aging refugee, living on small pensions ranging from \$30 to \$40 a month, is SRA's greatest concern.

Tolstoy Foundation, Inc., 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019: The Tolstoy Foundation is in continuous contact with some 20,000 refugees and escapees registered with its offices overseas and with some 2,000 cases in the U.S.A.

While the majority of refugees assisted by the Tolstoy Foundation are Russian, the Foundation also assists Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Romanians, who sought asylum abroad and a group of Tibetan students from among the refugees in India.

The Foundation continues to give counseling assistance in emigration in Belgium and Latin America. It also assists in local integration through the establishment of small business enterprises, workshops, etc. in conjunction with programs sponsored by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Cultural activities, an important part of the Foundation's program, are centered in the L. C. Stevens Library in Munich and at the Tolstoy Foundation Center in Valley Cottage, New York.

The Tolstoy Foundation and its branches assumes the direct responsibility for supervision of homes for aged refugees in Latin America, Western Europe and in Rockland County, New York with some 1,000 residents.

A Tolstoy Foundation Nursing Home at Tolstoy Center in Valley Cottage, N.Y. is projected for opening in 1969 with a capacity of 80 beds.

Assistance to children is centered mainly in West Germany, with valuable cooperation of British Voluntary Agencies and Swiss Foreign Aid, and continued summer camp programs for children supported by the Tolstoy Foundation in the United States and in Belgium.

United Church Board for World Ministries, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027: The Division of World Service of the Board for World Ministries of the United Church of Christ last year administered programs and allocations for relief and rehabilitation in some 50 countries to the extent of about \$1,500,000 with half that much again in gifts-in-kind. Much of this was in assistance to "current" refugees and for the alleviation of grave social problems resulting from past migrations.

Particular emphasis in 1967 was laid on the plight of refugees in Vietnam and the Middle East, with personnel and funds contributed through the Vietnam Christian Service and the Near East Council of Churches Committee on Refugee Work. Another major effort of the year was in continued support of India Famine Relief and in behalf of victims of other natural disasters. Projects including refugee service were supported in several Central Africa states, in Algeria, in India (e.g. for Tibetans) and Pakistan, in 8 Latin America countries, in the Far East, in Italy and Central Europe. Special programs were also maintained in Greece and Lebanon,

continuing the interest of the Congregational Christian Service Committee.

With major emphasis on self-help projects, especially in agriculture and community development, the Board did most of its work cooperatively through other agencies. These included Church World Service, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Division of Interchurch Aid, Refugee and World Service, World Council of Churches; Helper Project, Inc.; Meals for Millions Foundation; Agricultural Missions, Inc.; Interchurch Medical Assistance, Inc.; Shelter for the World, Inc.; World Alliance of YMCAs (refugee program).

Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Inc., 78 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. 02108: The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee has been giving assistance to Spanish Republican refugees since 1939. The headquarters of this program are at 93 rue Riquet, Toulouse, serving refugees in Toulouse and in rural areas in the South of France. The program is administered by Miss Persis Miller with her Associate Director, Mme. Dolores Bellido.

Aid is limited to those refugees who arrived in France at the end of the civil war in Spain in the great exodus of 1939. There are roughly 150,000 Spanish Republican refugees in Southwest France.

Services fall into four categories—food parcels, clothing, emergency cash and scholarships.

In emergencies or at regular intervals food parcels are distributed to old people and to families where the father or widowed mother is a chronic invalid with tuberculosis, heart disease or ulcers of the stomach. In 1966, 2,586 food parcels (45,513 lbs.) were distributed to 861 households.

In 1966, 725 households received 18,381 lbs. of clothing for 2,165 persons.

Special grants are given for medical purposes in an increasing number of emergency cases. In 1966, 438 such grants were given to 561 persons.

183 scholarships were awarded since January 1951 for periods of one to six years.

United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, Inc., 105 Grand Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11211: Close to 10,000 Lithuanian refugees still remain in free Europe and receive aid which includes clothing, books and medicines from the Fund. The Fund also supports two secondary schools for Lithuanian refugee children. Some Lithuanian refugees in Poland and deportees to Siberia were helped.

United Hias Service, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003: United Hias Service provided rescue, resettlement and related services last year to approximately 53,000 Jewish men, women and children. More than 8,800 of these people were assisted to resettle in the United States and other Western countries.

During the past year, the active caseload of persons registered to emigrate reached 23,608; pre-migration services in the United States and Latin America were rendered to 16,319 relatives and sponsors of prospective migrants; 3,080 were aided in the United States with such post-migration services as naturalization, adjustment of status, and prevention of deportation and jeopardy; 1,549 persons were located throughout the world; and in Latin America, 158 migrants who arrived in prior years received agency assistance.

The cost of the agency's worldwide operations for the year 1966 amounted to \$2,250,334 and resulted in a net cumulative deficit of \$131,267.

United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Inc., 5020 Old York Road, Philadelphia, Pa. 19141: Through its headquarters in Munich, Germany, UUAARC helped about 20,000 refugees and escapees to resettle in new homes and to find employment. The agency continues its immigration program and, for the past year, has been engaged in a program for Ukrainian students in Poland. In cooper-

ation with other Ukrainian agencies, UUARC is planning to organize a nursing home for the aged in the United States.

Volunteers for International Technical Assistance, Inc., College Campus, Schenectady, N.Y. 12308: VITA provides a person-to-person technical information service to agencies working with refugees and to others working in developing areas.

VITA's method complements the methods of other organizations in international development. VITA's Inquiry Service receives technical problems by mail and sends them to skilled scientists, engineers, businessmen and educators. The more than 2,500 volunteers on the VITA roster come from every state in the United States and from 50 other countries. They are associated with 410 corporations and 150 universities, agencies and institutes. Working relationships with the Institute of Food Technologists, the American Institute of Nutrition and the American Society of Agricultural Engineers give access through VITA to their entire memberships.

VITA volunteers respond to 1,370 requests for technical information in 1966. A number of these requests came from relief agencies, including requests for information for a Community Development Foundation training program for work with refugees in Vietnam and information on a design for ovens for the American Friends Service Committee Refugee Program in South Vietnam.

World Rehabilitation Fund, Inc., 400 East 34th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016: The World Rehabilitation Fund, Inc. is involved directly in services to refugees in two projects in Hong Kong and one in Vietnam.

In Hong Kong under a grant from the U.S. Department of State, the World Rehabilitation Fund, Inc., has completed and equipped the John F. Kennedy Memorial Centre for Spastic Children. The building was dedicated in March 1967. This center has facilities for 60 inpatients and 120 outpatients. It is being managed by the Hong Kong Red Cross with financial assistance for a two-year period from the World Rehabilitation Fund.

The World Rehabilitation Fund Day Centre is currently under construction and will be completed in the spring of 1968. This center will provide vocational rehabilitation training and sheltered employment for 450 persons daily. Personnel for the center has been trained by the World Rehabilitation Fund. The equipment and assistance in the operational expenses for a two-year period will be contributed by the Fund.

In Vietnam, under a contract with the U.S. Agency for International Development, the World Rehabilitation Fund is helping to expand the National Rehabilitation Institute in Saigon, equip staff and provide supplies for four smaller satellite centers. Two of these centers were opened in the spring of 1967, a third will be opened in the summer and the fourth in the fall or spring of 1968.

NAE World Relief Commission, Inc., 33-10 36th Avenue, Long Island City, N.Y. 11106: The major refugee programs of this agency are in Korea, Burundi and South Vietnam. Services include distribution of food, clothing and medicines to needy refugees in those areas, along with projects for the handicapped.

World University Service, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018: Needy students from all over the world benefit from WUS aid. Last year WUS continued five major programs aimed at refugee students. They were as follows:

Algeria: Financial assistance was given to 150 Algerians studying in Europe, and food, drugs, clothing, etc., were provided to refugee students in Tunisia and Morocco. WUS is helping the Algerian university community get back on its feet, which requires \$30,000 in assistance.

Angola: Financial aid (\$70,000 since 1961) has been provided on a continuing basis to refugee students from Angola and other African territories ruled by Portugal.

China: More than \$600,000 have been provided over the past six years to foster higher education in Hong Kong. This program continued last year, in addition to which sixteen Chinese professors were brought to the U.S. to study and five students sent to Canada.

Hungary: Since 1956, WUS has been aiding Hungarian refugee students, a six million dollar program. They have been able to continue their studies in new countries of residence.

South Africa: Grants to colleges in neighboring countries enable non-white refugee student from South Africa to continue their education.

World Vision, Inc., 919 West Huntington Drive, Monrovia, Calif. 91016: In 19 countries of the world—in South and Central America, in Southeast Asia, India, Africa, and Hong Kong—World Vision, Inc. maintains orphanages ministering to the medical, social, spiritual and vocational needs of orphans, many of them refugees.

Through its Emergency Mission of the Month program, sponsored by friends of the organization who contribute \$10 monthly, funds are sent to alleviate the plight of refugees around the world. Refugees also benefit from relief goods shipped with the assistance of AID to many undeveloped countries.

World Vision, Inc. is an interdenominational service agency, approved by the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid under the AID program.

Young Men's Christian Association of the United States, 291 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007: The YMCA acts as a complementary service to the large global programs of the United Nations, governments and churches; it is concerned with the morale of refugees. It is not a relief or migration agency. It tries to establish community centers in the camps and through them help in the organization of educational, recreational, religious programs, etc. The agency also offers language training, orientation courses for prospective migrants, camping for the children, together with handicrafts and vocational training.

Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022: The World YWCA, in cooperation with the National YWCAs is providing services to refugee women and girls in Egypt, Greece, Hong Kong, Jordan, Lebanon and Pakistan. In Austria a refugee program is carried out jointly with the World Alliance of YMCAs. In Vietnam the World YWCA serves women and girls in cooperation with the Asian Christian Service. The YWCA, in its refugee services, puts great emphasis on the provision of basic education, vocational training and cottage industries in order to help the women and girls to become self-supporting.

U.S. Nonprofit Organizations With Programs in South Vietnam

- American Friends Service Committee.
- AMA Physicians for Vietnam.
- American National Red Cross.
- Asia Foundation.
- CARE.
- Catholic Relief Services—U.S. Catholic Conference.
- Christian and Missionary Alliance.
- Christian Children's Fund.
- Church World Service.
- Community Development Foundation.
- Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities.
- Foster Parents' Plan.
- International Rescue Committee.
- International Voluntary Services.
- Lutheran World Relief.
- Medical Mission Sisters.
- Mennonite Central Committee.
- N.A.E.—World Relief Commission.
- National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.
- People-to-People Health Foundation.
- Project Concern.
- Project HOPE.
- Save the Children Federation.

Seventh-Day Adventist Welfare Service.  
Summer Institute of Linguistics.  
Vietnam Christian Service.  
World Rehabilitation Fund.  
World Vision Relief Organization.  
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PROTECTION OF REFUGEES

51 member nations have signed the United Nations' "Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees." The United States have not acceded to the Convention even though its people have always and generously provided asylum and assistance for refugees.

There are now more than 15,000,000 refugees in the world—more than there were in 1958 which was observed as the United Nations' World Refugee Year. Europe's massive post-war refugee problem is largely solved, but new refugee problems have arisen in Asia and in Africa as a result of the almost universal social and political ferment of our era.

The need for an international instrument which guarantees protection and assistance to these millions of helpless and often stateless persons has never been so great as now.

By Proclamation of President Johnson, the United States is observing with other members of the United Nations the International Year for Human Rights. 1968 marks the 20th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Surely, a most forthright and universally beneficial action of our country in celebration of this Anniversary would be the signing of the Refugee Convention by the United States Senate.

Ironically, it is our traditional welcome to the refugee, and the protection given him by our laws, which is commonly cited as the reason for our past refusal to become a party to the Convention. Apparently ignored is the fact that if the United States were to accept the Convention, it would greatly strengthen the refugee's Human Right to protection and assistance in other countries. As matters stand, we may know that our laws provide all of the Human Rights guaranteed by the Convention—but no one else does. It is crucially important that we strengthen the Convention by signing it now.

Our action will help to ensure that the increasing number of refugees fleeing into asylum may have the protection of the international community when they need it.

#### COMMITTEE FINANCE

At June 30, 1967, the end of our fiscal year, according to the Committee's audited accounts, we had received from individuals, foundations, organizations and corporations 121,361.32 including income from the sale of Gift Wrap in the amount of \$30,532.68. We had expended \$115,950.27 including the cost of our Gift Wrap program.

The Committee's operational budget for the year ended June 30, 1968 is \$146,250, including the Gift Wrap project budget.

The Committee's auditors are Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co.

#### THE OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

We are introducing our readers, to our Officers and Board of Directors in this issue. Some of them have helped to guide the Committee since its founding 10 years ago, others have come to membership along the way. All, in varying degrees, have lent their names, given financial support and leadership to the Committee's work with uncommon unanimity of spirit and generosity. They are, as it was expected they would be at the beginning, a group of representative distinguished Americans who believe that the problem of the world's refugees should be a matter of serious public concern. Some have given testimony before committees of the Congress, some have made field studies of refugee problems overseas, some have served as consultants to our government officers dealing with refugee affairs, others have played a leading role in refugee resettlement in their own cities.

Each year when the World Refugee Report has gone to press, along with our sigh of relief, we feel a burden of gratitude to William K. Wilson, our Editorial Consultant, whose artistry and industry are evident in the form and appearance of this book.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAXWELL RABB,  
President and the Board of Directors, U.S.  
Committee for Refugees, New York, N.Y.:

Re your recent inquiry, I will gladly offer the 1968 World Refugee Report for inclusion in the Congressional Record. As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, I want you to know how very much we appreciate your many dedicated efforts to bring the important humanitarian cause of refugees before the American people. Your work, and that of your sister voluntary agencies, is making an extremely important contribution to our Nation's concern for the world's homeless from Cuba to the Hamlets of Vietnam. The USCR deserves high tribute from all men of good will. Best wishes as you continue your efforts.

EDWARD M. KENNEDY,  
U.S. Senate.

#### "HOME AT 62" FOR THE WORKING WOMEN OF AMERICA

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in a day and age when the magnitude of national and international problems seem so complex and unending, it is often easy to neglect those who have contributed so much toward the growth and prosperity of this Nation.

Today I am introducing legislation, along with many of my esteemed colleagues, which will justly acknowledge the contribution millions of working women have made to America since those shadowed, lean years of the depression. I fondly refer to this legislation as my "home at 62" bill, because it would enable working women who have contributed to the social security retirement fund for a period of 30 years or 120 quarters, to retire with full benefits, whereas present law limits them to 80 percent of full retirement payments.

It is sometimes hard to realize that working women represent over 35 percent of the labor force. Their effect upon the national economy and their buying power cannot be minimized. Nor can we forget that the role of the female in today's labor market is increasing and helping to stimulate a gross national product which is rapidly approaching the trillion dollar mark.

The reason for supporting this legislation is clearly evident when you compare the existing minimum social security requirements for retirement at age 65—18 quarters—with the 30 years or 120 quarters enumerated in my bill for women to retire at age 62. It is time for us to show just recognition for the contribution of productive hard work that has materially helped forge economic greatness from the economic despair of the 1930's.

I earnestly hope you will join with me in helping the working woman of America to retire to the leisure of their

homes on full social security retirement benefits at 62 after they have spent the best part of their lives helping to build a better America.

#### I. W. ABEL, PRESIDENT, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, SPEAKS BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

### HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky congressional delegation on Tuesday evening at a banquet gathering, received a volume of startling information on the avalanche of steel imports from foreign steel manufacturers. The great increase of steel imports, if not curbed, will vastly cripple the steel industry in the United States. Presiding at the gathering was Charles M. Beegly, chairman, Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., and the speakers were I. W. Abel, president, United Steelworkers of America; Philip D. Block, Jr., chairman, Inland Steel Co.; and Robert E. Williams, president, the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.

It is rather unusual to see management of this great steel industry and leaders of the Steelworkers Union join hands and alert the public to the impending threat to America's economy, steel production and also to the threat of unemployment for tens of thousands of our citizens.

I have filed a bill, along with Congressman VANIK, of Ohio, and several other Members of Congress, to curb the outrageous increase of annual steel imports during the last 10 years from foreign countries.

I hereby submit the remarks made by I. W. Abel, president, United Steelworkers of America, on this occasion. These facts pertaining to the threat to our major industry should be read by all Members of Congress.

The remarks of Mr. Abel follow:

STATEMENT OF I. W. ABEL, PRESIDENT, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, ON STEEL AND IRON ORE QUOTA BILL, BEFORE THE INDIANA, ILLINOIS, AND KENTUCKY CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 14, 1968

The urgency of the problem of foreign steel imports and its adverse impact upon the industry and its workers has necessitated this extraordinary procedure of conveying our concern to you.

As we indicated in our testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, our concern is generated by two developments.

#### I. SHORT RANGE

During this period of negotiations and the subsequent anticipation of strike action, there is a rush by steel consumers to build up their steel inventory. Some figures indicate that steel imports this year may be as high as 15 per cent. The Department of Commerce has noted that during the first three months of 1968 imports of 3.4 million tons are already up one million tons over the similar period in 1967. It represents a 42 per cent increase over the first quarter level of last year.

When the Great Lakes shipping figures come in from last month, we anticipate an

even greater increase. These figures, projected on an annual basis, indicate import levels of about 15 to 17 million tons—more than 4 to 6 million tons over last year's 11.5 million tons.

The adverse impact of this upon our members is twofold. After the immediate period of negotiations and/or strike is over, there are layoffs in the steel mills as these inventories are worked off. Furthermore, long-range commitments are made by domestic concerns to foreign producers which result in a long-term loss to domestic steel production.

These commitments are being made because the foreign producer is seizing the advantage of a good opportunity and is demanding a contract for shipping steel for a period of two to five years.

We very definitely do not think that our foreign trade policy should be taken advantage of to the detriment of the domestic workers who are exercising their prerogatives under the expressed public-policy procedure in labor-management relations—namely, to bargain collectively.

The right to bargain is a cherished one, but it is being eroded by the unfair intrusion of foreign trade. The February 8 issue of the *Japan Metal Bulletin* mentions that the Japanese government, concerned about its own balance of payment deficits, has "asked steel companies for increased exports and decreased imports." (And, here, I especially call your attention to the comment) "With the threatened steel strike in America resulting in increased enquiries, the original export target of 10 million tons is likely to be attained."

Gentlemen, we should be allowed to bargain a domestic agreement within the framework of a domestic situation.

Another point I wish to make here is that we are pricing ourselves out of the foreign markets because of the high cost of labor. Actually, we have never been a major steel exporting nation. Although we did maintain a trade surplus prior to 1959, our major market was a domestic one. We are convinced that no matter what our wage costs are, foreign producers will maintain control of their own markets. Furthermore, an aggressive export policy by our own industry would probably wreak havoc in foreign markets.

As I will shortly indicate, our support of the steel quota bill does not rest upon any competitive disadvantage which we may have with regard to wages. Foreign steel producers will always be able to lower the price of steel in our market. It would not only be unrealistic but more than that it would be useless for us to negotiate within the context of being more competitive. No, the problem facing steel trade comes from another source and as a nation we will eventually have to cope with it.

#### II. LONG RANGE

Actually, our major concern arises from a long-range view of the world steel industry which is plagued with overcapacity. The scourge of foreign overcapacity, causing a compulsion to export, is coexistent with an acceleration of investments in new technology by our own industry. The coincidence of the two can result in job loss to steelworkers.

A report by the Senate Finance Committee indicates that, from 1965 to 1970, world capacity will increase at a rate of 33 million net tons per year. The present excess capacity is calculated at 50 million tons.

What will be the amount of surplus capacity when this projected capacity is finally constructed?

According to the report: "The unused capacity exerts pressure to export. Because of heavy fixed overhead costs, typical of the steel industry, especially abroad, foreign producers have a tradition of cutting export prices below total costs rather than to restrict operations. Prewar cartels have a long history of this type of managerial policies."

Again, the *Japan Metal Bulletin* declares that "The iron and steel industry is planning to provide an obligatory export quota to steel, the tonnage allocated to be 10 percent over the actual export in the current fiscal year, with export target in the next fiscal year raised to over 12 million tons. Those companies that fail to export the allocated tonnage will get less coking coal than they want delivered or will be penalized by \$28 per ton, covering the balance unexported."

Well, there you are. The pressure of overcapacity upon the foreign industry and a positive action by a government within a situation where the industry is considered an "instrument of government" unduly stimulates exports of steel into our market.

It is no wonder, then, that the Senate report recommends a world conference of governments of major steel producing countries to discuss common interest in adjusting the pace of steel capacity expansion to the pace of world steel demand. However, we are under no illusion that such a conference can be easily convened. As a matter of fact, we are convinced that such progress, to date, has been a direct result of the unilaterally mandated quotas contemplated in the steel and iron ore quota bill which has elicited this response.

I know that economic interests are at stake and that foreign trade competition is supposed to stabilize the dollar. Lately, however, even that argument is being challenged since we became a deficit trade nation last month. Yet I submit that we must strike a balance between banking interests and our domestic employment policy. What really is at stake is whether we are more concerned about the rate of employment increase in the job market or the rate of interest increase in the money market. Surely we can be precise enough to work out a balanced relationship.

Our position as a Union lies, therefore, within the framework of an expansionary trade policy—but one which is balanced. Our concern is not over a freer trade relationship. We are committed to that. Nor is it one of being unduly aroused over fairer trade. Certainly, we seek equitable anti-dumping laws and the reciprocal elimination of non-tariff barriers. But for an industry that is primarily domestic, our attention is directed at a more orderly and balanced penetration of our market. Even GATT regulations recognizes the chaotic conditions arising from "market disruption."

We are advocating, therefore, that these quota restrictions be enacted and enforced until such time as world over-capacity is moderated. Once there is a more proper relationship between world demand and world capacity, then, injurious competition will be abated. We are not opposed to steel trade—even at competitive prices—but we are convinced that the competition should arise from lower cost factors and not from the compulsion of excess facilities. Hence, we view that fact of overcapacity as the crucial malady in the world steel trade picture and not necessarily other competitive factors, like wage costs.

I might mention also that trade adjustment assistance to a limited number of workers displaced by foreign trade is most necessary, but highly unsatisfactory as a solution to massive displacement. I am aware that there are a number of proposals before Congress that liberalizes that section of the Trade Expansion Act which deals with assistance to workers adversely affected by foreign trade. I would hope that the Congress would react favorably to these proposals. It is my understanding that as of now not one single case has been acted upon favorably by the Federal Tariff Commission. We do, however, need the enactment of this provision. However, it is one thing to provide assistance for a small group of workers who

will be adversely affected in the interest of a broader trade policy which provides greater economic growth for the economy and more job opportunities for American workers. However, such a relief program cannot be a substitute for a more basic solution to the problems facing the steel industry.

Within the framework of an expansionary trade policy, we must now grapple with the question of a balanced trade development. It is that task which Congress must face, and it is one which this Union is completely convinced must be done now—this year.

I wish to thank those members here tonight who cosponsored or introduced the steel quota bill. I am sure that your efforts were instrumental in the fact that the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has indicated that he will hold hearings on our trade problems next month. I would urge those of you who have not had time to review our problems to study them and I hope to introduce a bill similar to that which has been introduced by Congressman Vanik of Ohio.

#### A CLEAR POSITION BY RICHARD NIXON ON CRIME

### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have recently returned from a visit to the Second Congressional District of Nebraska which I have the honor to represent in this body. The people of Nebraska and the Nation are gravely concerned with the growing crime rate in the United States, and demand and expect that political candidates speak out in a straightforward way on the problem.

Former Vice President Richard Nixon has given his views on this issue and was commended for his clear thoughts in an editorial in the *Washington Evening Star* on May 14. Because of the interest of my colleagues in the House of Representatives and the people of America in finding solutions to this problem, I am pleased to place this editorial in the *Record*, as follows:

#### NIXON ON CRIME

Richard Nixon's recent statement of his position on crime in this country has been criticized by some as having a political coloration. There is some basis for this. But how could it be otherwise in a presidential election year?

The Nixon statement also sets forth facts pertaining to the dismaying upsurge in crime and is specific in spelling out some of the things he would do to combat crime. These are the sections on which serious attention should be focused.

In the last seven years, Nixon said, crime in this country has increased by a staggering 88 percent although the rise in population has been only 10 percent. Projecting his estimates, the Republican presidential hopeful said that if the present crime rate continues the number of major crimes will double by the end of 1972—less than five years in the future. Certainly the former vice president was not exaggerating when he said that this is a prospect which America cannot accept, and which, if it should be accepted, will convert the metaphorical "city jungle" into a "barbaric reality."

What does Nixon think should be done at a time when crime is increasing almost nine times as rapidly as the population? He does

not take the view that there is any one simple answer. But he does come down squarely and firmly in support of the crime bill now being debated in the Senate, and he specifically included in his statement of support two of the bill's most controversial sections. These would authorize the use of wiretaps and electronic devices under appropriate court safeguards in certain serious crimes, and, second, would modify the Supreme Court's *Miranda* decision relating to the use of confessions.

Those who equate the use of wiretaps and electronic bugs with a police state in full flower argue that, in any event, these devices would be of no help in curbing the ordinary crimes of violence—robberies, murders, burglaries and the like. Perhaps these things would be helpful in dealing with organized crime, they say, but it is not organized crime which makes people afraid to walk the streets at night.

Nixon's answer to that is this: "Organized crime is also directly and deeply involved in street crime. One estimate is that some 50 percent of the street crime in some of our major cities is the work of addicts trying to support their habit—and traffic in illegal narcotics is a major enterprise of organized crime." In the face of this it is almost incredible that the President and Attorney General Clark, who favor use of wiretaps and bugs without any court supervision in "national security cases," would outlaw them in all other kinds of investigations.

The proposed modification of the *Miranda* decision, if anything, is more offensive than the possible use of wiretaps to the critics of the Senate bill. To listen to them, one would think that the sponsors of this provision are wicked men, bent not only upon subverting the Supreme Court but also upon turning back the clock of justice to the star chamber days. This is so childishly absurd that it does not merit serious debate.

There are two points worth noting, however. One is this comment by Supreme Court Justice White, speaking for himself and Justices Harlan and Stewart: "I continue to believe that the decision in *Miranda* was an extravagant and unwise interpretation of the Fifth Amendment, and I would prefer that *Miranda* be abandoned. . . ." Are these justices to be condemned as subverters of the court?

The other point is that it may not be possible for Congress to alter the impact of *Miranda* through enactment of a statute, which the court could declare unconstitutional. Nixon, though supporting the provision, recognizes this. If it should be impossible to pass legislation which would satisfy the court, he says, then consideration should be given to amending the Constitution.

This Nixon statement strikes us as a forthright, clear and courageous description of the nature of the crime problem as he sees it, and of the measures needed to deal with it. We hope, political year or not, that Messrs. Kennedy, McCarthy, Humphrey and Rockefeller will be no less specific as they continue to stake out their own political claims.

THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT THE U.S.S. "PUEBLO" AND LET AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW ITS MEN DID THEIR DUTY AS ORDERED

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, it has now been almost 4 months since the North Koreans hijacked the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and

took her crew of over 80 men into captivity. I repeat what I urged shortly after this happened: The American people should be told the truth about the matter, and the best way is for the administration to release the full texts of the messages between the *Pueblo* and higher U.S. authority. A very small part of *Pueblo's* transmissions have been made public, but there has been no word of any kind as to what the ship was told to do, or not to do, or if it was told to do anything at all, but left to fend for itself. Release of the messages would tell the Communists nothing they do not know already.

Capture of the ship and its men was the greatest single loss of top-secret intelligence equipment and highly trained personnel ever suffered by any nation in the entire history of intelligence operations. Secretary McNamara was still head of the Department of Defense at that time; he said there had been no protection for the ship because protection would have been a "provocative act."

I find his solicitude for the feelings of the North Koreans to be something less than logical or desirable. Just a few days before the *Pueblo* was seized, North Korea had sent a trained band of terrorists into Seoul to kill top South Korean officials. During all of 1967, North Korean attacks on American-South Korean border outposts had been growing in number and intensity. North Korea, it seems, can be "provocative," but we cannot.

What instructions were given to the ship? To fight? To destroy all equipment and scuttle the ship to prevent its capture? Or was nothing done at all, and are these men to be allowed to suffer the fate of the Light Brigade at Balaclava:

Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die . . . because . . . some had blundered.

We know these men, now in North Korean captivity, will be held until the last possible bit of intelligence information and propaganda advantage has been extracted from them by North Korea. The least we can do for them now, and for their families and friends agonizing over their fate, is to let the American people and the whole world, know that they did not break faith with their country, that they followed orders and conducted themselves like men.

Or would this mean revealing that someone farther up the chain of command conducted himself, or themselves, like cowards?

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to serve in the 88th and 89th Congresses with Joe Martin. We knew him as a man dedicated to his country and to the House of Representatives, in which he served for so many years. His devotion to duty has always been an inspiration to Republicans and Democrats alike.

Mr. Speaker, may I add to the words of my colleagues in tribute to Mr. Mar-

tin's long life and distinguished service to his country and to his colleagues in this great legislative body.

#### PROPOSAL FOR OUR TIME

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE READER'S DIGEST,

Pleasantville, N.Y., May 14, 1968.

HON. JAMES G. FULTON,  
U.S. Congressman,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE FULTON: Just before his recent illness, General Eisenhower finished work on the latest of a series of articles he's been writing for Reader's Digest. This piece, "A Proposal for Our Time," advances anew the project conceived by the former President (with Admiral Lewis L. Strauss) for setting up three nuclear desalting plants in the Middle East.

While the proposal received approval last fall in a Senate resolution, there has been no parallel House action to date.

We thought you might like to see a copy of the article before it is released to the public late this month.

With best wishes, I am  
Sincerely,

C. R. DEVINE,  
Vice President.

#### A PROPOSAL FOR OUR TIME

(By Dwight D. Eisenhower)

(NOTE.—With force and logic, former President Eisenhower suggests that nuclear technology—applied on a massive scale to the desalination of sea water—could turn the arid, hostile nations of the Middle East toward a future of peace and prosperity.)

In my Atoms-for-Peace address before the United Nations in December 1953, I dwelt on the handsome rewards which the miracle of atomic energy could bring to mankind. During the intervening years, some of these rewards have been realized. For example, when I became President in January 1953, not one nuclear reactor for the production of commercial electricity was in existence or even planned, and scientists were extremely pessimistic about the practical application of this method. As chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, however, Adm. Lewis L. Strauss was determined that studies and experimentation should continue. The record today: 16 nuclear-power plants in operation, 21 being built, 52 planned. The atomic production of electric power is fully competitive with conventional methods.

Now it looks as if we are on the threshold of a new breakthrough—the atomic desalting of sea water in vast quantities for making the desert lands of this earth bloom for human need. Extensive studies of desalting have been carried on at the Oak Ridge, Tenn., National Laboratory and elsewhere, and technology has made enormous strides, just as it has in the atomic production of electricity. I am convinced that the time has arrived to put this remarkable new tool into major use.

Of course, much has been accomplished over the years by irrigation with natural water supplies. The fabulous agricultural valleys of California and Arizona are remarkable present-day examples. But there are many regions throughout the world where water supplies for agricultural purposes are

wholly inadequate or simply do not exist. Consequently, desert peoples through the centuries have looked longingly at the limitless seas which lap their shores, and yearned for some alchemy whereby they could transform salt water into sweet cheaply and in enormous quantities. Until recently, however, this was only an unattainable dream.

In the Atoms-for-Peace speech—for which much information was supplied by Chairman Strauss—I listed agriculture as one human endeavor in which the atom could serve. A few months later, in June 1954, I sent a note to Strauss urging the intensive study of methods of desalting sea water by atomic energy, and I added, "I can think of no scientific success that would equal this in its boon to mankind."

During the spring of 1967, Lewis Strauss and I—both of us now private citizens and still good friends—talked again about the atomic desalting of water and its possible application to the Middle East. Just last June he placed before me a detailed plan, which he had formulated with the help of some of the best engineering and financial brains in the country. We called it "A Proposal for Our Time."

The purpose of the plan is not only to bring large arid regions into production and supply useful work for hundreds of thousands of people, but also, hopefully, to promote peace in a deeply troubled area of the world through a new cooperative venture among nations. I am optimistic enough to believe that the proposal, when implemented—as it is sure to be someday—may very well succeed in bringing stability to a region where endless political negotiations have failed.

Tragic Enmity. The roots of hostility in the Middle East extend back through centuries of time and grow out of the soil of implacable hatred between the Arab and Jewish peoples. It is a bitter soil indeed, as I learned firsthand in World War II. During the North African invasion, we not only were involved in the conquest of Hitler's armies but also had to act as an occupying agency for a time—to prevent complete chaos.

As commander of our forces, I became aware of the unbelievably repressive laws against Jewish minorities in some of these Arab-speaking areas. I ordered these laws modified, and we may have done a little good in this respect. But one day a distinguished Jewish religious leader came to me and begged me not to move too swiftly in changing such practices; he feared it might bring about a bloody pogrom against the Jewish community. From then on we deemed it wise to proceed more cautiously.

Throughout most of the past 20 years, since the Republic of Israel came into being, the Middle East has existed in a state of armed truce. Twice the hostility between Arabs and Jews has flared into open warfare: once during the Suez crisis of 1956; again in the late spring of 1967, when Israel won complete victory in an astonishing six-day war against Egypt and other Arab states.

During my years in the White House, our country tried hard, as an objective and unprejudiced friend of all the Middle East states, to help settle some of the abrasive problems which keep them on the edge of war. In 1955-56, for example, I sent the late Eric Johnston as my personal representative to try to help settle a tumultuous controversy that had arisen between Israel on one side, and Jordan and Syria on the other, over the division of the irrigation waters of the Jordan Valley. A plan that seemed fair and satisfactory was worked out, approved by the engineers and technical advisers of both sides. But the animosity of the Arab political leaders was such that they contemptuously kicked the proposal aside without even letting their people know it existed.

Yet most of those who have studied the water proposal which Admiral Strauss and I have made believe that its advantages to the region involved are so great that the

hostile states of the Middle East simply cannot afford to withhold their cooperation. Nobody supposes that prejudice and hatred would vanish overnight, but the collaboration of Arab and Jew in a practical and profitable enterprise of this magnitude might well be the first, long step toward a permanent peace.

**PRACTICAL TECHNIQUE**

There is nothing new about the desalting of sea water for human use. For years, ocean-going ships have been equipped with distillation plants for converting salt water into fresh. There are also several such installations on land, producing water for household use in ports where natural supplies are lacking. Key West, a city of some 56,000 at the tip end of the Florida keys, last year put a nonnuclear conversion plant into operation. It can produce 2,700,000 gallons per day, and the water quality is excellent.

The problem is that water produced by distillation plants fired with conventional fuels (usually gas or oil) is much too costly for agricultural purposes. The Key West figure, probably the lowest among existing plants, is around 85 cents per 1000 gallons—far too expensive for irrigation. So we must turn to atomic energy.

Although no nuclear desalting plant exists today, construction of a large one on a man-made island off the Coast of southern California is planned. When completed, this Bolsa Island plant would produce 1800 megawatts of electricity and pour 150 million gallons of fresh water per day into the area's water system. The cost of the conversion would be far less than that of any present system. The desalting method used would be much the same as in existing plants fired by conventional fuels—a distillation process in which sea water is put through a long series of evaporation chambers. But the necessary heat in this case would come from atomic reactors.

Even this large Bolsa Island plant would be small in comparison to the installations envisioned for the Middle East. Our proposal suggests three plants—two on the Mediterranean coast and one on the Gulf of Aqaba—with a combined production of more than a billion gallons of fresh water per day. This is more than twice the average daily flow of the three main tributaries of the Jordan River. Since we now know that the cost of desalting water drops sharply and progressively as the size of the installation increases, it is probable that sweet water produced by these huge plants would cost not more than 15 cents per 1000 gallons—and possibly considerably less as we gained technological experience. This is well within practical range for many types of crops. At least 1750 square miles of barren land could be made arable—a long step indeed toward the fulfillment of the ancient dream of desert dwellers.

**A POWER FOR PEACE**

The Middle East plants, like the Bolsa Island installation, would be dual-purpose; in addition to water, they would produce an enormous amount of electric power. Some of this would be used in pumping water to areas as distant as Syria and Jordan, and perhaps under the Suez Canal to parts of Egypt. The rest would be utilized for the manufacture of needed fertilizer and other industrial purposes; a plentiful supply of electrical energy would bring to the Middle East vast new complexes of industry, just as it has to many other parts of the world.

The proposed plan would thus help solve the problem of the more than a million Arab refugees. When the Republic of Israel was established in 1948, hundreds of thousands of Arabs living there left their homes and moved into refugee settlements in neighboring Arab states. There, in camps, most of which are a disgrace to the civilized world, many of these people exist in idleness and poverty, with little hope, supported largely

by a U.N. dole. Large numbers of them could be employed in building the new installations and water conduits and in preparing the land for irrigated crops. Later, a great many could doubtless be settled on the new farming areas in the Arab countries.

The cost of the project would be at least a billion dollars, and we emphatically do not suggest that it be paid for by the United States. There is every reason to suppose that it could be a successful, self-sustaining business enterprise, whose revenue would derive from the sale of its products—water and electricity—to the users. Our government would make an initial investment in some of the corporation's stock, and the rest would be sold to private investors in the security markets of the world. Additional money would be raised through the international marketing of convertible debentures. We are assured by international bankers that the financial world, under normal conditions, would welcome such an investment opportunity.

Fortunately, an agency already exists to supervise the operation of these great plants, allocate the uranium and make sure that none of it is ever used for military purposes. It is the International Atomic Energy Agency, first proposed in my 1953 Atoms-for-Peace speech and established in 1957 as an arm of the United Nations with headquarters in Vienna. Its primary function is to encourage the peaceful uses of atomic energy on a worldwide basis. All of the Middle East nations involved in our present proposal are IAEA members. During my administration, the United States allocated to IAEA, for peaceful uses abroad, a considerable quantity of uranium. More than enough for the Middle East plants is still available.

When our proposal was publicly announced in 1967, it received wide mention and almost universal approval in the press. Our hope was that the Administration would help push it to fruition, but thus far it has merely been referred to the State and Interior departments and the Atomic Energy Commission for study. Most of the professional diplomats seem to think that we must have peace and stability in the Middle East before the plan can be implemented. I contend that the reverse is true: *the proposal itself is a way to peace.*

In the autumn of 1967, however, Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr., (R., Tenn.) introduced in the U.S. Senate a resolution endorsing the plan. After extensive hearings the Foreign Relations Committee approved it unanimously, and it was then adopted without dissent by the Senate. (As yet, the House has not taken similar action.) Although the resolution is merely an expression of approval and does not actually implement the plan, this fine bipartisan support was more encouraging.

Unhappily, the proposal has thus far received only modest attention in the Middle East. Official and energetic action by our Administration is needed to get the ball rolling there. I am convinced that, once these nations understand the plan and what it can mean to their peoples, they will be eager, despite age-old prejudices, to join hands in the venture. And I believe that there is no better place to give our new technology a full-scale tryout. For there we would have two great humanitarian purposes—prosperity and, above all, peace!

**THE HONORABLE JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.**

**HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, on last March 6 the House of Representatives

and this country as a whole, lost one of the great personalities and statesmen of our times in the passing in Florida of our former colleague and Speaker, the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

This outstanding legislator, whose humility and dignity lent charm to any occasion, will long be remembered for his great contributions to the era in which he lived and served with rare distinction. Joe Martin was recognized throughout this country as a leader of men, dedicated to the principles of sound government.

I respected Joe Martin for his outstanding abilities as a lawmaker and admired him for his dedication as the chosen representative of his people. His devotion to his duties as Speaker of the House will forever be remembered as will be his numerous fine accomplishments in the Congress.

**CROSSVILLE STUDENT IS TOP SPELLER**

**HON. TOM BEVILL**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, a young man from my congressional district, Joey Hyde, of Crossville, Ala., won first place in this year's annual Alabama spelling bee. Joey, 14, is an eighth grader at Crossville High School. The son of Mr. and Mrs. John J. Hyde, Joey is an all "A" student and active in school affairs. We are all proud of Joey and looking forward to his participation in the national spelling competition, to be held in Washington, D.C., in June.

Runnerup in the bee was another constituent of mine, Miss Judy Gardiner, 14, of Gadsden, who was representing Etowah County. Miss Gardiner is to be congratulated for her fine showing.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Birmingham Post-Herald which tells of Joey Hyde's victory:

**CROSSVILLE BOY TOP SPELLER**

(By Carl Guy)

If anyone is convinced of the effectiveness of lucky charms, it's Joey Hyde, 14-year-old eighth grader from Crossville High School in DeKalb County, who won first place in the 41st annual state finals of The Post-Herald Spelling Bee Saturday.

"I kept twiddling in my pocket a lucky silver dollar my uncle gave me," Joey said.

But it was more than luck that gave him the title of state champion speller.

Joey is an all "A," ideal student at Crossville High School, his English teacher, Mrs. Ruth Cole, said. He is interested in science.

He is not only a smart, good-natured student, but has lately become interested in patriotism and is conscientious, Mrs. Cole said.

Joey has started an "Anti-Communist Party" in his school where he and a group of 10 other students pass out pamphlets to teachers, students and anybody who cares to listen.

"We are trying to awaken and inform people of Communism and its dangers," he said.

Joey is the son of Mr. and Mrs. John J. Hyde, and has a sister, Kathy, 12.

His prizes for winning first place in the contest are a Zenith portable television, made possible through the local distributor, Hart-Greer; a 24-volume set of Encyclopedia Britannica, and a Paper Mate inscribed pen and pencil set.

But the biggest prize for Joey will be the trip to Washington, June 3-8, where he will represent Alabama in the national finals on Thursday and Friday of that week.

The all-expenses paid trip includes transportation by jet to Washington, hotel accommodations at beautiful and historic Mayflower Hotel, meals, tips, sightseeing and other entertainment.

Runner-up in the Bee, giving Joey a tough struggle for the top position was Judy Gardiner, 14, Gadsden, representing Etowah County.

The daughter of Mrs. A. P. Gardiner, Judy is an eighth grader at Disque Junior High School.

The other 58 finalists also did a splendid job of spelling—struggling, concentrating, squirming and sometimes guessing at some of the harder words.

Coming up in the other five top places were:

Third place—Margaret Mathees, 12, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Mathees, a seventh-grader at Westlawn Junior High School, Huntsville, representing Madison County;

Fourth—Susan Campbell, 13, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Campbell, an eighth-grader at Georgiana Public School, Butler County;

Fifth—Wendy Wecht, 14, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. David Wecht, an eighth-grader at Cullman Junior High School, Cullman County;

Sixth—Brenda Nixon, 13, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar L. Nixon, eighth grade, Carlisle Park School, Guntersville, Marshall County; and

Seventh—Pam Hansen, 14, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George K. Hansen, an eighth-grader at Monroe County High School, Monroeville, Monroe County.

They received as prizes the Lincoln Library of Essential Information, Britannica's World Atlas and Book of the Year and a hard cover World Almanac.

Joey's school will get the Britannica film service free for one academic year, one film each month.

Officials of the contest, with a difficult task at times during the bee, did a fine job of pronouncing and judging.

They were Stuart Mims, pronouncer, former director Birmingham-Southern College; judges, Mrs. Ellabeth McNair, Latin teach-

er at Huffman High School; Robert D. Dortch, director of admissions at Southern, and William J. Dempsey, professor of English at Jefferson State Junior College.

In the contest were five returnees from last year's bee who were eliminated late in the event: James Smith, Dale County; Thelma Jean Heflin, Clay County; Barry Vaughn, Blount County; Jan Cardwell, Coosa County; and Shelia Bishop, Cherokee County.

Joey was also a returnee from 1966 where he was eliminated on the word "bursar."

The Spelling Bee is sponsored annually on a national level by the Scripps-Howard Newspapers and in Alabama by The Birmingham Post-Herald.

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN

HON. W. R. HULL, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting and proper that we should pause, consider and pay homage to the deeds and the memory of our late colleague, the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, who served in this body for more than four decades.

Only as this body and this Nation remember the deeds of the great men who have served here do we find for ourselves the inspiration to achieve great things for our country and the future.

Joe Martin loved, lived and, to some extent, made the history of America. It was this love and this desire to make America great that led to his many achievements in the Congress and to his splendid service as Speaker of the House.

He was beloved by all Members of the House of Representatives for his many contributions to good government and for his unflinching kindness and courtesy. His guidance, his vision and his fierce dedication to the Congress and its traditions have become monuments to responsibility in public office.

Few men in the history of our Nation served so ably or so long. We shall miss Joe Martin on both sides of the aisle in the House of Representatives.

Colorado Second Congressional District 1968 opinion poll

(IF MARRIED, BOTH HUSBAND AND WIFE MAY PARTICIPATE)

- 1. Do you favor current administration efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement in Vietnam?
2. The National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders recommends that the Federal Government substantially increase expenditures for antipoverty and other social programs. Do you approve?
3. Do you support the administration's proposed income tax increase?
4. Should Federal tax credits be granted to business and industry for training of "hard-core" unemployed who otherwise would not be considered for hiring?
5. Should the Federal Government return a fixed percentage of income tax revenues to schools, local and State governments for use as they see fit?
6. Do you think the administration should do more to combat inflation?
7. Should Communist China be admitted to the United Nations?
8. Do you think more of our Federal, State, and local resources should be channeled into law enforcement?

Your age group: A. 20-35 B. 36-49 C. 50-over
Political affiliation: A. Republican. B. Democrat. C. Independent
Occupation head of household: A. Business or professional. B. Industrial worker. C. Government. D. Farmer. E. Educator. F. Retired

COLORADO SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 1968 OPINION POLL

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most useful tools available to me in keeping up to date on the feelings of my constituents on domestic and international issues is my annual opinion poll.

Last year this poll, which I initiated in 1964, resulted in a floodtide of responses from the men and women of my district. By computer count, 49,391 constituents registered their opinions, which certainly ranks my district as one of the most responsive—if not the most responsive—in the Nation to polls of this type.

In a few days my 1968 opinion poll will be in the mail. When the results are in, I will make them available to all of my colleagues in the form of a CONGRESSIONAL RECORD insert.

So that all of the Members may have an opportunity to examine the format of my poll at this time, I am submitting a copy of the text of the poll ballot for reproduction in the RECORD, as follows:

COLORADO SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 1968 OPINION POLL

DEAR FRIENDS: Once again I need your opinions on some of the major problems facing our nation. Your views will be of great value to me in the months to come as I debate and cast your vote in Congress.

With the assistance of the Library of Congress, I drafted eight questions which would give me insight into your thinking on both domestic and international issues.

I am again utilizing punch-out cards as ballots. It is the best method available for tabulation of all opinions quickly and accurately, inasmuch as automatic business machines do the counting.

Please take a few minutes to read the questions, and then push out appropriate answer-squares with a sharp pencil. Then place the card, unfolded, in an envelope and mail it to me at my Colorado office within a week of receipt. The address is: Building 40-Room 202, Denver Federal Center, Denver, Colorado 80225.

Sincerely,

DONALD G. BROTZMAN, Member of Congress.

Table with 6 columns: Men's opinions (Yes, No, Undecided), Women's opinions (Yes, No, Undecided), and a row of answer-squares (A-F) for each question.



## FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Miss Margaret Gladfelter, who is a student in the 10th grade of Bristol High School, Bristol, Pa., won the Voice of Democracy contest recently held by the Chester W. Terchon VFW Post in my congressional district. During a time when some of our young people seem to misunderstand the nature of the challenge facing freedom, it is encouraging to read these thoughtful words of her winning essay. I commend them to my colleagues, as follows:

## FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Margaret Gladfelter)

Freedom, to us, as Americans, is as important as life itself, for where would we be without it? Think of how dreadful our daily lives would be if we did not possess the freedoms of worshipping as we please, speaking what we want heard, and writing what we want read. Think of our privacy, the owning of property, the right to a free trial by jury, and the provisions for an education so necessary for a good future.

Freedom, a privilege which is valuable beyond recognition, is ours to enjoy and value, but along with this freedom come challenges which we must meet if freedom is to survive.

As a student in a school in the United States of America, I must keep these challenges uppermost in my mind, and do my best as an individual to meet them, so that in this way, I can set an example for others to follow.

Maintaining respect for police and the law is a great challenge in our land today. Are we, as free American Citizens about to become a police state, or are we going to learn to handle freedom, in the right way, so that it is an advantage, not a disadvantage to us? Today, so many people are trying to oppose the law of the land. Little do we realize that police forces are trying to secure and enforce the laws which keep us a free nation . . . Can we meet this challenge? Can we show them the respect which they deserve, and let them help us, or do we have to rebel, and make matters worse?

Take for example the brave men who enter the armed forces so we can keep our freedom. Look at the way we are all so much against letting our beloved men go off to fight, even though it is for the good of the country. We'd rather have them home, by our side, than have them away from us, fighting for freedom.

In our Constitution are several rights which are ours to obey (or disobey). This is our choice. This is our challenge. We have freedom of speech. We can use this wisely, or we can use it in a way that would be harmful, or slanderous. As long as we abuse the freedom of speech and as long as we lie and are dishonest in exercising this privilege, we are demeaning ourselves, and our integrity suffers. Individual integrity, if developed, will give us integrity as a nation, and only as integrity develops among us, will freedom, un-abused, develop. Yes, it's all up to the individual. We have these rights, but along with them, hand in hand, go duties or challenges.

An example of this is that we are supposed to have equal rights, equal respect, equal

privileges—and yet look at the poor people. There are people in this country today with no clothing, people who are homeless, or live in homes with no modern facilities, people who are starving, or dying because of lack of medical help. These people have little prospect of bettering these conditions. It is our challenge to help these people who need us so desperately.

It is our challenge to look at the Negro as our equal, not as if he is below us. All men are created equal, and the Negro is a human being, just as we are, with feelings, fears, hopes, and joys, and yet some of us do not regard him as equal to us. He is black, so therefore he hasn't the right to live in a nice home, eat to his heart's desire, or get a good job. Is this fair? No! This is a challenge, where indeed we have failed. If we do encourage and inspire the Negro to meet his challenge, too by helping him to accept the opportunities for education, and job training the inequities could be eliminated.

Complete freedom for all men is an ideal which is very difficult to obtain, and only as the mind and spirit of men matures, will freedom grow in our land. If we accept the challenges with which we are faced daily, and strive to meet them, we will then make progress in our quest for complete freedom!

## HAVEN: HELP ADDICTS VOLUNTARILY END NARCOTICS

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday night, May 11, at the New York Hilton Hotel in my district, HAVEN, Inc.—Help Addicts Voluntarily End Narcotics—a free clinic for treatment of drug addiction and abuse, held its fifth annual function which was attended by many celebrities, and specialists on narcotics problems.

A partial list of those involved who, with Dr. Robert W. Baird, director of HAVEN, made the evening a success, were: George Aspland, district attorney, Suffolk County; Abe S. Berliner, commissioner, Drug Control, New Jersey; Abraham Bernstein, New York State senator; Edward Burkhardt, M.D., president, New York County Medical Society; Rev. Oberia Dempsey; Barry Farber, WOR; Henry Fineberg, executive vice president, New York State Medical Society; Norman Frank, PBA; Joe Franklin, WOR-TV; Dorothy Gordon, NBC, Youth Forum; Aaron Koota, district attorney, Kings County; TED KUPFERMAN, Congressman, New York; Jim Jensen, CBS commentator; Tom Mackel, district attorney, Queens; May Okon, New York Daily News; JOSEPH RESNICK, Congressman, New York; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Peter Rofrano; Alan Schwartz, president-elect, County Medical Society; William Storke, vice president, NBC-TV Network Program Department; David A. Werblin, president, New York Jets; and William Wheeler, executive secretary, New York County Medical Society.

Because of the importance of the occasion and the value of the work done,

I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the statement distributed to those in attendance regarding HAVEN and its mission, as follows:

HAVEN, INC.—HELP ADDICTS VOLUNTARILY END NARCOTICS

DEAR FRIEND: We want to thank you this evening for attending HAVEN's Fifth Annual Dinner-Dance. To some of you HAVEN is no stranger, but others may be unfamiliar with our work. HAVEN is the only free ambulatory narcotic and drug withdrawal clinic in this country which does not use synthetic narcotics for withdrawal. HAVEN offers its free services to drug addicts from any area in the United States nightly from 10:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M. They need not be residents of the State of New York.

HAVEN is located in the heart of the addiction world, in fact, the capital of drug operations in the United States—Harlem. We treat all individuals even those who are guilty of felonies, including manslaughter. When drug addicts need help, they should not be placed in the position where they have to say, "I do not know if I qualify because I have committed a felony." We at HAVEN feel that the addict is in need of help, and HAVEN's doors are always open, at no cost to the taxpayer. We receive no contributions from Federal, State or City funds. HAVEN is supported solely by Dr. Robert W. Baird and through private donations.

Under the direction of Dr. Baird, who has lived in Harlem for twenty-one years and treated drug addicts for sixteen years. HAVEN has developed practical approaches to the control of drug abuse. HAVEN has been the leader throughout the nation in prompting new legislative approaches to the problem.

As you sit here, watching the entertainment and waiting to dine, just think how fortunate you are not to have the problem of drug addiction in your home. However, do not become complacent . . . don't say to yourself, "It can't happen to me." At HAVEN we have seen the young son of a Commissioner of Mental Health on drugs, a judge's son nearly hopelessly addicted, a doctor, a nurse and even a seminarian cursed with the scourge of addiction.

It is a rather sad commentary on today's living that the marks of success which once were held lofty—such as owning a home, getting a college education, achieving independence and having respect for law and order—have now been thrown aside. New dicta have been set forth by many people, such as reward the lazy and indolent and penalize the successful. How did this come about? Because so many people in public life are well intentioned but have lost sight of their convictions of the worth of diligent efforts.

In the realm of drug addiction treatment, we do not have a credibility gap in New York but a tremendous "professional gap of inexperienced leadership," where the knowledgeable are the exception rather than the rule. Some examples:

1) Governor Rockefeller has appointed as the president of his Narcotic Control Commission a doctor who wants to decrease the penalty for the possession of marijuana and calls present laws ridiculous. This man should work in Harlem with addicts and learn the dangers of marijuana. His reasoning was compounded even more critically when on a television program he made the incredible statement that if he were to take LSD he would take it under the supervision of Dr. Leary, the high priest of the LSD world. Do you wonder why our youngsters are confused?

2) The lawyer who represents legal counsel for the New York State Narcotic Control Commission, which controls the whole program for the State, has come out for decreasing the penalty for the possession of marijuana.

We wish these men would work in private life and observe the dangers of marijuana on a street level rather than on an administrative basis. Others, after being graduated from law school, immediately become assistant district attorneys without any practical experience or knowledge of how to communicate with people. One must develop insight into the frailties of people by dealing daily with them. Many of these so-called authorities will terminate a discussion by sheer weight of their office.

As you know, in the past seven years, the architecture of the whole State program on addiction was developed as Dr. Baird diagrammed it, printed it and saw it reprinted in the New York papers; it was a service to the public and didn't cost the State one penny! We at HAVEN have asked the Governor to discuss the problem with Dr. Baird. But the Governor has been too busy to come to any of our dinners. Is he not concerned that each year 800 youngsters die from an overdose of drugs in New York City?

We can't ask him to fly down in a chartered plane to comfort the mother of a 17-year-old youngster who died from an overdose, but couldn't the Governor just once in six years come to our dinner or to our clinic, which has been the leader in the field of legislation and treatment on an ambulatory basis? Millions of dollars have been saved because many drug addicts treated at HAVEN are now clean four and five years, working and contributing taxes—and not stealing!

We at HAVEN have asked repeatedly why the Governor does not have one single private practicing physician on either of his boards or commissions on drug control. All are institutional men. Liaison with private doctors is a necessity if we are to progress in the fight against addiction.

The Governor's program, which started out with wonderful intentions, has been bogged down by poor implementation. Its own commissioner has made Dr. Baird "persona non grata." Commissioner Pierce says, "Don't criticize our program, doctor," but these very people can criticize the President of the United States at will. We recommend that the Commissioners and their personnel be trained at these centers for a period of at least six months with people who know the problem. We are dismayed that lay people, former addicts, clergy and lawyers who have never been trained, give lectures about drug addiction.

Looking at the dais, one notices the Governor, Mayor and the United States Senators from New York, singularly missing. It is disappointing, since HAVEN is a free clinic that has been operating in Harlem for many years. These men should give us some vote of confidence so other private doctors and lay people may be encouraged to donate their time and facilities free to the public to take care of addicts, rather than having to add more and more salaried personnel to the staggering three quarter billion dollar budget just for drug addiction.

We may seem cynical, but really we are not—just frustrated. We wish that some of the people who are not here tonight or haven't visited our clinic would read the lyrics of the song, "To Dream the Impossible Dream," from the Broadway show, "Man of La Mancha." It reflects our aims.

This Monday the Governor will be the keynote speaker at a drug addiction symposium concerning the State program. We wish him well. HAVEN has conducted symposiums on drug addiction in high schools and colleges for the past six years. The last two were all-day symposiums, held at the

New York Hilton Hotel for high school and college students as well as members of the faculties, with free registration. HAVEN has been a leader in this area.

We have no doubt that finally many of HAVEN's suggestions will be adopted, particularly the educational approach, with special emphasis on getting industry to give jobs to former drug addicts, a plan Dr. Baird has offered since 1962. It is only fitting that we congratulate the Governor for recognizing again the importance of recommendations set forth by Dr. Baird, although we would like the Governor to acknowledge HAVEN's efforts.

At HAVEN, we believe the following should be implemented in addition to what you see in the HAVEN HOPE newspaper:

- (1) A 50 year prison term for pushing of drugs by the non-addict pusher
- (2) Federal follow-up clinic in New York
- (3) Expansion of The Federal Bureau of Narcotics
- (4) Periodic check-up of elementary, high school and college students for drug addiction
- (5) Mandatory courses each semester for students as well as seminars for teachers, principals, superintendents and deans.

Have a wonderful time—and please make it a must for next year.

THE HAVEN COMMITTEE.

IN TRIBUTE TO THE LATE  
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 6, this Nation was saddened by the news of the death of Joseph W. Martin, Jr. With his passing, the House of Representatives lost one of its most beloved sons and the United States one of its most loyal citizens.

Joe Martin devoted most of his long career in the service of his country. After a short tour of duty in the Massachusetts House and Senate, and then after a brief retirement from public life, he returned to go on to Washington as his district's Representative in Congress. There he was to remain for 42 long and productive years. In a true sense, the House became his home.

Joe was a strong proponent of America's two-party system. During the lean years of the Roosevelt administration, he became the guiding light of the Republican Party. It was in great part through his efforts that the party recovered from a disastrous election in 1936 when only 88 Republicans were elected to the House. In 1939, the Republican ranks swelled to 169, and in 1947, the Republican Party took over the majority in the House.

For this contribution, Joe Martin became the Republican leader, a position which he held for 20 years. During two Congresses, the 80th and the 83d, he was Speaker of the House. All over the country, Joe Martin was known by that well-deserved title of "Mr. Republican."

I have fond memories of Joe Martin. Back in 1963, when Joe was in the waning years of his career, and I was a freshman Congressman in search of guidance,

he helped me get over some of the first bumps which every new Congressman must face. He used to meet with a group of us every week, and over lunch we would discuss the issues at hand. I often found his advice and help in those years to be invaluable.

A great man was lost last March 6. It has been men like Joe Martin which have made the House of Representatives a great legislative body. To the members of his family, I send my deepest sympathy and for his memory may we all be grateful.

THE ARNHEITER CASE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Navy has tried unsuccessfully to sweep the affair involving Lt. Comdr. Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, U.S. Navy, under the rug. This matter no longer is merely Navy—it has become a command matter affecting the services.

The American people continue to seek more information—answers which are lacking. Not one-sided information from an ad hoc hearing nor leaked from the Pentagon but a full-scale inquiry by adversary proceedings.

It is no longer a question that full disclosure may affect the nonexistent image of an infallible Navy—the Arnheiter case reaches the very integrity of the command of the U.S. Navy and its defensive capabilities.

No American wants to be placed in the position of attacking our Armed Forces command, but every American who loves his country believes in fairness and justice.

Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's case now weighs heavily on the mind of the master of every naval vessel—does he or the junior officers, perhaps the crew—decide command. Discipline, if not supported, could destroy the Navy like the dissidents at Columbia University.

There is no way out for the command.

A court of inquiry must be had. Arnheiter must be lawfully charged by specifications—a hearing held and then Arnheiter either removed for cause or acquitted and restored to command.

There is no reason for the Navy to fear the truth. And these rumors and stories must once and for all be put to rest.

I include James Kilpatrick's article from the March 26 National Review and the Evening Star for May 14, 1968, and a public affairs release by Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, retired, as follow:

[From National Review, Mar. 26, 1968]  
THE ARNHEITER CASE—FIGHTING CAPTAIN OR SLAVEDRIVER?

(By James Jackson Kilpatrick)

"HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN ANOTHER HALSEY"  
Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, lieutenant commander, USN, assumed command of U.S.S. Vance at Pearl Harbor on December 22, 1965. His ship was an aging destroyer, commissioned at Houston in 1943, mothballed after World War II, then recommissioned in 1956 for radar picket patrol in the

Aleutians; she was named for a young American lieutenant who died at his battle station aboard the Australian *Canberra*, sunk at Coral Sea. Now, just before Christmas, 1965, she had returned from one patrol off Vietnam and was about to go out on another. Her new skipper was forty. This was his first command.

It was also Arnheiter's last command. On March 31, 1966, when Vance was at Subic Bay to take on stores, Arnheiter was summarily relieved. He was restricted overnight to his cabin, under guard. Then he was beached. He had served in command for precisely 99 days.

All this was two years ago. Those 99 days, and the ordeal that followed thereafter, make up "The Arnheiter Case." The affair has provoked blazing controversy within the Navy; it has divided admirals against admirals; it has destroyed not only Arnheiter's career but also the career of Captain Richard G. Alexander, a brilliant officer, destined for flag rank, who had been assigned to the battleship *New Jersey*. In certain of its aspects, the Arnheiter case offers an absorbing parallel to Herman Wouk's *The Caine Mutiny*. It has overtones of Kafka's *The Trial*. Boiled down, it is the story of one man, utterly devoted to the Navy, who was stripped of command as a consequence of his own hard-driving temperament and the covert actions of other men.

For Marc Arnheiter and Richard Alexander, the story has ended. No conceivable action, whether by congressional investigation or by a belated Court of Inquiry, could restore their broken careers. Yet the story bears telling if only as a reminder of the importance that ought to be attached to the fate of the occasional one man, non-conforming, whose sin is to try too hard. And there is always the thought that one day another such case will come along; if the Navy profits from its blunders in the Arnheiter case, next time the Navy may do better. Perhaps the next Arnheiter will profit, too.

#### DREAMS OF GLORY

The file on Marc Arnheiter now amounts to hundreds of pages of findings, petitions, reviews and correspondence. From these, the character of the man emerges with the poignant clarity. Born in New Jersey in 1925, he learned to sail and shoot as a boy at his family's summer home in Maine. He was military all the way. His one ambition was to find a career in arms. As a plebe at the Naval Academy in 1948, young Arnheiter found his greatest inspiration in Elbert Hubbard's *A Message to Garcia*. It became his favorite work; for the next fifteen years, he would draw incessantly, almost obsessively, upon the example of the young lieutenant who let no obstacle deter him from the path of duty. Arnheiter had other heroes, too—Nelson, Farragut, John Paul Jones, Douglas MacArthur. He used to lie on his bunk at Annapolis, dreaming a boy's dreams of danger, combat, glory. He was impatient with classmates who failed to measure up to the purity of his own ideal.

Perhaps he dreamed too much. Arnheiter was graduated from the Academy in 1952 in the top third of his class, but with no remarkable honors. As an earnest young ensign, handsome, serious, he went off to duty aboard the battleship *Iowa*, engaged in shore bombardment in the Korean War. Tours of duty followed in the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean. He served as gunnery officer on the destroyers *Fiske* and *Coolbaugh*, then as operations officer on the destroyer *Abbott*. In 1960 he came to Washington for three years of shore duty in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Then back to sea on the guided missile frigate *Worden*, and from there to the destroyer *Ingersoll*. And so, three days before Christmas of 1965, to Vance.

These years of preparation had their ups and downs. Arnheiter has an essentially Prus-

sian sense of discipline. Even as an ensign, he established a reputation as a spit-and-polish officer who demanded smartness of his men. There were times, it is said, when he seemed to be obsessed with the angle of a sailor's cap. He demanded perfection, which made it all the more embarrassing when he delivered something less than that himself. He once lost his way in the Charleston harbor, took a wrong channel, and came within a mile of running a destroyer into Sumter. He took a royal ribbing for it.

An Arnheiter legend began to develop. He fell into serious personality conflict with a senior commander at the time he was serving on *Fiske*, and wound up with such an unsatisfactory fitness report that he was passed over for promotion to lieutenant. During his period of Pentagon duty, he exasperated some of the carrier admirals with his strong opinions on their shortcomings in anti-submarine warfare. He got in trouble with articles he wrote for defense publications. He even put his hand to a novel, published by Doubleday under the nom de plume of Alexander Zhdanov, in which he made his criticisms sharper.

If he accumulated some liabilities in these years, he built up some assets too. He took a master's degree in personnel administration from George Washington University. While in the South China Sea, he wrote a tenth edition of the *Watch Officer's Guide*, an authoritative manual published under the prestigious auspices of the U.S. Naval Institute. He made staunch friends among senior officers who shared his view on the role of surface combat ships. He won promotion to lieutenant, then to lieutenant-commander. And as executive officer of *Ingersoll*, he achieved a superlative record.

#### THE NEW BROOM

Arnheiter's eighteen months on *Ingersoll* merit special mention, for it was here, in the period immediately preceding his abortive command of *Vance*, that he conceived certain programs that were to bring his downfall later. He saw the ship's sailors as a sloppy lot and viewed his junior officers as something less than fledgling Farraguts. As the ship's exec, he set out to shape them up, by relentless inspections, patriotic exhortations, demanding drills. He formed a rifle team. He cracked down hard on infractions in dress and demeanor. After a period of resentment, the officers and crew came around; they came to understand and to respect Arnheiter's passionate pride in the naval service. Their glowing testimonials to Arnheiter, volunteered many months later, are among the most persuasive exhibits in the Arnheiter file. Demonstrably, he could lead men, and inspire them to better service. It was his top-flight performance on *Ingersoll* that won him command of *Vance*.

You can hear two accounts, diametrically opposed, of the ship that he inherited that Christmas at Pearl Harbor. On the record, there is evidence that *Vance* was in good condition; she had won an "E" for excellence in engineering; her crew had led the squadron in September gunnery trials; she had been nominated by the commander of Destroyer Squadron Five for unit commendation by the Secretary of the Navy.

A wholly different impression emerges from other sources. Second Class Petty Officer B. D. Mathews, for example, says that the ship "was infested with roaches, and the crew wore sloppy, torn and dirty uniforms." Signalman First Class Wilbert Bosen concurs: "The ship was full of cockroaches before Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter took over. During the nine months before he assumed command, the ship was not the kind of ship you normally think of when you think of a destroyer. In other words, it was lax." A former photographer's mate says that in the pre-Arneiter period, "there was no discipline on board. Seamen would tell their superior officers to get lost if they didn't like an order. They used foul language to do it, too." Other

enlisted men have testified to brutal fights below decks.

Arnheiter's own recollection is vivid: "The ship was literally crawling. Cockroaches were everywhere, in the food, in the bunks, in the wardroom. The ship was coffee-stained and generally filthy. Berthing, messing and working spaces were untidy. Damage control procedures were deficient. I was told the crew had been put through general quarters battle readiness drills only six to eight times in the preceding nine months. Hooliganism was rampant among the men. Petty officers could not maintain authority. The junior officers were lax and easy-going. There was an air of boredom and indifference."

Two days after assuming command, Arnheiter talked with Rear Admiral Henry S. Persons, commandant of the Pearl Harbor Naval District. Persons warned him of the crew's poor reputation. The warning was so much fuel for Arnheiter's boilers. At the first opportunity, he summoned his startled sailors to the fantail and let them know a new day had arrived. In her most recent cruise, *Vance* had stayed well out to sea; he proposed to take her where the action was. He promised danger, fun, excitement. Chief petty officers would have his support, but he would expect top performance from them. Inspections would be frequent and tough. The Plan of the Day would be strictly adhered to. Military courtesy and custom would be observed throughout the ship. He wanted a taut ship, and he wanted it fast.

On 28 December, the *Vance* left Pearl Harbor, bound first for Guam and then for Vietnam.

Several incidents occurred in these few days that were to bulk large later on. On Christmas Eve, *Vance* was quietly moored to her pier. Stuck aboard on duty was Lieutenant William Thomas Generous, whose pregnant wife was with him. Arnheiter was struck by the thought that he and his wife Janice ought to go aboard to commiserate with them. She brought along a milk bottle filled with eggnog. The four of them each had a cup.

A day or so after Christmas, Marc and Janice Arnheiter were on the beach at Waikiki. Ensign Luis Anthony Belmonte, *Vance's* gunnery officer was with them. The Arnheiters clambered aboard one of the outrigger canoes that ply the surf. Arnheiter had a camera with him. He asked Belmonte to take their picture. Belmonte, kicking off his loafers, waded into ankle-deep water, took the camera, and made the picture.

Prior to the change of command ceremony on 22 December, in accordance with Navy custom, announcements were mailed to prospective guests. Lieutenant (j.g.) K. D. Hamaker, as postal officer, asked Arnheiter to pay the \$11.50 postage on them. In some irritation, Arnheiter said he never had heard of a new C. O. paying such a bill; he told Hamaker to find an alternative way. The matter languished.

At one of his first wardroom luncheons before leaving Pearl Harbor, Arnheiter proposed that the ship's welfare and recreation fund be tapped for \$950 to buy a speedboat equipped for water skiing. Ten of the thirteen officers were present. No one objected. The boat was purchased and put aboard.

#### MOVING TOO FAST?

Meanwhile, Arnheiter threw his furious energies into getting *Vance* cleaned up and cockroach-free. His principal agent in this work was his executive officer, Lieutenant Ray Stirling Hardy. He had long talks with Hardy, in which he sought to inspire him to new concepts of executive authority. Hardy was to jack up the junior officers, keep them smart, see that inspections took on new meaning. Hardy was to make certain the junior officers were properly dressed and shaven. Naval regulations require officers to have dress swords, would he see that the regulation was enforced. The ship's new

motto would be "Seek Out, Engage, Destroy." And spread the word that the captain meant it.

Hardy reacted with some unease to these new-broom instructions. When Vance had been cruising under her former C.O., Lt. Cdr. Ross Wallace Wright, no such discipline had been enforced. (There was a coffee cup aboard, in fact, decorated on the bottom with a photograph of Wright, bearing the caption of "McHale.") The record indicates that Hardy thought there would be trouble and resentment in the wardroom, and the presumption is strong that he warned Arnheiter against trying to accomplish too much too fast. Arnheiter responded to these negative attitudes by telling Hardy the story of Lieutenant Rowan and the Message to Garcia.

Several events would figure in the case. Using his initiative at Pearl Harbor, Arnheiter had acquired fifteen extra Garand rifles for the Vance. With the enthusiastic cooperation of his weapons officer, he set up a special fire team. At Guam he scrounged some empty oil drums for targets. Later it would be alleged that he had violated procurement regulations; and several of the junior officers would complain that the target practice "made too much noise."

Arnheiter saw possibilities in the little speedboat. He had it mounted with a .30-calibre machine gun and painted the boat's prow with red eyes and shark's teeth. The charge would be that he should not have used a recreation boat for prosecuting the war.

Arnheiter yearned for a proper wardroom, composed of officers who were not only officers but gentlemen also. He wanted spotless uniforms, good manners, fine food. His efforts to achieve these amenities led Belmonte to remark, in disgust, that it was like living on an eighteenth-century ship of the line. There was probably much truth in this, for Arnheiter is filled with the tradition from which Horatio Hornblower was contrived. Alas, he looked about his wardroom on Vance and saw Belmonte unshaven, and young Michael McWhirter rumples, and someone else with ketchup on his shirt. Some of the juniors crammed whole slices of bread in their mouths. It was more than Arnheiter's disciplined nature could endure.

As one corrective measure, he decreed a formal Navy Mess Night. "It was my intention," he has said, "to get the wardroom officers to realize that under my command they were no longer in 'McHale's Navy,' but were beginning a tour where the best in naval tradition would be observed." The party was set up for the night of 12 January at the Officers' Club in Guam. There was some grumbling that the affair would add to the officers' mess bill, but this could be adjusted against an unusually low bill for December. In the end, the dinner came off superbly.

Too superbly. Early in the evening, Arnheiter inquired of the club manager if any silver candelabra and demi-tasses might be available for purchase; he wanted to buy them for the wardroom. The manager regretted that he had none to spare. About midnight, after many toasts had been drunk, a couple of the junior officers were seized with the happy thought of making off with some of the club's candelabra. Amidst great hilarity, they staggered into the night. The following morning, an embarrassed Arnheiter brought the candelabra back. The head-waiter cheerfully told him to think nothing of it, but the incident would not be forgotten.

The Mess Night had another unfortunate aspect. When Vance arrived at Guam on 6 January, it became apparent that drastic repairs would have to be made to her starboard engine. The ship accordingly was put in "cold iron" condition. A six-by-twenty foot hole was cut in her side for removal of the ailing shaft. Generators were shut down. Under these circumstances, Arnheiter saw

nothing wrong in leaving only a single officer in charge on the night of the party. The officer was trained in damage control; one-third of the crew was aboard. It seemed a reasonable arrangement; but it would become a "dereliction."

#### AS THE TWIG IS BENT

In these first few days of command, Arnheiter's primary concern was to inspire the crew with some of his own zeal for the naval service. Half of his sailors were youngsters, "fresh-caught and impressionable lads away from home who were on their way to a combat zone." Arnheiter's thought was to indoctrinate them not only with "a sense of patriotic purpose," but also with "an awareness of that part of our national heritage which has caused Congress to mint coins with the inscription, 'In God We Trust.'"

Toward this end, he instituted a series of "all hands" assemblies on the fantail. The first was on Sunday, 2 January; the second two weeks later, on the 16th; the third on Sunday the 23rd. Subsequent programs were held on Mondays through February and March. They followed the same pattern throughout—opening and closing prayers from the Naval Institute's manual; the singing of "America the Beautiful," "God of Our Fathers," "My Country 'Tis of Thee," the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the Navy Hymn, and the National Anthem; a fifteen-minute talk on God and country, or patriots of the past, or the customs of Vietnam. The topics varied. Arnheiter insists the themes were "rigidly nonsectarian." Senior Navy chaplains who have reviewed the programs have found nothing objectionable in them.

But Lieutenant Generous did. He is a key figure in the Arnheiter case. In the limited parallel that is drawn with *The Caine Mutiny*, he would be cast in the role of the literate Lieutenant Keefer. He is tall, thin-faced, bespectacled. In 1964, prior to his tour on Vance, he had suffered an emotional breakdown brought on by his first destroyer service. He emerges from the record as a dominant personality, argumentative, sophisticated. Arnheiter has described him as "personally sociable, chronically dissenting, volatile, and extremely articulate." The two clashed at once. Before Vance left Pearl Harbor, Arnheiter recalls, Generous wanted "to see how far he could oppose me and get away with it."

Generous had made no secret of his strong objection to the "all hands" evolutions. Early on the morning of the 16th, prior to the second program, he composed a stiff message for Arnheiter:

"Subject: Meetings on Sunday, compulsory attendance at.

"Ref: (a) Constitution of the United States, Article I in amendment thereof.

"1. Your attention is respectfully directed to reference (a), which as interpreted by several recent significant court opinions, prohibits enforced attendance at religious services, however euphemistically disguised they may be.

"2. Please accept this letter as a statement of my desire and intent to preserve this constitutional right.

"W. T. GENEROUS, Jr."

At the bottom of this message, Generous had thoughtfully typed a few lines for Arnheiter's signature: "Returned, receipt acknowledged. You are hereby ordered to present yourself on the fantail this morning at 1025 to hear an address by executive officer, in accordance with the Plan of the Day."

The message never reached Arnheiter. Pursuant to channels, Generous gave it first to Hardy, as executive officer, for forwarding. The unhappy Hardy held it up. He gave Generous confidential advice instead. A week later, after the program of 23 January, Generous went below. Unknown to Arnheiter, he was writing a letter to a friend—a Catholic

chaplain at Pearl Harbor, Lieutenant Richard L. Osterman:

"DEAR FATHER OSTERMAN: Alas, we're back in Market Time. I wish I could spend some time in passing generalities . . . , but my rage forces me to use my limited time particularly.

"The enclosed mimeos should speak for themselves. Three times now the crew has been ordered aft . . . for these euphemistic church calls. The first one I missed by virtue of having the Deck, and the second, thanks to the good taste of the Executive Officer, was innocuous. But today's gem was no more nor less than a Protestant service. LTJG Ward's address was secular . . . but the rest was flat religion, led and directed by the commanding officer.

"I have complained previously, both to the CO orally, and in a letter to the CO which was held up by the XO, who advised me 'not to jeopardize myself, but to seek outside help anonymously.' I do have the courage of my convictions, and I would refuse the order to lay aft on the basis of its unconstitutionality were it not for my responsibility to my wife and child-to-be.

"The Nuremberg trials settled for all time the loyalty a military man must show his superior. I cannot be openly disloyal to him, but I cannot accept illegality and infringement of my constitutional rights. I ask relief from this burden, but I do so anonymously, once again for the sake of my family. Is there something that you could do?

"Very respectfully,

"Tom."

The events of 16 and 23 January, seen in retrospect, served to trigger the Arnheiter case. By failing to forward Generous's formal protest of the 16th, Lieutenant Hardy made alliance with him; he put himself from that moment in the untenable position of an exec who acts behind his captain's back. By seeking help "anonymously," through Father Osterman, Generous set in motion the forces that two months later would bring Arnheiter's ruin. It was at this same time that Ensign Belmonte contributed his bit to the anti-Arneiter conspiracy by starting "Marcus's Mad Log" as a record of the skipper's bizarre behavior. The ship was now in a war zone. On 20 January, Vance had relieved the destroyer *Finch* on station in Market Time Area No. 3. Arnheiter had been in command for barely one month.

Arnheiter arrived off Vietnam just at the time of the Tet truce. He saw it as an opportunity for a close look at the shoreline. He wanted to see "where the enemy positions were, where the bunkers were, where the coastal contraband runners were believed to be based." On Saturday the 22nd, accompanied by a U.S. adviser on junk operations, he took the Vance within 1,500 yards of the beach and a thousand yards of shoal waters. The weather was excellent, the sea calm; and though no hostile action was expected, Arnheiter ordered the guns manned. Nothing happened, except that Lieutenant Generous, who earlier had scoffed at the ship's new motto as "too flowery," now complained that Arnheiter was getting "too involved in the war." In time, the incident would reappear as an allegation that Arnheiter had needlessly exposed his ship to danger.

For the next several weeks, Arnheiter was in his own seventh heaven, and those who loved action were in that heaven with him. The Vance prowled her sector searching for contraband and Vietcong. He put the ship's whaleboat into operation. He sent the smaller speedboat into shallows where the whaleboat couldn't go. He worked on suspicious Vietnamese with a psychological questionnaire. On the 27th, he engaged in an exceptionally bold foray. The incident brought the Vance a message from Rear Admiral N. C. Ward, operational commander.

"Your alert and aggressive action in detecting and investigating suspected infiltration attempt 27 Jan. is a refreshing example of individual initiative, well done."

On 28 January, while patrolling the northern sector, Arnheiter saw a chance to assist the destroyer *Mason* in a direct fire mission. He sent a message, begging for a target assignment. His opportunity came the next day, in support of the First Cavalry, when guns of the *Vance* landed seventeen "highly accurate" rounds from 1,200 yards. On the 30th, while chasing junks south of Qui Nhon in the company of the destroyer *Bache*, Arnheiter and others on the bridge observed hostile fire directed at *Vance* from a hillside. He returned fire from a thousand-yard range. A third firing occasion arose on 1 February, off Kim Bong, when an airborne spotter asked *Vance* for direct fire support of the cavalry. She provided it with gusto.

Most of the patrol was devoted to stopping and searching sampans. The activity went on round the clock. Arnheiter is a crack marksman. He kept a loaded rifle secured on the bridge. When a junk failed to stop on command, he often fired a shot over its bow. Sometimes Arnheiter would have two junks tied up fore and two aft, while the small boats were working still others. A sailor has recalled that the *Vance* checked more junks on a single day under Arnheiter than it had checked in the entire preceding cruise. "Something was always going on. The captain was a man who believed in getting things done."

On the night of 4 February, the *Vance* went in hot pursuit of three enemy junks that scuttled for shore. Ensign McWhirter, a first-class fighting man, roared after them. Unhappily, a South Vietnamese liaison officer, assigned to an accompanying armed junk, panicked and refused to join the risky operation. Arnheiter pledged with him to do his duty. A watching signalman later would testify that "everyone on the bridge realized that the liaison officer was yellow." Arnheiter's importunities failed; the Vietnamese officer fled ashore to complain of this demanding American captain. Arnheiter furiously messaged his squadron commander, reporting the officers' cowardice. Two months later, the incident would be used as evidence of Arnheiter's failure to manifest "the finest sense of discretion and tact in contact with the Vietnamese." All that happened at the time was that the operations officer from the Task Force came aboard at Qui Nhon, grinned at the speedboat, and put a friendly elbow in Arnheiter's ribs. "You have too much adrenalin," he said.

They were busy days and nights. Once the *Vance* sought to interrogate a Russian ship; Arnheiter cheerfully kept his peace when the Soviets signaled "Go to hell." Again, the *Vance* stopped three junks filled with refugees, mostly ragged women and hungry children. Arnheiter has five children of his own. He gazed at the pitiful bellies and ordered his supply officer to break out some candy. Told that Navy regulations did not permit such disposal of government property, Arnheiter snapped instructions to "survey some candy," i.e., to declare it unfit, and tossed chocolate bars down to the children. This too would be used against him.

#### BUSY DAYS

Several other incidents have a place in the record. On one blazing morning, Arnheiter sent a sailor to the ship's store to buy a pair of dark sunglasses for him. "Tell them I'll pay for them later," Arnheiter said. He paid up that same afternoon.

On a couple of occasions, Arnheiter towed the whaleboat and speedboat, fully manned, in order to have them more immediately available for action. On the night of 2 February, at the request of the South Vietnamese Junk Division 23, Arnheiter anchored *Vance* in the outer harbor of a shallow bay where a night attack by Vietcong was feared. Then he sent the whaleboat, bearing his special rifle team, on an armed reconnaissance. The sea was calm; the men were helmeted and life-jacketed; they had sub-machine guns

and automatic rifles in addition to their carbines. About midnight, three heavily loaded junks attempted to slip past the ship. Arnheiter radioed the whaleboat that he intended to give chase. "The word from the boat was that they were fine. The Junk Base adviser said all was quiet." Arnheiter up-anchored, went in pursuit, captured the junks, put them in tow, and returned to pick up the whaleboat two hours later.

During this same period of intensive patrol, the Coastal Surveillance Center (CSC) at Qui Nhon kept demanding position reports every two hours from *Vance* and other U.S. ships in the area. Such reports were no part of Arnheiter's orders. His orders were to report his position to Commander Task Force 115. The CSC was insistent. Arnheiter was exasperated. "I did just what *Finch* had done," he has said, "I directed that localized rather than pinpoint reports be sent to the CSC on the two occasions when the ship was involved in heavy operations. This kept me from becoming unduly immersed in arbitrary, time-consuming and unnecessary position reports, improperly imposed on the ship as an additional and burdensome requirement not specified by my operational commander, or by any commander in the Seventh Fleet."

There were dull days when *Vance* did little but provide underway replenishment for smaller craft. On an exceptionally dull day late in March, when the crew had been a month at sea, he cracked out the speedboat and authorized off-duty sailors to go water-skiing about the ship as it replenished a Coast Guard cutter. Mostly the days were spent in patrolling the coast. On 20 February, the *Vance* put in to Bangkok for four days of liberty. Then she relieved *Conquest* off An Thoi and worked a new sector. The Vietnamese provided a less sensitive liaison officer; Arnheiter got along fine with him.

Midway in the cruise, on an active morning, Arnheiter was stopped by his engineering officer, Lieutenant Edward G. Fuehrer, on his way to the bridge. Fuehrer was waving a message. "Captain," he said, "they're after our connecting rods." It was an order to supply an inventory of spare Diesel parts. "Tell them what we can spare," Arnheiter said; and initialed the message.

Meanwhile, things were going little better in the wardroom. As part of his campaign to build esprit among the officers, Arnheiter instituted a plan of brief, impromptu after-dinner talks on topics that were written out on slips of paper beneath an officer's plate. Lieutenant Generous made one such talk, seizing a chance to contrast the colorful Halsey with the prudent Spruance: his point was that Halseys have small place in modern naval warfare. The point was wholly lost on Arnheiter, who holds Halsey in a special niche.

Arnheiter also instituted a "boners box." Officers who came sloppily dressed to mess, or left a knife in the peanut butter jar, were fined for each offense. Even Lieutenant Generous agrees that the system was instituted "in a very light-hearted frame of mind." Proceeds of the box went to buy cigars for the wardroom mess. At first, Belmonte and McWhirter paid most of the fines. Then they responded to the teasing goad, and revenues fell off to nothing.

In the course of the 99 days, Arnheiter came to admire the two ensigns. One of his last acts, late in March, was to recommend Bronze Stars for both of them—to McWhirter "because he bravely attempted to carry out my orders at the time of the hot pursuit incident," and to Belmonte for "extraordinary personal bravery and audacity" on other occasions.

He could do nothing with Generous. In mid-January, against his own better judgment, he had accepted Hardy's recommendation that Generous be promoted to lieutenant, because the operations billet provided for an officer of that rank. The two remained

at loggerheads. Toward the end of February, an incident arose that made matters worse. After the ship left Bangkok, Arnheiter decided to call on Generous for a daily operations plan, to be sent to the C.O. by 5 o'clock on the afternoon before. One afternoon Arnheiter waited, and waited, but no plan appeared. At 9 o'clock he summoned Hardy to ask the reason why. Hardy was miserable. Generous didn't intend to work up the plan. And why not? "Captain, Sir," said the sad exec, "he just doesn't like you." Arnheiter's explosive answer was to summon Generous for a lecture that must have scorched the woodwork. One more offense, he said, and he would seek Generous' immediate transfer.

#### THE "DANDO REPORT"

The 28th of February, which was the day of the blessing-out, also marked the arrival aboard *Vance* of a circuit-riding Navy chaplain, Lieutenant George W. Dando. After all these months, he remains a curiously obscure and faceless figure. He had been in the Navy for only five months. Apparently, he spent much of his time aboard *Vance* in listening to complaints from Generous, Belmonte, and others, though he communicated none of this to the captain. Dando did not complain of Arnheiter's Monday guidance services, but he refused to agree to the singing of the Navy Hymn at one of them. Dando remained aboard until 12 March, when he departed with a farewell word to Arnheiter that morale was "extremely low." Ten days later he filed a six-page report with his superiors of what had been told him.

Arnheiter was not to see this "Dando Report" for another five months. It was carefully excluded from the record of his subsequent hearing, yet it floated about in a Navy limbo of "attachments" and "references." If there was a single key document in Arnheiter's destruction, it was this chaplain's report. When Arnheiter at last caught up with a text, it is not to be wondered that Arnheiter exploded. This was Dando's report—backed by his prestige as a Man of God—on Arnheiter's efforts to improve his officers:

"One way was to fine each officer \$25 each time he failed to live up to his standard. No one seems to know what he did with the money, except that the executive officer has it in a box."

The boner-box fine was not 25 dollars. It was 25 cents. Everyone knew that the proceeds—which amounted to less than \$30 in the entire cruise—went to buy wardroom cigars. The Rev. Mr. Dando's margin of error, or of reckless falsehood, was precisely one hundred times. Was the lie ever put straight? Arnheiter never could know. Did Dando ever attempt to rectify the ruinous damage his report had achieved? Arnheiter cannot say.

Arnheiter was stunned by Dando's comment on low morale. He himself had believed that, at least among the crew, morale was improving steadily. He thought he had turned the corner from hostility to acceptance. Considerable evidence from enlisted men—obtained too late to figure in Arnheiter's dismissal from command—tends to confirm that view. There had been no cancellations of liberty in Guam, Bangkok, or Manila. There had been no courts martial and only two mast periods for minor punishments. The ship records reflected good results in rate-advancement. Arnheiter could not make it out. In any event, *Vance's* cruise was coming to an end. On 23 March, she was relieved by the destroyer *Brister*. A Lieutenant (j.g.) Uldis Kortons, from the staff of the escort squadron, came aboard to hitch a ride to Mainia. On the 26th, *Vance* arrived at Subic Bay for two weeks of restocking and upkeep.

The sequences of events in the next few days remains obscure. Arnheiter charges that, unknown to him, Lieutenant Kortons delivered to Commander D. F. Milligan at Subic a report of complaints written by Hardy in collaboration with Generous. Waive the point. Plainly, Milligan had received the ear-

lier report of Lieutenant Dando, with its melange of truths, half-truths, distortions, and plain lies. This stew of allegations and hearsay statements found its way to Rear Admiral T. S. King Jr., whose flotilla was soon to relieve that of Rear Admiral D. G. Irvine. Various communications followed between King and Irvine and the Navy's Bureau of Personnel. To this day, it remains incomprehensible that officers of the experience of King and Irvine should have acted as they did without once communicating with Arnheiter. He was only fifteen minutes away. They never summoned him. He knew nothing of what was going on.

The thunderbolt fell on 31 March. Arnheiter, busy at his tasks aboard *Vance*, received message orders from the Chief of Naval Personnel, detaching him immediately from command. That same evening, Commander Milligan came aboard and summarily relieved him. On the following day, Arnheiter gathered his crew on the fantail to bid them farewell. Bewildered, he reported to the destroyer tender *Dixie*. Meanwhile, Milligan informed all hands that he was prepared to hear "any personnel who were desirous of shedding any light on the irregularities which were occurring on *Vance*."

That was on 2 April. On 4 April, Captain Ward W. Witter, who had been assigned by King to the case as a one-man investigating board, showed Arnheiter a stack of allegations but declined to say which of them he regarded as important. The "trial" of Marcus Arnheiter—all the trial he has ever had—commenced on the following day. It concluded on 11 April. The so-called Witter finding followed a few weeks later.

A word on naval procedures is in order. It may be true, as the Navy insists, that in "emergency" situations the letter of the Navy's law authorizes the summary procedures used in the Arnheiter case. (Seven months later, a reviewing officer would remark with cold incisiveness that no "emergency" of any sort existed; but waive the point.) It is manifest that the spirit of naval law was trampled underfoot. In cases such as this, senior officers are to assure themselves that a difficulty is not "reasonably susceptible to correction." No such assurance was sought in the Arnheiter case. Regulations require that factual allegations of misconduct must be adequately verified by formal or informal investigation before action is taken. No such verification was obtained before Arnheiter was removed. Still another regulation requires that before drastic action is approved, "it is of the utmost importance that strong command guidance and counseling be given the officer concerned, and that there is no reasonable alternative to the action requested." No such guidance and counseling were given to Arnheiter. The regulation that was of "the utmost importance" was simply ignored.

These are among the inexplicable aspects of the Arnheiter case. The Navy says that the procedures invoked by Captain Witter "are closely comparable to but not as formal as those prescribed in the manual for a Court of Inquiry." This is a sophistry unworthy of the officers who have advanced it. The difference is night and day. It is the difference between a probable cause hearing before a U.S. commissioner and a full-fledged trial after grand jury indictment. No person possessed of even the most rudimentary acquaintance with the law will buy the Navy's statement that Arnheiter has had his "day in court." He has not.

#### ADVERSARY PROCEEDING

Surely he never received his "day in court" before Captain Witter. The purported "fact-finding investigation" turned instantly into an adversary proceeding, in which Arnheiter was the sole defendant party. As such, he should have been entitled to a presumption of innocence, but no such presumption appears from the record. He was entitled to a reasonable period in which to prepare his

defense; he was given 24 hours. He was entitled to counsel, and did in fact obtain counsel, but his counsel had served only four months in the Navy and never had served on shipboard. He was entitled to written, specific charges; no charges were ever drawn. He was entitled to the summoning of witnesses in his own behalf; but at least four witnesses were denied him. At a Court of Inquiry, Arnheiter might have developed the whole story—the condition of *Vance*, the conduct of the junior officers—but this was denied him also.

The 418 pages of transcript in the Witter hearing produced 41 "findings." It is from these, with various leaks, distortions, and innuendoes, that Arnheiter's asserted "derelictions" have been fashioned. Thus, in a version quoted by the *Trenton Times*, the Christmas eggnog has turned into a nightly pitcher of martinis. Arnheiter's request to Belmonte on the beach at Waikiki has become a direct order that caused the ensign "undue humiliation." The announcement postage bill, which Arnheiter paid in March, has become a tinkering with postal accounts. It is said that the rifles were obtained illegally. (They were not.) He violated regulations in acquiring the empty oil drums at Guam. (He did not.) You hear the rumor that Arnheiter "conspired in the theft of certain candelabra." He is accused of falsifying supply records as to \$17.28 in candy. It is said that he violated the rule that credit shall not be extended by a ship's store. (This was the sunglasses bit.) He is accused of frivolously permitting members of the crew to water-ski in a war zone. And so on, and so on, and so on.

The outside observer is struck with the pattern of malice that runs like a dark thread through the record. Wherever an impression of misconduct could be conveyed, such an impression was conveyed. The business of the inventory of spare Diesel parts is entirely typical. Arnheiter did what one assumes every prudent ship commander would have done: he reported as surplus only those parts he reasonably felt could be spared. So, too, with the matter of leaving his ship "inadequately manned" at Guam. The book-requirement is that at least one-third of a ship's company be aboard at all times, in case an emergency requires the ship to put to sea. But the *Vance*, at the time in question, could not possibly have put to sea. The most widely repeated charge against Arnheiter is that he filed false position reports in order to take his ship on dangerous and vainglorious direct fire missions. This is simply untrue. Arnheiter's required posits were meticulously accurate; his ship engaged in three fire missions only, lasting a total of one hour and sixteen minutes. Yes, he worked *Vance* close to shore. Was this a crime?

"I was confident of my own ship-handling and navigational expertise," Arnheiter says, "and also the navigational proficiency of the executive officer. As for enemy shell fire or mortar fire? When all ships of the U.S. Navy hedge in operations because of possible danger from enemy action, then we may as well toss in the sponge and forget the inspiration of men like John Paul Jones and David Glasgow Farragut!"

Captain Witter's findings, and his adverse recommendation, were committed to writing in late April 1966. A copy went to the Pentagon. Another copy went to Rear Admiral (now Vice Admiral) Walter H. Baumberger, commander of cruisers and destroyers in the Pacific. Bombo, as he is known, went over the record with a sense of mounting incredulity. On August 30, he recommended that the whole regrettable business be wiped out, and that Arnheiter be restored to a command.

#### JUDICIAL PROPRIETIES DISDAINED

Manifestly, this was not the recommendation the Pentagon expected or wanted from Bombo. Unknown to the Admiral (and to

Arnheiter), a final decision already had been reached, in the form of a finding that Arnheiter's dismissal was "for cause." On September 9, Vice Admiral B. J. Semmes, chief of naval personnel, signed a memorandum to that effect; this memorandum went directly into Arnheiter's selection board jacket, which went directly to the Line Selection Board for Commander which was then in session. Not surprisingly, Arnheiter was passed over for promotion.

In the light of Semmes' death-sentence action, what followed is baffling to the layman. The top brass sent a message back to Baumberger, asking him to provide a second review and recommendation, this time in greater detail. Bombo got the word but failed to understand it. He summoned his top legal officer, Captain Larry H. Benrubi. They went over the whole record, line by line. On 1 November, Baumberger filed his second and more definitive report. He began with the conduct of Captain Witter:

"It is evident that from the inception of this investigation, the investigating officer changed the purpose for which the investigation was convened—that of determining the factual validity of allegations made against the commanding officer which had occasioned his summary relief—to one of whether he is the type of officer who deserves command at sea."

This was none of Witter's business. Even more reprehensible, in Baumberger's view, was Witter's ignorance or disdain of judicial proprieties. Witter had engaged in long off-the-record "discussions" with Arnheiter. He injected himself personally into the role of psychologist "rather than impersonal finder of fact." Witter had accused Arnheiter of engaging in "vicious exchanges" and speaking in "incredulous tones." Such remarks on Witter's part, said Baumberger, "were completely improper and indicate a lack of objectivity." Still further, "the record is replete with instances in which the investigating officer either neglected or refused to pursue available evidence concerning specific allegations of misconduct. His findings of fact are for the most part based upon unsubstantiated opinions of witnesses inimical to Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter."

Point by point, Baumberger demolished the flimsy structure. Evidence as to dangerous towing of the whaleboat was insufficient. Arnheiter's leaving the whaleboat for two hours was "not improper." A charge that the speedboat once was used to draw enemy fire "is completely without credible foundation." As for the "false position reports," Baumberger found that Qui Nhon "was at all times aware of the general area in which *Vance* operated." There was a charge that Arnheiter had arranged the Mess Night merely to gain a windfall of \$1.85 on his mess bill: "It does not appear that the commanding officer was so motivated." One especially scurrilous charge was that Arnheiter had attempted to coerce Hardy into recommending him for a Silver Star. Baumberger found "no credible evidence" to support the accusation.

In the end, Baumberger boiled the 41 findings down to three. The Christmas Eve eggnog was a violation of regulations and not to be condoned. Arnheiter's failure to keep one-third of his officers aboard at Guam also was a violation of regulations and not to be condoned, but "the nature of *Vance*'s employment on that occasion and the otherwise normal manning of in-port watches tend to mitigate the violation." The misleading report on spare parts "was censurable conduct. However, since the extent of the misrepresentation is unknown, the degree of dereliction cannot be determined."

Baumberger did not hold Arnheiter otherwise blameless. He had exhibited "a lack of tact and good judgment in his attempt to achieve commendable goals." Even so, there was not sufficient proof of misconduct to justify relief for cause. Baumberger recommended, for the second time, that Arnheiter

be "reassigned to command a destroyer escort in this force to provide an opportunity for reassessment of his abilities."

Baumberger's exhaustive review was an exercise in futility. On 20 January 1967, his superior, Admiral Roy L. Johnson, commander of the entire Pacific Fleet, officially closed the file. In a final order, Johnson first defended Captain Witter's conduct; then he upheld Baumberger's critical review of Witter's findings; then he reversed Baumberger's recommendation for a new command. For all practical purposes, that was the end of the Arnheiter case. Arnheiter was transferred to San Francisco. There he began searching for help in his plea for still further review, vindication, and redress.

One suspects that Johnson was uncomfortable. Just one week before his order of the 20th, Johnson sent a puzzling letter to his fleet commanders. The subject was: complaints against commanding officers. Though he did not say so, the Arnheiter case plainly was weighing on his mind. The implication is clear that he believed the case "had not been handled in a wholly satisfactory manner." He reminded his top officers that "it is essential," in such complaints, "that careful inquiry" be made and that pertinent facts be established. Appropriate regulations should be "scrupulously followed." Johnson wanted each of his fleet commanders personally to ensure "that there is a full understanding of this and careful compliance with required procedures."

What is one to make of Johnson's letter? The only reasonable inference is that he felt the Arnheiter case had not been handled carefully, that the facts had not been proven, that procedures had not been scrupulously followed, and that Arnheiter in fact had been treated unfairly. If this was Johnson's meaning (and the letter speaks revealingly for itself), why did he not sustain Baumberger's recommendation or at least provide for a *de novo* Court of Inquiry?

The answer that is given by Arnheiter's supporters—among them retired Admirals Thomas Settle, Lorenzo Sabin, and Dan Gallery—is that it then was too late. The vindication of Arnheiter, at this point, would have created gross embarrassment all down the line. Admirals King and Irvine had erred. Captain Witter had conducted a wretched investigation, Commander Milligan had acted precipitately. Others at Subic were involved. And back in Washington, Vice Admiral Semmes long ago had decreed Arnheiter's "detachment for cause."

Admiral Gallery states his opinion bluntly: "It's the old story of big-shot professionals covering up each other's mistakes." Admiral Sabin has denounced the "smoke screen." Admiral Settle, after reviewing the whole record, has raised a rhetorical question: "Is the Navy no longer big enough, does it no longer have enough guts, to admit a mistake and redress it?"

The answer to Admiral Settle's question is no. In the Navy's view, there has been no mistake. The official position is that Arnheiter "committed many derelictions, knowingly and deliberately." Arnheiter revealed "a gross lack of judgment and an inability to command and lead people." The record further reveals "that the conduct and performance of the officers, other than the commanding officer, of *Vance* were entirely satisfactory." Attention is directed to Captain Witter's finding that Hardy, Belmonte and Generous "served the commanding officer to the best of their ability under the circumstances, and that no person on *Vance*, other than Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter, is deserving of any adverse action based on the facts disclosed as a result of the investigation."

This is the whitewash treatment. It has continued for the past year, despite Arnheiter's discovery in the spring of 1967 of

some evidence wholly unknown to him at the time of the Witter hearing. This evidence, known as the "bogus familygram," is a purported letter from Arnheiter to the families of enlisted men. Mimeographed on ship's stationery, it is dated 15 March 1966. Somewhere in the War Zone.

"Dear Mom and Dad or Wife (as the case may be):

"My name is Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, and I am the commanding officer of the USS *VANCE* (DER-387). I am the senior officer on board, and I have the sole authority for everything about the ship. It is my ship and I am THE BOSS.

Let me tell you something about myself and *VANCE*. I am the son of my parents who in turn were the children of theirs. My grandfather was Baron Louis von Arnheiter, an early pioneer in manned flight (with somebody else in the plane). He married my grandmother who was Baroness Bungus von Buttbrusher, and I have their marriage license to prove it. As you can see that I come from such an outstanding line of really fine and famous people, you will really appreciate that I am the CAPTAIN OF THE *VANCE*. I am the BOSS, and what I say on this ship is the LAW. ARNHEITER!"

The forged letter continues with a statement that "we think of our loved ones back home, you, the ones we love and pray for in massed forced worship."

"We will be heroes, those of us who live through this carnage, and those of your loved ones who fell here and rot in this foreign place will be remembered by the benighted ones who, by the merest chance, should survive. But if anyone gets through, I will, and you can bet your ass I'll remember *Vance*.

"I am a great man, and I will try to impart some of that greatness to your doltish loved ones. As you think of *Vance*, think of me, for I am the most important man aboard. If you would like an autographed picture of the ship with my face superimposed, just send \$1 apiece to cover the cost of handling . . ."

Who could have written such a letter? To whom was it distributed? Arnheiter's copy came to him anonymously from Pearl Harbor. If this contemptuous ridicule was the work of one of the dissenting officers, the fact would go far toward establishing Arnheiter's basic defense, that he was the victim of a mutinous conspiracy in the wardroom. A full-dress Court of Inquiry could explore the matter.

#### NOTABLE ALLIES

What of Belmonte's "mad log"? He has described it as "just a few scribbles." He has denied showing it to others. But the few scribbles turned into 38 pages of testimony before Captain Witter. Lieutenant Fuehrer knew of the "mad log." So did McWhirter. So did an enlisted man named Steven Joy. Did Belmonte once say that he hoped to see Arnheiter hanged? A sailor named Farnum said so, under oath. A Court of Inquiry could explore these matters, too. This is all that Arnheiter has asked; he has even brought suit in a U.S. District Court in California, seeking a court order to compel the Secretary of the Navy to set such a procedure in motion.

In his fight for vindication, Arnheiter has enlisted some notable allies. Admirals Settle, Sabin and Gallery have rallied to his side. Rear Admiral A. S. Goodfellow finds Arnheiter's record, on the whole, "exemplary." Vice Admiral Lot Ensey has said that Arnheiter "deserves commendation." Vice Admiral Ruthven Libby sums up the story in a sentence: "A couple of beatnik junior officers succeeded in cutting the throat of their commanding officer from behind his back and got away with it."

None of the support for Arnheiter has commanded the national attention that was drawn by Captain Richard Alexander's self-sacrificing action of 7 November 1967. Alex-

ander had not always been in Arnheiter's corner. In March of 1967, before the evidence of the bogus familygram turned up, Alexander had concluded that Arnheiter's "zeal was excessive and [his] judgment faulty." He urged Arnheiter to face the fact "that you were, in the majority opinion, including my own, brought down by your own actions and not by faulty procedures or disloyal subordinates."

But Alexander changed his mind altogether. It was not the familygram alone. It was rather, he has said, a total reconsideration of the 99 days of Arnheiter's command. The longer he studied the case, and the more he examined his own conscience, the more he was driven to the conviction that while his March withdrawal from Arnheiter was prudent, "to turn against him was pusillanimous." He conveyed his altered view to Secretary of the Navy Paul Ignatius, and because of Alexander's prestigious position as prospective commander of *New Jersey*, Ignatius on 7 November sent a plane to bring Alexander to his office.

They conferred for an hour. Then Alexander departed, leaving behind him a 26-page statement that assuredly will find its place in naval history. His review of the Arnheiter case is brilliant, incisive, overwhelming.

"Where did strength and where did weakness lie in that ship? Who stood for duty, honor, country, and who was disloyal? Whose standards would you commend to a young officer today? Those of Hardy, Generous, and Belmonte? Whose efforts were deserving of command support and who should have been censured?"

Alexander vividly recalled the events of 31 March, when Arnheiter received message orders announcing his summary relief:

"Within twelve hours he was under guard in his cabin, having been relieved by another Escort Squadron Commander who gave no explanation. After a night under guard he was kicked off his ship. Four days later he was confronted in an investigation with an amazing chain of damning, ruinous allegations that were bewildering in scope and viciousness. Mr. Secretary, what all of your officers will demand to know is just how in hell this could happen in the United States Navy!"

It seems unlikely, but it is possible, that Alexander's passionate protest might have moved the Secretary if his statement had stopped there. Unfortunately, Alexander was swept away by his conviction that only a public explosion would blow the top off the Arnheiter case. He distributed his statement to the press and to members of Congress. Regrettably, in a fatal breach of protocol, he failed to leave even a courtesy copy for Admiral Thomas Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations. Moorer, a distinguished and greatly respected officer, had been installed only two months earlier; he knew little of the Arnheiter case. He was understandably outraged to read about it in the papers. He summoned Alexander to his office, told him he had lost confidence in him, and wanted his resignation as commanding officer of *New Jersey*. Three weeks later, Alexander was shipped to an ignominious desk job in the Boston Navy Yard, his career at an end.

Alexander does not regret his support of Arnheiter. In his view, "Arnheiter has the spark of naval genius. He might have been another Halsey. God knows the Navy has need of such men.

There it stands. Secretary Ignatius has flatly refused to reopen the case. Such congressmen as Joseph Y. Resnick and Herbert Tenser of New York have urged a congressional investigation, but the House Armed Services Committee has shown no disposition to take up their resolution. Arnheiter's suit against Secretary Ignatius may not survive the government's first motion to dismiss. Meanwhile, Arnheiter himself has been sued by Generous and Belmonte for invasion of

privacy and defamation of character, but such a proceeding scarcely would produce the official inquiry Arnheiter has demanded. At the Pentagon, a form letter has been prepared in which the Navy earnestly cites its multiple reviews of the case.

#### BACK TO THE OLD WAYS

The key figures are scattered. Arnheiter is stranded at headquarters of the Western Sea Frontier on Treasure Island; his personal struggle for vindication absorbs his waking hours. Hardy, promoted to lieutenant commander, is stationed at Key West; he is "fed up" with Arnheiter, and believes his detachment was "richly deserved." Belmonte, 27, is out of the Navy, and working in the financial district of San Francisco. Generous, 28, who is taking graduate studies at Stanford University, also is out; he resigned his commission in November of 1966 in a highly-charged letter, speaking of Arnheiter as "we who called him criminal."

In June of 1967, long after Arnheiter was effectively beached, a former commissaryman third class on Vance, Ronald D. Fournier, wrote a letter of recollection:

"When Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter came aboard, he tried to get the ship running the way it should have been running but was not. The trouble was that people had been too used to being lazy and didn't want to change, didn't want to make the effort. When Mr. Arnheiter was C.O., he changed the status of the petty officers by giving them authority, and I think they appreciated it. But as soon as he left the ship, things went back to the way they were before: A seaman could talk back to a first class petty officer and get away with it. . . . Now, everything's back the way it used to be before he came."

#### ARNHEITER'S DAY A BAD TIME FOR NAVY BRASS (By James J. Kilpatrick)

Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, the naval officer who was summarily dumped two years ago as commanding officer of a U.S. destroyer serving off Vietnam, finally got a kind of "day in court" on Capitol Hill last week. It was a bad time for the Navy brass. They were conspicuous by their absence.

The hearings, arranged by New York's Congressman Joe Resnick, were entirely one-sided hearings. All the witnesses were sympathetic both to Arnheiter and to Richard Alexander, the brilliant young naval captain whose career was destroyed when he publicly took Arnheiter's side. This was not Resnick's idea. He repeatedly invited high Navy officials to appear in defense of the Navy's position. No one turned up.

This stone-cold silence was understandable—from the Navy's point of view. The more one studies this distressing affair, the more one is driven to the conclusion that the Navy bungled the Arnheiter case from the very beginning. At half a dozen points along the line, something might have been salvaged by granting Arnheiter the one privilege he has been begging—a Court of Inquiry, or as an alternative, a full-dress court-martial. He was still begging for this last week; and the Navy was still deaf to his pleas.

For those who may have just come in, it should be said that the case arose in December 1965, when Arnheiter took command of the USS Vance at Pearl Harbor. It was his first—and his last—command. Ninety-nine days later, after a slam-bang tour of duty off Vietnam, Arnheiter was summarily detached. He was given one weekend to prepare himself against a bewildering array of malicious charges, cooked up by rebellious junior officers. Then he was subjected to a one-man investigatory hearing, without benefit of witnesses in his own behalf. And professionally speaking, that was the end of Marc Arnheiter.

As last week's hearing made clear, every safeguard provided in the Navy's own regu-

lations inexplicably was ignored. The Navy does not award wartime commands lightly, but neither are such commands lightly revoked. The rules provide explicitly that before so drastic a step is taken, an officer must be fully informed of all charges against him; he must be given counsel and advice toward the correction of his defects. The rules are specially designed, among other things, to protect a commanding officer from the very sort of wardroom conspiracy that was hatched against Arnheiter.

The evidence in this case indicates that Arnheiter inherited a sloppy ship manned by an undisciplined crew. He himself is a spit-and-polish Dutchman, a Naval Academy graduate with an obsessive love of fighting naval traditions. He threw his entire energies into a crash program to revitalize his ship. Doubtless he made mistakes of judgment—mistakes of zeal—but his purpose was high and his methods were succeeding.

Then the ax fell. Since then his principal accusers have dropped out of the Navy. Arnheiter's strenuous efforts to clear his name have branded him a troublemaker; he is beached in San Francisco.

Captain Alexander, convinced that Arnheiter had been shabbily treated, came recklessly steaming to his rescue; Alexander too has been beached.

The top brass keep compounding their errors. One burly captain in the Bureau of Personnel has dropped the snide rumor that Columnist Drew Pearson has sided with Arnheiter because Mrs. Arnheiter is Pearson's niece. They are not related in any way. Another charge emanating from the top brass is that Arnheiter ordered the Vance's guns to fire on a "Buddhist pagoda." Evidence offered at Resnick's hearings totally disproves the charge. A third rumor is that Arnheiter had a "pitcher of martinis" aboard. Utterly false.

Perhaps the saddest testimony last week came from a 22-year-old Texas seaman, John M. Cicerich Jr., who served on the Vance after Arnheiter had been banished. Once Arnheiter left, he said, everything reverted to the old undisciplined patterns. Life on the ship once again was "like living in a prison with convicted toughs."

It is too late for Arnheiter, too late for Alexander. It is not too late, however, for the Navy to make certain that the next time a gung-ho skipper is victimized by junior officers, the skipper is accorded the consideration Marc Arnheiter never had.

#### ARNHEITER CASE DISGRACES U.S. NAVY

Washington . . . Lt. Commander Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter had enjoyed a promising naval career before he took command of the destroyer Vance on Dec. 22, 1965. Immediately preceding his command assignment, he had served as executive officer of the destroyer Ingersoll for eighteen months. In that service, he had demonstrated exceptional qualities of leadership.

Arnheiter found the Vance dirty and the crew undisciplined. He set new standards of performance and inspired the crew with his own desire to excel. But the new discipline was surreptitiously opposed by a cabal of junior officers who sought to undermine the new skipper.

One of these, an officer who had suffered an emotional breakdown in his prior service on another destroyer, complained by private letter to a Navy chaplain, a Catholic priest, about "Protestant" compulsory church services on the Vance.

The Vance was on station in Vietnam waters for about two months. It was there visited by a chaplain who had been in the Navy for five months. As he departed after twelve days aboard, the chaplain referred to low morale but did not reveal to the skipper the tissue of lies and idle gossip which he had collected and which he would in-

corporate in his report to the Navy Department.

During its service in Vietnam waters, the Vance showed an exceptional elan. It was zealous and competent in performing its assignments.

In late March of 1966, the Vance was relieved on Vietnam station and returned to Subic Bay in the Philippines for servicing. On March 31, Commander Arnheiter was summarily relieved. Naval officers remote from the scene had acted upon malicious and mutinous reports and upon the observations of an inexperienced chaplain to arrive at a false appraisal of a capable officer.

It is a disgraceful record. Arnheiter's fourteen years of exemplary service were brushed aside by superiors who did not even take the precaution to have the allegations checked by a senior line officer. There must have been panic in Navy Headquarters over the lying report of a Catholic junior officer of doubtful mental stability that he had been forced to attend Protestant religious services. This is the kind of charge the Navy would not want exposed in a Court of Inquiry.

Why did the responsible flotilla commanders fail to inform Commander Arnheiter of the reports and hear his side of the story? Their behavior can be explained only by receipt of direct orders from Washington to relieve Arnheiter and to conduct the "investigation" afterward. When the record was reviewed by the Admiral commanding cruisers and destroyers of the Pacific Fleet; he recommended that the proceedings be quashed and that Commander Arnheiter be restored to command. But the Pentagon was adamant. It had informed the Promotion Board that Arnheiter's removal was for cause. Arnheiter was passed over for promotion.

The record is one of outrageous injustice to a capable officer. But it also evidences a deficiency of command in the highest ranks of the Navy. A Chief of Naval Operations who would condone this kind of maladministration is unworthy of his office. Why have two Chiefs of Naval Operations failed to right this injustice?

I can relate this kind of behavior only to the fawning submission which our top military leaders accord to incompetent civilian Secretaries. Did the uniformed personnel of the Navy receive from the civilian superstructure a directive to relieve Arnheiter of command, as the Army did in the case of General Walker? Is that why the normal procedures of investigation before taking action were not followed? Is that why the Navy railroaded Arnheiter out of his command and has only a tissue of false reports to support its action?

Captain Richard G. Alexander, another outstanding naval officer, took up the Arnheiter case to plead for correction before the Secretary of the Navy. He gave copies of his analysis to the press. No doubt he thought Commander Arnheiter needed public support, but the press release was imprudent. Captain Alexander has been beached.

Mediocre officers are plentiful; competent leaders are rare. If our Navy treats exceptional ability as Arnheiter and Alexander have been treated, it will destroy its own fine tradition of command responsibility.

#### VIETNAM

### HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Columbus Ledger, Mr. Carlton Johnson, editorialized earlier this week that Hanoi should be told immediately



that we are not in Paris to surrender. Any person who is not in agreement should look to the latest casualty figures.

**TWO GI'S, MARINE FROM STATE  
KILLED IN VIETNAM FIGHTING**

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. George C. Letmate, Pfc. James S. Allport, and Pfc. Thomas N. Dean, three 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:

**THREE MARYLANDERS KILLED IN ACTION—MEN  
FROM PRINCE GEORGES, DUNDALK ARE VICTIMS**

Three infantrymen from Maryland, two Army paratroopers and a marine, have been killed in Vietnam, the Department of Defense announced yesterday.

The dead servicemen are Sgt. George C. Letmate, 20, of Dundalk; Pfc. James S. Allport, 19, of Marlow Heights, and Pfc. Thomas N. Dean, 19, of Landover.

Sergeant Letmate, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph Letmate, of 1942 Ewald avenue, was killed May 4 by shrapnel while his base camp in Quang Tri province was under attack.

**KILLED DURING ATTACK**

Private Allport, a son of Mr. and Mrs. Campbell B. Allport, of 6283 Akron street, Marlow Heights, was killed during an attack on his base camp near Hue May 2.

Private Dean, a son of Mr. and Mrs. William H. Dean, 7430 Landover road, Landover, and husband of Mrs. Joan Dean, of La Plata, Md., was shot in the stomach and killed May 5 near Da Nang.

Sergeant Letmate, assigned to a pathfinder reconnaissance company of the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile), was a 1966 graduate of Patapsco High School.

**ENLISTED AFTER GRADUATION**

He worked as a carpenter briefly and then enlisted the summer he graduated. He was promoted to sergeant just before returning on a 30-day leave in February.

His last letter home was dated April 9, his birthday, and he wrote that his unit "was on the move" and that "he was taking good care of himself," his father said.

"He was there a full year," Mr. Letmate said. "Then he put in for another six months. He wanted to get it over with so he wouldn't have to go back during his three-year enlistment again. He had been back six weeks when he was killed."

"As near as we can figure from what they tell us, he was in his base camp and they were attacked and he was killed by shrapnel. A mortar, I guess."

**PLAYED BASEBALL**

Sergeant Letmate played baseball in high school. His father said his son did not plan to make the Army his career.

Besides his parents, Sergeant Letmate is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Janet L. Loyman and Miss Rena Letmate, both of Dundalk.

Private Allport, assigned to a brigade of the 82d Airborne Division, went to Crossland High School.

He enlisted last August, trained at Fort Benning, Ga., and Fort Gordon, Ga., and

then went to jump school at Fort Bragg, N.C.

His mother said he had written home that Vietnam is a "beautiful country" and that "things aren't too bad."

**GUARDING BRIDGES**

She said he had been guarding bridges in Hue most of the time since he arrived in Vietnam February 29.

Besides his parents, Private Allport is survived by three brothers, John, Jerry, and Justin, and three sisters, Donna Jean, Janice and Jo Ann.

Private Dean was a Marine rifleman fighting near Da Nang.

His sister, Miss Linda Dean, said he enlisted last summer and had been in Vietnam for about three months. She said he attended high school in La Plata.

Besides his parents, his wife and his sister Linda, Private Dean is survived by an infant daughter, Joan, two other sisters, Pattie and Betty and three brothers, Jimmy, Bobby and Billy.

**STRAIGHT TALK ON CRIME**

**HON. JAMES B. UTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I include in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial from the Washington Daily News of Friday, May 10, 1968. This editorial commends former Vice President Richard M. Nixon for his forthright stand on the need to crack down on crime. I am certain that most Americans, both Republican and Democrat, support this position, and are demanding that Congress and the administration take firm measures to eliminate this cancer on American life.

The editorial follows:

**STRAIGHT TALK ON CRIME**

Republican Presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon has said some things that needed saying in outlining his position on how to halt the growing wave of criminal violence in the U.S.

They amounted to this: The high price of leniency toward the lawless is a society in which the law-abiding live in fear—A fact all too apparent in many an American city already. The way to assure "safe streets" is to crack down. Prove to the criminal that crime doesn't pay.

The role of poverty, he said, has been "grossly exaggerated" as a cause of crime. And so it has. It is, no doubt, a contributing factor. But millions of decent, law-abiding Americans of limited means give the lie to the argument that poverty and crime are synonymous.

Mr. Nixon contends doubling the rate of convictions "would do more to eliminate crime in the future than a quadrupling of the funds for any Government war on poverty." Without indorsing that ratio or belittling anti-poverty efforts, we heartily agree that crime is more likely to be deterred by the prospect of certain punishment than of Government aid.

Mr. Nixon advocated legislation—or Constitutional amendment, if necessary—to remove Supreme Court restrictions on confessions. He called for wiretapping to fight organized crime. Provisions to these ends are contained in the omnibus crime bill now before the Senate.

He called for prison reforms, for Federal aid to states for law enforcement, for better trained and equipped local police. Failure to act promptly and decisively now to end growing lawlessness will, he warned, bring this end: "This nation will then be what it is fast becoming—an armed camp of 200 million Americans living in fear."

Tough talk. But it's the kind of talk millions of uneasy Americans will welcome. For crime in this election year is a major—possibly the major—domestic issue.

Candidate Nixon, of course, blamed the Johnson Administration for much of the crime rise. And within hours after Mr. Nixon released his White Paper, President Johnson made public a letter to Senate Majority Leader Mansfield urging prompt action on the omnibus crime bill. "The mugger and the murderer will not wait—neither must we," said the President.

But for the national disgrace of widespread crime there is blame enough to go around among the courts and Congress, the ins and the outs of politics. What's more important is that the politicians of both parties have got the word that the people want crime stopped.

**YOUTHS FIND WORK AT JOB FAIR**

**HON. JOE R. POOL**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, the Dallas Times Herald, on Sunday, May 12, 1968, reported on a job fair held in Dallas, Tex., under the auspices of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and the Texas Employment Commission. The project succeeded in matching 3,500 youths from low-income families with summer jobs in private industry. This summer employment will permit most of these young people to save enough money to continue their schooling in the fall. I wish to point out, Mr. Speaker, that the job fair was made possible through the interest of the local Dallas business community. In my opinion, this is the proper approach—the only practical approach in keeping with the American tradition of free enterprise—to the eradication of the root-causes of poverty.

**SOME 3,500 YOUTHS FIND WORK AT JOB FAIR  
(By Tommy Ayres)**

A wide grin graced the face of one Charles Richards—he had a job.

Charles is 16. He is a junior at Lincoln High School. He wants to be a doctor. But before Saturday, the prospect of his even attending college was a remote one.

He was one of almost 4,000 Dallas area youngsters who showed up for interviews in a massive summer job signup at the State Fair. More than 3,500 youths were successful.

As for Charles, he will work this summer for Anderson Clayton Brothers Funeral Home. He will receive \$1.60 an hour, for 40 hours a week.

"I am going to save as much as I can," he assured. "I want to go to college and take medicine."

"I wanted a job this summer, and I was going to try to find one," he said. "But I don't know if I could have made it without this."

The scene of the giant Job Fair was the Women's Building at the State Fairgrounds.

From wall to wall stood rows of tables. At the tables sat dozens of employers—interviewing youngsters for jobs, and hiring them.

It was all hectic—and heartening. And it climaxed an all-out effort by the Dallas County business community, the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, and Texas Employment Commission, to find jobs for the youth of the area this summer. They were most successful.

The Job Fair was conceived by the Urban League of Greater Dallas, nurtured by the Youth Opportunity Committee and coordinated by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce.

"I know," said Morris Hite, general chairman of the Mayor's Youth Opportunity Committee, "that the employment of these youngsters will be of great benefit to Dallas. Substantial wages will be paid and hopefully, many of these boys and girls will be able to save enough to help them continue their schooling."

All Dallas area youngsters from the ages of 16 and 22 from low-income families were eligible for Job Fair assignments. The applicants were first screened in Dallas County schools. There they were matched and scheduled for interviews with 430 employers offering more than 3,500 jobs at the Job Fair.

State, city and federal agencies provided 529 of those jobs.

The jobs themselves include a wide range—from laborers to bus boy, department store sales-people to paste-up work for computerized type.

Transportation to and from the Job Fair was provided by the Dallas Transit System and various volunteer organizations. Free soft drinks were provided by various bottling companies.

Members of the Texas Employment Commission played a major role, taking over interview responsibilities for 191 of the participating companies.

The National Alliance of Businessmen worked closely with the Dallas chamber in an effort to provide many of the jobs. More than 200 businessmen volunteered to help seek the jobs.

On hand to help with the sign-ups Saturday were a number of members from the Dallas Cowboy football team—among them, Frank Clarke.

"This is something that should have been done a long time ago," he said. "The City of Dallas is responding to a sincere and honest need."

"This program is geared to assist the very kind of people who would be hard-pressed to otherwise find summer jobs," Clarke said. "I think it is a very good thing."

And so does Charles Richards.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS, INC., TO OBSERVE 25TH ANNIVERSARY ON MAY 20

### HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., will be celebrating its 25th anniversary on Monday, May 20. I point to its achievements with special pride because the federation's home of-

ice is located in the district which I represent, San Mateo County, Calif.

The federation was founded in 1943 by C. Wilson Harder, who recently received the Small Business Administration's Public Service Award for "outstanding service." This award is the highest honor the SBA bestows on individual citizens.

Today Mr. Harder's federation has grown to include nearly a quarter of a million members, making it the largest organization of its kind in the world.

Most of us are familiar with the foundation through the efforts of its representatives on Capitol Hill and its publication, the Mandate. The Mandate carries with it a tear-off self-mailer ballot on pending legislation which each individual businessman fills out and which is forwarded to his Representative in Congress. I have received a number of these ballots, and find that they serve to keep me informed on many matters which otherwise might escape careful analysis. Important as they thus are to the legislative process, these ballots, numbering more than 4 million each year, also serve to indicate the personal, active commitment to better government on the part of men of proven independence and ability.

The federation's expressed goal is "that our Nation remain the land of opportunity by giving small business fair consideration." I am honored to commend the members and the leadership of the federation on their 25th anniversary of continuing success in promoting free enterprise and small business. I hope we in the Congress can join them in constant efforts to reform and cut back the cumbersome aspects of taxation, paperwork, and bureaucracy which so often occur under our democratic form of government.

"STEEL IMPORTS COULD TAKE 25 PERCENT OF MARKET IN AMERICA"—PHILIP D. BLOCK

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune this morning carried a most serious report about a speech made here in Washington Monday evening by Mr. Philip D. Block, chairman of the Inland Steel Co.

I was at the dinner at which Mr. Block spoke, and I know that there were many steel manufacturers in the Chicago area who attended the meeting and who shared in his somber warning.

I believe that Congress can no longer delay action on the Iron and Steel Orderly Trade Act.

The Chicago Tribune article follows: "STEEL IMPORTS COULD TAKE 25 PERCENT OF MARKET"—BLOCK

WASHINGTON, May 14.—Steel imports could absorb 25 per cent or more of the United

States market if unchecked, Philip D. Block, chairman of Inland Steel company, said today.

Addressing a meeting of congressmen from Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky, Block said that 10 years ago imports accounted for 1½ per cent of the steel used in this country, but imports rose to more than 12 per cent last year and are likely to exceed 15 per cent in 1968.

"There is nothing on the horizon to give us confidence that in future years imports will not continue to climb at these accelerating rates and could reach 25 per cent or more of the national market," he said.

He asked the congressmen to support the iron and steel orderly trade act which would limit imports to a fixed percentage of recent steel usage in the United States.

Block called the import situation a national problem.

"You, as keepers of the well-being and security of the United States, should insist that, so long as other nations protect and actively encourage their industries and so long as there are serious and artificial imbalances in cost factors, we cannot safely be the only nation acting as the unrestricted free trade principles govern world markets."

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE

### HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, during my four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives I have found it extremely valuable in my responsibilities here to ask my constituents each session, "Your Opinion, Please."

My annual questionnaire this session will go to the residents of the Fifth Congressional District of Indiana.

Through this valuable medium of communication, in addition to frequent personal visits to the district, I am able to keep in close contact with the thinking and legislative desires of our citizens.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I offer my 1968 congressional questionnaire, entitled, "Your Opinion, Please."

The opinion poll follows:

CONGRESSMAN ROUDEBUSH REQUESTS YOUR OPINION, PLEASE

DEAR FIFTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS: As your Representative in the 90th Congress, it is my duty and responsibility to vote on crucial issues of the day affecting all Americans.

To assist me in this task I earnestly solicit your opinion on the great issues of the day confronting our beloved United States.

At the same time, I wish to take this opportunity to invite you to contact me for assistance on any governmental matter.

You may write me or call me here in Washington at 1503 Longworth Building; drop by or write me at the Fifth District Congressional Office located in the basement of the Post Office Building at Noblesville.

Whatever your problem or request—be it Social Security, veterans affairs, armed forces or whatever—we will do our level best to be of assistance. Thank you.

RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH,

Member of Congress, Fifth Indiana District.

YOUR OPINION PLEASE

	Yes	No
Do you favor:		
1. The administration request for a 10 percent surtax on private and corporate income?.....		
2. Federal financing to create 1,000,000 new jobs and a guaranteed annual income for all?.....		
3. Restricting police during riots to avoid brutality charges and further escalation of violence?.....		
4. Responsible officials halting riots at once with whatever force necessary?.....		
5. Federal registration and control of firearms?.....		
6. Congressional action to reverse Supreme Court decisions favoring criminals?.....		
7. Congressional action to blunt effects of Supreme Court decision permitting Communists to work in defense plants?.....		
8. More massive Federal spending for the cities, running into the tens of billions?.....		
9. The Roudebush bill (passed in the House; pending in the Senate) to make desecration of the American flag a Federal offense punishable by fine and imprisonment?.....		
10. Congress withdrawing all Federal assistance to college students engaged in rioting, disruptions and other campus violations?.....		
11. Congress cutting off trade with Communist nations aiding North Vietnam? (Introduced by Roudebush.).....		
12. In Vietnam, during negotiations, should the United States:		
(a) Cease all bombing?.....		
(b) Withdraw our troops?.....		
(c) Agree to a Communist coalition government?.....		
13. If peace negotiations fail, should the United States:		
(a) Resume limited war?.....		
(b) Permit our forces to seek a military victory?.....		
(c) Withdraw?.....		
(d) Continue to seek a negotiated settlement?.....		
(e) Other (please explain).....		

tributions. A man of the conviction and caliber of Joe Martin is a rarity in this body, and his experience, devotion to duty, and capabilities were unequaled.

I am proud to have been able to serve and work with him, but more important, I am proud to say that Joe Martin was my friend.

His death was a tragic loss for his family and friends, and without a doubt, a loss for America.

THE LATE JOSEPH W. MARTIN

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, of Massachusetts, was one of the alltime great leaders of this Congress. Not only was Mr. Martin a great congressional leader, he was a great American and one of the outstanding leaders of the Republican Party in the history of that great political party.

When I first came to the House of Representatives in the 80th Congress, Joseph W. Martin was Speaker. It was my privilege to serve in the 83d Congress when Joe Martin was again Speaker of the House.

Mr. Martin was a warm and close personal friend of the man who served longer as Speaker than any man in history—the beloved Sam Rayburn, of Texas.

As Speaker, and as a Member of this great body, Mr. Martin was always generous with his time. He was courteous, warm, and friendly in his relationship with the Members. Mr. Speaker, I recall that when I first came to Congress Mr. Martin was almost as new at presiding as I was with membership in this House. During the 1-minute period, I dashed into the well of the House shouting, "Mr. Speaker" which is the custom in many State legislative bodies. My senior colleagues in the well were astounded when the Speaker responded to my cry of "Mr. Speaker" and recognized me. Later in the day, an older Member explained the rules to me and advised that I should wait my turn in being recognized during the 1-minute period. Mr. Martin laughed and said he thought there was something urgent about my request.

I shared with Mr. Martin a great admiration for Gen. Douglas MacArthur. When General MacArthur was commander of our forces in the Far East during the Korean war, Mr. Martin believed that a great opportunity presented itself to win the war and crush Communist aggression in the Far East forever. I agreed with Mr. Martin and only wish that General MacArthur had been permitted to cut the Yalu bridges, crush the Communist aggressor, and unite North and South Korea.

Mr. Speaker, Joe Martin will go down in history as a man with great foresight, intense patriotism, love of country, and love of this great institution—the Congress of the United States. I will always cherish my friendship and association with Joseph W. Martin.

**CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE ASKS FULL FEDERAL FINANCING OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE TO PERSONS NOT MEETING STATE RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS**

**HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, recent Federal court decisions in California and other parts of the Nation have declared State residence requirements for eligibility for various public assistance programs to be unconstitutional on the grounds that they contravene the "equal protection of the law" guarantee of the Federal Constitution, and that they unduly restrict the freedom of Americans to travel at will within the country.

Because of the tremendous financial burden these decisions, if upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, will impose on State and county governments, the California Legislature has adopted Assembly Joint Resolution 35 asking that the Federal Government assume the responsibility for public assistance payments to persons not now fulfilling the current residence requirements in the States.

Since this subject is of vital importance to millions of Americans throughout the Nation, and because of the deep concern local and State government officials and taxpayers have expressed in this matter, I include the text of Assembly Joint Resolution 35 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 35

Joint resolution relative to Federal participation in welfare payments to nonresidents

Whereas, The Federal Social Security Act since its enactment in 1935 has permitted the various states to impose reasonable residence requirements for eligibility to the various public assistance programs whose costs are partly paid by federal funds; and

Whereas, The Federal Social Security Act so provides at the present time, with California having consistently required a reasonable continued residence as an eligibility factor for permanent public assistance payments; and

Whereas, A federal court in California and other federal courts in other parts of the

nation have declared the unconstitutionality of such residence requirements alleging that they contravene the "equal protection of the law" guarantee of the Federal Constitution and that they unduly restrict the freedom of Americans to travel at will within the country; and

Whereas, If this new judicial theory is upheld by the United States Supreme Court, state and county costs of public assistance in California will be tremendously and permanently increased; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to amend the Federal Social Security Act at once so as to provide full federal financing of public assistance payments made to recipients who do not meet the length of residence requirements presently permitted by federal statute and contained in the California Welfare and Institutions Code and applicable statutes in other states, such federal financing to continue in each case only until the existing length of residence requirements have been met by each recipient; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

A LOSS FOR AMERICA

**HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, when I came to Congress 28 years ago, the name of Joe Martin was already firmly imprinted on the pages of history.

No more could be asked of an individual than the 42 years of public service he gave the people he represented and the Nation as a whole.

I had the pleasure of serving under him during his two terms as Speaker of the House, and I have never found a more dedicated and understanding individual.

He was a giant among men, and Congress will not soon forget his many con-

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE 39TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK**

**HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, last week, I sent out over 140,000 questionnaires to the residents in my congressional district. I feel that questionnaires are one of the best ways of gaging the public's feelings on the many important issues facing our Nation today. The results of my questionnaire will be tabulated so that I will get an accurate picture of public sentiment in my district. A copy of my questionnaire follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIENDS: Vietnam, our next President, the dollar drain, crime, riots and urban decay, inflation, pollution, these are among the major questions and problems facing the nation.

As I have for each of the past three years, I would this year appreciate having your considered opinion on the major issues of the day.

If none of the choices in this questionnaire approximates your views or you would like to enlarge on any of the points raised, please write me a letter. Thank you!

Sincerely,

RICHARD D. McCARTHY,  
Member of Congress.

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

Please describe yourself as nearly as possible in the following:

- industrial worker
- professional
- self-employed
- office worker
- other
- 21-30 years old
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61-
- male
- female
- urban resident
- suburban
- rural

**VIETNAM**

Which one of the following courses of action would you most nearly prefer?

- Do whatever is necessary to win an immediate total military victory, without limitation as to weapons, targets, or commitment of manpower.
- Continue our present course restricting ground action to the area south of the DMZ while moving toward a negotiated settlement.
- Withdraw all American forces from the area.

**OPTIONAL**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_

**U.S. ECONOMY AND THE DOLLAR**

In order to stopgap inflation, which one of the following do you favor?

- Increasing government revenue through the proposed 10% surtax.
- A smaller surtax and expenditure cuts in non-essential programs.
- Cutbacks in all programs and no surtax.

**PROBLEMS OF THE INNER CITIES**

What do you think is the most important factor in the trouble in our inner cities?

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

- Social and economic disadvantages of minority groups.
  - Disrespect for law and order.
  - A combination of the above.
- Which of the following federal measures do you favor?
- Urban renewal and "Model Cities".
  - The War on Poverty and other self-help measures.
  - Increased federal aid to local law enforcement agencies for crime prevention and control.
  - Increased aid for housing and education in core areas.
- Please indicate your current choice for President in next fall's election from the following alphabetical listing.
- Hubert H. Humphrey
  - Robert F. Kennedy
  - Eugene J. McCarthy
  - Richard M. Nixon
  - Ronald Reagan
  - Nelson A. Rockefeller
  - George Wallace
  - Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**WHERE WILL IT END?**

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Calumet Index of Chicago, Ill., a community newspaper serving localities in the far South Side of Chicago and immediate suburbs, is noted for its keen editorial observations. An editorial carried in the May 12 edition raises some interesting and necessary questions about Government inflationary policy.

The editorial follows:

**WHERE WILL IT END?**

A UPI press release reports: "President Johnson asked Congress . . . to set in motion a federal health program aimed at eventually providing medical care to every American who needs it." Not so long ago, when members of the medical profession warned that proposals for unlimited expansion of federal responsibilities in the health care field threatened all-out state medicine (socialism), they were generally scoffed at as alarmists.

Inflation caused primarily by excessive government spending for all manner of services has pushed up all costs, including the cost of medical care. This has added to the appeal of programs for government care of more and more citizens. As inflationary fiscal policies of government push prices higher, pressure increases for more government help which in turn means more deficits and still higher prices. The medical profession has become a victim of this vicious circle as have its patients.

We seem to have learned nothing from the sad plight of Great Britain. For Britain, the story of the welfare state is reaching its inevitable conclusion, financial chaos, and in the United States, we follow the same path. So far as the expanding government health care programs are concerned, as one editorial comment puts it, ". . . the burden of providing for medical aid for the growing millions who come under federal programs falls on a narrowing segment of the population. The final solution in all likelihood will be to include the nonindigent and under 65 in the health program. Then U.S. medicine will be fully socialized."

May 16, 1968

**A SMALL WEEKLY WINS A BIG HONOR**

**HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the American Political Science Association, aided by the Ford Foundation, annually honors 40 newsmen and their newspapers for excellence in reporting public affairs. This year's winners, reporters whose stories have contributed toward better government, come from daily newspapers, including such nationally known journals as the Washington Post, the Chicago Tribune, and the Wall Street Journal.

There is one exception to this list of daily newspapers, however. The American Political Science Association saw fit to honor only one weekly newspaper in the Nation, the Virginia Observer of Norfolk, Va., and its national award-winning reporter, Gordon Dillon. Mr. Dillon's stories appearing in a modest weekly, operating on extremely limited capital, have brought about savings to the taxpayers of the United States of over \$1.2 million.

I have followed Mr. Dillon's reporting with great interest, ever since his stories on an application for a Federal open space grant by the city of Virginia Beach. The city applied for a \$261,000 grant to help pay 50 percent of a \$522,000 public park purchase. Mr. Dillon's reporting disclosed the fact that the land was assessed by Virginia Beach for only \$21,000, and that the land had been bought by the city from a land speculation company, which had purchased it only 6 months prior for \$200,000. The grant was cancelled, and the taxes of the people did not go to reward profiteers.

In another instance, Gordon Dillon exposed the convenient rerouting of a Federal highway through part of the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia, which had been rezoned for industrial use shortly after speculators had purchased the land. Had the deal gone through, the American taxpayer would have been forced to pay higher prices for land industrially zoned than for the same land which under normal circumstances would be simple swampland. Mr. Dillon's story prompted the U.S. Bureau of Roads to compel the Virginia Highway Department to revert to its original plan for the highway, thus saving over \$1 million in construction and acquisition costs. Additional Dillon stories included a series that resulted in the dismissal of the Virginia State highway commissioner.

Then there was the situation described in Mr. Dillon's articles involving the Rosemont housing project being built in Norfolk in a federally supported project. New homes planned for the area were not only above the average income of area residents, but would have been particularly hard on the Negro minority. It was estimated that only 7 percent of the Negro families earned enough even to qualify for the VA or FHA loans. I per-

sonally looked into this situation and found out that the homes built on federally financed land did not compare in price with VA-FHA approved homes being built by private builders on privately purchased land who had not benefited from a Federal subsidy of clearance costs. We can hope that this project's story will prevent repetition in the future.

Mr. Speaker, certainly the Congress should congratulate all of the 40 reporters selected by the American Political Science Association for their part in bringing about better government in our Nation, which is a cause to which we are all committed, but I would suggest that perhaps a special accolade should be extended to a reporter for a small weekly newspaper, Gordon Dillon, and the Virginia Observer.

**LUNG CANCER AMONG ASBESTOS WORKERS**

**HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the subject of occupational safety and health, the object of H.R. 14816, may seem highly abstract to some. However, an article appearing in the Washington Post graphically illustrates one of the many aspects of assuring safer and more healthful places to the 80 million employed Americans. The article—which is of special interest in view of the fact that H.R. 14816, the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968, introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA], and others, is in the markup stage in the Select Subcommittee on Labor—follows:

**RAPID INCREASE IN LUNG CANCER NOTED AMONG ASBESTOS WORKERS**  
(By Thomas O'Toole)

One out of five asbestos insulation workers in metropolitan New York now dies of lung cancer, an eminent physician told Congress yesterday.

"If these figures are projected to the country as a whole, and if no improvement in the health hazards these men face is achieved," said Dr. Irving J. Selkoff, "we may look forward to perhaps 6000 deaths of lung cancer and perhaps 15,000 deaths of cancer in general in this single asbestos trade alone."

Dr. Selkoff is professor of Community Medicine at New York's Mt. Sinai Hospital and president-elect of the prestigious New York Academy of Sciences.

Testifying before the House Select Labor Subcommittee, Dr. Selkoff said these statistics come as no surprise "to asbestos industry observers.

"In 1935," said Dr. Selkoff, "Dr. Kenneth M. Lynch, now Chancellor of the University of South Carolina, described the case of lung cancer in a man who also had asbestosis," a combination he said was rare. But since then, Dr. Selkoff said, "numerous similar cases of this association were recorded."

The New York doctor told the Subcommittee, which is holding hearings on President Johnson's proposed Occupational Safety and Health Act that nobody has taken steps to curb the spread of cancer in asbestos workers, despite the mounting evidence that the disease is on a rapid rise.

For the past six years, Dr. Selkoff said, he has conducted an intense study of 632

asbestos insulation workers belonging to the New York and New Jersey locals of the Asbestos Workers Union.

The 632 men had been asbestos workers since 1942. Dr. Selkoff said. On the basis of normal life expectancy trends, 203 could have been expected to die by 1962. But, instead, said Dr. Selkoff, 255 men died. Looking for the reason behind the extra 50 deaths, he said, it became evident "that cancers of several types" were responsible.

"We might have expected six or seven deaths due to lung cancer," he went on, "but there were 45. And while we would have expected nine or ten cancers of the stomach or colon, there were 29."

Dr. Selkoff explained that the "people who work in a dusty atmosphere not only breathe it in, they eat it, too."

Since 1962, he said, "the figures have been even worse.

"While we would have expected 50 men to have died in the past five years," Dr. Selkoff said, "there have been 118 deaths. While we would have expected three to have died of cancer of the lung or ploura, 28 have died of this disease."

Of equal concern, Dr. Selkoff went on, is a relatively new tumor related to asbestos exposure called mesothelioma, which is a cancer of the lining of the chest or peritoneum.

This is such a rare cancer, Dr. Selkoff said, that it is found to cause one out of every 10,000 deaths. But of the 113 deaths in the asbestos worker group in New York, he said, 13 have been from mesothelioma.

"This makes it one out of every 10 deaths among asbestos workers," he said, "instead of one out of 10,000."

**SBA HELPS PITTSBURGH WOMAN BECOME "SMALL BUSINESSWOMAN OF THE YEAR"**

**HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, a resident of the Pittsburgh area, Mrs. Roberta Lewis, has been named Pennsylvania's "Small Businessman of the Year" by the Small Business Administration.

SBA Regional Director F. A. Thomassy, who recognized her courage and determination to succeed and helped her get a loan to establish her successful "Hors D'Oeuvres by Roberta" shop, nominated her for the award.

An article about Mrs. Lewis and her long struggle for success appeared in the May 13 edition of the Pittsburgh Press. As an example of the kind of results that the Small Business Administration and energetic people like Mrs. Lewis can achieve by working together, I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

**SMALL BUSINESSWOMAN EARNS BIG STATE HONOR**

(By Sherley Uhl)

Pennsylvania's "Small Businessman of the Year" is a businesswoman who rose from coal miner's daughter to successful owner of a specialty food shop here.

Tomorrow, Mrs. Roberta Lewis will be honored here and in Harrisburg for the determination that enabled her to surmount all adversity . . . including the fact that she is a Negro.

Her new title was conferred by the Small Business Administration (SBA).

**PROVIDED LOAN**

It provided the loan with which she opened her shop, "Hors D'Oeuvres by Roberta," last June in Sleepy Hollow Shopping Center, Castle Shannon.

At 10:45 tomorrow at City Hall, Mrs. Lewis will receive the compliments of mayor Joseph M. Barr.

Then she will fly to Harrisburg for presentation of the SBA award by John Tabor, secretary of labor and industry.

Later she will receive copies of commendatory resolutions passed by both the Senate and House.

Born in McHenry, Ky., she moved with her impoverished family to West Virginia and then to Pennsylvania as her father struggled to find and hold jobs in a declining mining industry.

Forced to leave school in the seventh grade, she supported herself by working as a domestic (she is now coauthoring a book on her career, ironically called "Through Your Back Door"). From her meager income, however, she managed to pay for a course in hotel management.

**BECAME SUPERVISOR**

Subsequently she obtained supervisory jobs in Pittsburgh hotel and restaurant kitchens, and sought to advance herself by studying voice at the YWCA and drama at the Pittsburgh Playhouse.

She had no show business ambitions, she explained, but merely wanted "to improve my poise and posture"—because by now she was lecturing at food shows and demonstrations.

She was, she recalls, one of the first Negroes to appear on a TV commercial when she was featured on old station WDTV (forerunner of KDKA-TV), as a frozen food expert.

Since 1940, she has been married to T. Harvey Lewis, Sr., a shipping clerk at the Canteen Corp. of Pittsburgh.

Before she opened her own business, Mrs. Lewis was with the Roosevelt Hotel, Colony Restaurant in Mt. Lebanon and Bolan's Restaurant in East Liberty.

**CHILDREN DOING WELL**

Her eldest son owns a trucking business and a second son is an auditor for the Aluminum Co. of America. Her older daughter, a college graduate, is the wife of a Westinghouse Electric Corp. salesman and her youngest daughter hopes to teach school.

Mrs. Lewis, an hors d'oeuvre pioneer, began to experiment with morsels on toothpicks 20 years ago while preparing food for Kaufmann's Department Store.

She now sells 75 original combinations, including such favorites as corn muffins topped with cranberries and sausage; tiny stuffed cabbage rolls, and muffins with seasoned meat and kidney beans. Allegheny Airlines is her biggest customer.

Mrs. Lewis, who was nominated for Small Business champ by SBA Regional Director F. A. Thomassy, credits her success to her refusal to recognize the word "can't."

"Whenever anybody told me I couldn't do anything," she said, "that's when I did it."

**CELANESE CORP. SUPPORTS EDUCATIONAL TV**

**HON. EDITH GREEN**

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to an excellent corporate effort being made by the Celanese Corp. to advance public awareness of our great teachers and teaching institutions. The series on great

teachers, which they have made possible with a grant to the national educational television, will be a source of inspiration to all those in the profession and those who may aspire to teaching.

I am particularly pleased that they chose Lloyd Reynolds, of Reed College in Portland, Oreg., as one of the men whose fine work is highlighted in the series. Apart from my pride in seeing one of Oregon's great teachers receive national recognition through television, I am heartened to see educational TV benefiting through financial support from private enterprise.

In Oregon our educational television network is State-supported, receiving its funds through the State system of higher education. Recently our network has sought to broaden its financial base by encouraging private enterprise to support ETV programing in the interest of public service, in the same manner as Celanese has done with national educational television's great teachers series.

Educational stations, not only in my own State but throughout the Nation, turn to local business and industry and to interested citizens for a helping hand in meeting the high costs of serving their communities' educational and cultural needs.

I commend Celanese and other private enterprise which have supported educational broadcasting across the nation. Such public service gestures from the private sector of our economy can help educational broadcasting achieve the broad base of support necessary to its well-being.

**THE AMERICAN LEGION—A PROUD ORGANIZATION—LOOKS TO THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDING IN ST. LOUIS, MO.**

**HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the city of St. Louis is proud of the record that has been written by the founding of so many of the great national organizations at meetings held within the city. One of these with which all Americans are familiar and which has written an outstanding record of patriotism and service throughout the 49 years since its first meeting in St. Louis held May 8-10, 1919, is the American Legion.

I have a deep personal pride in the American Legion since my late husband, John Berchmans Sullivan, was a member and past commander of Quentin Roosevelt Post No. 1—the first established in the United States—and I am a member of its auxiliary.

In connection with the plans which are being made for its golden anniversary in May 1969, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN introduced a bill providing for a commemorative medal for its 50th anniversary. The subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, of which I am chairman, handled the bill which was passed by the House and Senate and became Public Law 90-127 on November 4, 1967.

The two great St. Louis newspapers, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, have carried articles recently, telling of the accomplishments, aims, and purposes of the American Legion as it approaches the 50-year mark, which I commend to you for your consideration. I place them in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, May 11-12, 1968]

**THEY'RE PROUD TO BE AMERICANS—MEMBERS OF AMERICAN LEGION, WHICH WAS BORN IN ST. LOUIS 49 YEARS AGO, FOSTER GOOD CITIZENSHIP**

(By Jack Jones, chief of Globe-Democrat's Jefferson City bureau)

One of the places where patriotism stays in vogue is in the ranks of the American Legion.

This has a special significance for St. Louis, for it was here that those ranks began to form nearly a half-century ago.

In studied contrast to draft-card burning, irresponsible pacifism and a growing disrespect for democratic institutions stand 2-500,000 Legionnaires—men who have served their nation in the armed forces in two world wars and a series of lesser conflicts which have threatened the survival of those institutions.

In Missouri, close to 58,000 veterans wear the distinctive red, white or blue military caps denoting their membership in the Legion.

The red denotes national office, the white a state post.

Dr. Harry E. Goddard, of Kennett, Mo., department commander, wears the white. But he declares himself to be "A blue hat at heart."

For it is in the hearts of the rank and file Legionnaires that the real spirit of Americanism resides. They give of their time and their treasure to promote a keener sense of American heritage and tradition.

That tradition was succinctly defined last year by the late publisher of the Globe-Democrat, Richard H. Amberg, who was keynote speaker at the 1967 Missouri department convention in Kansas City.

"It is a tradition of fighting for the right," Mr. Amberg observed, "A tradition of not being pushed around, a tradition of being in favor of the little guy and in favor of law and order."

Just a few days before his death, Mr. Amberg was named the recipient of the Legion's fourth estate award at the 49th national convention in Boston, the birthplace of the American Revolution.

The birthplace of the Legion was in St. Louis May 8-10, 1919.

The concept of establishing a veterans organization following the armistice of World War I had begun to emerge in France even before the hostilities ended.

But it was in St. Louis some months later when advance committees comprised of delegates from each of the states met to formulate the actual purposes, aims and organizational structure of the American Legion.

It was in St. Louis at that caucus where the constitution was adopted.

Its preamble, which has remained unchanged, reads:

Preamble to the constitution of the American Legion for God and Country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes:

To uphold and defend the constitution of the United States of America;

To maintain law and order;

To foster and perpetrate a one hundred per cent Americanism;

To preserve the memories and incidents of our associations in the great wars;

To inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation;

To combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses;

To make right the master of might;

To promote peace and good-will on earth;

To safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy;

To consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness.

Nine days after the St. Louis caucus, the 66th Congress of the United States enacted legislation formally recognizing the American Legion as a corporation formed "to uphold and defend the constitution of the United States of America; to promote peace and good will among the peoples of the United States and all the nations of the earth; to preserve the memories and incidents of the two world wars (as amended in 1942) fought to uphold democracy; to cement the ties and comradeship born of service; and to consecrate the efforts of its members to mutual helpfulness and service to their country."

It is in service where the Legion has excelled over the ensuing 49 years.

On the national level, the Legion has in addition to its continuing promotion of Americanism, undertaken extensive programs in fields of child welfare, rehabilitation of the disabled, and national security.

The Missouri department of the American Legion is one of the oldest in the nation, formed at the convention in Jefferson City just a few months after the St. Louis caucus. Within the year, its membership exceeded 18,000.

Its present adjutant, Aubrey W. Sullivan, coordinates a number of Legion activities from the department's headquarters in Jefferson City.

Among them are the annual oratorical contest, the American Legion Missouri Boys State, American Legion Baseball, ROTC awards, and more recently the establishment of the Legion's Law and Order program.

Up to 5,000 high school students each year participate in the oratorical contest, speaking extemporaneously on some facet of the U.S. Constitution.

The 34th annual contest sponsored by the Missouri department and its local posts has just recently been completed. Medals and scholarship prizes for those contestants who worked their way through school county, district and zone competition into the state finals totals more than \$1,000.

Winners at the state level then enter national competition.

The American Legion Missouri Boys State, an annual exercise in citizenship training and practical experience in simulated state government, is held on campus of Central Missouri State College at Warrensburg.

It began in Fulton in 1938 with 180 boys attending. More than 950 are expected to take part in this year's assembly which is scheduled for June 15-22.

American Legion Baseball, which has produced several major league athletes, promotes sportsmanship and wholesome competition. The teams are sponsored by local posts, often in cooperation with businesses.

Last year, 107 teams were fielded under the Legion banner.

Missouri is one of three departments conferring awards to college reserve officer training corps cadets for military or scholastic excellence.

In 1967, in the midst of growing civil disorder and disobedience, the Missouri department inaugurated its law and order program in an effort to foster renewed respect in laws and the agencies charged to enforce them.

Mr. Amberg was named chairman of the Legion's first Law and Order Committee in Missouri, and that committee went right to work to set up guidelines for local groups to follow in their own communities.

The current chairman of that committee is Maj. Gen. Lawrence B. Adams, Jr. Adjutant General of the Missouri National Guard.

Commander Goddard summarized the meaning of the Legion in these words:

"In the American Legion, I find the basic ingredients for keeping America strong, respected, and continued freedoms for her people.

"The Legion, as we so often mention, is committed to serve God and Country, and has done just that for the past 50 years.

"By the events in his life, the former military man has a better conception of America and her ideals. His service renders him eligible to belong to the American Legion. It gives him a feeling of owning a great share in his homeland, and working in the American Legion is considered by millions to be continued service and respect to country.

"We of the American Legion in Missouri are proud of the fact that this great organization became a reality through the founders, meeting in the St. Louis caucus in May, 1919."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 12, 1968]

**PEACE MUST BE WITH HONOR, LEGION COMMANDER SAYS**

William E. Galbraith, national commander of the American Legion, said here yesterday that Americans should accept no compromise on a "peace with honor" in Vietnam.

Galbraith spoke at a Legion founders' day luncheon in the Boulevard room of the Sheraton-Jefferson Hotel. About 200 Legion members and their wives attended, including 26 men who helped found the organization 49 years ago.

"It is our hope and prayer that peace can be brought to Vietnam," Galbraith said. "But although we look forward to a negotiated peace, we should not forget that we have more than 500,000 of our young men fighting there for a freedom that three generations of Legionnaires joined in fighting for."

He called on Americans to show a united front so that the North Vietnamese would not misread dissension as national weakness.

On the subject of riots in American cities, Galbraith declares that the Legion and its members "are not witch-hunters." But he suggested that a national survey be made to see "if our laws are adequate with respect to acts of sedition, acts of treason, acts of inciting a riot."

If they are not, he said, "then the Legion would speak out to encourage the Congress to enact such laws so that we can again live in security and peace in our own homes." The remark drew applause.

Also yesterday, tentative plans for the Legion's fiftieth anniversary celebration here next year were announced.

The plans include an eternal flame in the vicinity of Soldiers' Memorial, and a meeting of the Legion's national executive committee here next May 8, 9 and 10.

In other action yesterday, it was decided to name President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman as honorary presidents of the society of American Legion Founders.

The Founders Day program yesterday began with a wreath-laying ceremony at the American Legion plaque at the Union Electric Building, Twelfth boulevard and Locust street, and closed with a dinner last night.

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

**HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, the passing of the Honorable Joseph W. Martin,

Jr., represents a great loss to America as he was one of the Nation's outstanding men. His passing is especially mourned in this House of Representatives.

He dedicated over a half a century to public service and directed this Chamber as Speaker of the House for the 80th and 83d Congresses.

Joseph Martin, who served so long and so well the people of Massachusetts and his beloved country, was a man whose integrity and decency will be long remembered in these halls and throughout this Nation.

He served in some of the most difficult jobs this House offers and devoted many years of hard work to the ideals of our country.

We must not only grieve his passing but also rejoice that he had lived to give his life in public service to the entire Nation. His selfish dedication is an inspiration to all of us.

Joe Martin was a good man. He deserved the confidence, trust and respect he earned from his colleagues. He won my warm, personal affection.

We shall long cherish the memory of the Honorable Joseph Martin, Jr.

**LAW AND ORDER COMMEMORATIVE POSTAGE STAMP**

**HON. ED REINECKE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I should like at this time to commend the Post Office Department for issuance of the 6-cent law and order commemorative postage stamp, which occurs tomorrow, May 17, during this Police Week.

I would also like to commend a woman in my congressional district for her efforts to secure issuance of a U.S. postage stamp honoring the profession of law enforcement. Mrs. John J. Devine deserves the thanks of her community for her efforts in encouraging the Postal Department to issue a stamp honoring the people who bear the responsibility of maintaining law and order.

Mrs. Devine, who lives in Burbank, Calif., was corresponding secretary of the Women's Club of Burbank last March when she began her project of interesting persons in the issuance of such a stamp. Through her efforts, the project was approved by her club and later the convention of the Sierra Cahuenga District No. 15 of the California Federation of Women's Clubs. Later at the State convention, her efforts were recognized by the delegates attending and cooperation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Washington, D.C., was sought.

Mrs. Devine presented her suggestion to me last June, and I, in turn, immediately presented her idea to the Post Office Department.

The purpose of both the law and order stamp and Police Week is to produce among the populace an awareness and reaffirmation of the traditional role which the law-enforcement officer plays in protecting the people of America. The

policeman is, and should be considered, a friend of each and every citizen he serves. This stamp, as well as the observation of Police Week, is intended to foster respect for law and order to encourage a better understanding between police and society. I heartily commend this contribution by the Post Office Department to the development of harmony and concord among our citizens and to the cause of law and order, which must be preserved.

It is, in this connection, appropriate that the month of May has been designated as "Crime and the Community Month" by the National Broadcasting Co. During this month NBC stations in Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Washington, and Cleveland are presenting special programs relating to problems in their local communities. Station KNBC of Los Angeles is broadcasting 23 separate programs during May which will deal with local crime and its possible eradication by community-police cooperation. Among these programs are "People and the Police," "Crime in the Streets," "View From the Bottom," and "Youth and the Police."

I commend the efforts by our national leaders—both Government and civic—to deal with the problem of crime in a constructive and positive manner. I wish them every success in promoting the understanding that we all, as Americans, so fervently seek.

**TODAY'S NAVY: A SICK ORGANIZATION**

**HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, if there is any one lesson that the Arnheiter-Alexander case has driven home to every naval officer loud and clear it is this: If you want to move ahead, don't bruise the establishment. If you do, your career may be flushed out to sea, whether you are right or wrong, no matter who you are.

Today's Navy has demonstrated, in the full view of the American public, that it is a sick organization, so arrogant and unyielding that it would rather destroy its best officers than admit to a possible error in judgment.

Capt. Richard Alexander learned this the hard way when he courageously came to Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's defense because he and many other naval officers believed Arnheiter had been grossly wronged. For his trouble, this brilliant officer whom the Navy has trained and groomed for top command for 25 years was fired—suddenly and without explanation.

Why is the Navy fighting so desperately to prevent a rehearing of the Arnheiter case? And why is it dealing out such harsh punishment to those asking for a rehearing? Captain Alexander put it rather delicately, but precisely, to the Secretary of the Navy. He attributed this fear to "the strong positions already taken by senior officers."

In plain English, this means the Navy

is afraid that a new hearing might result in a reversal that would embarrass the authors of Arnheiter's removal, and all the highly placed brass who so readily concurred with the decision and endorsed it. In other words, the myth of naval establishment infallibility must be protected at all costs.

Mr. Speaker, there is another aspect of this matter which disturbs me: The Navy's ability to attract high-caliber officers in the wake of the Arnheiter-Alexander case. What young man would choose to surrender his self-respect and personal freedom to a blind and vengeful system that sacrifices justice and individuality upon the altar of arrogance and self-protection?

Last week, two young men, who at one time contemplated careers in the Navy, testified at my ad hoc hearings. They are James B. Roberts, Ann Arbor, Mich., and Richard S. Stoddart, Shaker Heights, Ohio, who served with Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter aboard the U.S.S. *Abbot*. I enter their statement in the RECORD at this point:

JOINT STATEMENT OF JAMES B. ROBERTS, ANN ARBOR, MICH., AND RICHARD S. STODDART, CLEVELAND, OHIO, BEFORE CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH Y. RESNICK, CONCERNING THE RELIEF OF LT. COMDR. MARCUS A. ARNHEITER AS COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE U.S.S. "VANCE" (DER-387)

#### BACKGROUND

James B. Roberts—graduate of Purdue University in 1957, and Naval Officer Candidates School, Newport; First Lieutenant and Gunner officer aboard USS *Abbot* (DD-629) from 1957 through 1960; engaged in technical sales and marketing since 1960; currently Vice President of Systronics, Inc., a computer terminal manufacturer in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Richard S. Stoddart—graduate of Dartmouth College in 1958 as ROTC Regular; Communications officer and CIC officer aboard USS *Abbot* (DD-629) 1958 to 1960; Staff Operations Officer on Staff of Commander, Escort Squadron 14 from 1960 to 1961; graduated from University of Michigan Law School in 1964; practiced law in the Cleveland law firm of Thompson, Hine and Flory 1964 to 1968; currently Vice President and Secretary of Shaker Savings Association, Shaker Heights, Ohio.

The strange and sometimes bizarre activities of the U.S. Navy regarding the relief of Lieutenant Commander Marcus A. Arnheiter as Commanding Officer of the USS *Vance* have been in the national focus for some months.

Mr. Arnheiter served as Operations Officer aboard the USS *Abbot* at a time when we both were also serving on board the same vessel, Stoddart as a subordinate in the department which Arnheiter headed, and Roberts as a fellow department head. We would not be so presumptuous to assume that we could add a great deal to the testimony of the many articulate career naval officers who have supported Mr. Arnheiter, but we believe that we might add perspective to your investigation, Congressman Resnick, in discussing the attitude and reaction that we had as ex-officers who chose not to remain on active duty in the navy.

Had we remained in the navy service, we would have probably by now received an executive officer billet, or perhaps even a small command. We assume therefore, that we probably reflect the views of hundreds of young naval officers in the age 30-35 bracket. Most of them would find it impossible to express their concerns and fears because of the incredible disciplinary action which was taken against one officer within the establishment who had the courage to

support Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter. Certainly no junior officer, on his way up and intent upon a career, could now afford to voice the opinion that the Arnheiter case has been a travesty of justice.

Congressman, this case is far bigger than just the man involved or the fate of a naval career. It affects every man in uniform in the service of this country, for it strikes at the very foundation of the military command structure, and the ability of a commander of his vessel or unit to maintain and insist upon discipline. If this case as it now stands is to be considered a precedent, then all commanders in the U.S. Military, particularly those in the Navy, must be constantly on guard lest dissatisfied subordinates take steps to overturn them. A disturbing question that appears in order and particularly relevant to Arnheiter's case, is whether the growing permissiveness and challenge of authority that pervades our society today has in fact been nurtured within the Naval establishment.

We have attempted to thoroughly familiarize ourselves with the background and facts of the Arnheiter case. We feel it is significant, and pertinent, that we find nothing to indicate that Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter was any different an individual while he had command of the USS *Vance* than he was as Operations Officer of the USS *Abbot*. Arnheiter was, in our opinion, a competent, squared away, dedicated officer who constantly endeavored to instill pride of ship and naval tradition in crew and officers alike. Without question, he was a masterful ship handler, and as the senior watch officer, he thoroughly trained others in the safe navigation and conning of the ship. As Operations Officer, he did an outstanding job in operational briefings, in priming the officers and men for the mission at sea. As any Navy man knows, Congressman, there is a certain quality to life aboard ship at sea which exists nowhere else in the world. A combatant ship's ultimate mission at sea is to be constantly prepared for a single purpose—to fight. Marc Arnheiter believed that a ship which was not capable of fighting did not deserve to be at sea. We served with Arnheiter on board the *Abbot* when she was assigned as a gun fire support ship during the Lebanon crisis in 1958. In much the same manner as he successfully prepared *Vance*, and previously the *Ingersoll*, for Vietnam duty, as Operations Officer on the *Abbot* he zealously pursued the task of readying our ship for a possible combat situation. His efforts included working with the Gunner Department in the organization of a landing team, with small arms marksmanship drill being held off the fan tail en route. As protestant lay leader, at that time, Stoddart conducted services and arranged for Arnheiter to speak on naval tradition and naval heroes as an inspiration to the men on their way to a war zone.

Marc Arnheiter has always had the courage of his convictions. This was no doubt instrumental in his large measure of success as executive officer of the *Ingersoll*. He undoubtedly is aggressive. But it is unfortunate that aggressiveness and innovation are apparently being condemned within the Navy, especially when those attributes were being employed to seek out the enemy in a war zone such as Vietnam.

It is incredible to us that subordinate officers could convince competent senior officers in operational staff positions that Arnheiter had done anything but attempt to make the *Vance* a fighting ship worth her salt. Even more unbelievable has been the subsequent sorry record of cover-up in the entire case—an effort which is still going on—and the lack of sensitivity and understanding of the position taken by Captain Richard Alexander. During our tour of duty aboard the *Abbot*, Captain Alexander was the commanding officer of a sister ship in the same squa-

dron. His exemplary performance and outstanding capabilities were well-known throughout the squadron. We were not at all surprised when he was later selected for the much sought after job as commanding officer of the USS *New Jersey*. The action of the Navy in handling the Arnheiter affair has been deplorable enough, but the destruction of Captain Alexander is particularly appalling.

How could any young officer today, knowing the facts of the Arnheiter case, really believe that he could someday exercise any initiative, imagination, or daring in commanding a ship and still be assured of all prerogatives of command supposedly guaranteed by Navy regulations?

We, along with Arnheiter, had the good fortune of going to sea on the *Abbot* under exceptionally competent, professional Commanding Officers who exemplified the best in naval tradition and leadership. With this influence, we both seriously considered navy careers. Stoddart had applied and was about to be accepted in submarine school. Roberts was offered the opportunity for a teaching assignment at the Naval Academy as an incentive to remain in the Service. Our respective decisions to leave the Service were based in large part upon an uncomfortable awareness of the inherent structure within the naval establishment that would permit just this kind of demoralizing mess. Career-minded young enlisted men and officers alike who are familiar with the actual facts of the Arnheiter story must be disturbed by the fate of needed men like Alexander and Arnheiter. What appeal is there to men of similar stature to remain in the service with this example of the Navy's reward for initiative?

Congressman, today, as private citizens of this country, we are appalled by the actions of some of our Navy's top echelon and decision makers in this case who have apparently chosen to disregard the legal rights of Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter in order not to embarrass one another. Marcus Arnheiter has asked for a court of inquiry. We believe he deserves, at the very least, an opportunity to vindicate himself. We urge members of Congress to insist that the Secretary of the Navy convene a court of inquiry on the Arnheiter-Alexander fiasco. Let the chips fall where they may.

#### U.S.S. "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

### HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the National Executive Committee of the American Legion in their meeting of May 1-2, 1968, at Indianapolis, passed a resolution in regard to the U.S.S. *Pueblo* incident, with which I am in complete agreement.

I said right after the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew:

During a crisis like this, we are first of all Americans, and we must rally to whatever action is necessary.

Taking an American ship by force, killing American men, capturing and holding the crew—all are acts of war against our Country.

We must have the courage to put our foot down firmly and demand the release of our men and ship. If they don't comply within a specified time of our demand, then we must go in and get our men and our ship.

There is no other honorable course for us to take.

I urge my colleagues and the readers



of the RECORD to read this resolution and support positive action to return the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew to the control of the United States.

#### U.S.S. "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

Whereas, The American Legion is deeply concerned over the fact that the USS *Pueblo* and its crew have been detained in military custody by North Korea since January 23, 1968; and

Whereas, at the time of its illegal seizure by North Korean gunboats, the National Commander of The American Legion advised the President of the United States by telegram that this organization strongly backs "all determined efforts you deem necessary to effect the prompt return to United States control of the USS *Pueblo* and its personnel and equipment;" and

Whereas, in his message to the President, Commander Galbraith further stated that, "There must be no miscalculation on the part of our enemies of American resolve at this critical juncture," and that, "We are satisfied that the American public will tolerate no undue delay on the part of Communist North Korea in this situation;" and

Whereas, repeated diplomatic representations, including resort to the Security Council of the United Nations and direct discussions with North Korean officials at Panmunjom, have failed thus far to produce any sign of willingness on the part of the North Koreans to return the vessel and crew; and

Whereas, the Communists there and elsewhere are using this issue for propaganda value and, in their typical fashion, are confusing and distorting the facts in an effort to degrade and demoralize the personnel of the *Pueblo*, and to discredit and disparage the United States generally; and

Whereas, these Communist tactics—plus the fact that we have not recovered our men and property—have tended to lower United States prestige among our allies and friends; and

Whereas, continued delay in resolving this issue satisfactorily will result in further loss of respect for the United States and in serious deterioration of our ability to fulfill the role of leader of the free world, and champion of free Asia; and

Whereas, the American Legion believes it is high time for the United States to reaffirm and reestablish its traditional posture of defender and protector of our international rights as an independent, law-abiding, and God-fearing member of the community of nations; and

Whereas, The American Legion firmly adheres to the idea that a slogan which helped make that tradition is still a valid guideline for the foreign policy of this country, namely: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute;" now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by The National Executive Committee of The American Legion in regular meeting assembled in Indianapolis, Indiana, on May 1 and 2, 1968, that The American Legion—

(1) has the utmost sympathy for the plight of the men of the *Pueblo* and their family members at home;

(2) hopes earnestly that persistent diplomatic efforts on the part of the United States will soon result in recovery of these men and the USS *Pueblo* itself; and

(3) insists that this matter must be resolved satisfactorily at an early date; and be it further

Resolved, That if the Communist regime of North Korea continues to refuse to return the *Pueblo* and its crew, The American Legion calls for and will support strong, positive action by our Government—including the use of whatever military force is required—to restore to United States control the personnel of the USS *Pueblo* and the vessel itself.

#### COMMUNICATIONS FUTURE

### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Dr. L. A. "Pat" Hyland, vice president and general manager of the Hughes Aircraft Co., delivered a speech entitled "The Future of Communications: A Commentary," which should be of interest to anyone interested in communications, in space, or in science generally.

I know of no one better fitted to deal with this subject than Dr. Hyland, who has had an outstanding record of over 50 years in the field of science and a great deal of this in the field of communications.

I commend his fine speech to the reading of my colleagues:

#### THE FUTURE OF COMMUNICATIONS: A COMMENTARY

(By L. A. Hyland, vice president and general manager, Hughes Aircraft Co.)

The more than 50 years that I have been a communicator have spanned the period which marked the end of necessarily local communications and the beginning of literally unlimited communications. Until quite recently there has been little change, except in degree, in the patterns of communication from the time of Sir Frances Drake. The importance to our habits of Drake and the British admiralty can hardly be overestimated, for they conceived the pattern which was completed and maintained until the advent of the communication satellite.

In the early development of the British Empire, Drake and his successors established watering stations at every promontory, controlling island, and navigable strait around the world, beginning the effective domination of ocean shipping and communications during the days of the sailing craft. As steam displaced sail these same geographical points became coaling stations. With the development of electrical communications these same points were valuable as cable landings and later as wireless stations.

Whatever important control real estate was not occupied by the British came under the influence of other European powers or, to a minor degree, of American interests. Communication between points dominated by different powers generally was conducted through the home capitals, so we find both colonialism and geography as the primary factors in the structure of long distance communications. The limitations of optical signalling and, later of wire conductivity, controlled short distance communications.

Technological advances slowly crept in and improved and extended, in small increments, the utility of communication within these basic limitations during the four hundred years between the Drake explorations and the first synchronous communication satellite. The important dates then in the history of communication are 1570 and 1963. Why is 1963 important? Why is the year of the launching of the first syncom such a major milestone in the history of communications?

To set this in the proper framework I must comment on the history of inventions. For thousands of years a major invention typically resulted in a two-to-one technological improvement over what had existed before.

Some ingenious prehistoric man discovered that placing a load on a couple of drag sticks enabled him to carry twice as much as the load he could carry on his back. Later

on some forgotten genius discovered that placing the load on a couple of wheels carved from a tree trunk would enable him to pull twice the load he could move with the drag sticks. Initially there were long intervals between these major inventions, but the ratio of improvement in each was on the order of two-to-one. This two-to-one relationship persisted for thousands of years until the 1940's when nuclear energy came about and the historical relationship of two-to-one became one-million-to-one. In almost any way you look at it atomic fission has this million-to-one relationship whether for poison, power production, explosive energy, or many other characteristics. This million-to-one relationship suddenly was imposed on a two-to-one human comprehension and level of adaptability that has been bred into us for eons of time. If you should protest that the telegraph or early radio was a jump materially greater than two-to-one. I respond that you have overlooked the five decades it took for the telegraph to be developed and widely implemented, and you have forgotten the pitifully small reliable power of the early radio transmitters.

With the advent of the communication satellite and its million-to-one potential, the barriers of geography and the painfully erected structures of bureaucracy by which our communications have been controlled are crumbling.

Let me recite a few examples. First the rate structure. The transoceanic rates for communication via satellite are not based on satellite costs, but are set to protect investments already made in cables and radio transmission. Although the United States has a monopoly on satellite communication because of its booster and spacecraft technology, nevertheless the protective rates are only a temporary umbrella. Other nations, especially those in the Communist world, will combine to utilize boosters of their own and cut under this monopoly with more realistic rates. This is not a threat; it is a promise if we persist in our present rate practices.

Another example: The cost of establishing communication in the underdeveloped or sparsely settled countries using conventional land-line or land-radio techniques is prohibitive. But with current satellite technology, newly developed beaming systems and the capability of multiple voice, television, and information channels, there can be remarkably flexible choices as to area coverage both for one-way and two-way communication.

It is almost a paradox that those nations without an existing communications plant may be the first to benefit fully from the new technology by having a truly modern system made possible by satellites. That result can flow from the following considerations:

All of you who have been in business know that the existence of factories, special tooling, established markets, and ongoing marketing organizations, are a major hindrance in a change-over otherwise enabled by newer technologies or changing public demands. It is the responsibility of the established manufacturer or operator to introduce new products in such manner as to minimize the prospect of economic loss to his customer as well as to himself. This practice slows down the adoption of new devices or operating modes, particularly where the existing investment is large. No better example of this fact could be found than in the peculiar way mankind is moving to grasp the applications that will be possible as a consequence of communication satellites. There will be impact not only with respect to the satellite systems themselves, but also in the changes to other kinds of communications which will be forced by adaptation to the employment of satellites.

It is entirely possible that many of the developing countries will have modern com-

munication systems much sooner, for example, than the United States because they have little investment in older systems and hence no problem in the writeoff on existing investments.

It may happen, however, that American booster and satellite technology export controls may be a temporary controlling factor influencing the rates at which the emerging nations will be allowed to progress in communications. If these ridiculous controls are allowed to persist, their main long term result will be to accelerate the time when the other technically advanced nations will develop their space technology into export quality. The Americans have no corner on the supply of brain power or motivation, and our past investments can be matched elsewhere. Here, as in many other technological and political matters, we should recognize that the launching capabilities of Russia, and the rapidly expanding capabilities of China and other countries, must not be ignored.

Everyone should be aware that France has an active space research program and a well developed launch facility in the Sahara. In collaboration with Germany, France is today at work on the Symphonie Communication Satellite. Even though the European space research organization, Esro, and the launcher development organization, Eldo, have recently come upon hard times with the withdrawal of Italy and the United Kingdom, we must expect these problems to be only temporary impediments to technological collaboration and progress in Europe. I believe the Europeans will learn to collaborate on the simple grounds that it would be patently insane for them not to do so.

Also, by the way, the French are carrying on a discussion of satellite communications of some sort with the Russians.

Meantime the Japanese have an active space research program representing both the government and private industry. Japanese industry is quite active in the field of satellite communication earth terminals.

The lesson is plain enough for all to see. We dare not be reluctant to supply our friends with the service they demand, even including the exclusive ownership of satellites, on a business basis. The foreigners are not children. What they want they will in time obtain, from whatever is the most favorable source of supply.

The matter of satellite frequency needs must be mentioned. The principal divisions of the available radio frequency spectrum, particularly at the frequencies below some 10,000 megacycles where bad weather does not present a problem, were laid out before anyone was prepared to argue the case for satellites and for some of the terrestrial business radio services. Since the advent of radio communication, with the gradual extension of the frequency spectrum utilized, there has been a running battle between the number of channels available and those who desire to employ them. The national and international agencies have done, for the most part, an excellent job of cooperation in laying down and forcing reasonable utilization of these valuable channels. Their job has been made easier by the technological developments which have made an ever increasing number of channels available to satisfy requirements. Always, however, some users have been offended. But we are now approaching the end of this road because the spectrum now in use extends from below the acoustical range up into the frequencies of light. There are certain frequencies which ought to be allocated to satellite communication and this fact, plus the burgeoning of other demands, requires a complete study toward the reallocation of all frequencies. That will be a large international undertaking.

A major change in any policy of a single government is a ponderous, time consuming and controversial matter. When that change involves all governments in the world and

some huge private institutions in an area as important as communications, with all of the vast interests, investments and bureaucracies involved, the undertaking is indeed staggering.

Let's review a few familiar facts that will affect the nature of the changes which will take place.

First, although publicly used television is perhaps only twenty-five years old, there are today in this country some 120 million television receivers as against 90 million telephones, and, of course, the number of radio broadcast receivers is far greater than the count of television sets. This means then that the facilities for mass communications far outnumber those for individual communication. I am sure that the ratio between the numbers of mass receivers and of individual terminal handsets will steadily increase from here on out.

Second, both mass and individual communication systems have heretofore been limited by either or both of geographical and national boundaries, but these boundaries are now becoming meaningless from the communications viewpoint.

Third, in the space of five and one-half years the channel capacity of synchronous satellites has increased from one two-way channel to the many thousands which will be provided in the forthcoming military tactical communication satellite. Parenthetically it should be noted that every new venture into expanded communication channels has always been done in the face of questions regarding the prospect of the full use of the new facility, and always the new facility is fully utilized in half the time or less of the most optimistic estimate.

Fourthly, the communications business is one of the great growth businesses in the developed countries with no saturation in sight as the added facilities and services become available. Yet these developed countries account for only a fourth of the world's population. The need for both individual and mass communication media in the developing countries will provide one of the greatest markets of any technological era. It is noteworthy that this need could not be economically satisfied as long as earth-bound, land-lines communication, of whatever source, were the only means by which the necessary services could be made available. With the advent of high capacity satellites having selective area coverage and selective beam widths, the economic cost is reduced to the point where the most remote village could be provided with effective information links, whether individual or en masse.

What this all adds up to is that this million-to-one jump in technology has clearly outdistanced all of the means heretofore adequate to bring order and equity to communications.

That we have done as well as we have with the existing administrative, cooperative, and regulatory agencies during the progress of communications to date has been in my opinion largely due to the relatively slow rate of inventions during the 400 years prior to satellites. With the advent of satellites, however, and their concomitant ground distribution devices, we have a completely new ball game. The opportunities never existed before, the old rules are not appropriate, the administrative agencies obsolescent, and the old operating entities are battling the new realities in a paradoxically vigorous but somnolent passion of yearning for the good old days. The next decade will be interesting.

Now I want to depart from this theme and introduce another factor which in my opinion is even more important. In approaching this factor I am going to make the general assumption that the institutional, economic, legal, technical, and political factors for the new era of communications will eventually be solved. That massive achievement, however important and difficult it may be, brings us to the significant issue which for

the first time can then be seen in its true dimensions. That issue is understanding! The sole purpose of communications, in whatever field, is to transmit and receive information which can be understood between the parties involved.

The technological limitations on communications prior to radio broadcasting kept information exchange to relatively simple items which could be understood by both parties. These were items such as prices and other easily definable commercial matters, administrative documents, and letters on family or social affairs.

In these cases, conditioning of the minds of the parties involved had either taken place beforehand, or the subject was easily defined in common terms. Where more complex or unknown elements entered into the situation the common practice was to transport one party to the other for face-to-face communication.

Radio broadcasts added a new dimension to the problem of understanding. The number of people listening was vastly increased but the breadth of the language and the contents of the material broadcast had to be limited by the common denominator of audience understanding. The material of the programs therefore became limited to comedy, light drama, crude violence, music, and news—all tightly edited for widest appeal. The advent of television, first black and white and then color, added to the interest of broadcast information without much improvement of understanding. At least television requires attention even though the program content may be no better. It is, by the way, interesting that broadcasting without pictures is the favorite medium for propagandists and charlatans, whereas in television the stage setting and make-up are as important as the material itself.

I am making these remarks from the standpoint of an American living in an environment of education, culture and language that is as well informed as any national group of people in the world. Yet the understanding of this fortunate group is so limited that the broadcast material is largely aimed at the level of understanding of a twelve year old. In Los Angeles we have eleven television channels on the air. Only one of these regularly offers seriously adult programming. We have some fifty radio stations locally, and only two of them are focused upon the mature audience. We do have educational programs—before 7:00 o'clock in the morning. Once in a while we have a churchillian speaker who can reach both the twelve year old and the mature individual, but this level of understanding is the best we have been able to do in the United States.

Now picture in your mind what we shall be able to do on a continent-wide, or world-wide basis with no common language, with millions who have never been out of the immediate area they were born in, with primitive cultures and little experience with a society of more than a few hundred people. Technology has made it possible for us to reach these people. With what do we reach them? What is the program content? Will it be reduced to the six year old level or should we follow the alternative and attempt to determine the means by which understanding can be conveyed through the application of the scientific method? Our technology has run away from the ability to communicate understanding. Anthropologists have repeatedly assured us there is no difference between the races in brain capacity and ability to learn. The differences which do exist at maturity are the consequences of environment, education, and superstition. The task then is not one of permanently degrading the programs to an a priori level of understanding, but of how to improve the understanding of the audience. Here there is both challenge and magnificent opportunity.

Consider a few examples. In our neighbor-

ing country, Mexico, there are villages in which the national language, Spanish, is not spoken. The people have been passed up by the general national progress—farming, health, and nutrition practices have not improved for centuries. The Mexican Government desires to reach these people and draw them into the mainstream of the national life. For this purpose instructional television giving language lessons in the local dialect, instruction in animal husbandry, the care of plots of crop lands, in birth control, in how to make a piece of simple furniture—these services could easily be provided by satellite link and at very low cost per head if the system deployment is sufficiently widespread.

The same problem recurs in nation after nation . . . India, Pakistan, Brazil, Ecuador—where concerned governments desire to initiate appropriate action programs.

There is more to the solution than simply putting up a small receiver terminal and a display tube. One of my staff people recently witnessed, in Spain, a showing in a remote village of a simple training film on the care of chickens for local food production. There was a near riot during the showing as a peasant overturned the screen in an effort to capture the chickens being pictured on it. He could not comprehend how the chicken could be seen without being present in the flesh. He had no understanding.

For untold centuries we have been governed by the lawyers, the priests, the philosophers and politicians, and in later years these have been joined by the professional financial managers, none of whom have improved our *understanding* a particle. The changes that have come to pass, for those in the developed nations, are improvements in factual knowledge, health, nutrition, and in physical facilities. Nothing has been done about human mutual understanding. The best that can be said for the governing sector, the opinion makers—and I must include myself in this indictment—is that they adapted the age old principles of control, or influence, to the increasing numbers in national units. However, we seem to have reached an upper limit to which this adaptation can take place as evidenced by increased unrest around the world. It seems to me we can compare the psychological problems to the medical problems. Humanity did not get very far so long as medicine was practiced by witch doctors and superstition. Progress commenced with the application of science to the healing arts and I submit that progress in understanding can be made only by the application of science.

As a matter of fact our progress in technology has only recently arrived at the point where it can be of use in the humanities. The jobs that we have done in technology so far are the easy jobs. Except for certain bacterial organisms, technology has dealt with materials, and non-living organisms. Until the aviation and space age, the application of systems studies to medicine was unknown, yet the human organism is the most complicated system of systems that exists.

The big job is ahead of us. It is the mission of the engineer to participate and help in bringing about an *understanding of understanding*, just as it has been the mission of technology to help improve health. It is the function of the engineer to recognize his worth and his responsibility to inject himself into the picture.

The fact that engineering should collaborate in bringing about understanding appears to be self-evident. Unfortunately, however, things are not quite as simple as that. Let me give you a definition of philosophy—"A search for truth through logical reasoning rather than factual observation". This is what the world had to live with prior to the advent of technology. In the absence of facts, for example, the philosophers were able to debate for years about how many angels could occupy the head of a pin. It is a human trait that the philosophers were unwilling to

give up their dominance of humanity; they sought to continue occupancy of their primary position in the affairs of men. Therefore, I use the word "inject" advisedly with respect to the introduction of engineering in the search for understanding.

A current example of the need for technological injection is the President's Task Force on Communications Policy which is composed of fifteen members, only two of whom have any technical background. Of these two only one is a communicator. Admitting the vital need for participation by legal, political, and diplomatic experts, it is equally necessary for a substantial number of technologists to be represented on such a committee to elucidate, project, interpose, and judge on the facts relating to the future of communications, and to have a vote in the policy determinations. The facts relating to the achievement of understanding and to the evolution of the great potential of communications technology are not self-evident to the technically unprepared, however sophisticated they otherwise may be. It is not enough for a policy organism merely to consult with technologists. The engineer must be an integral and equivalent part of the decision-making process. In these days of rapid technical change it is difficult even for an expert to keep up with progress and develop that judgment which comes from a lifetime of experience in his field.

In our industry, we have what is called Murphy's law which states that: "In the absence of sure knowledge any choice is bound to be wrong". Therefore, I submit that the time has arrived for the development of knowledge so that we may ultimately bring understanding to the peoples who are making use of the communications achievements now made possible.

As I look back upon the last fifty years which have spanned the transition from semaphore and heliograph to television and satellite, I cannot help but be impressed with the great transition that has taken place in the communication field, and by the technically magnificent foundation that has been built. I look ahead to a structure which will go a long way towards bringing about better understanding within our own Nation and throughout the world at large. I envy the opportunity that you people in this room will have to participate in building this structure, and I wish you God-speed in getting along with the job.

#### WORLD ORDER PROJECT

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the promoters of a new world order—hiding behind man-made law—continue their project to equalize the world colony.

Questions such as whose law? By what authority? And who decides who will be in control?—go unanswered.

I place a New York Times release, dated May 8, in the RECORD at this point:

#### LAW GROUP TO DRAFT WORLD ORDER PLANS

PRINCETON, N.J., May 8.—Officials of the World Law Fund announced today a project in which teams of scholars and public figures in seven areas of the world will develop models of world order, for use about 1990.

Douglas Dillon, former United States Secretary of the Treasury, is chairman of the sponsoring committee of the project in the United States. He announced the teams were now at work in Europe, Latin America, Japan, India and the United States.

"A nucleus group is under way in Africa," he said, "and three meetings have been held in Moscow, which it is hoped will lead to the drafting of a model in the U.S.S.R."

The models prepared in each country will deal with the role of world organizations, peace-keeping, methods of settling international disputes, disarmament, world economic development, social and human rights, weather control, control of oceans and a number of other subjects.

Saul H. Mendlovitz, professor of international law at Rutgers University Law School, is the director of the project. The research effort in the United States is headed by Richard A. Falk, professor of international law at Princeton University.

#### UBIQUITOUS U

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 15, the Chicago Tribune very properly commented on the unfortunate anti-U.S. bias of United Nations' Secretary General, U Thant, whose role in efforts to produce peace and freedom in the world has been much less than effective. It is obvious that U Thant, who philosophically is a Marxist, fails to recognize the diabolical nature of communism and persists in his preconceived prejudice against U.S. foreign policy.

The Chicago Tribune editorial of May 15, 1968, follows:

#### UBIQUITOUS U

The opening statements had hardly been exchanged in the Paris meeting of representatives of the United States and communist North Viet Nam when Secretary General U Thant declared himself in on the act.

In a speech in faraway Edmonton, Alta., he is described as throwing "his personal prestige behind North Vietnamese demands for an unconditional cessation of American bombing of that country."

We don't know what Mr. Thant's "personal prestige" amounts to. If it is equivalent to that enjoyed by the United Nations, his employer, it is minimal if not nonexistent. The secretary general's office, by its nature, requires neutrality, but Thant has never been guilty of that self-effacing virtue.

Over the years he has never missed an opportunity to sideswipe the United States and proclaim the merits of the Communists in every conceivable cause. So he is strictly in character in climbing on America's back once more with a demand for an unconditional halt in bombing and all "other acts of war." He says nothing about reciprocity from the Communists. There is no suggestion that North Vietnamese divisions stop the infiltration of the south or that the Viet Cong terror end. This war was initiated by Hanoi, but you would never know it from Thant's statement.

The secretary general finds it proper that the United States and South Viet Nam suffer these pressures, but it is intolerable to him that North Viet Nam should be obliged to "negotiate under duress." He deplores "the savage conduct of the war," but is unconcerned that there would be no war if the Communists hadn't launched it or that savagery is the stock-in-trade of the Communists. The discovery of mass graves at Hue, containing the bodies of 1,000 to 2,000 civilians butchered during the communist lunar new year offensive, is the latest entry in the gruesome record.

Thant paid us the dubious tribute of saying

that the climate of violence within the United States is "a consequence of the psychological climate created by the Viet Nam war." He said that, "if the principle of the sanctity of human life is not reestablished, the future for international peace and security is indeed a very dark one."

The climate of violence in the United States is largely the product of the revolutionary forces loose against us—the black militants and the Castroites, Maoists, and Marxists of the student left. These elements never miss a chance to make common cause in assailing the war and playing into the hands of the communist enemy. They do not conceal their desire that the United States be defeated and humiliated.

If Thant is concerned about the sanctity of human life, he could spend his time to better profit carrying his preachments to Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow. These are the sources of the doctrine of "wars of national liberation" to encircle America and the west and bring them to their knees.

The timing of Thant's announcements could not have been better calculated to serve the communist cause in the Paris conference, wishfully viewed by the Johnson administration as opening an avenue to "peace." What is most shocking about the secretary general's blatant intervention at this particular juncture of events is that he has perverted his office and disregarded every diplomatic nicety in order to play the partisan on the side of America's enemies.

If the United States government had any self-respect whatsoever, it would demand his immediate resignation. He could then retire to Hanoi and collect the rewards for his services.

#### STORM CLOUDS OVER THE NATION'S CAPITAL

### HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the skies over our Nation's Capital are heavily laden with storm clouds, but these clouds, as ominous as they may appear, may not be the only troublesome signs over Washington as this city sits on the site of a fire that could light the ingredients for a civil explosion, the likes of which our country has not witnessed since the Civil War.

We here in Washington are witnessing the beginning of a sad spectacle, described by some as the Poor People's March, when, in actuality, it is the intent of the leaders of the march to stage a giant camp-in, almost within sight of the White House, less than 2 miles from the Capitol.

Although I concur that it is the right of any of our citizens under the Bill of Rights to peacefully petition the Government for a redress of grievances, I question the right of our Government officials to encourage and to condone a camp-in by granting a permit for 3,000 or more people to live on land which belongs to all Americans. I also find it difficult to understand why the White House would condone a shanty town in complete violation of the building and sanitary codes applicable to other citizens residing within the District.

Although the leaders of the group have insisted that the demonstrations will be

peaceful and nonviolent, one cannot help but remember that Washington was literally a city under siege a little over a month ago when bands of rioters and looters burned and ravaged a large section of the District, causing merchants and householders millions of dollars in losses.

Thus, it is no wonder that I and many other Congressmen and citizens are concerned.

Leaders of the protesters definitely plan acts of civil disobedience in the event the Congress fails to act promptly on their demands.

And while the administration granted a permit to allow camping only until June 16, the Reverend James Bevel, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, stated that the marchers feel they have the right to remain longer, maybe as long as 2 or 3 years.

The march leaders also indicated recently they are not obligated to remain within the 15-acre tract in West Potomac Park for which the permit was granted, and may move onto other public lands to build.

To attain their ends, the leaders of this campaign have indicated it might be necessary to turn Washington and the Congress upside down. This hardly sounds like the peaceful protest that is meant under the Bill of Rights, especially since there are elements in Washington who would like nothing better than to seize on any incident to turn non-violence into violence. One rabble rouser who has already visited the camp is Stokely Carmichael, who after one hand-shaking tour was described by Reverend Bevel as "A friend and brother, and one of the great black leaders of the country."

The smell of acrid smoke still lingers in many memories and the sight of burned buildings are still too much in evidence for me to take this present setting for trouble as lightly as some of our leaders.

I am sure that the American people will not allow the White House, or the Justice Department to ignore the demands of the majority of our people to maintain law and order and to apply the law equally to all, but I truly wonder where is the action and the words of reassurance that trouble will not occur in this campaign?

"Be cool, don't spread rumors," the President's appointed Mayor Washington says. The White House has said little or nothing and Attorney General Ramsey Clark stated on national television, "A little civil disobedience is alright."

They certainly are not heeding the words of the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, who is directing the campaign from his comfortable suite of hotel rooms and has been saying, "If Congress doesn't act for the poor people, there will be many plagues cast in their direction," and although nonviolence is the theme of the campaign, he adds if his group does not get what it wants he may not be able to keep his people nonviolent.

While Reverend Abernathy has expressed a concern that concentration camps might be built to lock up Negroes, he has created for these people a mock

concentration camp. The poor, under his leadership, will live in the most cramped of quarters and share neighborhood rest-rooms and showers. The possibility of sickness and pestilence is great.

There is no assurance at this time where all this activity will lead, and you might well wonder just what does the Reverend Abernathy and his followers really want.

He demands that \$24 billion per year be spent on welfare programs; he demands a rent supplement program; and a guaranteed minimum income of \$4,000 per year, including cost-of-living adjustments and a work incentive. More recently he has added to the list a drive for land redistribution programs which would give the poor parcels of land.

These so-called nonviolent demands are backed with certain ominous revolutionary overtones, and I believe all Americans should recognize that Mr. Abernathy, in collaboration with the black militants, is about ready to put the majority of Americans to the test.

I think that once one considers all these demands and looks at the entire scope of this project that one can plainly see why I and others are so concerned. As citizens and as Members of Congress we were eyewitnesses to the horrible mob action in Washington only weeks ago.

The aim of the protesters now is to force the Congress to bend to the will of the leaders in this demonstration.

Once before this year, the Congress was stampeded into enacting legislation under emotion and threats of violence. I state now that the time has come for this type of legislation to be halted.

If the White House and those in the executive branch do not soon become aware of the true nature of how the poor are being used by the revolutionary demagogues without considering protection for the rights of the majority, then I hope that the Members of Congress will show the necessary courage needed to put our national house in order.

We must insist that our laws be obeyed by all Americans alike.

What is happening in Washington may well trigger the shot or incident that will result in the bloodletting revolution that the subversives who are prowling America today want tomorrow.

This country is beset with many problems, but they will not be solved by coercion or threats, nor can they be solved by insurrection and anarchy.

As you will know the protesters involved in this so-called "poor people's camp" will be the real losers should their actions be followed by rebellion.

I hope, therefore, that all Americans; white, black, brown, yellow, or red will recognize the dangers that face the Nation here in Washington. This so-called "poor people's" protest is not in the best interests of our country.

We are now in the midst of times that try not only men's souls, but also the patience of all races. I pray that those who are responsible for allowing this spectacle to take place will heed the storm clouds in the heavens that greeted the marchers upon their arrival into the Nation's Capital and their shanty town.

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF CONSUMER CREDIT PROTECTION ACT AGREED TO IN CONFERENCE

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the nine conferees representing the House and the five conferees representing the Senate agreed last night, at the end of six long sessions extending over a period of more than 6 weeks, on all of the provisions of a very comprehensive bill dealing with consumer credit and truth in lending. We will have a completely new substitute bill to present to the respective Houses, and this substitute is still being worked on to incorporate all of the many technical points covered in the conference agreement.

I mention this point because my office has been inundated with calls all day, and so has the Committee on Banking and Currency, asking for information on the specific terms of the conference bill. I want to assure the House that on every significant issue in which the House took a position on this legislation, the conference bill generally follows the spirit of what we agreed to in the House, and in most respects the House bill prevailed. However, we did have to make concessions on details—concessions in degree rather than in principle—as is inevitable in the legislative process where there are such far-reaching differences between the bills passed by the two Houses.

GARNISHMENT

I was disappointed in the extent to which we had to weaken the title of the bill restricting garnishment, for instance, but we have nevertheless ended up with what will be the first Federal law of general applicability on this subject. Instead of the flat exemption of \$30 per week and of 90 percent of the worker's pay over that figure, as in the House bill, the best we were able to persuade the Senate conferees to accept was a provision assuring the worker that he would have at least \$48 out of his weekly pay, or 75 percent of his pay, whichever is higher. This is better than the garnishment laws in effect in roughly half of the States. The restriction on firing a worker for a single garnishment remains in the bill.

REVOLVING CREDIT

We won on our insistence that stores granting revolving credit advise the customer that the 1½ percent typical monthly charge on the unpaid balance is at the nominal annual rate of 18 percent, but we made several concessions. In all cases, however, the actual dollar-and-cent charges for revolving credit have to be spelled out, along with the manner in which the charge is assessed. If the store has a minimum charge of 50 cents a month or less, it does not have to figure out the annual percentage rate on every customer's monthly balance.

THE \$10 EXEMPTION

The Senate bill exempted from rate disclosure all consumer credit transactions in which the credit charge is \$10

or less. We had no such exemption in the House bill. We compromised with a rather complicated sliding scale formula which would permit sellers or lenders offering installment credit to avoid having to give the annual percentage rate of the credit charges on any transaction of \$25 or less—that is, the principal amount of the debt, not the service charge. Then we set certain limitations on the service charges which can be made without having to give the percentage rate; for instance, on a loan or sale of \$75 or more, no annual rate would have to be figured out if the total service charge did not exceed \$7.50.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON CONSUMER FINANCE

We realized throughout our work on this bill that it was impossible to write as far-reaching a piece of legislation and be sure that we had covered every point with exact precision and with wisdom. We tried our best. But there will be many hands and minds put to the task of implementing this legislation under regulations to be drafted by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System before it takes effect July 1, 1969.

One of the most important titles of the bill creates the National Commission on Consumer Finance to study all aspects of the consumer credit industry, particularly in relation to this legislation, and recommend changes or improvements in the law. We are giving that Commission some high priority assignments in the areas where the conferees felt we did not have all of the facts we would like to have in reaching some of our decisions. So there will be time to close loopholes where found, or to eliminate any unnecessary or undesirable requirements.

ADVERTISING OF CREDIT TERMS

The advertising requirements are generally along the lines of the House bill with some technical changes. There was no provision in the Senate bill dealing with advertising of credit terms.

ADMINISTRATIVE ENFORCEMENT

The enforcement provisions followed the House bill.

EXTORTIONATE EXTENSIONS OF CREDIT

A very far-reaching provision in the House bill would make it a Federal crime to engage in organized loan-sharking activities in violation of State law. This section has been completely rewritten to accomplish this goal and will provide a powerful weapon to use against criminal rings using strong-arm methods, or threats of violence to collect unconscionable interest charges. There was no similar provision in the Senate bill.

SECOND MORTGAGE RACKETS

The House bill provisions on credit transactions involving a security interest in residential property have been retained. However, instead of the 3-day notification period required in the House bill, we agreed to provide a 3-day period after the completion of the transaction for the customer to cancel. The details on how this will be done must be worked out by the Federal Reserve Board. The right of the customer to challenge the "holder in due course" defense under certain circumstances, as spelled out in

the House bill, was retained also. This is a real breakthrough, as is true with many other provisions of the bill.

FIRST MORTGAGES

The Senate bill exempted all first mortgages, regardless of their character, from any of the requirements of truth-in-lending disclosure. The House bill carried no such exemption. The conference bill has a very limited exemption for "purchase money" first mortgages in that the total amount of the interest over the entire life of the mortgage does not have to be included in the information which must be disclosed to the purchaser. We had already in the House bill an exemption of that nature in the advertising of residential property financing terms, so the change is not inconsistent. The reason for this special treatment is that prospective purchasers of homes might be discouraged from buying if they saw that over the period of a 25- or 30-year mortgage, the interest charges usually exceed the principal amount of the mortgage. I felt this was useful information for home purchasers to have in order to decide on the number of years they would prefer to have the mortgage run, but this was a concession we made in reaching agreement on the bill.

ON THE WHOLE, A STRONG BILL

In this first and hasty outline of the terms in the conference bill, I have left out many of the technical changes and amendments which the credit industry will need to know about. My purpose today is just to try to cover some of the major areas in disagreement between the House and Senate bills which were worked out in conference. It is, on the whole, a strong bill—much, much stronger than many thought we would ever have a chance of enacting into law. Many people deserve grateful thanks for the hard work and the patience and the wisdom they devoted to this landmark piece of legislation and I certainly intend to name many of them as we complete action on the legislation. Right now, I want to mention with my deepest gratitude and admiration the work of Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the House Committee on Banking and Currency who succeeded yesterday in guiding the conference into agreements on issues which had eluded agreement for weeks.

The House conferees stood solidly together for the principles of a strong consumer credit bill and exhibited tremendous staying power to win the concessions we obtained for the House position. They were wonderful allies, all of them: Representatives BARRETT, REUSS, ASHLEY, MOORHEAD, WIDNALL, PINO, and DWYER. I have never been in a more difficult conference or seen better House unity and effectiveness.

EXCELLENT WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLE

Mr. Speaker, the news media did an outstanding job last night in handling this big package of technical provisions. The story I saw which carried the greatest detail was in the Wall Street Journal. It is remarkably accurate considering the conditions under which it had to be

written late in the day. However, there was one minor error: in all of the cases where we exempt revolving credit or installment charges, we do not exempt them from dollars-and-cents disclosure, just from disclosure of the annual percentage rate. Otherwise, I commend this story as an excellent review of the decisions made in conference, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 16, 1968]

**TRUTH-IN-LENDING MEASURE HEADS TOWARD PASSAGE—HOUSE-SENATE GROUP AGREES ON GARNISHMENT CURBS—ENACTMENT SEEMS CERTAIN—SOME STIFF PROVISIONS KEPT**

WASHINGTON.—A House-Senate conference committee recommended legislation that would require "truth in lending" and restrict garnishment of a worker's wages to pay off debts.

The conference's action brings the proposal to the threshold of enactment after a battle of more than seven years. The legislation is expected to be ready soon for final floor votes, and enactment seems assured.

The bill retains many of the tough provisions the House wrote into it, though it was softened somewhat in compliance with Senate demands. Truth-in-lending rules would become effective July 1, 1969. The restriction on garnishment of wages would go into effect July 1, 1970.

#### COST MUST BE STATED

Basically, the rules provide that finance charges must be disclosed to buyers in writing before a sales or loan transaction is completed. For most consumer credit, the charges would have to be itemized both in dollars and in terms of approximate annual interest on the declining balance of loans.

This would change many traditional methods of stating credit costs in the \$100 billion consumer-finance field. For example, a person borrowing \$100 with a total finance charge of \$6 no longer could be told that the interest charge is 6% if the loan is to be paid in 12 equal monthly installments. Instead, in a typical case, the interest rate would have to be stated as approximately 11%.

The higher rate is the "true" figure because the borrower would have available, on the average, only a bit more than half the total loan as he repaid it over the 12 months.

Until Jan. 1, 1971, the legislation would permit lenders and other creditors the option to state finance charges in terms of "dollars per \$100." Thus, instead of stating an interest rate of 11%, disclosure could be made in terms of \$11 per \$100. This is intended to safeguard lenders and creditors from running afoul of state usury statutes; the legislation presumes that states would change usury laws by 1971 so that disclosure could be on an interest-rate basis in all cases.

The bill directs the Federal Reserve Board to administer the law and issue regulations to implement it. Retailers or lenders convicted of violations could be held liable to customers for up to \$1,000. Criminal violations could result in a prison sentence of up to a year.

The intent of the measure is to enable consumers to compare credit plans and shop for the best one. It was long opposed by business interests, and a number of concessions from the original concept were written into the bill to mollify businessmen.

A key compromise involves interest-rate disclosure on department-store revolving charge accounts, though backers of disclosure on an annual-rate basis appear to come out ahead.

The bill requires interest-rate disclosure on revolving charge accounts on both a "nominal" annual-rate basis and a "periodic-rate" basis, usually a monthly rate. Thus, in a typical case, a department store would have to tell customers that the finance charge

on a revolving account was 18% a year and 1.5% a month.

#### OTHER METHOD DEvised

But the conference committee devised another, optional method of stating revolving-account rates. The option would permit a store to tell customers the "effective" average annual interest rate the store realizes from its revolving charge-account business. This would typically be less than the nominal rate, because the nominal rate wouldn't take into account the "freetime" customers often are given before they are charged interest.

The effective rate would be figured by dividing total income from revolving credit into the interest-charge portion of that income. For example, if the total income was \$1 million and the interest-charge portion was \$100,000, a store could state its effective annual rate as 10%.

The optional method could result in disclosure of three different interest-rate figures. For example, a store could state that its "nominal" annual rate was 18%, its "effective" annual rate 10% and its monthly rate 1.5%.

#### SMALL CHARGE EXCLUDED

Retailers were given a concession in a provision that would allow them to exclude from disclosure of finance charges a certain minimum monthly charge on small unpaid revolving-account balances. In general, on monthly charge-account balances of \$35 or less a store could require payment of up to 50 cents without disclosing the service charge to a customer.

The bill also exempts certain small finance charges from the general disclosure requirement for installment credit and loans. The conference committee adopted a sliding method of exemption. It provides that disclosure of finance charges wouldn't have to be made for any item costing \$25 or less. An exemption from disclosure would be permitted for items costing \$25 to \$75 if the charge was \$5 or less. For more expensive items, disclosure wouldn't be required unless the finance charge was more than \$7.50.

Interest rates on first mortgages for home buyers would have to be stated at a "true" basis; most mortgage lenders currently do this anyway. But the bill drops a House requirement that would have required mortgage lenders to state total finance costs over the life of the mortgage, though this requirement will continue to apply to other types of loans and retail credit.

#### VICTORY FOR HOUSE

Agreement to an antigarnishment provision was a major victory for the House; the Senate hadn't considered this proposal. But the House had to agree to soften somewhat the antigarnishment plan it had enacted. The final bill specifies that 75% of a worker's wages would be exempt from attachment to satisfy a debt.

Low-paid workers would receive a flat \$48-a-week exemption from garnishment, even if that amount exceeded the 75% rule. The exemption, moreover, would apply to a worker's take-home pay after deductions for taxes and other items required by law. The bill is fashioned so that the minimum \$48-a-week garnishment exemption would rise if the Federal minimum wage was increased.

The bill also forbids employers to fire workers the first time they are slapped by a garnishment. Sponsors of the garnishment restriction have argued that many persons have been forced into bankruptcy when they lost their jobs because of garnishment action.

#### OTHER PROVISIONS

Other sections of the bill include these measures:

A grant of broader power to Federal authorities to combat "loan-sharking" by criminals. This provision will let Federal authori-

ties enforce state usury laws when violations involve interstate traffic in loans.

A rule designed to prevent home-repair concerns from tricking credit customers into giving them second mortgages on their homes under terms of a credit agreement. Sponsors of this measure assert that many home owners have unwittingly signed second mortgages to pay for home repairs when they thought they were simply agreeing to a regular installment payment contract.

A requirement that interest-rate disclosure requirements be complied with in credit advertising. This would permit advertisers to refer generally to "easy" credit terms, or use other general language, but any specific interest-rate and dollar-cost statements would have to comply with the disclosure rules.

A rule that the cost of credit life insurance would have to be figured as a part of the total financing charge to be disclosed, if the consumer is required to buy such insurance. This measure wouldn't apply if the consumer voluntarily bought credit life insurance from the creditor.

Establishment of a National Commission on Consumer Finance that could make recommendations to Congress for further legislation.

## REPLENISHING THE IDA

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the May 15 edition of the Washington Post contains an excellent editorial on the need for increased participation by the United States in the International Development Association:

#### REPLENISH THE IDA

The International Development Association, widely known as IDA, is a subsidiary of the World Bank which specializes in making low-interest, long-term loans to countries so poor that they can neither service nor repay their debts in convertible or "hard" currencies. IDA, which exhausted its capacity to extend more loans, is being replenished by subscriptions from 19 advanced countries. The United States' share of the \$1.2 billion replenishment was \$480 million, payable in three installments of \$160 million. We hope that the House Banking Committee, which meets today in executive session, will authorize the full subscription and strongly urge its approval by the House.

In terms of the urgent needs of the less developed countries, the IDA replenishment is quite modest. Under the original proposal, advanced by Mr. George D. Woods, the former president of the World Bank, the average annual subscriptions to IDA were to be \$1 billion and arranged so that they would increase in each of the three years. That plan foundered, largely because the need to protect the U.S. balance of payments position gave other countries an excuse to scale down their contributions. But the U.S. payments problem is now resolved by a special arrangement under which the outflow of dollars for IDA would be postponed until the end of the three-year period.

The United States, which accounts for about 55 per cent of the total income of the 19 advanced countries, is being asked to provide only 40 per cent of the IDA replenishments. For every \$2 that we put up, other countries will contribute \$3. A \$160 million a year contribution is not at all a high price to pay for encouraging economic development. The United States long ago assumed the leadership in providing eco-

conomic assistance on a multilateral basis, and Congress should honor our commitment by approving the full IDA contribution.

**PRESIDENT QUINCY DOUDNA OF EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY SUGGESTS SOLUTIONS TO INNER CITY PROBLEMS**

**HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA**  
OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the opportunity to read an unusually inspiring and thought-provoking commencement address which was delivered to the 1967 graduating class of Eastern Illinois University by its president, Dr. Quincy Doudna.

Dr. Doudna diverted somewhat from the usual commencement themes and spoke to the university graduates on the problems of the inner city—problems which he stated are fundamentally economic rather than racial.

Although this address was delivered last summer, I find that his remarks are as timely today as they were then, and I wish to share them with the Members of Congress and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

President Doudna suggests economic remedies to help the disadvantaged people in the slums of the inner city—such as “the development of industrial plants in the centers of our large cities within walking distance of large numbers of ghetto dwellers.” He also submits the proposal that our large city school systems be broken up into districts that are somewhat similar to the community unit districts in order to make them less remote psychologically to the people of the cities.

The constructive nature of President Doudna's ideas merits careful reading and consideration by all, including Members of Congress, who seek solutions to the problem of civil disorders which is troubling this Nation. To them I commend his speech and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

Some twenty times now I have given a charge to the class on the occasion of the commencement exercises. These have usually dealt with matters associated with the new Eastern Illinois University and sometimes quite particularly with the new role of the members of the graduating class as they become alumni. I had planned such a talk for this evening but have changed my purpose and my presentation.

Distressing and indeed alarming events of this past summer, following similar but less numerous episodes in other recent summers, lead me to feel compelled to add my views to the many that have been publicly stated with respect to the serious problems of our inner cities.

My time for reading is necessarily limited. Yet I have read what I could of the opinions so many have expressed relative to the obvious problems and to the deep-seated but less discernible causes that have brought about the summer riots. I have read of the palliatives that have been proposed, and I have read a number of suggestions for attacking the far-reaching, basic causes insofar as they are understood. After reading all of

this, I paraphrase Winston Churchill and suggest that never have so many said so much that adds up to so little about such vital problems. I say this, recognizing that those who hear me may conclude that I have simply added to the number by what I say. If my criticism of the multitude of comments, or yours of mine, should be valid, it would be quite understandable. We are dealing with matters that are extremely complex and we seem to be seeking solutions that are simple and solutions that are cheap because we need them so desperately and so immediately and because demands on our resources are being dissipated in so many other activities which in themselves seem to be important to those making decision.

I should like to say at the outset that I think the element of race involved in the problem has been greatly overstated. I have seen the shacks of the slum-dwellers perched precariously on the hillsides outside Lima, Peru, visible as they are from roofs of the handsome new downtown buildings. I have seen them again in Caracas, Venezuela, visible once more from the luxury hotels and the fabulous University City with its beautiful architecture. I have stepped over men who were asleep on the sidewalks in the principal streets of Cairo, Egypt, because they have no homes to go to. In not one of these situations is color or race an apparent factor. I have seen the slums in Trinidad and other West Indies islands where the slum dwellers are Negro, but where this can hardly be relevant since, in some islands, the colored population constitutes ninety-five percent of the total.

Color is relevant to the problem in America, as I see it, chiefly because through force of circumstance a great many, but by no means all, of the people living in the inner cities do happen to be colored. It can be contended that many of them are there because opportunities have been denied to them because of race. This may well be true, whether they were born there or moved from the South where their opportunities as children were limited. This much I concede. My point, however, is that hatred of the white man, which gets so much publicity because of the utterances of the leadership of the Black Power Movement, might well have been hatred of white man for white man rather than black man for white man—if white men happened to be the dominant population group in the ghettos as was the case several generations ago when the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, the Hungarians, and others came to America and gravitated to the ghettos. What I am saying is that there is little or nothing inherent that results in the dislike of one race for another. There is, however a quite understandable hatred inherent in those who have been disadvantaged for generations—whatever their origin. For those who have somehow not become full participating members of our affluent society this hatred would exist, I repeat, regardless of color.

One asks at once, then, why are there not riots of the same type in the great cities of the world where color is no factor. As I see it, the riots occur in this country more than elsewhere because the people doing the rioting here have had so many opportunities through at least limited contact with schools, through occasional sallies to the suburbs, through watching television, and through hearing the pronouncements of our state and national leaders about our economic progress and prosperity that they have come to believe that in America, at least, no one really ought to live the way they live. Perhaps in some parts of the world poverty is still accepted by the poor. It is no longer accepted by the poor in America, whatever their color.

What I am saying then is that I think the basic trouble is fundamentally economic and not racial. The racial aspect is coincidental and those who make much of it, do a disservice by diverting our attention from the real causes that we ought to be trying to correct.

No matter how much we may come to love the black man because of Christian teachings, or how much integration we may advocate, or provide for because of humanitarian considerations, if the economic problem is not solved the hatred and the bitterness and the violence will continue and grow.

Unfortunately, because of a lack of full understanding of the situation, the recommended remedies have fallen short of reality in many, many instances. Even those who have recognized the basic nature of the problem as economic have said that the solution lies in “more and better education”—which ought to make any of us engaged in that enterprise pleased, since our potential contribution to the general welfare appears to be recognized. But then it appears that the big emphasis, in trying to improve educational opportunities, is on *integrating* the schools rather than *improving* them. I cannot agree with those who seem to think that the mere presence of two races in a classroom does very much automatically for the education of the children in the room. If I were a black parent, I would rather have my child go to a school, even if everyone were his color, where the building was first-rate, where the teacher was first-rate, where the equipment was first-rate, and where the books were abundant and first-rate, than to have him go to a school where there was a variety of children but where everything was third-rate. One can contend that the variety of children will give some social advantages that are worth achieving and that we should have an integrated school that is also first-rate. I agree with this. My only point is that so many seem to have put so much faith in getting the schools integrated that we have had our attention diverted from trying to improve the schools no matter who attends them. This is what is vital.

I shall have more to say about the schools in just a moment. I want to get now to an area where I do not feel as sure of myself as I do when I talk about education.

I said that the basic trouble was economic. I conceded that the problem over the long run could not be solved without great improvement in the education of all of our citizens, but particularly those about whom we are thinking at this moment, namely those who have somehow not been able to participate in any real sense in twentieth century American society.

Improvement in education comes slowly and education is a slow process. Slowly though improvement comes and slow though the process be, the improvement must be sought and the necessary years in school must be afforded. Yet it is impossible to improve the schools forthwith by wave of wand, and no matter how hard we try they will not be much better in the inner cities by the time hot weather comes in 1968. Certainly, we cannot wait for a new generation of better educated young people to come out of our slum schools, even assuming they are improved and that we get all of the students to attend them who should and for as long as they should. Remedies must be forthcoming immediately.

I repeat that the basic trouble is economic. I speak now of an economic remedy that appears to me to be feasible and necessary and that could be made operative in a matter of months, or at least within a year or so, if we were to set our minds to it with anything like the zeal that we apply to helping disadvantaged people in lands overseas.

I propose that the government become a generous partner in the development of industrial plants in the centers of our large cities within walking distance of large numbers of ghetto-dwellers. This may horrify city planners who know more about these things than I do, but I see no reason why new industry must be located in towns such as Charleston or Mattoon, or in cornfields beyond the suburbs such as is the case in

some instances in northern Illinois. I think that some of them could be where the labor is—and in order to solve the problem we are concerned with here that is where they ought to be. A man ought not have to drive an hour or so, or ride a bus, to get to his work in the morning and home at night. Certainly he is not very likely to do it if he does not want to work very badly anyway. Further, he will not take the pride in his job that he might if the factory where he works were near him. I said the government would have to be a generous partner. It would have to furnish a substantial portion of the capital to some private investor who is willing to take the risk in this rather precarious type of industrial development. It would also have to furnish the money for the extremely heavy insurance premiums that are now being demanded of those who own any kind of property in the ghettos. It might have to give generous tax write-offs over a period of several years just as has been done in Puerto Rico to encourage the development of industry. Further, the industries would have to be selected so that one does not have to have much educational background to earn at least a modest wage in the enterprise. I was amazed to learn that in a southern Illinois border city an industry actually had to go out of state to hire personnel because they could not find among the unemployed in their own city persons that met the sixth grade education requirement, if I am to believe the public press.

I get back now to something I know more about. I have said that the real problem as far as education is concerned, recognizing as I do its ultimate necessity in solving the economic problem, is to improve the general quality of the schools. In my judgment, this improvement is almost certain not to come in the slums of the inner cities under any plans I have seen proposed thus far. The problem is not one of finance entirely, costly though an improvement program would be. It is more a problem of organization and administration. A generation ago we were faced in rural Illinois and Wisconsin, and in much of the nation for that matter, with a situation where our school districts were too small to operate effectively. We launched a massive program of school district reorganization and developed the very excellent community unit districts that have meant so much in improving educational opportunity for rural, village, and small-city youth.

What we need now is an attack at the other end. We have in our major cities a more serious problem than we ever faced in our rural areas but an entirely different one. In a large city the school system is too large. It is not only difficult to manage; I submit it is unmanageable. No general superintendent in Chicago or New York or Detroit will solve the educational problems within the framework now existing.

I propose that our large city school systems be broken up into districts that are somewhat similar to the community unit districts. I suggest that there be one high school in each district with the neighborhood elementary schools that commonly contribute their graduates to the high school being a part of the same district. Let somebody tell me quickly that in his city they have "area superintendents" I hasten to say that this is not what I mean at all. I do not propose that the dozens of districts thus set up in the larger cities be under the jurisdiction of a general superintendent with a coterie of assistants. I propose that they be independent school systems, not only with their own superintendent but with their own school board elected by the people who live in the district and whose children go to the schools there. Only then will the people take any pride in the schools. People served by schools must feel close to them to have interest and pride in them. They can then feed strength to the schools and, in turn, draw

strength from them. In the big cities, schools must seem terribly remote psychologically, however close geographically. If you live in Chicago or New York or Detroit or Los Angeles, how much do you as a person have to do with efforts to improve the schools? Can you help elect the school board? Can you complain to the school board if you think things are going badly, or can you compliment them when you think things are going well? Does your parent-teacher association have any real effect on the situation? If you answer any of these questions yes, I submit you are being fooled.

I am not deterred, in setting forth this proposal, by the financial problems. I am fully aware that there would be some districts with nowhere near enough assessed valuation to support a first-rate program and others with factories, utilities, etc., that would augment the valuation to the point where the tax rate could be relatively low and still a good school system be supported, but I ask, "Do not these disparities exist in downstate Illinois and elsewhere in rural and semi-rural America?" It does not take any great genius to develop equalization formulas that will result in every taxpayer getting approximately the same quality school system for approximately the same tax rate. Surely an equalization plan within a given large city could be worked out. I say this could be done even if we had to rely largely on the property tax to support schools, which we are not obliged to do. Clearly, with the additional possibilities for equalization of taxes and hence, of opportunity, that exist because of the availability of the state and federal taxing machinery and resources, it should be possible to solve the financial problems of running a hundred school districts in a major city and getting them down to such size that the people whose children attend them can concern themselves with them and exercise some influence in the direction of their improvement.

I recognize that I have dealt with some very complex matters that would be difficult of solution even if all concerned were able to sit down dispassionately and do some good solid thinking about them. They are rendered so much more difficult because of the emotion that has been engendered. The violence, the destruction, the bloodshed, the death, trouble us when awake and haunt us when we sleep. Yet we have to think and we have to think coolly and competently about these matters. Moreover, we also have to think quickly.

As of now, you are university graduates. A very special responsibility rests on your shoulders. If you have been concerned with aid to athletes, the desirability of a stadium, your girl friend's hours in her place of abode, and whether you should be obliged to attend class or decide that as you see fit, surely you must know that those are problems of a passing sort that scarcely are worthy of really deep thought and concern. The problem I have been discussing tonight is, I submit, worthy of every talent our economic, educational, and political leadership can muster. Certainly it is worthy of every effort that you as new graduates at Eastern Illinois University can bring to bear toward its solution.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 115th day the U.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

FORCES FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to honor the men and women of our Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard on this Armed Forces Day, which is Saturday, May 18. In this difficult world of neither total peace nor total war, the necessity of defense preparedness, based upon the Active and Reserve military personnel of our Armed Forces, assumes a transcendent importance.

An English general, Sir John W. Hackett, in a 1962 series of lectures at Trinity College in Cambridge, stated the following:

Since war became total we have acquired weapons which in total war can destroy mankind.

Does this mean that mankind's only hope of survival lies in the destruction of all weapons, beginning with nuclear weapons? Does this mean that the United States should voluntarily surrender its weaponry in the hope that other nations would follow our lead? The answer is, of course, a categorical "No." General Hackett continues:

The penalty of inadequacy was high before. It could now be final.

Does this mean that total nuclear war must inevitably come? Does this mean that we should seek and welcome total nuclear war? The answer again, is of course a categorical "No."

What then is the function of our Armed Forces and our military might? I submit that we cannot meaningfully honor our servicemen, their dedication and sacrifice, without fully understanding their role in today's world. Three factors converge at this point. First, the fact that we live in an international environment of neither total war nor total peace dictates an extremely high level of defense preparedness. Second, this preparedness must be partly nuclear as a deterrent to total war; in fact, in the very acquisition of these weapons lies our only hope that they will not be used. Third, in addition to nuclear preparedness, we must maintain a conventional capability because the intolerance of total nuclear war means not that conflicts will cease to occur, but that they may occur on a limited, nonnuclear basis.

What I am saying is that we must be prepared for war if we wish to have peace. This is of course not a new thesis; indeed, Aesop wrote in his "Fables" over 2,500 years ago:

Against danger it pays to be prepared.

George Washington stated in his first annual address to Congress in 1790:

To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

Theodore Roosevelt stated in 1897:



Again and again we have owed peace to the fact that we were prepared for war.

And Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor wrote in 1960:

The deterrence of war is the primary objective of the armed forces.

We must therefore continue to ask the men and women of our Armed Forces to preserve our national security and deter aggression. Any discussion of peace, of freedom, indeed, of this Nation's survival, is contingent upon military preparedness. It is, within this context, not a cliché to say that our Armed Forces constitute a force for peace and freedom.

In this sense, I am always bewildered at the criticism of certain minority elements who loudly and passionately downgrade our military might. Our Armed Forces are not responsible for man's imperfections, for man's inclination toward conflict and violence. One does not blame a doctor for the existence of disease, for the doctor constitutes a response to that disease. It is the same with our Armed Forces. Their very existence and their continuing presence constitutes a response to aggression. This has been historically true concerning the United States, and it is true today.

The revolutionary ideals and beliefs that created this Nation have, through the passage of time, grown into a rich heritage from which we draw our guidance and inspiration. Our ancestors fighting in the Revolution carried banners bearing such mottos as "Don't Tread on Me" and "An Appeal to Heaven." These banners are still flying, but only because we have been able to draw upon a tremendous reservoir of commitment and self-sacrifice, because the men and women of our military services speak of dedication, not only with words but with service.

Translated into action, this dedication and service provides this Nation with an Army of great flexibility and combat readiness, with a Navy of versatility in the mobilization of seapower, with a Marine Corps of readiness through amphibious forces, with an Air Force of sophisticated specialization in airpower and firepower; and with a Coast Guard consisting of both military and humanitarian capabilities.

The vastness of these services and their functions is equalled only by the extent of their contributions to our security and well-being—ranging from the Air Force's flying of 117,000 strike sorties in South Vietnam in 1967 in support of ground operations to the Coast Guard's 1967 record of saving over 3,000 lives and responding to some 42,000 calls for assistance from ships and aircraft.

This Nation, realizing the contribution of its Armed Forces, has, in its wisdom, set aside a day to honor the men and women who so proudly serve. On this day then, we pause and contemplate a mighty arsenal—an arsenal consisting not only of sophisticated weaponry, but also of profound dedication; an arsenal whose sole reason for existence is the preservation and pursuit of peace and freedom.

## WHY THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE A VALUE ADDED TAX BY 1973

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues a statement by Dean Richard Lindholm, of the University of Oregon School of Business. This distinguished scholar has brought honor to his school and to himself many times by his outstanding work in taxation studies.

The value-added tax, as presented by Dean Lindholm, has many appealing qualities, especially in the field of foreign trade. I feel this very informative article deserves the attention of everyone, and I insert it in the RECORD at this time:

### WHY THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE A VALUE-ADDED TAX BY 1973

(By R. W. Lindholm, University of Oregon)

The United States, now relying on a nineteenth-century system of taxation and deferring to the ideas of nineteenth century political philosophers such as John Stuart Mill, must change its outmoded tax ways if it is to thrive in the twentieth century.

Current taxation practices in the U.S. are derived from John Stuart Mill's ideas, expressed in 1861 to the British Parliament's Select Committee on Income and Property Tax. The U.S. still subscribes to his hedonistic philosophy of taxation, taxing production so that aggregate personal sacrifice is minimized, justifying all taxes according to the popular standard of individual ability-to-pay. But these practices no longer square with today's social and economic problems.

On the surface the old system sounds equitable, but its real effects appear to work against the best interests of the very segment of society whose welfare it is designed to promote. For today low income non-producers receive help through government expenditures and not through direct redistribution of the income of high producers. Therefore, the welfare of the low-income group seems finally to depend on an increase in funds available to the government. But taxes based on ability-to-pay tend to discourage both profits and individual savings and thus to reduce funds available for investment. Without sufficient new investment, economic growth is hindered and so is the growth of government funds.

European theorists offer a solution for this problem in the philosophy and imposition of taxes. Although they developed ability-to-pay income taxes. Continental economists never completely accepted Mill's tax policies. Since World War I, first through development of the turnover tax and now through the value-added tax, the industrial nations of the Continent have supported taxation based on use of resources rather than on production. Resources, by whomever used and in whatever quantities, bear the same tax rate.

The value-added tax (VAT) is difficult to describe briefly for people unfamiliar with tax systems different from those already used in the U.S. But basically, VAT is a general excise tax, a tax assessed at a given rate, say 10 percent, on each sale of a good or service. In effect, it is a 10 percent tax levied on gross receipts, the cost of which is paid by the seller and passed on to the buyer. However, the tax liability of any one seller

(and hence the buyer's cost) is reduced by the amount of VAT already paid on the goods and services that have gone into the good or service he offers for sale.

The VAT is founded on use of resources, not production, and on national, not private, prosperity. In modern industrial nations, with capital in short supply and social demands heavy and growing, the domestic advantages of the resource use rather than resource production approach to taxation cannot be ignored. When resource use is the tax base, it is society's ability-to-pay that is of fundamental importance, rather than individual ability-to-pay, which is emphasized when production is the base.

A closer look at the operation of the VAT and consideration of its widespread use will confirm the advisability of its adoption in the U.S. Assuming the continued viability of capitalism, it is possible to argue the merits of VAT as a basic tax both in its domestic effects and in the competitive advantages it offers internationally.

Domestically, the U.S. system of taxation, the old John Stuart Mill approach implying taxation based on resource production, stimulates spending as opposed to saving. An individual cannot reduce his taxes by saving. He can only reduce his tax payments by earning less, i.e., producing less. This combination of the stimulation of spending and lessened production tends to promote inflation and to inhibit the growth of the economy.

Other disadvantages accompanying the present system. The payroll tax method of social security financing places nearly all of the burden on the producing sector of society. The corporate profits tax places all its burden on our best measure of business efficiency, profits. The individual income tax falls most heavily on society's most productive members, and the more successful their productive efforts, the greater the tax burden.

With VAT, on the other hand, the tax burden rests on a broad, impersonal base. The VAT is impersonal, for it is levied on goods and services, not on individual producers. VAT places an equal burden on all resources as they are utilized. Productive workers using a given quantity of resources pay the same tax as non-producers who use up the same quantity of resources.

VAT offers both public and private advantages. Encouraging business growth, VAT reduces the return, i.e., profit, required from an investment to make it outweigh the risks, i.e., chance of loss. VAT encourages saving (and the consequent possibility of investment) by taxing spending. For private persons VAT offers the advantages of spreading social security financing over the entire life of all of society's members and of increasing the take-home portion of additional dollar earnings by reducing the rates of payroll taxes and income tax withholdings.

These business and personal influences of VAT fit in well with the fiscal needs of today. by utilizing a broad base, perhaps as large as \$700 billion in the U.S., VAT would permit government to shift its revenue intake by large amounts with only a small change in the tax rate. Profit and income tax rates can be made much more flexible because VAT can be relied on to provide large and stable revenues. Incidentally, VAT, with the entire production and marketing process as its base, would provide unmatched data for use in evaluating economic trends.

These domestic economic advantages of VAT are augmented by its international strengths. First, it stimulates exports by offering tax advantages to both seller and buyer. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has developed a set of regulations to be followed among its cooperating nation members relative to the treatment of taxes. One of these rulings is that indirect

taxes (VAT has been declared an indirect tax) can be refunded on goods exported, and that a tax equivalent to the importing nation's indirect tax applicable to the import may be levied as a border tax.

The GATT procedure rests both on a sound theoretical concept, the destination principle of tax payment, and on administrative realities.<sup>1</sup> The allocation of income or profits taxes to particular exports to provide a basis for tax rebate is nearly impossible. The same difficulty exists, of course, in setting border tax rates on imports. On the other hand, indirect taxes, and particularly VAT, can be calculated very accurately for each good exported and for each good produced in a nation.

Second, and perhaps most important, adoption of the VAT, stimulating exports as it does, is necessary if the U.S. is to maintain its position in international trade. The European Economic Community (EEC) has decided to move further in the direction of using this traditional Continental approach to taxation. The EEC Member States have determined to harmonize this general indirect tax system into a rather uniform VAT by 1970. The domestic and international economic implications of this decision are just becoming apparent, and they are so important that the U.S., Great Britain, and other industrial nations can fail to follow suit only at considerable economic peril.

All modern industrial nations seek to expand their international trade, to increase the rate of their economic growth, and to provide for the welfare of their citizens through this expansion. VAT tends to support expansion, whereas the individual ability-to-pay tax system suppresses it. An examination of tax figures from the leading industrial nations further substantiates the threat of economic danger, both in international trade and social financing, for the U.S. and other non-VAT countries.

The comparative tax data of industrial nations show that as a portion of GNP, the total taxes collected are fairly similar. The nation collecting the highest 1965 taxes, measured in this fashion, was Sweden at 39.01 percent of GNP paid as taxes. The lowest was Japan at 19.62 percent. The percentages for other industrial nations went like this: Belgium, 29.74 percent; Canada, 27.13 percent; France, 38.49 percent; Germany, 34.33 percent; Italy, 29.66 percent; The Netherlands, 34.08 percent; Norway, 34.90 percent; Switzerland, 20.87 percent; United Kingdom, 29.94 percent; and the United States, 27.30 percent.

But, examined in detail, these apparently similar data demonstrate a considerable variation in the manner in which nearly one-third of the typical "industrial nation's" GNP is collected as taxes and spent. All nations confront the problem of financing social security programs. For example, in 1965 Japan collected only 3.52 percent of GNP as social security contributions; and the U.S. at 4.22 percent was next, with the United Kingdom and Switzerland tied at 4.76 percent. On the other hand, French Social Security Contributions were at 14.25 percent and Italy at 10.41 percent was not far behind. Although these collection totals are a good indication of the level of social security expenditures, they don't tell the whole story. Canada, for example, collects only 1.85 percent of GNP as Social Security Contributions, but Canada uses a large amount of general revenues to finance her social security system, while France uses very little general revenue taxes for this purpose. In Germany, Holland, Sweden, and Switzerland, too, there is increasing use of general revenues to support social security expenditures.

Another detail or two will help demonstrate why the U.S. will be using VAT as a major tax by 1973.

<sup>1</sup> Destination principle teaches that taxes should be paid in the area of final use.

Since corporate profits taxes are likely to retard business growth, those nations with the least use of such taxes will very likely experience more rapid economic expansion than will nations with a high use. French corporate profits taxes in 1965 were 2.12 percent of GNP, while in the U.S. such taxes equaled 4.50 percent, in Canada 4.19 percent, and in Japan 3.96 percent. The other industrial nations used the corporate profits tax about as intensely as France. Here, the U.S. is at a clear disadvantage.

Again, the U.S. is overlooking a source of revenue that has proved profitable to the other industrial nations. VAT belongs to the family of taxes classified as general excise taxes levied by the national government. When the leading industrial nations are compared in their use of this type of tax, a sharp divergence again develops. (This time 1961 data will have to be used, for the required breakdown of more recent data is not available.) The U.S. collects no taxes from this source, while France obtains 25.0 percent of total tax collections, or 8.1 percent of GNP, from this type of tax. In Germany the percentage is 16.5 percent and in Italy 16.7 percent.

Finally, the U.S. must recognize the unmistakable international trend toward increasing use of the VAT and must weigh the domestic advantages other nations have found in this tax. Through their VAT the Dutch plan to increase general excise tax collections above those now collected from their cascade turnover tax. The new German VAT (Mehrwertsteuer) is expected to raise sufficient revenues to permit the *Gewerbesteuer* (a local direct business tax to be largely eliminated). The coverage of the French TVA has been expanded, while the rates have been reduced, a move that will increase revenues from this source. Undoubtedly the introduction of VAT in the remainder of the EEC Member States will have a similar upward impact on the portion of national revenues raised from a general excise tax. The development of VAT in Denmark and the new Norwegian VAT are more than likely only the first of the adoptions which will be made by commercial and industrial nations outside the EEC.

Very simply then, VAT will be adopted in the U.S. by 1973 because it provides an efficient excise tax that can be levied at substantial rates without placing an undue burden on any single level of production; serves up through its administrative procedures unparalleled economic data for use by business, government, and individuals; corrects the undue tax burden that accumulates on wages as social security and medicare costs increase; makes possible more flexibility in fiscal policy through provision of a stable basic revenue source; permits acceptable procedures for increasing domestic capital investment and stimulating exports; and finds increasing favor among the industrial nations of Europe whom the U.S. cannot permit to enjoy the international trade advantage it offers in an ever smaller world of reduced trade barriers and freer capital markets.

#### TRIBUTE TO HON. JOE MARTIN

#### HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, many men come to Congress. A few men leave their mark. Joe Martin was one of those few who secured himself in the hearts of many. His dedication and service to the body politic around which our democratic system revolves contributed long-

lasting momentum to the success of our legislative processes.

Joe Martin did not set himself apart from his colleagues when he took the Speaker's stand. It was his determination to be an essential part of the full body which lifted him to a pedestal.

Joe Martin's will was never imposed—it was invited. The qualities he possessed will always find welcome in the Congress. His insight into the nature of man, his willingness to offer understanding and his integrity which stood behind his convictions made Joe Martin a leader wherever he served.

The Honorable Joseph William Martin, Jr. shall ever be known as a great Republican and an honored American who set a praiseworthy example of leadership.

#### GOVERNOR REAGAN ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

#### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, more and more the people of this Nation are looking not to the incumbent Federal administration but to the State of California and Gov. Ronald Reagan for answers to problems which confront many segments of society.

This new, forward-looking leadership has now come up with proposals for shaping up law enforcement and judicial processes.

With a 13-point program aimed at improving police efficiency, a six-point program to combat juvenile delinquency, a six-point program to improve correctional work and a 13-point program designed to orient community action against the forces of crime, this document should stir the interest of all who are interested in preserving this Nation against the lawlessness and inefficiency of crime control which each hour threatens the population.

When proposals such as Governor Reagan's are studied and implemented, Americans will come to believe that the scales of justice, thrown so far out of balance by the courts and hand-slapping law enforcement, will balance out to include and protect the rights of the law-abiding.

A short article from today's New York Times outlines several of the statements included in the proposals. I include it at this point:

REAGAN PROPOSES JUDICIAL REFORM—HE ASKS CHANGES TO STIFFEN ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS  
(By Gladwin Hill)

LOS ANGELES, May 15.—Declaring that "the guilty should not go free simply because of legal technicalities," Gov. Ronald Reagan proposed today a seven-point program of judicial innovations aimed at strengthening law enforcement.

The suggestions were made in the second of a series of elaborately printed Reagan position papers. The documents, though addressed to "fellow Californians," are being distributed nationally to 6,000 recipients.

Marked "not printed or mailed at taxpayers' expense," the 20-page illustrated bro-

chure resembles a campaign document. Aides of the Governor, who is in Hawaii for a meeting of Western Governors, denied that the document was part of a plan to seek the Republican Presidential nomination. It is being given wide bipartisan distribution, they said, simply because of interest in California problems.

The treatise obliquely accuses the national Administration of espousing "law-breaking as a 'right.'" "One of America's highest elected officials brags 'I've got enough spark in me to lead a mighty good revolt,'" it says at one point, referring to Vice President Humphrey.

**NEW KIND OF CRIME**

The paper asserts that the nation is confronted with "a new kind of crime, political lawlessness, committed by revolutionary hypocrites who sing songs to freedom but dance to the beat of anarchy."

"Much of the lawlessness of today is a symptom of the sickness or permissiveness in the attitudes of right and wrong which pervades our homes, our schools, our churches, our courts and our Government," the document continued. "The time has come to state that the law will be upheld—and mean it."

The report contains a 13-point program for improving police efficiency, a six-point program to combat juvenile delinquency, a six-point program for improving correctional work, a 13-point program for gearing community action against crime.

The proposals for judicial changes include court use of computers "for information storage and retrieval"; revision of bail practices "so that the quality of justice is not measured by the quantity of a defendant's money"; development of a summons system in lieu of physical arrests for persons not charged with "crimes of violence or moral turpitude," and improved techniques for handling mass arrests so "the guilty should not be permitted to escape punishment."

Mr. Reagan would also allow law enforcement officers "to use electronic surveillance equipment under the control of a warrant authorized by a judge" and provide some means for judging the constitutionality of laws before crimes are committed.

**SWAZILAND INDEPENDENCE**

**HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the complicated road to self-determination has been followed by some dozens of nation-states since World War II. The whole world has watched, not always comprehendingly, sometimes critically, while these young nations, their leaders, and their inhabitants try to sort out the myriad ideas on nation building that flood in on them from every side. Meanwhile, they struggle with the awesome problems of examining the modern 20th-century ideas that fit their needs. They try to amalgamate the values of this 20th century with the traditional and cultural values they need and wish to keep. They try to figure out how to develop an economy that will support the kind of nation they want and need.

Mr. Speaker, still another nation is now entering upon this struggle. I refer to the small southern African country of Swaziland which is scheduled to achieve its independence next September 6. Like every

other new African nation, Swaziland will have some difficult years of nation building ahead of it. It is already tackling many of them, including problems occasioned by the fact that it is landlocked. Beyond this, Swaziland goes forward into independence with certain important advantages that many of these new nations have not had.

Not the least of these advantages is a relatively homogeneous population. The vast majority of the country's inhabitants are Swazis. Almost all of the other indigenous Africans are closely related Zulus. Some 10,000 more inhabitants of Swaziland are Europeans and perhaps 2,500 are Eurafriicans.

Another very important "plus" in Swaziland's picture at the outset of independence is a rather good endowment of known natural resources. It has substantial wealth in forestry, comparatively good soil, and plentiful water supplies.

Swaziland is being prepared for final independence under the cooperative efforts of the mother country, Britain, and Swaziland's own Government, headed by its ruler, the Ngwenyama, King Sobhuza II, and its Prime Minister, Prince Makhosini Dlamini.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I include a statement from the Courier Express of Buffalo, N.Y., entitled "Swaziland's Good Independence Prospects."

**SWAZILAND'S GOOD INDEPENDENCE PROSPECTS**

Another small African community is emerging from the status of a protectorate with more than usual prospects for a successful future. Britain has informed the United Nations Committee on Colonialism that Swaziland, a landlocked state surrounded by South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique, will gain independence Sept. 6 and become a full member of the British Commonwealth. It is expected to apply for U.N. membership.

The encouraging feature of Swaziland's approach to independence is the fact that although it has a population of only 400,000, mostly black, it has attained a position of prosperity, mainly through British investments. It has achieved annual exports of nearly \$60-million in sugar, asbestos, iron ore and citrus fruit. It has had internal self-government since last year.

Unlike some other new African states which have arrived at independence facing formidable financial difficulties and needing substantial outside help, Swaziland gives the impression of being able to stand on its own economic feet. If so, its challenge will be to manage its affairs as effectively in freedom as they have been managed in its existence as a protectorate.

**THE LATE HONORABLE LOUIS GARY CLEMENTE**

**HON. EDNA F. KELLY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I learned the news of the death of the Honorable Louis Gary Clemente, of New York, on May 13, 1968. Gary served with distinction in the House of Representatives on the State of New York's delegation, for a period of 4 years, from 1949-53, the 81st and the 82d Congresses.

Gary was my former colleague and a dear and cherished friend. He devoted many years to the public service as a soldier in World War II, as a New York City councilman, as Queens Borough works commissioner, and as a Congressman.

To the members of his family, his wife Ruth, and his nine children, I extend by deepest sympathy.

**NEW POSTMASTER GENERAL IS SON OF TEXAS POSTMASTER**

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is clear to anyone who knows the family background of our new Postmaster General, W. Marvin Watson, why he has moved so smoothly into his new position in President Johnson's cabinet.

General Watson's father was postmaster in Grapeland, Tex., until he learned his son was being promoted to head the Post Office Department.

W. Marvin Watson, Sr., then resigned before heading for Washington to see his son take the oath of office.

Texas postmasters are very proud of the Watsons, as is evident in the following article from the May 15 issue of the Lone Star Postmaster, published in Glen Flora, Tex.:

**TEXAS PM'S SALUTE PMG WATSON: "POSTMASTERING RUNS IN NEW PMG FAMILY"**

(By Editor Eve Bartlett)

We have learned that "Postmastering" is not new to the newly-appointed Postmaster General—Texan W. Marvin Watson. That indeed "Postmaster Blood" is his to claim through his father, the recently-resigned Grapeland Postmaster W. Marvin Watson Sr., who for several years has been a member of Texas Chapter, NAFUS, and plans to remain so.

Postmaster Watson's resignation as Postmaster came—as a matter of fact—when he learned of his son's appointment as Postmaster General, and as he and Mrs. Watson made preparation to attend the Postmaster General's swearing-in ceremonies at the White House.

(They stayed 10 days, the elder Mr. Watson said, during our telephone conversation. It was their second Washington visit.)

We discovered the Watson's illustrious son is an only child, who has three children of his own. They are Lee (21 years), Kimberly (17) and William Marvin Watson III, (4) who is called "Bill." The lovely mother of these grandchildren is the former Marion Baugh of Waco, a Baylor University classmate of the now PMG Watson.

The very modest Honorable William Marvin Watson Sr.—who declined the use of his photograph—was born in San Augustine in 1905. After a move by his family to Huntsville he came to Grapeland in 1941 and became the Grapeland Postmaster on December 18, 1964.

His interest in Texas history is personal, since his heritage is that of early-day Texas settlers in and around the History-Heart of Texas, among East Texas pines and rolling hills.

(A Texan Historical Survey Plaque was recently unveiled on the San Augustine High School Football Field, marking 251 years the

community has been on the El Camino Real . . . road to Mexico.)

Since Mr. Watson obviously preferred to speak of his son—and that with dignified restraint—his verified stories that PMG Watson once assisted the then Rep. Lyndon B. Johnson in his successful Senate campaign.

That he was indeed active in campaigns of Gov. John Connally and for a time was chairman of the Texas Democratic Executive Committee.

His attendance at Baylor University was interrupted in 1941 for four years while he served in the Marine Air Corps. Following War II he returned to Baylor and earned his Masters Degree while courting and marrying classmate Marion Baugh.

His service as Executive Vice-President of Lone Star Steel, before joining President Johnson as appointments secretary, has been cited in many news releases.

The elder Mr. Watson—who is a young 63 years of age—assured us he and Mrs. Watson hope to attend the Houston Convention. He also is certain his PMG son will attend "if he possibly can."

President Lyndon B. Johnson, in announcing his appointment of Postmaster General Watson, praised his "wisdom, gentleness and loyalty."

As we visited with his parents we sensed these are inherited virtues nurtured in a Christian, patriotic American home where love and loyalty are the ever-present watchwords.

## DO WE HAVE AN ATTORNEY GENERAL?

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following editorial from the U.S. News & World Report of the week of April 29, 1968, and congratulate the editors on calling the crime wave what it is, insurrection:

#### How To Fight A Domestic War

(By David Lawrence)

Never before in the history of the United States have the people been confronted with such a threat to their safety in the cities as we are witnessing today.

The official figures from 76 cities show that 46 persons were killed in a few days in the riots which erupted after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4. More than 2,500 were injured, and approximately 21,000 were arrested. Disturbances actually broke out in more than 100 cities, but the national statistics of all the losses have not yet been compiled.

Also, in the Detroit outbreak last July, there were 43 deaths, and in the same month 23 were killed in riots in Newark, N.J.

Many a college campus from coast to coast has been the scene of violence. A few days ago students seized the office of the President of Columbia University, and similar rebellions occurred in several other universities.

Apparently the impulse to create havoc is infectious. Its spread is plainly due to the failure of established authority promptly to impose discipline so as to deter further attempts to defy the law.

Police chiefs throughout the country find themselves calling for State militia. Governors are faced with a situation so menacing that they have to ask for the aid of federal troops. Meanwhile, the riots reach massive proportions, and the damage is extensive. Fires are

set and snipers boldly support the rioters. There is no doubt that in most instances the arsonists work in cooperation with the looters. Persons with criminal records are often noted on the lists of arrests.

Basically, many of the rioters have lost all respect for "law and order," and are taking advantage of the softness of governing authorities. When "marches" and "demonstrations" first began, and the police used normal methods of control, charges of "police brutality" were heard. A continued propaganda movement has since been carried on against the police generally.

As a tense situation arises anywhere, local authorities who refuse to grant permits for street gatherings related to highly controversial subjects should not be restrained by the courts. There are plenty of auditoriums and stadiums where such discussions can be carried on in a lawful manner. Nothing in the Constitution says that freedom of speech means the right to incite persons to destroy lives or property.

The main problem nowadays is how to apply force and prevent violence when the disorders start or mobs gather. Some police chiefs are even hesitant to utilize tear gas or to let guns be used to quell disturbances. Recently a debate has been going on in the press between the mayors of various cities, some of whom declare that it is wrong to shoot at arsonists or looters to deter them. Others say that the intention to use force must in some way be made clear to the mobs if they are really to be prevented from inflicting serious injury. Certainly resistance to arrest can be dealt with forcibly.

Various public officials have been advocating a gentle handling of riots and restrictions on the use of force, even though criminal elements are stimulated to rob and loot. The impression has been conveyed that the authorities would be "soft" and that thievery could go on with little interference and without much risk of punishment. There have been too many cases of vandalism while police were nearby. If the impression develops throughout the big cities that looting can be done with relatively little chance of its being stopped by police, an even greater loss of life and property could ensue in the future.

It is evident that the police are in many instances not instructed in how to deal with rock-throwing, arson and looting. The uprisings often develop in different parts of a city, and an adequate number of officers of the law is not at hand to squelch the disturbances.

The time has come for the Federal Government to take the initiative and help coordinate the police operations of the States and cities. For obviously the disorders are instigated across States lines and are in large part a federal as well as a local problem. Occasional seminars are not enough. The crime wave in a growing population cannot be handled without more police and some form of national supervision.

If federal authorities were required to train the police force and to issue beforehand public announcements of the methods that would be taken to deal with riots, the irresponsible elements would not be likely to risk a defiance of the law.

The problem of communication is vital—how to let the people in the crowded neighborhoods of the big cities know that a riot can be dangerous and that the police will not hesitate to apply maximum force if violence breaks out. Not only must notice of an intention to use drastic measures be given in advance and widely publicized in the communities, but rigid discipline must be applied when disorder becomes manifest.

Insurrection should be handled on a national basis. There is no need for a police state, but there is every need for national security and safety.

## WHERE IS OUR FOREIGN AID MONEY SPENT?

### HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, despite demands being made on us to find ways to cut Federal spending, I believe that our foreign aid program deserves our full and continued support. I endeavored to analyze this program and to emphasize its importance to us and our national security in a recent speech I gave to the Business and Professional Women's Club of Honolulu. I submit it to this House in the hope that it might contain information which will be useful and persuasive:

I would like to talk to you tonight about the foreign aid program of the United States, what it is seeking to do, how much it costs, and where the money is spent.

May I start right out by commending you for selecting this timely topic—a phase of our economic and public life which is greatly misunderstood and often misrepresented. Yet, I believe, it stands very close to all of us, and to the cause of peace.

One prominent student of the times in which we live has observed that everything the United States has done in the field of foreign policy since World War II has been done in an effort to prevent World War III. Foreign aid is one of the programs we are conducting, necessarily experimental in many of its pioneering aspects, which looks toward a world in which people can live in freedom and peace. It seeks to help the developing nations of the world get started on the road to self-sustaining economic growth—to achieve a higher standard of living in freedom and to build the strength necessary to protect that freedom. We do this not just out of a sense of charity or goodwill, quite the contrary. We do this in the interest of our own national security and well being.

When we went into Europe with the Marshall Plan after World War II, we were helping to restore order and support democratic governments on a continent which was in chaos and where, without the help we provided, plainly the whole nature of our position there would be vastly different today, and the problem of United States security would be enormously more difficult and more costly.

Looking back, therefore, it is plain that what we spent for economic aid to Europe under the Marshall Plan was not simply of benefit to the Europeans, but also was of great value in terms of our own national security.

Furthermore, there were and are very large economic benefits to the United States flowing from our economic aid under the Marshall Plan. American exports to the European countries are booming, and American investments in Europe, yielding profitable returns to the United States, have grown very rapidly. This growth in exports and in American investment has taken place in Europe because the Marshall Plan helped to restore thriving and growing economic conditions in Europe. It is fair to say that the economic benefits alone of the Marshall Plan are far greater than the entire cost.

Over and above our security interests and our economic interests, however, there is still another element in the motivation for our assistance to other countries. As Americans we are proud of our religious background and our ethical and moral traditions. It would surely not be fitting for the wealthiest nation on earth to refuse help to our friends in other lands who are poor and hungry and ill.

Thus the security interests, the economic incentives, and the humanitarian motives that have led our country to provide assistance to others are very powerful. Why then is there so much controversy in the annual legislative process in the Congress over the foreign assistance legislation?

One reason I believe is that people have been skeptical that the undoubted success of the Marshall Plan could be achieved elsewhere. It was all very well, some say, to provide economic help to the Europeans who after all had a great deal of industrial experience, managerial know-how, and effective governmental institutions. They agree that our economic aid could be effective under those conditions, but ask whether it can be effective in other parts of the world.

By now, the skeptics have been proven wrong in quite a few cases. One of the early instances was Japan. We are accustomed today to think of Japan as a thriving, prosperous, rapidly growing country. But this was not so clear in the late 1940's. In 1949, for example, *Fortune Magazine* described our "\$2 billion failure in Japan," and went on to say that "the Japanese face a future uniquely bleak . . . The American taxpayer must prepare himself for an indefinite period of vast appropriations."

Within five years that prediction by *Fortune Magazine* was proved to be a spectacular error. By the middle 1950's, economic progress in Japan was so rapid and so firmly based that American assistance could be brought to an end. Japanese economic progress has continued, resulting in growing economic markets—U. S. exports to Japan have nearly tripled in the past ten years, and in recent years Japan has been second only to Canada as the best market for U. S. products. Today, far from being a recipient of economic assistance, Japan, like the European countries, provides major economic assistance of its own to less-developed countries.

In recent years, there have been additional instances of the successful accomplishments of our economic assistance programs. The most recent case, and in many respects the most significant, is the remarkable progress of the Republic of Free China on Taiwan. Fifteen years ago it appeared certain that the only prospect for Taiwan was one of indefinite dependence on U. S. aid. But the strong efforts of the government and the people of Taiwan, plus a major assistance program from the United States, have achieved extremely rapid progress.

From the outset, the Chinese on Taiwan concentrated on expanding the agricultural base for their economy. Chinese agricultural technicians were trained, a successful land reform was instituted, increased crop yields were improved and improved farm marketing was achieved. Food output doubled in fifteen years.

Industry on Taiwan has grown even more rapidly than agriculture, with an average annual rate of increase in output of 12 percent per year over the past decade. The gross national product has grown six to eight percent annually. Schools and health facilities have been greatly enlarged.

Most important of all, there is today sufficient economic strength and momentum, sufficient competence in and out of government to permit Taiwan to make continuing further economic and social progress without further aid grants and soft-term loans from the United States.

It is important to note that the progress that has been made has not made the Taiwanese rich: the average income per person in Taiwan today is about \$150 per year—compared to more than \$2500 per person per year in the United States. But the point is that the Taiwanese are now in a position through their own efforts to raise their per capita income steadily year by year into the future, without special assistance from the United States.

This is the objective we are seeking in other developing countries as well—and we are making steady progress in that direction.

Of course there are, and will continue to be, difficulties in the way. Foreign aid is not a prescription for "Instant Paradise."

There is first of all the inherent nature of the situation in the developing countries, where typically there are not enough schools for all the children even to go through the primary grades let alone go on to high school and college—where farming methods are typically primitive and farmers have neither the education nor the credit facilities nor the access to modern techniques and supplies which would permit them rapidly to expand farm output—where there is often no tradition of responsible management in the public interest of governmental agencies or private activities—where the average life span is half what it is in the advanced countries, and where the rate of infant mortality is several times what it is in the United States. These are the conditions of lack of education, of disease, of poverty and lack of resources which are inherent in the less-developed countries. It is necessarily a difficult and time-consuming task, no matter how good the leadership is in those countries, no matter how strong and effective is external aid, to make permanent and lasting progress in such countries. But steady if not spectacular progress is being made.

Today we are extending some kind of a helping hand to 55 countries with programs to help them improve their agriculture, their national health, their educational and industrial systems. But this aid is by no means scattered haphazardly around the globe. It is concentrated, generally speaking, in a few countries which need it most and which can use it best.

The program has a three-prong thrust—giving top priority to programs in agriculture and the war on hunger, education, and health.

#### War on hunger

The simple arithmetic of the world's food supply and the population it must feed means that improved agriculture has the highest development priority of all.

In simplest terms, population has been rising faster than food production. There is less food per capita in the world today than a year ago. The rate of increase of food production in the developing world has slowed since 1960 while population has continued to rise by 2½ to 3 percent annually. But in 1966, when world population grew by 70 million, food production stood still.

The significance of this fact—in terms of world stability, peace, further economic progress—is plain. If developing countries cannot meet growing food demands, the bill for failure will be paid in political and social unrest among people no longer content with silent suffering, in the stifling of economic and social development, in malnutrition—eventually in widespread famine. The outlook would be virtually hopeless if solution to the problem were not widely acknowledged as within the capacity of the modern world to achieve.

We know how to produce vastly larger amounts of food. We know how to improve and increase arable land. We have barely begun to fully exploit the food resources of the sea. And we are confident, looking at the other side of the as yet unbalanced equation, that population growth can be effectively curbed without violence to human dignity.

No matter how successful the world may be in increasing agricultural productivity, long continuance of the present population growth rate would bring disaster. Before the world reaches the projected level of seven billion population in the year 2000, millions would be without food and there would be widespread breakdown in employment, education, housing, health and public services, with consequent disorders of many kinds.

Fortunately, world concern over the social and economic consequences of the fact is growing. Yet progress has been slower than the urgency of the situation dictates.

Unlike other kinds of assistance, including help in raising food production, family planning programs are relatively inexpensive in terms of foreign exchange needs supplied from the outside, which means that for the most part such programs can be financed with the currency of the country concerned. The techniques of family planning are simple.

However they do require well-planned and well-executed educational efforts because of social and cultural changes implicit in their wide acceptance.

In those countries that have not acted urgently the fundamental obstacle to progress in family planning is insufficient awareness of what fast-growing populations mean, not only to food supplies but to an entire development program.

Every American instinctively understands that good health and economic productivity go hand in hand. In the United States of 1967, more than 60 percent of the people live to an age of 65 or more, providing a sustained application of vigorous adult human resources to economic progress through the truly productive years.

But this was not always so. Eighty years ago only 14 percent, about one American in seven, lived as long. And in the developing world today life expectancy is often less than that. In a typical unhealthy population many children are fed, housed and educated only to die before reaching adulthood!

In addition, sickness creates permanent or recurring unproductivity which further burdens the already weak economy.

AID's programs in health have four broad objectives:

First. To assist developing countries in the control and eradication of communicable disease;

Second. To help them find and train their own health workers;

Third. To help reduce and ultimately solve the problem of malnutrition, above all in mothers and children;

Fourth. To help, when asked, in establishing population control programs.

It is apparent that malnutrition and population problems are matters closely related to the broader War on Hunger.

#### Education

The function of education in developing countries is to train vast numbers of people in the skills of nation-building in the shortest possible time. But in the longer view education is also the key to responsible democracy and enriched individual lives.

Yet in developing countries today there are more than 300 million children of school age who are not in school. The problem is growing as needs mount notwithstanding construction of more schools and training of more teachers. In India, for example, 40 million persons were taught to read and write in a recent 10-year period. When the drive ended, however, there were 11 million more illiterates than before as a result of population increases.

Even the relatively well developed countries AID assists often have major school deficiencies in their rural areas. In Chile, for example, about 30 percent of rural children abandon school within the first two years and only 16 percent complete the sixth grade.

In AID's case, education has long been a priority area of attention, in recent years accounting for the largest number of AID-financed technicians, about one in five, working in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They strive to help develop basic education systems as well as programs needed to train the doctors, nurses, health workers, farm experts, engineers, public administrators, managers and other specialists required for successful development.

In earlier programs, AID directly hired most American technicians and educators assigned to school programs overseas. Today, however, four of every five such experts are staff members from American colleges and universities with which AID has contracts for technical assistance. Through some \$219 million in such contracts, 127 U.S. colleges and universities play a role in technical assistance, including training of AID-sponsored foreign students. Teams from 74 of these institutions are at work in 39 countries.

The AID contribution can be measured in several ways, for example by the fact that more than 97,000 foreign technicians and professionals have come to this country under its auspices, or its predecessors, since 1949. In the same period some 19,000 were trained in other countries having suitable facilities. In fiscal 1966 alone there were 8,800 foreign trainees in the United States under AID auspices and about 2,000 in other nations. About half were enrolled in colleges and universities while the rest attended special training programs or seminars.

Colleges and schools established in developing countries with AID assistance have graduated more than 378,000 teachers who in many countries constitute a third or more of the teaching force. In Ethiopia they account for 70 percent of the nation's teachers, in Pakistan 35 percent, Korea 28 percent, Iran 45 percent, Costa Rica 34 percent, and Nepal 33 percent. Although the result is not susceptible of quantitative measurement, AID-financed American educators have helped many developing countries modernize and improve school curricula by relating subjects taught to special requirements for trained manpower.

The University of Hawaii is among these institutions. The University has contracts valued at more than three million dollars to carry out training programs for AID employees assigned to the Far East; to undertake family planning studies; and to render technical assistance to the governments of Pakistan and Laos.

Now once again the Congress is considering what should be the shape and size of the AID program for next year. The President has requested 2.5 billion dollars to carry out the program—the lowest request in history. It means that the cost of our foreign aid represents about a penny and a half of each federal budget dollar. The figure represents less than one-half of one percent of the gross national product of the United States.

Most of the funds requested will be spent in a relatively few countries. The following 15 will get nearly 90% of all country program funds: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, India, Indonesia, Korea, Laos, Pakistan, Peru, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey and Vietnam.

Eight of these countries—India, Pakistan, Turkey, Korea, Indonesia, Brazil, Colombia and Chile—are scheduled to get more than four-fifths of development loan country programs. Four of them—Vietnam, Korea, Laos and Thailand—are expected to get 95% of all Supporting Assistance. The President is requesting \$765 million for Development Loans.

Three countries in the *Near East and South Asia* region—India, Pakistan and Turkey—are scheduled to receive three-fourths of all Development Loan funds. Nearly half the people AID seeks to help live in these three countries.

India, spurred by a record food grain crop now estimated at 100 million tons, sound agricultural policies, and a more practical approach to current economic problems and longer-range development planning, has the opportunity to break through to a significantly higher growth rate than in the past.

Pakistan is making steady development progress. The development budget has been increased, and agricultural progress is at the point where self-sufficiency in food

grains looks only a short time off. A vigorous family planning program is under way, and private investment is steadily expanding. \$177 million is proposed for Development Loans.

Turkey is making good use of Aid. Her GNP has grown on an average of 6% a year since 1962, industrial output has grown 9% a year, and food production is growing faster than population. By the early 1970s, Turkey plans to reach the point where she will no longer need concessional economic aid. This year a development loan on the order of \$60 million is proposed for Turkey.

Substantial Development Loan programs are contemplated for two countries in *East Asia*—Indonesia and Korea. The United States has agreed, subject to appropriation, to help meet Indonesia's requirements as determined by a seven-nation Inter-Governmental Group, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, provided the other donors do their part. About \$55 million in Development Loans will be needed in 1969.

In the past few years Korea has been making excellent progress in agriculture, in industry, in education and in reducing population growth. GNP has averaged 8.5% a year since 1961. Korea will get about \$40 million in Development Loans to enable her to maintain her present momentum and capitalize on the remarkable progress she has made to date.

Appropriation cuts have sharply reduced the level of Development Loans for Africa—from \$98 million in FY 1967 to \$52 million in FY 1968. More is needed in FY 1969 to support regional development efforts, help the reform government of Ghana and support Tunisia's strong development effort. A total of \$90 million is proposed for FY 1969.

The President has requested \$235 million for Technical Assistance in FY 1969.

All developing countries need Technical Assistance to provide skills, develop trained manpower, build basic institutions and prepare for capital investment.

In Africa, \$30 million is needed to train teachers, provide skilled manpower and expand regional development activities in response to African initiatives.

In the *Near East and South Asia*, \$46 million is needed for population programs, for secondary and higher education, and to help governments carry on priority programs in

In *East Asia*, \$63 million is needed to spread rural development, education and health programs, and to assist Asian initiatives for regional development.

In the category of direct support, not loans and not technical advice, \$595 million is proposed. Programs are planned for seven countries.

Of this, \$480 million is proposed for Vietnam. The program was planned before the Vietcong offensive which began January 30. In the months to come, changes in scope and composition may be required as the situation develops.

In Korea, \$25 million is proposed to help that nation shoulder her large defense burden. In Laos (\$39 million) and Thailand (\$50 million) Supporting Assistance is needed to help maintain internal security and promote rural development. In the Dominican Republic \$20 million in Supporting Assistance loans will be used to attack unemployment and support fiscal reforms.

In Latin America, the President is requesting \$625 million for the Alliance for Progress, \$110 million of which is for technical assistance grants. About 70% of these funds are planned for Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Central America.

Brazil is making progress in containing inflation and resuming economic growth. In 1967 real GNP growth exceeded 5% for the first time in five years. AID assistance for FY 1969 is planned at \$215 million. A \$75 million program loan will support continuing economic stabilization efforts. Sector loans

in agriculture and education will total \$60 million. The agricultural loan will provide credit to help farmers invest in farm storage facilities, fertilizer, seed and pesticides needed to increase earnings and production. The loan for education will help finance the beginning of a free secondary school system.

Chile, under the administration of President Frei, has achieved an annual per capita growth rate of nearly 2.5%—the Alliance target.

For FY 1969, \$83 million is planned. A \$35 million program loan will support the economic stabilization program. Over the past three years, inflation has been cut in half to about 20%. \$30 million is needed for sector loans in agriculture and education.

In Colombia, a \$95 million program is planned for FY 1969. The Colombian economy has been hurt by falling coffee prices. The resulting drop in her foreign exchange earnings threatens to choke off growth. \$65 million in program lending will finance the U.S. goods and raw materials that Colombia's private sector needs to grow. A \$15 million agricultural sector loan will provide fertilizer and machinery to help Colombia boost food production. A \$10 million education sector loan will begin an attack on the secondary education bottleneck which now denies educational opportunity to Colombia's people.

Central America has made rapid strides toward economic integration in the last few years. But the increase in traditional exports which spurred growth has stopped, and now the Central American governments must expand their investment and raise more revenue. For FY 1969, \$15 million in Alliance technical assistance and \$68 million in Alliance loans are planned.

This brief rundown of the developing world gives you an idea of where the AID money goes. Most of it is in the form of loans, made over long terms and at low interest rates, but it is not money we are saying goodbye to forever. The record of loan repayment has been very good. Besides this aspect, the proceeds from such loans are spent in the United States, as required by law, to purchase the tools, the tractors, the trucks needed for development and to pay for the hire of American technicians, teachers and engineers who are sharing American "know-how" and "can-do" with the developing nations.

In relation to our gross national product, we are devoting to foreign assistance today less than half as much as we did in the days of the Marshall Plan. Moreover, we have adjusted our policies in order to minimize the impact of our foreign assistance on our own balance of payments. Today 90 percent of the funds voted by Congress for foreign aid are spent directly in the United States for American goods and services. It is these goods and services, rather than dollars, which we make available under our aid programs, and their export, of course, does not add to our balance of payments deficit.

Nevertheless, even though they should not be exaggerated, the costs of our foreign assistance are real and substantial, and we must make sure that the funds spent under this program, like those spent under all other government programs, achieve maximum results.

In addition to the inherent difficulties of the task of achieving progress in the developing countries, we are unfortunately facing continuous opposition from subversive elements trained and directed from Communist sources. This type of opposition can be very damaging and costly to efforts to achieve progress for free countries. There is no doubt that we will face this kind of difficulty for years to come. Those who are directing the Communist subversion are astute, persistent, and patient. It will require at least an equal degree of intelligence, of persistence, and of patience on our part if we are to help extend

the area of freedom around the world, and prevent that area from shrinking.

But the lesson of experience since the end of World War II is that foreign aid can be a very powerful and effective instrument for achieving peaceful progress. Our aid programs are only one element in our foreign policy. They are no cure-all. Even where they are successful, the results are limited, and will not do away with differences of opinion among free nations.

We believe, after all, in a world of free and independent nations because such a world offers the opportunity through the process of international cooperation to achieve maximum freedom and advancement for us and for all the people of the world. Such a world, like our own situation in the United States, does not eliminate problems, but it offers us the chance to solve those problems in peace and freedom.

As in all major programs affecting our relations with other countries and their people, our foreign assistance programs must constantly stand the light of public inspection and review. In my own view, I believe the time has come when unilateral selection of countries to receive our free-world assistance has passed and we should instead be looking more and more to the counsel of other nations from whom we expect moral and military support in our efforts to help other people. I believe this policy decision of who receives help should be the work of a multilateral group—many nations all participating in this selection and all sharing the responsibility of shaping the future welfare and well-being of the world.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO COMBAT CRIME

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, the American public is deeply disturbed over the growing crime rate. The rise in crimes of all types, the fear that has gripped many large urban centers and the need for a restoration of law and order are problems that demand bold measures if we are to achieve realistic solutions.

It is a national tragedy when people are terrified of using the streets after dark and even are reluctant to use park and recreational facilities during the daylight hours. As one who has worked in law enforcement, I recognize the magnitude of the crime problem, and wish to outline a series of recommendations which, if adopted, would be most helpful in combating the crime that troubles our society.

First, it is essential that the President's safe streets and crime control bill be adopted so that new and effective crime-fighting programs may be developed at the local level, including the training and use of neighborhood youth in community patrol activities.

I believe that the bill should go one step further than as is presently constituted. I would propose that a portion of the funds that would be earmarked for anticrime efforts be used to expand the police force of our cities. In New York City, where the crime rate has

reached frightening proportions, we need an additional 5,000 policemen in order to make our streets safe again.

The civil disorders that have convulsed our Nation in recent years have served to underscore the critical need for gun control legislation. In many of the cities struck by riots, there were scores of sniper attacks, and the victims included innocent citizens as well as local policemen and firemen. Certainly, we can prevent weapons from falling into the hands of irresponsible persons with little or no regard for life and property by making the interstate sale of all weapons illegal. A ban on the mail-order sale of weapons would not impede recognized, responsible rifle clubs. Rather it would sharply reduce the possibility of wanton mayhem in the streets of our cities.

While the Federal Government has a role and a responsibility in preserving law and order, there is much that can be done by local government to fight crime. For example, I have recommended to the mayor of the city of New York that the parks department create a new job, "parks patrolman," to help combat crime and vandalism in parks and other recreational areas.

I would like to point out that there are patrolmen who function with the transit department, the housing authority and the port authority. Thus, there are precedents for parks patrolmen.

In New York, we have parks that are in such a state of deterioration that even if the streets and the parks were safe, people would find it difficult to enjoy recreation in them.

The costs of the proposed "parks patrolmen" would not compare with the amount of money the city spends every year to rehabilitate facilities that have been hit by vandalism.

In my years as the assistant district attorney, I saw many cases in which recreational facilities in parks were destroyed beyond repair, where park comfort stations were burned down or torn apart brick by brick, and where fences and games were broken and stolen. The addition of parks patrolmen would enable all our citizens to enjoy the city's parks in complete safety, and I think all cities should give this recommendation serious consideration.

Also of extreme urgency is our need for protection for our citizens living in housing projects. A force of 2,500 additional housing patrolmen could prevent a sizable proportion of the crime and damage which is incurred regularly in these areas by vandals. And certainly, the money the city of New York would have by putting a stop to this wanton destruction would be more than adequate to finance the additional "housing patrol" force.

In terms of the role of the courts, I have proposed that a "call system" be established in all criminal courts in New York City, whereby witnesses would be notified to appear on the day of trial instead of having to make repeated trips to court before the case is heard. Under the present system, many witnesses become discouraged and do not make appearances when scheduled.

A call system would make it easier for them as well as for everyone connected with the case. It would also free scores of

patrolmen, who are tied up in courts awaiting the call calendar, from wasting precious hours waiting for a trial to come up. We are deeply aware of the shortage of patrolmen on our streets. Here is a method that would enable more police to patrol our streets.

In line with this, I strongly support legislation that would expand the judiciary in New York. New judgeships are especially needed in the criminal courts, where because of an enormous backlog of cases, confirmed criminals sometimes are permitted to plead guilty to a lesser offense in order to speed up the calendars. More judges in these courts would eliminate this possibility, and assure the community that in every criminal case the punishment will fit the crime and hardened criminals will not be released before the appropriate time.

Statistics show that drug addiction is responsible for a substantial number of crimes committed against society. I strongly support measures that would invoke severe penalties against sellers of narcotics, and at the same time urge immediate passage of a bill I introduced to alert young people and their parents to dangerous drugs.

My bill would require that so-called "pep pills" and other barbiturates and narcotics be manufactured in different colors so as to avoid confusion. Pills manufactured in varying colors would serve as a warning to youths, parents, and teachers, and would contribute to a reduction in drug addiction. It would also assist law-enforcement officers in the identification of these dangerous drugs.

Recently I was alerted to the fact that a Florida-based company was selling through the mail masterkeys for all make automobiles. To confirm this, I ordered, and received, a set of keys for all Ford automobiles for the meager sum of \$3. This kind of sale is one of the prime causes for the wave of auto thefts plaguing our cities. Subsequently I cosponsored legislation to ban the use of interstate mails for these sales. The House of Representatives very quickly passed the bill; I urge the Senate to do the same immediately.

Mr. Speaker, while I have outlined specific programs, I would like to emphasize that the public itself can contribute to a curtailment in crime by taking an active interest in community affairs, and by working with their local police and law-enforcement officials to eradicate the lawlessness. The problem is an enormous one, but by no means insoluble. We can—and we will—restore safety to the streets. Thank you.

TULIP SELECTED AS NATIONAL FLOWER

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, the student body of the Pickaway Township School, Logan-Elm School District in Pickaway County, feels that the United States should have a national flower.

After several flowers were suggested for the honor, arguments were presented to the entire student body, after which by secret ballot the tulip was chosen.

It was suggested that the tulip be chosen as the national flower because: First, it is found in most States; second, it is usually the first flower to bloom in the spring; third, it is eye-catching, representing the beauty of our country; and fourth, it was brought to this country by the Pilgrims on the Mayflower.

#### OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1968

### HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, in my district in San Francisco recently a rather remarkable speech was presented to a large group of scientists that forcefully stated the need for the passage of the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968.

It was delivered by an Assistant Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, Dr. Richard Prindle, to the annual convention of the Industrial Medical Association of the United States. I feel that it was sufficiently important to call to the attention of the Members of Congress several of the salient paragraphs of the speech:

Health officers and physicians cannot afford to approach the potential health hazards of the contemporary environment, and we must include the work environment, as though we were attorneys in a court where the suspect is deemed innocent until guilt is proved beyond reasonable doubt. The size of the population at risk and the possible consequences of failure to control both the known and the suspected hazards are too great to await absolute proof. Strong circumstantial and theoretical evidence requires action. To await positive proof is to court disaster.

The people of this country need and desire the products and the affluence of a prosperous industrial economy. But they also need and increasingly are demanding cleaner air and water; they want safe jobs, safe food, drugs, and clothing. I believe it is clear the people are convinced that an unsafe and unhealthy environment is not a reasonable price to pay for prosperity. I believe the American people feel that a science which can unravel the genetic code, develop artificial hearts and kidneys, and an industry which can transmit clear photographs back to earth from the moon's surface can also clean up the environment and improve the workplace without destroying the American way.

Air and water pollution have held the center of legislative and public attention until now because their gross effects are readily apparent to millions of people. Health authorities have concentrated on air and water because of the size of the populations exposed to their potentially harmful contaminants.

Belated as were the legislative enactments of recent years designed to cope with air and water pollution, with better delivery of health services, even more belated but equally welcome to health workers was the introduction this year of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968. This is clearly one of the most important and needed pieces of health legislation introduced in the last decade.

#### WINTON M. BLOUNT, NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

### HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I bring to the attention of my colleagues an event which took place recently in Washington when the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A. elected Winton M. "Red" Blount its 41st president.

I have known Red Blount all of his life. He was born and reared in my hometown of Union Springs, Ala. His father, affectionately called "Bo" Blount, was one of the best friends I ever had.

Red is president and board chairman of the multimillion-dollar Blount Bros. Corp., which he built from scratch. Blount Bros. has landed some of the biggest and toughest contracts in the country over the past 17 years. They include atomic research facilities at Oak Ridge, Georgia Tech, and the National Bureau of Standards; the Atlanta airport terminal; Cape Kennedy's Saturn launch complex with a 400-foot steel tower that moves on rails; an "indoor ocean" for research by the U.S. Navy; missile defense installations in six States; a 250-foot-deep compulsion engine test cell; Cleveland's underground convention center and mall; the Marion, Ill., Federal maximum security prison that replaced Alcatraz, and a wide variety of complex industrial projects. In fact, he has injected into the construction industry some of the most up-to-date management techniques. He is sending his entire top management, one by one, to the 13-week advanced management program at Harvard Business School.

Red and his lovely wife, Mary Katherine, have five children. They live in a handsome Georgian-style home on a hill overlooking his 60-acre estate—"Wynfield"—in the outskirts of Montgomery, Ala. It is not far from where he plans to build soon a new headquarters for Blount Bros.

In my opinion, Red could give each of us a real good lesson in leadership.

I include in my remarks his acceptance speech made at the annual convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States:

WINTON M. BLOUNT, ELECTED U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PRESIDENT

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, for your expression of welcome and encouragement.

The abilities I have to offer are at your service in the year ahead. But whatever significance they gain—the impact we make on the events of our time—will not reflect the efforts of a single individual, but the resolution of the Chamber of Commerce and the business community to make the force of its convictions felt at a time when they are most needed.

I think I can safely say that never before has the leadership of the National Chamber—its officers, directors and staff—been so aware of the responsibility for assuring that the measure of this organization's effort be sufficient to the challenge of our times.

Today we are faced with international problems such as Vietnam and the worth of

the dollar in the world markets; national problems related to an economy beset by inflation, urbanization and industrialization; human problems of race and poverty; and spiritual problems of dissension, distrust and violence. These problems must be met and solved.

This is a time for reason and restraint. This is also a time for response—restraint from emotionalism and radicalism . . . but response toward finding solutions to these major problems. The climate of unrest and uncertainty have placed, as never before, new demands upon the business and professional community for leadership and constructive action.

Business is responding by bringing its leadership, management and problem solving abilities to bear on these matters, invading areas which have been traditionally left to government. We are seeking out dark corners and moving into the social problem backwaters where politicians have been making too many of the decisions. The Chamber must continue to encourage and lead this effort, and determine the most effective channels for its expression.

Government cannot solve these problems alone, as it has sometimes tried to do in the past. Rather, it must be a joint effort of the national government, the local and state governments, business community, other organizations and private citizens—a total effort on the part of all—and business has a key role to play.

I am an optimist—you have to be in my business. And I am optimistic that America will solve its problems. Our background and heritage have not prepared us for defeat. Our resiliency as a nation has been demonstrated time and time again.

But as we progress and change and move forward into the exciting world of the future, we must preserve and strengthen the essential institutions and values which have provided the vitality and inner strength of this great nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is up to the vast majority of Americans who are responsible, reasonable and restrained citizens to insure that our progress is responsive, sound, and intelligent.

What is our role? I believe the nation needs to hear from us.

It needs to hear from us about preserving the vitality of our economic system. As George Champion pointed out yesterday we must tell the story to every citizen of the vital role of capital, incentive, and profits in our free enterprise economy.

The nation needs to hear from us a reaffirmation of the democratic process as the proper and most effective expression of the public will. Politics is too important to leave to the politicians; businessmen must become involved.

In this regard, I am pleased to announce tonight that Governor Allan Shivers has graciously consented to serve in this important election year as chairman of the new Individual Political Action Program developed by the National Chamber. Let's all join Gov. Shivers to insure the success of this significant program at every level.

And finally, the nation must hear from us a reaffirmation of our moral strengths—our belief in individual rights, and the preservation of those rights through obedience to the law.

Sunday I visited the rubble and destruction of the recent riots in Washington. While I had seen the destruction on television and through other news media, I was utterly shocked and yes, dismayed, by what I saw—parts of our capital laid waste as a Berlin or a London of over two decades ago. This . . . in the capital of the United States, a nation of dedication to great principles and progress—not to destruction.

I say to you and to all the people of this country that the business community has a deep and compassionate concern for people of all races who live in poverty in the



slums of our cities, the disadvantaged, the hard-core unemployed, and the undereducated. We are deeply concerned over all the problems of the urban areas of our country and the business community must and will redouble its efforts everywhere to open wide the doors of opportunity and to lend a helping hand to those who will take advantage of these opportunities.

While we feel all of these things, it is outrageous to enunciate a policy which essentially encourages and escalates riots and lawless acts. We cannot abide lawlessness, nor can we justify short-run violations of the law in hope that it will bring about peace in the long run. Human rights cannot long exist in a chaotic and disorderly society. They are assured and preserved only by prompt and reasonable enforcement of the law.

Riots are started by lawless hoodlums and the disruptive elements in our society. They are not started by the innocent bystanders or the children. But if we have a national policy of withholding authority and letting the arsonist burn and the looter steal then you can be certain that seeing this example the surrounding community will join in. We must have a national policy that says as soon as riots threaten, at the very first hour there must be an appropriate and overwhelming show of force and determination by all those in authority to insure that these criminal acts are stopped in their tracks.

During the important workshop held Sunday afternoon, I heard it said that the business community has lost the initiative in this area. I do not believe this is the case and in fact the matter of who has the initiative is not the point. Rather we must work together with respect and understanding toward successful solutions.

STRAIGHT TALK

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Tom Anderson is the straight talking president and editorial writer of the Georgia Farmer, whose monthly page is titled "Straight Talk."

It is most appropriate that his message this month is directed to the 1968 graduates. The commonsense views expressed in pungent quotable words and phrases should be read not only by our colleagues, but by every student in America before it is too late with this generation that preaches "permissiveness." The article follows:

STRAIGHT TALK

(By Tom Anderson)

Now, for the first time, America has a large revolutionary youth movement resembling Europe's. They are against the system, against the Establishment. They plan to take over, if necessary by force. Some are not militant. They are willing to settle the issue by peaceful and legal means. All we turned-off dopes over 30, we capitalists and puritans need to do is to surrender to their politically passionate puberty.

The hippies are trying to replace "dog eat dog" with "dog love dog." Both are animalism and can only return us to the jungle.

Freedom without discipline is an uncivilized absurdity. "Freedom now!" sounds great, I suppose, to people who lack the capacity to think deeply. The phrase we should be hearing is "Discipline now!" In a civilized society freedom without discipline is impossible. Those who cannot discipline themselves can-

not for long be allowed to run free. We must discipline ourselves, individually, else some government must do it. If the prevailing government is too decadent to do it, then some other government, from outside or within, will replace it by force if necessary. Thus, individual violence is replaced by government violence. And freedom is replaced by slavery. There is little individual violence and crime—and little freedom—in any Communist country. All looters in Communist countries are executed. Hence there is little looting.

A recent advertisement by the great and patriotic Warner & Swasey Company of Cleveland said: "I want my boy to have all the advantages I can give him, such as having to earn his own allowance by running errands, cutting lawns. Such as getting good grades in school—getting them because he wants to and because he knows what it would do to me if he didn't. Such as being proud to be clean and neat and decent. Such as standing up and standing proud when his country's flag goes by. Such as addressing elder friends of his parents as 'sir' and 'ma'am'."

"Such as having to earn his own way in the world and knowing he has to prepare for it by hard work, hard study and sacrificing some of the pleasures and ease his friends may get from too-indulgent parents."

"These are the advantages I want my son to have, because these are the things which will make him self-respecting and self-reliant and successful. And that is the happiness I want him to have."

And now the old gasbags pontificate the stupid redundancy that "you are our future." You are not our future but our now.

The young want to change things. They can and they should. I hope I never get so old I won't want to change things—for the better. Some things we can and should change and some we can't and shouldn't. The most inevitable thing in life is change. In government and in life be sure you have something better before you agree to a change. Some of the "progressive" ideas, such as socialism to replace capitalism, "humanism" or "modernism" to replace Christianity, would set us back almost 2,000 years. For it was that long ago that socialism, humanism and modernism were first proved failures. There will never be a perfect system until there are perfect people. No society and no city is better than the individuals in it.

The agnostic pragmatists who call themselves "liberals" have taught a generation of children: (1) that there are no clear distinctions between right and wrong; (2) that there are no eternal verities, no absolute truths; (3) that environment determines truth, and, since environment constantly changes, everything is relative; (4) that "life adjustment," not inculcation of principles and disciplines, is the aim of education; (5) that patriotism is out of date. The Freudian frauds further proclaim that we are not responsible: "Man is a product of his heredity and his environment, and you cannot expect him to rise above it."

The collectivists, so-called "liberals," seem to operate on the theory that a socialistic government can legislate unsuccessful people into prosperity by legislating successful people out of it. Remember, there is no such thing as equality. Hold up your thumb and look at it. God has never made another thumb like it. We cannot be free and equal. Free men are not equal and equal men are not free. But all slaves are incarcerated equally. All men are created equal only in the eyes of God and of the law. And they don't even stay equal there. God penalizes unrepentant sinners, and the law penalizes repeating criminals.

One of the main reasons America became the greatest nation in the world was because we believed in the inequality of man—in the right of any man, no matter to what station

born, to rise from the bottom to the top—or, the right to be a bum; the right of anybody to be somebody. An old Hindu proverb says: "There is nothing noble in being superior to some other man. The true nobility is in being superior to your previous self."

All totalitarianism must "destroy" God, for no total state can stand the competition of man as a free creature under God. All atheists are not Communists, but all Communists are atheists. We are headed the way of the Roman Empire, and for the same reasons: The world has lost faith in us and we have lost faith in ourselves. We have all but abandoned the eternal principles that made this country great: religion and morality, discipline, honesty, patriotism and work.

When you cash in your chips for this life, the only thing of any value you can take with you is your character. Character is a victory, not a gift. Character knows no race, creed, color or circumstance. If you lack it, it's nobody's fault but your own.

In the final analysis, neither your government nor your parents are responsible for you—you are responsible for yourself. As somebody said: "The young man who thought the world owed him a living is the old man who is blaming the world for his failures." If you're determined merely to milk all possible pleasure out of life, you should buy your own cow, not milk somebody else's through the fence.

The so-called "civil rights" movement is Communistic, based on forced equality, forced association and forced share-the-wealth. All of the money in the world, all of the bombs and armies, all of the laws and treaties cannot possibly bring either brotherhood or peace. Only Christianity can bring brotherhood and peace. Christianity is the hope of the world, and the only hope.

Christ didn't preach a government "poverty program." Christ said such "un-American" things as: "The poor we will always have with us."

The Bible teaches not government-forced "open housing" but private ownership. The Bible is capitalistic! The Bible advocates private property. It says: "Thou shalt not steal . . . Thou shalt not covet what is thy neighbor's." Property rights are the sacred foundation of human rights.

Our problem today is not so much the noise of the bad people but the silence of the good people. You become part of what you condone. The epitaph on the American tombstone may someday read: "This civilization died because the people didn't want to be bothered." History is made not by majorities but by dedicated minorities. Whether you survive as free men or slaves depends on whether the dedicated minority for what's good and right is more powerful and effective than the dedicated minority for what's evil and wrong. We face socialism, insolvency, surrender and possible revolution and civil war. It's your fight. It's your world they're trying to destroy. Where do you stand? And what are you doing about it?

What can "little" you do? A little 17-year-old country girl who couldn't even read or write changed the course of history. Her name was Joan of Arc. You're probably not a St. Joan. Neither was she when she started.

"THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS"

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the book under the title of "The Vulnerable Russians" deserves the studied attention of every thinking American who is con-

cerned with questions of war and peace, U.S.-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." Authored 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 indication 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:

AN AMERICAN ZIG, THE RUSSIAN ZAG

"The sacred duty of the party is . . . The strengthening of our multinational socialist state . . . The resolute and irreconcilable struggle against every expansion of bourgeois nationalism." (Pravda)

"Bourgeois nationalism" in Russian political lingo means opposition to Moscow's alien domination over the non-Russian nations. So-called crimes of Trotskyism, Bukharinism and the like have long vanished as objects of Moscow's condemnation, but bourgeois nationalism has persisted. The reasons for its persistence are obvious. All that has been said about the patriotic national consciousness of the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR, their invincible aspirations for genuine independence and freedom, forms these reasons. What imperio-colonialist Moscow condemns as bourgeois nationalism, we uphold and esteem as national patriotism and love of country. What the colonialist Russians prescribe as "national in form, socialist in content," the captive non-Russians describe as "national in form, Russian in content." Our formula in the Cold War can only be "national both in form and content." The *Pravda* quote clearly defines Moscow's formula.

"Whenever they (the Russians) zig, we zag," declared former Defense Secretary Robert A. Lovett in his apt characterization of American foreign policy before a Senate committee. The passive art of zagging has been the conspicuous monopoly of the State Department. Under the perpetuated dominance of the "zaggistic" containment crowd in the Department, this art of diplomatic indolence is the very thing a sizable portion of the American people have been determined to eliminate at the polls since 1952. During each presidential campaign they were repeatedly and in explicit language promised the substitute and imaginative art of zigging. So that whenever we zig, the colonialist Russians would zag. Unfortunately, the unfolding record still shows that this promise has yet to be realized. Mere reactive utterances of "back up your words with deeds," which govern the psychology of the present in our relations with the mortal enemy, are in essence not of the diplomatic species of zigging but rather that of the usual zagging. Again, in their "peace offensive" the Russians have zigged, and we with little show of

tangible initiative have just zagged, allowing them to reap all the advantages of the "breather" they need and enjoy. No matter how commendable in themselves, the Peace Corps, the atoms-for-peace proposal, food-for-peace and other weak cold war ventures are all of the zag species. It is most noteworthy how we have shied away from a Freedom Corps, an atoms-for-freedom proposal, the original food-for-freedom and other solid cold war undertakings of the zig species.

On the surface the resolution appeared at the time to be an appeasing gesture. But when thought was given to its background and implications, it represented, as Felix Morley described it, "a clever legislative proposal, well-calculated to create difficulties for Soviet Russia . . ." For a time the resolution was pigeonholed in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. However, growing public interest in the proposal soon led to formal hearings. Many who had bother to reflect on this proposed diplomatic zig became convinced that the Smith resolution constituted the first solid test of American initiative in the Cold War. Investigating the reaction to it at the State Department, Mr. Morley learned that "2 months after the introduction of the resolution it has been discovered by the State Department. And several alert officials there are of the opinion that the proposal should be seriously pressed . . . Now policy planners at the State Department are saying: 'Why didn't we think of that ourselves?'"

But, what happened? Contrary to all expectations, in response to an invitation issued by the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to participate in forthcoming hearings on the resolution, the State Department sent a letter stating a negative position on the subject. Addressed to the chairman, the Honorable Robert B. Chipfield, the letter advanced five arguments against the resolution. These were: (1) it would bolster the Soviet myth of the sovereignty of Ukraine and Byelorussia, (2) it would enable Moscow to push other republics in the USSR into international organizations, (3) it would require a "large expenditure of money" to set up missions in Kiev and Minsk, (4) it would lead to two more "communist missions" in the United States, and (5) all this would arouse "adverse sentiment and criticism" among our people. The hearing nevertheless took place on July 15, 1953 before a special subcommittee chaired by the Honorable Frances P. Bolton of Ohio. The members of the subcommittee were, of course, swayed by these arguments. Yet these and other arguments were carefully examined at the hearing. It would do well for us to summarize the analysis here.

2. We refuse to recognize Red China, so why should we recognize Soviet Ukraine and Byelorussia?

Because the two cases are by no means parallel. The fact is that we already recognize these two Soviet republics in the United Nations, while we have rightly resisted similar recognition of Red China in the same body. The legal framework which differentiates the two cases was really a justifying basis of the Smith resolution. The provision immediately preceding the body of that resolution itself alluded to this. It read: "Whereas it is clearly incongruous from every viewpoint to maintain the recognition by this Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in the United Nations without the peace-oriented opportunity to establish direct diplomatic concourse with their respective capitals of Kiev and Minsk: Now, therefore, be it Resolved . . ." Of course this legal argument is not sufficient in itself to warrant the step recommended by the pro-

posal, but it obviously answers this and similar points of criticism. We mustn't forget, too, that our mission in the Republic of Free China is a recognition of the Chinese people and nation, both on Formosa and the mainland. We extend no comparable direct recognition to the peoples and nations of Ukraine and Byelorussia. Speaking of Red China, let us also remember its cynical exploitation of the Russian/non-Russian volcano in the USSR, so much so that Brezhnev and Kosygin chastised it for aiming "to disturb the friendship among the nationalities in the U.S.S.R." The issue in the volcano is one of genuine independence and freedom, not Parties' squabbles.

It is interesting to observe the campaign in the United States for our direct recognition of Outer Mongolia. This Russian "satellite" is a member of the U.N., brought in about twenty years after Ukraine and Byelorussia. Secretary Rusk stated in March, 1966, that we continue to weigh the matter of granting diplomatic recognition of this Red state, and a Washington newspaper editorialized in this vein: "Recognition would advance the stated American desire to 'build bridges' to Communist lands, and thereby promote their nationalism and our influence, too." These double-standard exponents oppose, however, the same action toward Ukraine and Byelorussia where on every point—population, history, strategic importance, etc.—it would count vastly more. But what can one expect when the editors of the same organ wallow in the conceptual ignorance of "the Soviet Union as a nation."

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IN REVERSE

5. Good, but what benefits would we derive if Moscow should refuse to accept our offer for peaceful relations?

The benefits we would derive in the event of Moscow's refusal would be almost equivalent in force to those hinging on its equally possible acceptance. One, this step would undoubtedly produce acute embarrassment for the highly vocal, puppet delegations representing Soviet Ukraine and Byelorussia in the U.N. In fact, we would gain a powerful propaganda weapon. As Bob Considine evaluated the Smith resolution in his syndicated column, "It would put Russia on the spot in a variety of ways." This surely would be one.

Second, a Soviet Russian refusal would provide an additional lie to its protestations of peace. We would stand to capitalize on this throughout the entire Free World. Third, this circumstance would formally expose the fraud built on the alleged independence of these two major, captive non-Russian nations in the Union. Here, let it also be emphasized that Soviet Russia's acceptance of the offer would by no means constitute any verification of genuine sovereignty and independence in these two states. With American Ambassadors in Kiev and Minsk, Ukraine and Byelorussia would functionally be more independent and sovereign than are Poland and Czecho-Slovakia where we do have missions. The illogic in the State Department's argument on this is quite evident.

6. Didn't the British Government attempt this in 1947 and fail?

Not exactly. Although the British Government made certain gestures in the same general direction, its meager effort had by no means been exerted along the lines of strategic psycho-political advantage as proposed in the Smith resolution, nor had it at all been formalized in terms of the data which were incorporated in the resolution. The animus and substance of the British attempt were wholly different. Had it been otherwise, in the way presented here, it could not reasonably have failed.

We have noted the State Department's contention that, should the Soviet government reject—or even accept—this proposal in the name of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian governments, this would bolster the fiction of their independence and consequently nullify one of the propaganda benefits mentioned above. This is a patently groundless objection. It is common knowledge among the captive peoples themselves that these governments are no more independent of the dictates of Moscow than are the governments of Poland, Hungary and so forth. Therefore, a refusal through such means, regardless of all the fabrications surrounding it, would have rather affirmative effects.

9. *Wait now, wouldn't the presence of two more Communist missions in the U.S. increase our internal danger?*

Not really. As a matter of fact, when the U.N. Assembly is in session, the delegations of Ukraine and Byelorussia establish themselves as separate missions in New York. Any opportunity they might have to engage in espionage in a sense already exists. On the merits of the case one cannot compare two additional American embassies in the Soviet Union, situated in Kiev and Minsk, with two more Iron Curtain embassies in Washington, certainly not from the viewpoint of impact on and importance to the specific peoples involved. The environments of the respective embassies are not in the least similar. The area of contacts for American missions in Ukraine and Byelorussia is virtually virgin territory, while that of a Ukrainian or Byelorussian embassy in Washington has surely been exploited well beyond the point of diminishing returns by the USSR embassy. Moreover, espionage is a two-way street. The argument implied by this question seems to suggest American inferiority in the art, a thesis one would find difficult to accept.

NOTHING TO LOSE, EVERYTHING TO GAIN

By now, in thinking through the Smith resolution, you are probably of the feeling that actually there was nothing for us to lose, everything to gain. You are not alone

in this feeling. For example, serious-minded students of the Georgetown University International Relations Club had this feeling, and addressed a number of questions on the subject to the Ukrainian and Byelorussian delegates at the U.N. Result?—as anticipated, no reply. These "independent" spokesmen could not decide whether their "independent" countries are open to American diplomatic representation. In a sense, unofficially we zigged and they couldn't even zag. Many others viewed the resolution in the same favorable light. As one editor emphasized at the time, "It deserves a better fate than to be laid on the shelf. It should be studied on its merits."

In the spring of 1958, Congressman Leonard Farbstein of New York revived the resolution and inquired about the long-awaited study by the State Department. The letters received from the Department indicated that no written study had been made. Assistant Secretary William B. Macomber stated "The Department has no record of a study such as you described having been made subsequent to this time." He also enclosed a copy of the March 13, 1953 letter, containing the old arguments of the Department. Macomber's reply confirmed a discussion this writer had in 1956 with Undersecretary of State Robert Murphy, who admitted that State had not pursued any study of the matter since the 1953 hearing. Later, Congressman Barratt O'Hara of Illinois also introduced a similar resolution. For some unknown reason the Committee on Foreign Affairs had not acted on these resolutions. The proposal, however, has remained very much alive and will again be legislatively formalized, so that an American zig can precipitate a Russian zag in the advancement of our own cold war interests.

Over ten years ago, a diplomatic correspondent for *Newsweek* emphasized that "serious American thought also must be given to the nationally conscious Soviet components such as the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The fact that these two nations have their own representatives in the U.N. has never

been properly utilized by the United States. To encourage their independence and to strive for the decentralization of the Soviet Union into its separate though not necessarily unfriendly components, is likely to become one of the chief United States objectives." If we were to wait for the State Department to study this, another glorious opportunity would be lost. Fortunately, the proposal remains very much alive and will be acted upon so that an American zig can precipitate a Russian zag in the advancement of our own Cold War interests. How this can be done was demonstrated again in 1960, an interesting episode to which we now turn.

KANSAS BEEF MONTH

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, May has been officially declared as Kansas Beef Month, and because of the importance of the beef industry to the Kansas economy, the Kansas Cattlemen's Association and the Kansas Farm Bureau urges everyone to support May beef month by eating Kansas beef daily.

Kansas, because of its climate, topography, and soil conditions, is becoming increasingly important as a beef producing State. As of January 1, Kansas ranked seventh in the number of cattle on feed with a total of 610,000 head. The number of commercial feedlots, those with a capacity of 1,000 head or more, is growing each year.

The Farm Bureau is participating in numerous activities in Kansas designed to call attention to the importance of the Kansas beef industry.

SENATE—Friday, May 17, 1968

The Senate met at 12 noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rev. Edward B. Lewis, D.D., pastor, Capitol Hill Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

O God, the hope of all nations, we have sinned against Thee and each other as a country and a world. Help us, through this prayer of repentance of our sins, to find a new life of love, opportunity and peace for all men.

Give wisdom to those negotiating for peace now meeting in Paris. We pray for a just peace in Vietnam and throughout the world.

We pray for brotherhood, understanding, and sound minds in our cities. We know that death, destruction, and hate must not reign in our streets.

Cause us to ponder what we have done and are doing to ourselves. Give us the inner resource to find a just solution to a feeling of injustice and persecution.

Implant within us a right spirit through the power of Thy Holy Spirit. We pray in the name of Him who can give us life abundant in peace, strength for

trying hours, and guidance in ways we must follow. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, May 16, 1968, be dispensed with.

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

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

REPORT ON OPERATION OF THE AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTS TRADE ACT OF 1965—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report,

was referred to the Committee on Finance:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the second annual report on the operation of the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. By this Act Congress authorized implementation of the United States-Canada Automotive Products Agreement.

The Agreement was designed to create a broader U.S.-Canadian market for automotive products to obtain for both countries and both industries the benefits of specialization and large-scale production. We have moved far toward this goal.

Automotive trade between the United States and Canada was \$730 million in 1964, the year before the Agreement went into force. Trade in 1967 was over \$3.3 billion. The Agreement has also stimulated trade in allied products.

Industry, labor and consumers in both countries continue to benefit from this growth in commerce and from the increased efficiency made possible by the Agreement. It is dramatic proof of what