

the transmission of threats to persons or property, by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral, or written communications, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. STAGGERS (by request):

H.R. 17418. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to plan and provide financial assistance for airport development, and other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WYMAN:

H.R. 17419. A bill to amend the act of January 12, 1895, to provide for the distinctive printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of remarks actually spoken during proceedings and debates on the floor of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.J. Res. 1278. Joint resolution to provide that it be the sense of Congress that a White House Conference on Aging be called by the President of the United States in 1971, to be planned and conducted by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to assist the States in conducting similar conferences on aging prior to the White House Conference on Aging, and for related purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:

H. Res. 1180. Resolution to initiate negotiations toward a nonproliferation treaty on conventional weapons for the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

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By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 17420. A bill for the relief of Henricus Bierens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOLLING:

H.R. 17421. A bill for the relief of Bernard L. Coulter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAHILL:

H.R. 17422. A bill for the relief of Carlo DeMarco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 17423. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Frisella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17424. A bill for the relief of Varvara Loizou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 17425. A bill for the relief of Juan Peral; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYS:

H.R. 17426. A bill for the relief of Antonia Curiel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IRWIN:

H.R. 17427. A bill for the relief of Michelangelo Morelli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 17428. A bill for the relief of Irene Ivy Shaw; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H.R. 17429. A bill for the relief of Dr. James S. K. Tsai; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of Illinois:

H.R. 17430. A bill for the relief of John Hachem; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 17431. A bill for the relief of Carmelo Genna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17432. A bill for the relief of Girolamo Lentini; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17433. A bill for the relief of Chi Len Yong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 17434. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Chung Jin Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17435. A bill for the relief of Mr. Sang In Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 17436. A bill for the relief of John Gook Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 17437. A bill for the relief of Yoshua Eyal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YATES:

H.R. 17438. A bill for the relief of Dr. Kaloo Chandiram Thadhani and his wife, Rekha Thadhani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

320. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Municipal Council of the Township of Woodbridge, N.J., relative to legislation dealing with truck size and weight limits on interstate highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

321. Also, petition of Gushikawa-Son Municipal Assembly Nakagami-Gun, Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, relative to B-52 strategic bombers based on Okinawa; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

MR. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following report to my constituents:

MEMO

POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH. Some 2,000 people are camped near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington and will demonstrate here in support of their demands for legislation to "eliminate poverty". It would be nice if it were possible to end poverty with federal legislation. The following broadcast by David Brinkley, NBC News, suggests that the Poor People's March has come to the wrong place.

"What is called the Poor People's March on Washington is here—the first stages—and the rest comes later. Its purpose is to dramatize the unhappiness of the poor people, white, black, plus some Indians, and to demand the Federal Government appropriate tax money to help them.

"As one who has observed the government of the U.S. in action for about 25 years, I would say, with some reluctance, I believe they're coming to the wrong place. I do not believe the answer to their problems lies in Washington at all.

"Daniel Patrick Moynihan, one of the more provocative of American thinkers and critics of our social scene, said in a speech some time ago it was time liberals stopped believing the government had an unlimited capacity for doing good. I believe he was right and that it's past the time when, for anyone with a problem or a need or a want, the best

place to turn was the Federal Government. It is not. The instrument of national government simply is not tuned finely enough to deal with a private individual problem of thousands of people who are unable to cope with a modern society.

"Obviously, the government is able to collect huge sums of money from the taxpayers—to collect them in a grossly unfair way. And then to spend it in a grossly political way when it enters heavy footedly into a delicate social situation, it often only makes it worse. There are several reasons: one is, in some respects, it has too much power. It had the power to get us into a war without the consent of the public, directly or indirectly, but it has no power to enforce its will or its attitudes on any individual. All it can do is make him pay his taxes and obey the written, statutory law, at least in public. It does not have the power to force anyone to be a decent human being.

"Except in the most public and overt forms, it does not have the power to bridle, restrict or control the various human appetites, good or bad; it cannot control even its own bureaucracy—those who are on its own payroll.

"Obviously, the government can give money to the poor. Indeed, it gives money to the poor now in the various forms of welfare, but several of those who are in charge of welfare programs say the total program is a total failure. If there are, say 100,000 people who are poor, then there are 100,000 different reasons. But when the Federal Government comes to deal with their poverty, we can expect it will try to deal with all of them in pretty much the same way, for administrative reasons—because otherwise, they will not all fit into a computer.

"It would be nice to believe the Federal Government had the means to end poverty in America. But I don't."

CONGRESS: The Senate is considering the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. The

House last week passed the Colorado River Basin bill and takes up a long list of miscellaneous bills this week. These bills, among others, are being considered in various House and Senate committees: Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to lower voting age from 21 to 18; to allow counsel to assist clients in local draft board proceedings; to provide a new maritime program; to facilitate entry of foreign tourists, and to authorize noise abatement regulations.

GREEN BAY OIL POLLUTION: I announced last week that Coast units in the area have been directed to be on the alert for tankers dumping oil in Green Bay. After receiving reports of such discharges, I took the matter up with the Corps of Engineers and the Coast Guard and both these agencies promised that the law prohibiting oil deposits would be vigorously enforced.

REPORT TO THE 22D CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

MR. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, since my election to Congress, I have made periodic reports to the residents of my district on major legislation and my activities in Congress. I believe it is the responsibility of every Member to inform his constituents of his position on various issues and his efforts in their behalf. I submit for the RECORD and for the benefit of my colleagues, my May 1968 Newsletter to the residents of the 22d District of New York:

MAY 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: In some Congressional sessions, it is the members of Congress themselves who generate the force and momentum that one feels on Capitol Hill. After the 1964 election, for example, the new liberal majority knew what it wanted and proceeded, in rapid and systematic fashion, to enact such legislation as Medicare, Federal aid to education and the Model Cities Program. But this year, events in the country have set the tone on Capitol Hill. A conservative majority, elected in 1966, has been reluctant to pass the reforms that the nation requires. But a popular ferment has kept the Congress alert. The source of this ferment has been the war in Vietnam, the crisis of the dollar and the tragic assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. The result has scarcely been a legislative program equal to the national needs. The Republican-Dixiecrat coalition sees to it that we remain behind the times.

Before going on to legislation, however, let me say a word about Vietnam, because it has so profoundly influenced the course of our national life in recent years. Like every reader of this letter, I am thrilled at the convening of the Vietnam peace conference in Paris. Thus far, the indications are that both sides genuinely want to end the fighting. My own position on the Vietnam war has never been in doubt. Though I have not questioned the good faith of the President, I considered it extremely unwise for our country to get involved in a bitter Asian land war, especially one in which the issues were so confused. As far back as January, 1966, I wrote to the President that "I regard the Vietnam war as wasteful to American lives and resources. . . ." More recently, I joined with colleagues to appeal to the President to halt the bombing of the North, for "the risks are catastrophic involvement with Communist China and the Soviet Union and possible nuclear war." I am happy that our government has come to the conclusion that the war must be brought to an end and I want to thank you, my constituents, for supporting me in my appeals to our President. I believe that peace—and the chance to pursue our goals at home—is the only prudent course for the United States.

While I am on the subject of foreign policy, let me say a word about Israel. I have asked the President to furnish modern aircraft to Israel and to offer to the world a forthright guarantee of Israel's security. I have urged this in the interests of peace, not war, for the Soviet Union is arming the Arab states at a rate that can only mean a further attack on Israel is being planned. It is not inconsistent for me to urge withdrawal in Vietnam and a strong stand in the Middle East. By letting the Soviet Union, and its Arab satellites, know that we will not tolerate another attack on Israel, a sovereign state, we are contributing to stability in that region of the world. That is why I believe our country must make very clear that we stand with Israel in its determination to survive and make for itself the kind of land its people desire.

It is a sad testimony to the temper of our times that so much of this letter must deal with violent behavior—war in Vietnam and the Middle East, riots and crime in our own society. We like to think of a man becoming more civilized, yet violence continues to be our daily fare. Last month, I attended the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, a man who preached non-violence but who died by a bullet. His death shocked Congress into passing an open housing law, very much like the one New York has had for some years, and a series of riot controls, of which Dr. King would also have approved. I deeply hope that we need no more martyrs for the just causes of our society.

To meet the escalating costs of the war in Vietnam, the President proposed some time ago that Congress approve a plan to increase taxes by 10 percent. As a member of the

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Ways and Means Committee, I had the responsibility for considering that proposal. Some months ago, I told you that I opposed the tax. Recently, a coalition of Dixiecrats and Conservative Republicans told the President they would not accept such a tax unless domestic programs were reduced by \$6 billion. I have fought too long to get these programs underway and to keep them operative. I will not now consent to their being dismantled. I am therefore more opposed than ever to the tax increase and I will not play the reactionaries' game.

The programs threatened by the tax bill are the long-range weapons against violence and crime. To deal with the threat in the short-term, I have strongly backed both gun control and anti-crime legislation in the current session. I think it is outrageous that powerful interest groups continue to block Federal controls on the transportation and sale of firearms. We continue to count the great Americans, to say nothing of the thousands of less eminent citizens, who are killed because a lunatic gets his hand—quite legally—on a gun. As for the anti-crime legislation, I am particularly favorable to the provisions for strengthening local police forces. We need Federal aid to train, equip and otherwise bolster the men who keep peace on our streets. Nothing is more important to a civilized society than being able to walk the streets safely and with a feeling of security.

Recently, I introduced a bill known as the More Effective Schools Act, modeled after the educational program of New York's own United Federation of Teachers. In introducing the bill, I stated that "no long-range cause has contributed more to the grievous condition of the American poor, than appalling deficiencies in our educational system." The program spelled out in the bill would reduce teacher-student ratios, support special training for teaching the poor, develop new curriculum and educational methods and provide funds for new construction. The bill will be expensive, but for too long we in this country have tried to do a major job—educate our young people—without being willing to pay the price. I congratulate New York's teachers on their thoughtful planning and on the conscientious efforts they are making to meet the needs of young people in today's urban society.

The needs of contemporary urban society are felt nowhere more deeply than in our own Congressional district. That is why I give so much attention to the programs that are directed toward our cities. I was deeply angered, for instance, by the cuts Congress made in anti-poverty appropriations and I introduced a bill in March to restore the funds that were eliminated. I consider such economies as this to be absurd; we pay later in broken lives for the petty savings we make today. I also proposed repeal of the inequities in the Social Security program enacted in last year's bill, inequities that have cost our citizens thousands in medicaid assistance and benefits under the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) Program. I have also introduced a bill to provide more low and middle income housing for our cities. Of course, I supported the appropriations for Model Cities, which had a promising start last year as an experimental program. On my recommendation, one of the pilot projects for the Model Cities Program is in our own Congressional District. The entire country will be looking to it for lessons.

Congress, of course, does not have all the answers for our troubled times. That is why my staff and I welcome your viewpoints—and, furthermore, stand ready to assist you in any problems you may have with the Federal government. Please call at my office in the Bronx at 1004 East 163rd Street or write to me here in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

JACOB H. GILBERT,
Member of Congress,
22d Congressional District.

ISRAEL BEGINS 21ST YEAR OF STATEHOOD

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago the Jews of the world at long last found a homeland they could call their own. On May 15, 1948, the British mandate in Palestine ended and Israel was proclaimed a free and independent state.

Significantly, the United States was the first nation to recognize the newly established state, and in the ensuing years we have witnessed in Israel a dynamism and a will to survive and prosper that mirror the pioneer days of our own great history.

Survival for Israel has certainly not been easy, and has, in fact, been possible only because of a gallantry and determination born of thousands of years of unspeakable persecution. Yet despite continued harassment, she boasts today a technology, an educational system, and an economy rivaling that of any nation in the world of comparable size. Most importantly, she represents a bastion of freedom in an all too volatile Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, let us hope and pray that Israel will not again have to demonstrate her ability to repel those who would threaten her well-being or even deny her right to existence. Our country must continue to extend aid and friendship to Israel, and we must join hands with all peace-loving nations of the world to assure her right to continue her magnificent quest as outlined in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel:

We declare that, with effects from the moment of the termination of the mandate, being tonight, the eve of Sabbath, the 6th Iyar, 5708 (15th May 1948), until the establishment of the elected, regular authorities of the state in accordance with the constitution which shall be adopted by elected constituent assembly not later than the 1st October 1948, the people's council shall act as a provisional council of state, and its executive organ, the people's administration, shall be the provisional government of the Jewish State, to be called "Israel."

The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and for the ingathering of the exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice, and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will insure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race, or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education, and culture; it will safeguard the holy places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The State of Israel is prepared to cooperate with the agencies and representatives of the United Nations in implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of the 29th November 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union of the whole of Eretz-Israel.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building up of its State and to receive the State of Israel into the comity of nations.

We appeal—in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months—to the Arab inhabitants of the State

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of Israel to preserve peace and participate in upbuilding of the state on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

We extend our hand to all neighboring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighborliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

We appeal to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream—the redemption of Israel.

Placing our trust in the Almighty, we affix our signatures to this proclamation at this session of the provisional council of state, on the soil of the homeland, in the city of Tel-Aviv, on this Sabbath eve, the 5th day of Iyar, 5708 (14th May 1948).

FEED GRAINS AND WHEAT PROGRAMS SHOULD BE ENDED

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, standing on the floor of this Chamber to discuss farm programs is very much like trying to use new language in swapping baseball stories.

Nonetheless, the farm mess—to use a trite expression—is very much with us.

The triteness only serves to emphasize my belief—and I believe the convictions of many commercial farmers—that the Government should get out of the business of trying to legislate prosperity on the farm by means of commodity programs. The reason—it simply has not worked.

Government indeed does have a place in the farm spectrum. It should help with research, act as an umpire in the areas of regulation, foster agricultural education, help to meet credit problems, and—through land retirement—ease the adjustment to marketplace disciplines.

But, the mess with which we now live, and have lived for nearly 40 years, is a tangle of Government bureaucracy, bungling, and misinformation.

In some mysterious way in this highly urbanized Nation of ours we have come to the juncture at which many politicians—especially those who know very little about the subject—have come to equate farm commodity programs with motherhood. Very few subjects have been treated with more emotion and less dependence upon fact.

In the full realization that facts are not as interesting as emotional outbursts, I will, nevertheless, try to present a few simple and basic ones.

The first is that since 1933, this Government has spent \$51 billion—that is billion—on farm subsidies and controls.

The second point tied closely to the first—is that after all these years and all that money, the farm parity index is at 73, which on an annual basis is at the same low point that index was in 1933—in the depth of the depression.

Now, I have no illusions about that word "parity," and I know the pitfalls

inherent in using it, but it still represents a general guideline on how well or poorly farmers are doing in relationship to other segments of the economy.

I know, too, the specious arguments of the advocates of Government farm programs who cry, "Oh, but just think how low farm prices would have been," had it not been for all these expensive, restrictive, and in some instance, idiotic farm programs.

My answer to these parrots of the never-never land is that they simply do not know where farm prices would have been without commodity programs. They may make claim to conclusions which are dressed up to appear scholarly, they may ponder their own navels month upon month, and they may even, in fact, talk to each other. But the grim truth is that they do not know. The situation reminds me a bit of the woman who wins big at the race track on her first day ever there while the professional form students go home broke.

That is the trouble with the gloom-sayers who lack confidence in the competitive economic system—they almost never get people into their forecasts, and people will upset them just about every time.

I do not suppose I need remind my colleagues that farmers are people, most of them well-educated, experienced, able businessmen.

A third salient point should be made. Over all of these years during which this Congress has been concerned about commodity control programs, more than 60 percent of America's farm produce has been going to market without Washington's benevolent controls.

And how have these farmers been doing?

Very well, thank you.

These are the producers of crops like beef, pork, vegetables, and fruits, and they have demonstrated an ability to forecast and compete that rivals the best business judgment of other parts of the economy.

It often occurs to me that in trying to foist Government programs onto farmers, members of that sect—and it includes almost all of the hierarchy in the U.S. Department of Agriculture—actually are demeaning the American farmers. Of course, they do not make cruel jokes. They are more subtle than that.

But, the net effect of all their plans and programs is to tell the American farmer that he is economically and mentally impotent, and that if only the American farmer will have the good sense to leave it all to "Big Brother" in Washington, everything will be fine.

The catch is that everything is anything but fine—the best laid plans—

Over the years I have wondered often and hard why the bureaucrats of Washington and some of us here in this Chamber insist on treating the farmer as a poor country cousin.

When we act like that, do we really appreciate that the American farmer is the most efficient producer of food and fiber the world has ever known? Do we?

Do we really appreciate that he has absorbed and put into practice some of the most advanced technology of our age?

Do we really appreciate that our peo-

ple are paying much less, on an hourly wage basis, for food, than years past?

Do we really appreciate not only the quantity, but the quality and the great numbers of food products we now can buy the entire year around?

Do we really appreciate that the modern American farmer is an outstanding businessman and worker whose capital investment is larger than that of many businessmen in other fields.

If we do appreciate those facts of the life and work of the American farmer, I wonder why we continue to insist he should be put on the dole of Government payments, placed in the ludicrous position of taking controls on what he should plant from the hands of deskbound bureaucrats.

The district I represent in Illinois includes some of the very best farmland of this Nation. I know there are farmers in my district who take Government payments, who plan according to the dictates of bureaucracy.

I am not opposed to Government payments and controls because I begrudge them. I am opposed for the very simple reason that I know the able farmers of my district, and able farmers everywhere, will do better economically without the fetters of Government controls.

My great fear is that even the best farmer in the United States slowly can become addicted to Government payments. And, let my colleagues be aware that bureaucrats know this, too.

They know—as I fear—that the best intentions and judgment can be subverted and ruined by the constancy of a Government payment. When that happens, the bureaucrat has the farmer exactly where he wants him—thumb-screwed.

I have wondered too, with all this talk of a guaranteed annual wage for some of our citizens, how different that proposal is than Government payments to farmers. Is it really different?

I have not liked to think that farmers are on a guaranteed annual wage, but I have come to acknowledge to myself that here I would not be completely objective and accurate if I made such an appraisal.

What do I propose we do about all this?

Supported by several other Members of this Congress, including a Democratic Senator, I am advocating legislation to end controls and subsidies on two of the six supported crops—wheat and feed grains.

Our proposal would take the Government out of the business of buying, selling, storing, pricing, and otherwise controlling the production of these grains.

It would provide credit guarantees so that farmers could borrow against their harvested crops. That, in turn, would enable them to supplant the bureaucrats in deciding when to move their produce onto the open market.

The four remaining controlled crops—tobacco, peanuts, cotton, and rice—also can be similarly freed through carefully operated transitions.

This is not only in the interests of saving billions of dollars of Government money—as important as that is—but it is vital to our vast population—consumers.

For, make no mistake, Government commodity programs encourage ineffi-

cient production patterns. And, any time food is produced less efficiently than it can be, it will be more expensive than it need be.

Most important of all, ending commodity programs is absolutely essential to the vitality and advancement of those who till the fields—the farmers themselves.

Herewith is the text of my proposal—H.R. 8001—to end existing programs for feed grains and wheat and to replace them with a program under which farmers will be able to compete for expanding markets without the encumbrance of Government interference and dictation.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 8001

A bill to repeal the authority for the current wheat and feed grain programs and to authorize programs that will permit the market system to work more effectively for wheat and feed grains, and for other purposes:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Wheat and Feed Grains Act of 1967".

FINDINGS OF FACT AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. The Government-held surpluses of wheat and feed grains of years past have been largely eliminated. This improved situation is due to combination of factors including rapidly expanding domestic use of grains, greatly increased commercial exports, and United States food aid shipments to meet emergencies and foster economic progress in undeveloped nations of the world.

There is evidence that the Nation and a hungry world need increased production and use of wheat and feed grains. This objective is inconsistent with programs which pay farmers to restrict their plantings. Increased needs at home and abroad require the discontinuance of outmoded programs.

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress and the purpose of this Act to repeal all authority for acreage allotments, marketing quotas, marketing certificates, diversion payments, and price-support payments on wheat, and base acreages, diversion payments, and price-support payments on feed grains. It is further intended that the current stocks of wheat and feed grains in Commodity Credit Corporation inventory, along with those coming into Commodity Credit Corporation inventory from the 1967 crops, shall not be disposed of in a manner which disrupts the market price. It is also declared to be the policy of Congress that Government insurance shall be made available for recourse loans to producers of wheat and feed grains. Such insured recourse loans shall be made available through banks and other private financial institutions. These actions will permit the market to operate and enable producers of wheat and feed grains to get their income in the marketplace.

TITLE I—TERMINATION OF EXISTING WHEAT AND FEED GRAIN PROGRAMS

SEC. 101. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, effective with the 1968 crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum—

(a) sections 321 through 339 of parts II and III of subtitle B and section 379(a) through 379(j) of subtitle D of title III of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended (52 Stat. 31; 7 U.S.C. et seq.), are repealed; parts IV, V, and VI of subtitle B are redesignated as parts II, III, and IV, respectively, and subtitle F is redesignated as subtitle D; and

(b) subsection (1) of section 16 of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (16 U.S.C. 590p), as amended, is repealed.

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SEC. 102. Effective with the 1968 crop of wheat, the Act of May 26, 1941, as amended (Public Law 74, Seventy-seventh Congress, 55 Stat. 203), is repealed.

SEC. 103. Effective with the 1968 crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum, section 327 and 328 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-703 Eighty-seventh Congress) are repealed.

SEC. 104. Effective with the 1968 crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum, the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1441 note), is amended—

(a) by changing section 105 to read as follows:

"SEC. 105. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning with the 1968 crops, price supports shall not be made available to producers for any crop of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum."

(b) by repealing section 107.

TITLE II—RESTRICTIONS ON SALES BY THE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

SEC. 201. Section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1427), is amended—

(a) by changing the period at the end of the fourth sentence to a colon and adding the following: "Provided, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning July 1, 1967, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall not make any sales (except sales offset by equivalent purchases, but including sales made in redemption of payment-in-kind obligations of the Commodity Credit Corporation under its programs) of its stocks held or acquired from crops prior to the 1968 crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, or grain sorghum, at less than—

"(1) 125 per centum of the 1967 loan rate for such commodity, plus reasonable carrying charges,

"(2) 85 per centum of parity for such commodity, or

"(3) the market price for such commodity at the time of sale, whichever is highest."

(b) by deleting the seventh sentence.

TITLE III—COMMODITY LOAN INSURANCE FOR WHEAT AND FEED GRAINS

SEC. 301. (a) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized and directed, upon such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, to insure banks and other financial institutions which are qualified by experience or facilities, against losses which they may sustain as a result of loans, advances of credit, and purchases of such obligations, made to producers on the 1968 and subsequent crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum.

(b) Loans, advances of credit, and purchases of such obligations to be eligible for insurance under this section shall not exceed 90 per centum of the estimated season average market price for such commodity, adjusted for grade and location, for each marketing year as determined and announced by the Secretary of Agriculture prior to the beginning of each marketing year.

(c) Insurance shall not be granted by the Secretary of Agriculture under this section to any financial institution on loans, advances of credit, and purchases of such obligations made by such financial institutions in excess of 75 per centum of the total amount of such loans, advances of credit, and purchases: *Provided*, That the amount of any claim for loss on any such individual loan, advance of credit, or purchase of such obligations paid by the Secretary under the provisions of this section to a financial institution shall not exceed 90 per centum of such loss.

(d) No insurance shall be granted under this section to any financial institution with respect to any obligation representing any such loan, advance of credit, or purchase if such obligation has a maturity in excess of eighteen months.

(e) The Secretary shall fix a premium

charge for the insurance granted under this section which shall not exceed an amount equivalent to 1 per centum per annum of the net proceeds to the financial institution of such loan, advance of credit, or purchase. Such premium charge shall be payable in advance by the financial institution.

(f) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title. The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to utilize the facilities, services, authorities, and funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation in discharging his function and responsibilities under this title.

SEC. 302. Effective with the 1968 crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum, section 5 of the Commodity Credit Corporation Charter Act (15 U.S.C. 714c), as amended, is amended by changing the period at the end of paragraph (a) to a colon and adding the following: "Provided, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Corporation's powers with respect to wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum shall be limited to insuring loans, advances of credit, and purchases of such obligations made by banks and other financial institutions to producers of such commodities."

EUGENE J. McCARTHY—POET LAUREATE

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, thanks to Shana Alexander and *Life* magazine, the people of America have been given an opportunity to read and enjoy the poetry of our distinguished colleague in the Senate, EUGENE J. McCARTHY. I am taking the liberty, Mr. Speaker, to append to my remarks Senator McCARTHY's ode, entitled "Three Bad Signs."

Based on this sample alone, EUGENE McCARTHY, in my judgment, belongs in the front ranks of American lyric poets. His lines are lean and taut and flow with the dancing, velvety cadences of moonbeams on the Wabash, while his words glow like a sparkling lavaliere.

Structured like a fugue, the recurrent theme of loneliness caresses each movement of the poem. The first movement deals with the loneliness of xenophobia, the fear of strange and exotic people or things, reflected in a local ordinance against peddlers. The second movement deals with the tawdry emptiness of the monochromatic way of life, relieved only by the variegated colors of cocktails. The third movement deals with a loneliness so empty that God Himself seems scarce there to be—the mortician who, for a fee, weeps and mourns in all faiths for the soul of the departed and for the solace of his survivors.

Indeed, as a whole, the tone of the poem reflects the loneliness of the campaign trail, the burden carried by messiahs, through all generations of man, speaking to multitudes who will not hear, and if listening will not see.

Senator McCARTHY employs with gentle grace the pastoral imagery which adorns the Biblical exegesis. His verse embraces the peace and tranquillity with the tender affection that Walt Whitman's lines embrace the frenetic movement of Brooklyn's piers and wharves.

Fate's store for the Senator I cannot surmise, but a Pulitzer he deserves as consolation prize.

"Three Bad Signs," by EUGENE J. McCARTHY, follows:

THREE BAD SIGNS

The first Bad Sign is this:
"Green River Ordinance Enforced Here.
Peddlers Not Allowed."
This is a clean, safe town.
No one can just come round
With ribbons and bright thread
Or new books to be read.
This is an established place.
We have accepted patterns in lace,
And ban itinerant vendors of new forms and
whirls,

All things that turn the heads of girls.
We are not narrow, but we live with care.
Gypsies, hawkers and minstrels are right
for a fair.

But transient peddlers, nuisances, we say
From Green River must be kept away.
Traveling preachers, actors with a play,
Can pass through, but may not stay.
Phoenicians, Jews, men of Venice—
Know that this is the home of Kiwanis.
All you who have been round the world
to find

Beauty in small things: read our sign
And move on.

The second Bad Sign is this:
"Mixed Drinks."

"Mixed Drinks."
What mystery blinks
As in the thin blood of the neon sign
The uncertain hearts of the customers
Are tested there in the window.
Embolism after embolism, repeating.
Mixed drinks between the art movie
And the Reasonable Rates Hotel.
Mixed drinks are class,
Each requires a different glass.
Mixed drink is manhattan red
Between the adult movie and the unmade
bed

Mixed drink is daiquiri green
Between the gospel mission and the sheen
Of hair oil on the rose planted paper.
Mixed drink is remembrance between
unshaded

Forty-watt bulbs hung from the ceiling.
Between the light a man cannot live by,
And the better darkness.
Mixed drink is the sign of contradiction.

The third Bad Sign is this:
"We Serve All Faiths."

We serve all faiths:
We the morticians.
Tobias is out, he has had it.
We do not bury the dead.
Not, He died, was buried and after three
days arose.
But he died, was revived, and after three days
was buried alive.
This is our scripture.
Do not disturb the established practitioner.
Do not disturb the traditional mortician:
Giving fans to the church, for hot days,
Dropping a calendar at the nursing home,
A pamphlet in the hospital waiting room,
An ad in the testimonial brochure at the
retirement banquet.
Promising the right music, the artificial grass.
We bury faith of all kinds.
Foreverness does not come easily.
The rates should be higher.

SPEAKER JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Joe Martin was Speaker of the House when I began

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

my congressional career in January of 1953. I can never forget the kindness, the humility, and the greatness of a man who was an institution in the Congress and truly "Mr. Republican."

Joe Martin saw to it that each new Member of Congress was given the benefit of his long experience. Such thoughtfulness was typical of everything he did throughout his long career of public service and it will be the quality which, among many others, will cause us to always revere the name and memory of Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

THE RELIABILITY OF SEMANTICS

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting column concerning the use of language as applied to public officials and candidates for public office has been written by Mr. William H. Rentschler, whose weekly column "Viewpoint From Mid-America" is published by a number of newspapers in Illinois.

Mr. Rentschler discusses specifically the use of the words "moderate" and "dove" and "hawk" to describe public and political figures. His thesis is that these words are sometimes erroneously applied and that the reader should be wary of them.

I submit Mr. Rentschler's column for the RECORD as follows:

VIEWPOINT FROM MID-AMERICA

(By William H. Rentschler)

Semantics, says the ever-reliable Mr. Webster, is the "science of meanings."

In the realm of politics and journalism, sly semanticists abound, those who bend words to their own peculiar and sometimes nefarious use.

One such word, positively exquisite in its subtle impact and endless ramifications, is "moderate."

A moderate, as this choice word is defined, is at worst a good and noble man, often bordering on the saintly. He may in fact be dull as dishwater or even something of a rogue, but he is billed as restrained and temperate, witty and wise, brilliant and compassionate, uniquely able to resist all temptation and solve all problems, a veritable prince of a fellow. As it is used today, the word "moderate" wraps up all the virtues of St. Francis, Lassie, Lancelot, Steve Canyon, and Jacqueline Kennedy before the fuss about that awful book.

The opposite of moderate, of course, is immoderate. Anyone who is immoderate is extreme—horrid word—which means he is rash, dogmatic, irritable, gauche, crass, not to be trusted and usually reactionary. Thus almost anyone deprived of the moderate label by the handicapper is likely to come off smelling like a combination of Lucifer, Benito Mussolini, Lee Harvey Oswald, and the wicked witch of the West.

In their special wisdom, the overlords of the mass media have ordained that Nelson Rockefeller is the moderate candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. The golden governor is, therefore, their tiger, God bless him. To show broad-mindedness, which is essential, these savants have bestowed on New York Mayor John Lindsay and Sen. Charles Percy (R., Ill.) the title of Moderate, Junior Grade, which is something

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to be coveted and which means these fellows are being watched by the king-makers.

All this consigns to "non-moderate" status good ole Rocky's only serious competitor, Richard Nixon, who is miles ahead, and Ronald Reagan, hovering hopefully just off-stage.

It's a beautiful gimmick, this matter of attempted elevation and/or assassination by semantics.

Our candidate is moderate, purr the Rocky buffs. Yours is—well, he, er, uh, well, he certainly isn't moderate—so draw your own conclusions, fellow citizens.

Some adult Americans, believe it or not, are actually suckered in by this sort of stuff. Honest.

Then there is the matter of ornithological semantics, which is strictly for the birds—in this case "doves" and "hawks."

Is there anyone on this earth more arrogantly presumptuous than the Vietnam dove who loftily proclaims himself a—in fact the—"peace" candidate?

This leaves the "hawk" in the distinctly ungracious posture of "war" candidate, which, of course, is the whole purpose of this particular exercise in semantics.

In the sneaky lexicon of Vietnam, dove means peace and hawk means war. Dove means good and hawk means bad, even evil.

Indeed the typical hawk is convinced a course of firmness, even at the negotiating table, is more likely to secure a just and durable peace than a pull-out, run-for-home, peace-at-any-price posture.

Yet every so-called hawk I have encountered—with precious few rash exceptions—devoutly wishes for peace, seeks an end to the war via negotiations, and thinks in terms of realistic compromise to achieve this objective.

History is on the side of the hawks. A scrutiny of mankind's turbulent past proves that doveship—there are countless examples other than Neville Chamberlain—rarely begets peace but often eggs on the warmakers.

Yet "hawk" remains a hot, inflammatory, aggressive sort of word, and "dove" connotes tranquility, reason, and—ah, yes—peace.

Do you suppose that's why some canny semanticist applied those misleading bird-words to Vietnam policy in the first place?

Could be.

So be wary, my friends, wary of words and the beguiling wordsmiths who have proved long since they can fool most of the people some of the time.

DO WE HAVE AN ATTORNEY GENERAL?

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, if we have an Attorney General, perhaps he would understand better how the people in the country feel about the situation if he would read the following letter from one of my constituents. I long for the good old days.

The letter follows:

CORSCIANA, TEX.,
April 30, 1968.

Congressman OLIN TEAGUE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Do you remember "way back when"—

1. The government of the United States was for the people, By the people, and of the people?

2. The Constitution of the U.S. was not just a piece of paper to be ignored?

3. Criminals were treated as such? (Regardless of how poor they were as children)

4. The supreme court upheld law and order and had a purpose other than forcing unconstitutional laws down law abiding citizens' throats?

5. Treason was treason, regardless of what else it may be called?

6. The U.S. government would never consider paying blackmail fees, or be so spineless as to pay off rioters, looters and murderers so it will not happen again.

7. The majority of schools began their days with a prayer to God for a nation that stood strong and that our nation would always be in the right. But the love for our nation was so strong that it was "Our Nation, right or wrong."

8. As the flag passed by, our hearts nearly burst with pride and it was so very hard to keep a dry eye?

Mr. Teague, do you ever long for those "good old days"? I do.

Sincerely,

Mrs. D. L. SIMMONS.

ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE CONTROLS ON CONDUCT

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the Hartford Courant recently published an editorial dealing with actions of the Senate and the House in adding amendments to bills under consideration. The Courant warns its readers that in its opinion—

The possibility of interference is present when the Government supports any activity—whether in the theater, broadcasting, literature or painting. Those who think that the Government will support these activities without letting politicians interfere with them are being excessively idealistic.

I offer the editorial for the RECORD:

ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE CONTROLS ON CONDUCT

The ban on federal employment for convicted rioters that was voted 61 to 9 by the Senate is not likely to do much to force ghetto dwellers to behave in a more quiet manner. It expresses the emotional attitude of those proposing it, and probably of a large part of the nation's voters. But the important question here is whether such coercion is the right way to go about ending disturbances caused by deep discontent.

Civil-rights demonstrators are likely to pay no attention to it even if it passed as an amendment to the crime-control bill. This proposal further distorts the purpose of the bill, originally designed and passed by the House last year to provide federal grants to improve local law enforcement.

Other amendments would sanction wire-tapping and electronic bugging under loose supervision, remove Supreme Court restrictions on treatment of the accused and ban interstate mail-order sales of handguns. If these amendments cause defeat of the bill because it has become what Senator Young of Ohio called an "abominable legislative proposal," then they may have served their purpose.

The reminder by the House that those who receive student grants and loans may be subject to control in their actions is another move in the same direction. The House has threatened to punish student rebels by withdrawing Government money that helps support some of them. Those who conform would continue to be favored.

Under the Education Act of 1965, aid goes

to students in the form of loans, scholarships, fellowships, and work grants. More than 500,000 students are expected to receive \$500 million this year in various programs, not counting servicemen returning from Vietnam. Since Congress is financing their education, some of its members may be tempted to try to tell them what they can think, write and do.

It would be an interference with academic freedom. Those with power and money are understandably alarmed when this freedom is seen in the light of riots and social irresponsibility. The possibility of interference is present when the Government supports any activity—whether in the theater, broadcasting, literature or painting. Those who think that the Government will support these activities without letting politicians interfere with them are being excessively idealistic. The threat to civil-rights activists and university demonstrators, as well as to scholarship students, illustrates the danger.

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on February 23 of this year, the Director of the FBI, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, appeared before a House Appropriations Subcommittee concerning the Bureau's fiscal year 1969 appropriation. As he does annually, Mr. Hoover commented on various radical and subversive groups which operate in this country. Concerning one such extremist organization, Students for a Democratic Society, Mr. Hoover had this to say:

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The new left student movement in this country has so captured the attention of the Nation in the past several years as to merit hundreds of articles in the news media and to initiate a broad range of speculation about its future role in our country.

It is many-sided. It is political theory, sociology, and bitter protest. It is linked with civil rights, the fight against poverty, the American war in Vietnam. It involves students, faculty members, writers, intellectuals, beatniks, most of them being quite young. The mood of this movement, which is best typified by its primary spokesman, the Students for a Democratic Society, is a mood of disillusionment, pessimism, and alienation. At the center of the movement is an almost passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down. If anything definite can be said about the Students for a Democratic Society, it is that it can be called anarchistic.

A national leader of the Students for a Democratic Society during the summer of 1967 claimed a membership of 30,000 for the organization. "New Left Notes," a weekly publication of Students for a Democratic Society, in its issue dated June 26, 1967, stated there was a recorded membership of 6,371 with a total of nearly 250 chapters, mostly on college campuses. Of the 6,371 members, only 875 had paid dues since January 1, 1967. The organization is infiltrated by Communist Party members and Party Leader Gus Hall has described the organization as part of the "responsible left" which the party has "going for us."

In late June 1967, the Students for a Democratic Society held its national convention on the campus of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. In continuance of past pro-

grams, the organization called for acts of civil disobedience when necessary. It called for continued demonstrations against U.S. policy in Vietnam, radicalizing the student power movement by connecting it with radical off-campus issues, and the taking over of the colleges and universities by the students.

The Students for a Democratic Society is opposed to conscription in any form and if it has any one program at this time, it is draft resistance. It called for the formation of antidraft unions and the utilization of such tactics as disrupting the Selective Service System apparatus by demonstrations and civil disobedience. It advocated agitation by those men in uniform and urged members of the armed services to desert and go "underground."

In keeping with its past course of action and to put into practice its programs that were outlined at the 1967 national convention, the Students for a Democratic Society has seized upon every opportunity to foment discord among the youth of this country.

Student dissent and behavior are not what really concern perceptive citizens today. Student unrest and dissatisfaction have been erupting through the centuries and dissent is an integral part of our American way of life. What is of concern in the new left movement is its alienation from our democratic thought, processes, and ideals; the open hostility of these students to law and order, to civilized behavior and the concept of liberty under law.

The new left identifies itself with the problems of American society, such as civil rights, poverty, disease, and slums. With its anarchistic bent, however, it refuses to cooperate sincerely with other groups interested in eradicating these same problems, and despite the new leftist's protestations of sincerity, he is not legitimately interested in bringing about a better nation. On the contrary, he is dedicated—in his bizarre and unpredictable ways—to cut the taproots of American society.

The new left should not be arbitrarily equated with the traditional old-line left. Although they become prey to the superior organizational ability and talents of the old-line subversive organizations, such as the Communist Party-U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party, and the like, to simply identify them as Moscow or Peking Communists would be missing the point. To put it bluntly, they are a new type of subversive and their danger is great. In a population which is becoming increasingly youthful, the new left can be expected to find wider fields of endeavor and to try to do all that it can to infect the rising generation with its anti-American prattle.

The above statement by the Director of the FBI is especially interesting because of recent events at Columbia University. What the national convention of SDS called for in June 1967; namely, acts of civil disobedience and the taking over of the colleges and universities by the students was put into effect less than a year later at Columbia. Barron's, the national business and financial weekly, in its May 20 issue, features a revealing article on the Columbia affair by Robert Hessen, a young instructor in Columbia University's Graduate School of Business and a candidate for a doctorate in the Department of History. He outlines how SDS forces carried to fruition the directives of the 1967 SDS national convention and disrupted the operation of a major center of education. As the press had recently carried accounts of other student forays against school administrators, Mr. Hessen's recommendations are of national significance:

Now is the time for intelligent counteraction. One means is to withhold financial support from colleges which condone or compromise with student terror tactics. A second is to write to the president and trustees of colleges urging that they endorse the following position: that their institution offers no sanctuary to any group which advocates the initiation of physical force, and that they will act immediately and without hesitation to expel and criminally prosecute any student guilty of such tactics.

The radical tenets of progressive education are today reaping the whirlwind and Johnny is expressing himself in accordance with the permissive schools of thought. Of course, the number of disruptive students involved is but a small minority of the student body, but numbers are no realistic criterion as was evidenced by the episode at Columbia. Perhaps now the age-old doctrine of discipline will again be reestablished either by the administrators or by the alumni—through their judicious review of future contributions.

I place the article, "Campus or Battleground?" by Robert Hessen, appearing in the May 20, 1968, issue of Barron's in the RECORD at this point:

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND?—COLUMBIA IS A WARNING TO ALL AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

(Note.—The accompanying article was written by Robert Hessen, a young instructor in Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and candidate for a doctorate in the Department of History.)

A larger-than-life portrait of Karl Marx dominated the entrance of a classroom building; a red flag flew from its rooftop. Chains barred the doors of other buildings, and chanting mobs roamed across the campus. The scene might have been the University of Havana or Peking. It wasn't. It took place just a few express stops from Wall Street, at Columbia University, where, from April 23-30, student leftists seized and occupied five university buildings.

The siege tactics which disrupted Columbia and brought its normal activities to a halt represent the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America. The rebels are members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a nationwide organization with chapters on over 250 campuses (Barron's, November 15, 1965, and March 11, 1968).

Originally, when SDS began as an outgrowth of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it repudiated communism as an authoritarian system and excluded communists from its membership. However, in 1964-65, SDS sought to broaden its power base by forming a united front with communist youth groups. Although SDS continued to describe its objectives in such murky phrases as "participatory democracy," the real tenor of its philosophy can best be seen in its intellectual heroes, Marx and Mao; in its action hero, Che Guevara; and in its slogans scrawled across the embattled Columbia campus—"Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win, too!"

SDS' hard-core membership at Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,800 students. But after it seized campus buildings, barred faculty and students from their offices and classrooms, and held a dean as hostage, its ranks were swelled by several hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

(1) The severing of Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-sponsored consortium which performs research and analysis relating to na-

tional defense and domestic riot control. SDS complained that Columbia's affiliation was aiding America's "imperialist aggression" in Vietnam, while at home I.D.A.'s studies in riot control were designed to suppress demonstrations by anti-war groups.

(2) A halt to the construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, which adjoins Harlem, on land leased to Columbia by the City of New York.

SDS claimed that Columbia was guilty of "institutional racism," that the university was poaching upon the territory of the adjacent Negro community, and that the separate entrance for the part of the gym set aside for use by the neighborhood children constituted "Gym Crow."

In fact, the Columbia gymnasium had been warmly endorsed by over 40 Harlem community groups when it was announced eight years ago. It would occupy only two of the 30 acres in Morningside Park. Its presence would create an atmosphere of safety in an area which is now the territory of muggers and addicts. Separate entrances would be necessary because Columbia students would enter from the Heights on which the university is located, while Harlem residents would more conveniently reach the gym through the park which lies some 200 feet below. The issue is not one of bigotry but of geography.

SDS spokesmen claimed, truthfully, that they had sought to arouse the Columbia community into opposing the gym and the I.D.A. links. They admit that their campaign was a failure, which they ascribe to student and faculty apathy, and to the administration's refusal to hear and to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted to their ultimate political weapon: the initiation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had released many trial balloons to test this technique: they had obstructed N.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had prevented recruiters for business firms and the C.I.A. from interviewing on campus. In each case, the consequence had been a polite rap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

On April 23, after trying to block construction at the gym site, SDS demonstrators and their militant Negro allies, members of the Student Afro-American Society, returned to campus. At the urging of their leaders, they marched on Hamilton Hall, the main classroom building of Columbia College. They were determined to barricade themselves in until the university met their demands. An unexpected fissure occurred within the ranks of the rebels who claimed to be united in their opposition to racism: the Negro militants ordered the whites to get out, and SDS complied. SDS then proceeded to capture a base of operation of its own. The rebels first seized the administrative offices of President Grayson Kirk in Low Library, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with bewilderment and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed caravans of litter-bearers marching across campus with cartons of supplies, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not ordered the cutting off of electricity, water and telephones inside the buildings held by the rebels, since it was known that they were making Xerox copies of President Kirk's letter files and formulating strategy with outside allies by phone.

The administration's failure to take prompt action evidently sprang from a number of motives: fear of bad publicity; uncertainty

about the morality of using the police to uphold law and order; reluctance to make a decision which might prove unpopular with some of the faculty, students or alumni; anxiety that members of the Harlem community might march on Columbia if police were used to clear the buildings; and the delusion that if they took no punitive action, the rebels would recognize them as men of good will. An SDS leader later admitted that if President Kirk had responded within the first hour, or even the first day, by sending in the university's own security police, the rebels would have "folded like a house of cards." By its inaction, the administration gave the rebels time to organize their resistance, bolster their morale and mobilize sympathizers and supplies from the outside.

Members of the senior faculty attempted to mediate between the administration and the rebels. But their efforts were futile, since they were faced with an impossible assignment: to devise a peace formula ambiguous enough to satisfy both sides—which meant that the terms of settlement had to both promise and refuse amnesty for the rebels. The faculty mediators labored under the belief that the rebels would be willing to negotiate for a peaceful solution to the mounting crisis. What they discovered, however, was that every concession made by the administration only produced escalated rebel demands. SDS' ultimate demand was that they be granted total amnesty as a pre-condition for negotiation.

It grew increasingly obvious that the rebels would not withdraw from the buildings until forced out by the police. They wanted blood to be shed, so that they could raise the cry of "police brutality," acquire the aura of martyrdom, and thereby win the majority of students and faculty to their side. Regrettably, President Kirk played right into their hands, by waiting until the sixth day of siege before calling in the police. The only other alternative open to him at that point would have been total capitulation, a final act of appeasement which would have served as an engraved invitation to renewed rebel demands in the future. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen campus security officers could have achieved what it later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, at a price of over 1,000 injured rebels, spectators and policemen.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an upsurge of sympathy for the rebels. Their allies on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to demand the ouster of President Kirk for having called them in. One mark of the effectiveness of this strike is that Columbia College, the undergraduate division of the university, voted to end all classes for the rest of the semester, which was scheduled to run another month. The strikers also won support from those who disapproved of both the tactics and objectives of SDS, but who wished to take advantage of the strike to bring about what is cryptically described as "restructuring of the university."

Even those most sympathetic to SDS, however, do not deny that the issues of I.D.A. and the gym were merely pretexts to justify the resort to force. SDS' short-range objective is to achieve "student power," which means total control over the university. They seek student veto power over appointment and tenure of faculty, admission of new students, courses offered by the university, degree requirements and the disposition of university funds. They propose to "radicalize the faculty," which means to purge it of conservatives and of law-and-order liberals who oppose the initiation of force to achieve political ends. As befits socialists, they regard the university as just another natural resource awaiting their expropriation.

But the long-range objective of SDS is even more sinister. As a sympathetic article in *The New Republic* (May 11, 1968) states: "The point of the game was power. And in the broadest sense, to the most radical members of the SDS Steering Committee, Columbia itself was not the issue. It was revolution, and if it could be shown that a great university could literally be taken over in a matter of days by a well-organized group of students, then no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the chaos a better America would emerge."

The rebels have no patience for any slow process of change. They are tired of "just talk"—they want "action now." They will tolerate no opposition. They are indifferent to the fact that their tactics will destroy Columbia University by driving out the best minds, just as Nazi terror tactics drove the Jewish intellectuals out of the universities of Germany. But there is a crucial difference now. While men like Einstein could escape to England or America during the 'Thirties, SDS will try to close all avenues of escape. The use of intimidation and force will spread until there will be no sanctuary for men of reason within the academic world, or, ultimately, within the nation. One need only consider the fate of conservatives and liberals alike in countries which have been overrun by SDS's intellectual mentors: Mao's China and Castro's Cuba.

Since SDS tactics have succeeded in crippling a great university, the next targets can be City Hall, the State Capitol, or even the White House. If this prediction seems alarmist, consider the fact that SDS sympathizers known as "Yippies" already have announced plans to intimidate and disrupt the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer, in order to extract concessions on platform and candidates.

Whatever the final outcome of the Columbia strike, one thing is certain: the methods used at Columbia will be embraced by other student leftists on campuses throughout the country. Those who resort to force will justify their tactics by the same arguments advanced by the Columbia rebels and their apologists. If this national menace is to be checked, it is imperative that one know how to answer them.

(1) Some rebels claim that none of their tactics involved the use of force. This was true only in the narrow sense that they did not shed blood. But force was inextricably involved in every act that they perpetrated. They held the Associate Dean as hostage against his will—that was force. They barricaded faculty and students from their offices and classrooms—that was force. They seized property which was not rightfully theirs and refused to release it until their demands were met—that was force. Each of these is punished as an act of force under the civil laws of our society. They are the crimes known as false imprisonment, criminal trespass and extortion.

If these acts were perpetrated by a lone individual, their criminal character would be obvious. If a single felon had held the dean hostage, or seized the office of President Kirk, rifled his desk and copied his files, no one would have confused him with an idealistic, "committed" crusader. On an individual basis, if someone demands that you grant him wealth or power that he has not earned and which he can only obtain by threats of violence, one does not doubt for a moment that he is an extortionist. The act of a lone thug does not become legitimized when he teams up with other hoodlums. As Ayn Rand noted in "Capitalism: the Unknown Ideal," no individual can acquire rights by joining a gang. "Rights are not a matter of numbers—and there can be no such thing, in law or in morality, as actions forbidden to an individual, but permitted to a mob."

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(2) Other rebels admit that they used force, but claim that force is justified when peaceful tactics fail. The fundamental political principle that all men must respect is that no individual or group may initiate the use of force for any purpose whatsoever. To accept SDS' alternative amounts to carte blanche for violence, and invites the complete breakdown of the rule of law.

To understand the grotesque irrationality of SDS' argument, consider the following. Imagine that there were a student chapter at Columbia of the Ku Klux Klan, which was protesting the proposed use of the new gym by Negroes. They tried, through campus rallies and petitions, to arouse the students, faculty and administration to support their demands, but their peaceful tactics failed. If this group then proceeded to seize university buildings and hold members of the administration as hostages, would anyone have condoned their use of force, or have called for negotiations and compromise? The principle is the same: the initiation of force to achieve one's political objectives is both immoral and illegal, regardless of whether the initials of the aggressors are KKK or SDS.

(3) The rebels claim they were justified in using force because the administration had refused to give them a hearing on their demands for change. A university, like a well-run business, should be interested in knowing whether it is satisfying its customers. If it provides students with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or supports political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies have a right to peacefully protest and petition, and even, in extreme situations, to boycott classes or organize a student strike. But they have no right to compel anyone to listen to their demands, nor a right to force other people to go on strike with them by prohibiting access to classes or by creating a general climate of terror to intimidate those who would oppose them.

(4) The rebels claim that since force is justified when peaceful tactics fail, they should be granted full amnesty. The single best answer to this argument is provided by Professor Leonard Peikoff in his forthcoming book, "Nazism and Contemporary America: the Ominous Parallels," who says: "The demand for amnesty on principle is the demand for the abdication on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formal sanction in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the promise that such acts may be perpetrated hereafter with impunity. It is a demand to institutionalize the appeasement of brute force as a principle of civil policy in this country."

(5) The rebels claim that police represent violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus which is a citadel of reason and persuasion. Here the rebels evade the fact that they were the ones who first resorted to violence. They obliterate the distinction between criminals who initiate the use of force and the police whose function is to retaliate with force to restore peace and to protect the rights of the victims.

(6) The rebels claim that their quarrel with the administration was purely an internal dispute, hence the introduction of police represents meddlesome interference by outsiders. By the same reasoning, one could just as well conclude that if workers seize a factory, customers seize a store, or tenants seize an apartment building, these, too, are internal matters and do not justify calling in the police. In reason there can be no such concept as an "internal dispute" which allows someone to be victimized and prevented from calling the police. Those who

violate property rights are scarcely in a position to claim that their conquered territory is "private property" upon which police may not enter.

(7) Rebels should not be criminally prosecuted. After all, they are students, not criminals. One need only remember that it was Nazi students who set fire to university libraries and terrorized professors. Being a student does not grant one an exemption from the laws which prohibit attacks on human life and property. The rebels acted like criminals and should be punished as such.

(8) It is impractical to suspend or expel the student rebels because there are so many of them. This amounts to saying that if a sufficiently large mob breaks the law or violates individual right, it will be immune from punishment. If this principle is accepted, then every lawbreaker will be safe from prosecution if he can find enough members for his gang. This will provide the leader with an absolutely irresistible recruitment device, and invite the outbreak of a reign of terror.

(9) Admittedly the rebels violated property rights, but calling in the police could result in injury or loss of life, which is more important than loss of property. This argument amounts to saying that the lives of aggressors are more important than the property of victims. In action, this would mean that the police should not restrain rioting mobs from looting stores, or interfere with the KKK when it uses firebombs on Negro churches. On this principle, any victim of theft or expropriation would be advised to surrender his property—his wallet or warehouse—without resistance, lest the thief be hurt in the struggle. Acceptance of this principle would make every individual the defenseless target for any vandal or socialist.

The Columbia crisis vitally affects the life of every American. No one's life or property can be secure in a society which tolerates the use of force by any group to achieve its goals. And no one will be safe as long as college and civil authorities persist in their policy of answering aggression with appeasement.

Now is the time for intelligent counteraction. One means is to withhold financial support from colleges which condone or compromise with student terror tactics. A second is to write to the president and trustees of colleges urging that they endorse the following position: that their institution offers no sanctuary to any group which advocates the initiation of physical force, and that they will act immediately and without hesitation to expel and criminally prosecute any student guilty of such tactics.

Men need to live by the guidance of rational principles and to resolve their disagreements peacefully. It is both immoral and impractical to abandon principles in a time of crisis, and then hope to survive on the basis of pragmatic expediency and cowardly compromise. Each time that a violation of individual rights is tolerated, it serves as an invitation for future violations. A free society cannot survive unless men of reason rally to its defense.

"AP reports that a month before the SDS-led rebellion at Columbia, that is, on March 27, SDS leaders Mark Rudd and Ted Gold 'were among six students who staged a sit-in at Low Memorial Library.' Since Columbia has a rule against indoor demonstrations, Mark Rudd and Ted Gold were placed on disciplinary probation. A student on such probation is subject to instant expulsion if he violates it by taking part in disruptive or illegal activity. Why didn't Columbia expel Rudd and Gold the moment they violated their probation at the start of the student rebellion? No one could have questioned the legitimacy of such administrative disciplinary action."—Alice Widener.

ADDRESS BY MILT BRYAN, U.S.
FOREST SERVICEHON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our friend, the Honorable Milt Bryan, of the U.S. Forest Service, is respected and admired by those of us in the Congress who work with him. He delivered an excellent and very timely address at the cooperative field forestry program sponsored by the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad Co. on May 2 in my home county of Greenwood in South Carolina.

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Forest Service and its dedicated personnel contributed greatly to transforming my area of the country, in 30 short years, from a land of erosion to one of pine trees, conservation, and opportunity. The U.S. Forest Service set the example of fire control, planting of pines, thinning and proper care of our forest resources.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Bryan's great address to my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of our country:

Working forests are producing forests that affect our economy and touch the lives of us all. From them comes much of the raw material on which many of the industries represented here today depend. They also provide a great variety of other products and services for our Nation.

Woodlands in industrial holdings, National and State Forests, and the small private forests so prevalent in eastern United States are all working forests.

More than 70 percent of all timber producing lands is in private ownership. The ownership pattern of these private woodlands is consistently changing. Farm forest acreage in the South Carolina Piedmont has been reduced 50 percent since 1958. The new owners are business and professional people, many from urban areas who are not dependent on forests for a livelihood, and who are not knowledgeable in forest management. The Seaboard Coast Line Railroad Company's forestry field days and sustained efforts to promote multiple use of woodlands are thus a most appropriate and significant contribution.

In the next two hours you will see some exciting examples of wise use and productive management of forest resources in presentations by skilled foresters. But, as we consider the tremendous importance of commercial uses of the forest, let us be sure also to keep in mind the great pressures of an expanding population to use the lands for other purposes than the production of forest products.

Many well-intentioned and articulate individuals are demanding that certain forests in which they are interested be set aside for special uses—such as to serve recreational opportunities or maintain scenic values. I believe we need to be concerned about the fact that the term "conservation", which really means a wise and balanced use of resources, is often interpreted in the narrower sense of "preservation" which excludes timber cutting, wildlife harvest, managed watersheds and forage for livestock. While there is a recognized place for these restrictions on general use, conservation can and should go hand-in-hand with the multiple uses that make a forest a more profitable and productive resource for all concerned.

The Secretary of Agriculture has repeatedly

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stressed that the forested areas of our country, which coincide to a major degree with the economically depressed areas, possess a great latent potential for development and use. In these resources we have an unusual opportunity to protect and improve the economic strength of the Nation so that poverty in localized areas can be alleviated and the production of raw materials needed by industry can be sustained. A built-in bonus in utilizing this potential is the opportunity to enhance natural beauty and to expand recreational activities.

This broad concept of conservation is practical. As you will see here today, it is being accomplished in South Carolina. In this State, an outstanding State Forestry organization is receiving solid support from the Governor, an informed legislature, a progressive wood-using industry, and many forest land owners.

As leaders in industry, you can do much personally to promote effective management and use of the forest resources in your home States. For example, many State Foresters cannot attract or hold the top flight personnel they must have—simply because of an inadequate salary structure.

Look into the situation when you return home. Find out if your State Forester and his organization are receiving the general support they need to do the job that you know must be done. See if the term "conservation" is being presented to your people in a way that makes sense and that will really generate public support for wise use of resources.

Look into the changing land ownership pattern and make suggestions to your State Forester as to how the new urban type owners can be motivated toward sound forest management practices.

Effective action now is the key to building a sustained supply of the benefits and products of the forest which are needed in larger amounts each year by the people of your State and the Nation.

These are significant challenges for all of us.

DESIGNATION OF PELICAN ISLAND,
INDIAN RIVER COUNTY, FLA., AS
A WILDERNESS AREA

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which would establish the Pelican Island National Wildlife Refuge, Indian River County, Fla., as a unit of the national wilderness preservation system.

In accordance with the requirements of the Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964—78 Stat. 890—a public notice was issued on January 23, 1967, of the proposed Pelican Island Wilderness, and a public hearing was held in Vero Beach, Fla., on April 5, 1967. Thirty-two statements were presented at the public hearing and 65 letters were received.

Testimony at the public hearing was unanimously in favor of the wilderness proposal. Local support from public officials, civic groups and residents of Indian River County was particularly strong. In conjunction with statements presented orally or read into the hearing record, a number of petitions and resolutions supporting the wilderness proposal were turned into the hearing officer. These

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represented 34 different organizations and were signed by over 1,260 individuals.

The primary reasons given for supporting the wilderness proposal include: Protection of colonial birds and their nesting and feeding habitat; protection of estuarine and fisheries resources; long-range preservation of natural areas for scenic, esthetic, and ecological values; preservation vital to long-range social and economic interests of citizens of Indian River County; and preservation of Pelican Island Refuge because of its historical value as the Nation's first national wildlife refuge.

Mr. Speaker, this proposed wilderness area is also supported by the city of Vero Beach, Fla., the city council of Sebastian, Fla.; the board of commissioners, Indian River County, Fla.; Indian River County public schools, and the Indian River County Chamber of Commerce.

The support of the residents of the area is strong. I hope that the Congress will recognize this, and also support this legislation.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND
HEALTH ACT

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, a cogent case has been made before the Select Subcommittee on Labor of the need to enact the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968, H.R. 14816.

The Occupational Safety and Health Act will serve three main purposes:

First. Assign responsibility for a comprehensive research effort in the field to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The research findings will assist the Secretary of Labor in establishing up-to-date and operative safety and health standards for America's workplaces.

Second. Provide for interagency cooperation between those two Departments and other agencies of Government, to carry out the intent of the Congress.

Third. Recognize the advent of many new toxic and dangerous materials and procedures in modern industry, so that workers may enjoy fuller lives, without being exposed to danger.

Why is H.R. 14816 needed?

Mr. Speaker, possibly the best answer is contained in an opening paragraph of the testimony of Dr. Miriam Sachs, director of the New Jersey Office of Comprehensive Health Planning, on February 28, 1968. Dr. Sachs told the subcommittee:

In these days of scarce manpower, we must conserve the manpower that we have, and what is more important, increase the productivity of that manpower by maintaining their health, and providing the safest possible environment for their working hours. It is our deepest obligation to ensure as safe and healthful a workplace for the industrial and agricultural workers as it is to conduct school health programs and prevention of

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school and playground accidents for our children.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to lend my support to H.R. 14816, and seriously hope that the Congress will enact it speedily.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL DILEMMA AND THE DRAFT

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD OF PENNSYLVANIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, our current draft laws are unjust to many graduate students who receive their induction notices in the midst of an academic year. Many of these students are forced to abandon their studies under conditions that make it impossible to obtain credit for tuition fees paid or courses partially completed.

Inequities in our current draft laws are also causing disruptions in our graduate schools which will be felt in the years to come by all users of graduate-level manpower—industry, educational institutions, and government.

Therefore, I am introducing today a bill providing the statutory authority to defer for the remainder of an academic year any graduate student satisfactorily pursuing a course of study who receives an induction notice during that academic year.

As it now stands, the draft laws—calling for drafting the oldest first, and ending deferments for first- or second-year graduate students, except for those in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, osteopathy, and divinity—will cause a 70 percent drop in entering male enrollment in full-time graduate schools, according to a recent survey prepared by the Scientific Manpower Commission and the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States.

As a specific example of the impact current draft laws will have on campuses around the Nation, I quote the dean of Carnegie-Mellon University in my congressional district:

Our plan to establish a Graduate School of Public and Urban Affairs will be handicapped in its objective to develop specialists to tackle urban problems which have reached crisis proportions.

Mr. Speaker, there is no reason why we cannot have a system that will tap all sectors of our society for national service in a manner making the most of their potential contributions.

Last March I was pleased to cosponsor the Selective Service Act of 1968, which would have entailed a comprehensive reform of the entire Selective Service Act.

This month I introduced a miniversion of this measure, the key features of which would provide for conscripting 19-year-old's first—as recommended by the Marshall Commission and the Advisory Panel on Military Manpower—creating a prime selection group that would supply the bulk of the armed services needs—19-year-old's, registrants whose deferments had expired, and registrants not yet drafted—insuring that draftees would

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not remain in the prime group for more than 1 year; and striking out the present provision in the law that prohibits the establishment of a lottery.

Mr. Speaker, I still favor these reforms. Our draft laws are not really fair to the armed services or the young men of our country who are called to serve, but we are already well into the second session of this Congress, with no action forthcoming from the Armed Services Committee.

Graduate enrollment is expected to fall off in the 1970's because of the wartime decline in births in the 1940's. The problem is further compounded by present draft laws which will cause the future production of persons with graduate degrees to fall far below the needs of government, industry, education, and the total social structure.

Mr. Speaker, we need to correct this dilemma. I am hopeful that there will be prompt action to revise the inequities in our draft laws to provide for a fair selection of young men in a manner that will cause a minimum of disruption and uncertainty in their lives.

At the very least, I am hopeful that those already enrolled in a course of study will be permitted to conclude that academic year.

THE ARNHEITER AFFAIR

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK OF NEW YORK IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the main point of the case of Lt. Comdr. Marcus A. Arnheiter is not whether or not Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter is fit to command a ship. The main point is this: Can a group of dissident subordinate officers get rid of a commanding officer they do not like by writing unofficial letters about him behind his back? Thus far, the Navy's answer in the Arnheiter case is "Yes."

The Washington Evening Star, in an editorial which appeared on May 16, 1968, asked the same question. I include the Star's editorial in the RECORD at this point:

THE ARNHEITER AFFAIR

Under the pressure of unofficial congressional hearings, the Navy has now opened its files on the case of Lieutenant Commander Marcus A. Arnheiter. The idea, it appears, is to show that the top brass was fully justified in yanking Arnheiter off the bridge of his destroyer and putting him in command of a desk in San Francisco.

The trouble with the Navy's case is that it misses the point. The argument is not whether Arnheiter is fit to command a Navy ship. It's whether the Navy prompted by the complaints of junior officers aboard Arnheiter's ship, acted contrary to its own prescribed procedures in handling the case.

Arnheiter has repeatedly requested a board of inquiry or a court-martial, at which he could call witnesses on his behalf. The Navy has steadfastly refused this request, limiting its formal investigation to a hearing in which only anti-Arnheiter witnesses were called. And now, following the ad hoc committee hearing held by Representative Joseph Y. Resnick of New York, the full scope of the charges has been delivered to

the press—still with no opportunity offered to Arnheiter to answer his accusers directly.

If the charges are true, they certainly add up to just cause for removing Arnheiter from command. But that's a pretty big "if" under any reasonable definition of justice. And the Navy's entire handling of the case leaves the impression that there has been less interest in justice than in public image.

The chief motivation of the Navy would appear to be a desperate attempt to conceal the fact that a graduate of Annapolis, a career officer, was unfit—according to the Navy's own belated assessment—to command a ship. And as is generally true of attempts to sweep dirt under a carpet everyone involved has wound up looking rather dingy.

LAST CALL FOR THE "DELTA QUEEN" RIVER CRUISE—UNLESS CONGRESS COMES TO THE RESCUE

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN OF MISSOURI IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's New York Times carried an excellent article by Bernadine Bailey describing a delightful 19-day river cruise aboard the *Delta Queen*, "the only authentic, steam-powered, sternwheel riverboat still in overnight service in the United States."

As the writer pointed out, however, legislation must be passed by the House of Representatives to enable the *Delta Queen* to operate until November 1, 1970, when a replacement vessel can be built to comply with the safety-at-sea law enacted in the last Congress.

Earlier in this Congress, we passed a law to provide, at no cost to the taxpayers, special mortgage insurance financing assistance to the owners of the *Delta Queen* so that it would be economically feasible to construct a new vessel complying with the rigid safety requirements of a law applying primarily to ocean shipping. However, the new vessel cannot be ready by November 1968, when the *Delta Queen*'s present exemption for the law expires.

The article in yesterday's resort section of the New York Times gives an excellent first-person account of a pleasant, throttled-down trip on America's great inland waterways system from Cincinnati to New Orleans by way of Louisville, Paducah, Memphis, Vicksburg, Natchez, and other points of interest. The *Delta Queen* also schedules trips at various times to Nashville, St. Louis, Chattanooga, Pittsburgh, Reelfoot Lake in Tennessee, and also to St. Paul.

I am sure all of the Members will be interested in reading this article which bears directly on a piece of legislation which should shortly be coming before the House, and I am happy to submit the article as part of my remarks, as follows:

LAST CALL FOR THE "DELTA QUEEN" RIVER CRUISE

(By Bernadine Bailey)

CINCINNATI.—Unless Congress comes to the rescue, this will be the last year travelers can book passage on the *Delta Queen*, the only authentic steam-powered, sternwheel riverboat still in overnight service in the United States.

As a result of the Safety-at-Sea Law—it was adopted following the Yarmouth Castle disaster of Nov. 13, 1965, in which 89 persons died when the cruise ship caught fire off Nassau in the Bahamas—all United States vessels carrying overnight passengers are now required to have steel superstructures. The Delta Queen has a wooden superstructure on a steel hull.

She has been exempted from the new law until Nov. 1. A bill to extend the exemption to Nov. 1, 1970, is pending in the House of Representatives. A similar bill was passed by the Senate earlier this year.

ARGUE FOR TIME

Greene Line Steamers, Inc., of Cincinnati, owner of the Delta Queen, says she has 40 more years of service left and argues that, unlike ocean-going vessels, she is always close enough to shore to reach land in an emergency. The line would like to operate the Queen indefinitely, but the extension to 1970 would at least give it time to build a replacement.

If the extension is granted, the present Delta Queen will continue her leisurely pace on the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Tennessee and the Cumberland Rivers for at least two additional seasons, and a successor, probably with similar looks but quite a different power plant, will be commissioned. If, on the other hand, the extension is not granted, the Greene Line says it will be forced to disband operations and go out of business.

Classed as a steamer or steamboat and not a steamship (river vessels are boats, not ships), the Delta Queen and a companion craft, the Delta King, were built on the River Clyde in Scotland. The boats were then dismantled and sent by ship to Stockton, Calif., where, in 1926, final construction took place.

The wheel shafts and cranks were forged at the Krupp plant in Germany, and the total cost of the Delta Queen was \$865,000, said to be the most ever invested in a river stern-wheeler. Until World War II, she operated the year around on the Sacramento River between San Francisco and Sacramento. During the war, the Delta Queen and the Delta King were appropriated by the Navy, painted gray and used to convey troops to ocean vessels in San Francisco Bay.

MOVED TO CINCINNATI

After the war, Capt. Tom R. Greene, then president of the Greene Line, acquired the Delta Queen for a bid of \$46,250. However, he had to spend considerably more than that to recondition the boat and to tow her 5,261 miles down the coast of California, through the Panama Canal and across the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans. From there she proceeded under her own power to Cincinnati, and on June 30, 1948, she was ready for her first passenger cruise on the Mississippi.

On the river, the vessel is every inch a queen, but her statistics are not as impressive as those of ocean-going ships. The Delta Queen is 250 feet long (add 35 feet for the paddle wheel) and 58 feet wide. Her tonnage is rated at 1,837 gross, and she can accommodate about 200 passengers.

FARFLUNG PASSENGERS

On a Cincinnati-New Orleans cruise that I recently completed, 40 passengers came from seven Eastern states, 62 from the Midwest, 60 from the West Coast, four from Canada, and two from South Africa.

The boat carried no freight, and she has a draft of only seven and one-half feet. This permits her to travel in shallow water. She also has a single, truncated stack, which enables her to go under low bridges.

Boarding, for passengers and crew alike, is accomplished by means of a single landing stage (never called a gangplank); it leads onto the Main Dock, which is only a foot or two higher than the riverbank. The Main Deck accommodates the boilers, the kitchen, a Mark Twain bar and the large Orleans

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Room, which is used for dining and recreation. The room extends from port to starboard and has windows on both sides, thus allowing passengers to watch the passing scene while they eat.

Above the Main Deck is the Cabin Deck. It contains the main lounge (with an assortment of Tiffany lampshades and window fanlights), the purser's office, a gift shop, a writing room, some officers' quarters and cabins of different classes.

TEXAS AND SUNDECKS

The Texas Deck, just above the Cabin Deck, houses only cabins, except for a lounge and a bar in the bow. The top deck, called the Sun Deck, has larger cabins and more officers' quarters. All but the Main Deck offer ample space for walking and for sitting in deck chairs. No elevators are provided.

Cabins are small but adequate. The categories are AA, A, B, tourist and minimum. I paid \$680 for an A-class cabin, which I shared with a friend on a 19-day round trip. A-class cabins are outfitted with bunks.

AA cabins, which cost \$110 more, have single beds. Tourist cabins for the round trip between Cincinnati and New Orleans start at \$399.

The furnishings are practically the same in all cabins; a straight chair and a three-drawer dresser. The chief inconvenience is a lack of closet space.

Unlike those on ocean liners, the rooms have full-size windows instead of port holes, and the doors open out onto a deck instead of a corridor.

SOUTHERN SPECIALTIES

Breakfast offers ordinary choices, but lunch and dinner are hearty affairs, occasionally accompanied by such Southern specialties as shrimp creole, catfish, beaten biscuits and pecan pie.

Dinner music is played on a Hammond organ that once belonged to Jesse Crawford. Most passengers change their clothes for dinner, but black tie and cocktail dress are neither required nor customary.

The atmosphere is informal and friendly. On our first night out, we were treated to champagne before a steak dinner. When we left New Orleans we had Cornish hen.

The bars on the Delta Queen are said to make the best mint juleps in the Mississippi Valley. Certainly, their mint is the freshest, for it is grown in two boxes on the fantail.

GALA SAILING

Our 3 P.M. sailing from Cincinnati was surprisingly gala, with a band playing "Beautiful Ohio" and the passengers throwing streamers and waving to friends. Porters in red-and-white striped jackets carried the luggage aboard, and, after we had pushed off from shore, leaving the band behind, a calliope took over.

The Delta Queen has one of five calliopes still in existence in the United States; later in the cruise, passengers were allowed to try their hand at the piano-like steam-driven instrument.

One of my cherished souvenirs is a certificate, signed by the captain, according to me the right to play a calliope on any vessel in the inland waterways, provided I never play "Marching Through Georgia."

KENTUCKY STOPS

Our first port of call was Louisville, where we made a four-hour stop early the next morning. On the second day out, we stopped for two hours in Paducah, Ky., in the heart of the Bluegrass Country. It was good to go ashore and stretch our legs on land.

We seldom tied up at a wharf; instead, we simply found a place where ropes could be secured; sometimes, it was at the town dump or in a private citizen's riverfront yard.

Two days later, we reached Memphis, where nearly all passengers took a three-hour drive around the city. About 4 o'clock the next afternoon, we tied up in Vicksburg, Miss. We

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were almost five hours late as a result of fog the night before, but we had time to visit McRaven, an antebellum home, and to drive through Vicksburg National Military Park.

FOG HAZARD

The chief hazard of river travel is fog, and, when it reaches the consistency of split-pea soup, the captain ties up on shore and waits until the fog rolls away. Because of such uncertainties as weather, fog and the current, a riverboat does not follow an exact schedule.

We reached Natchez, Miss., a short distance from Vicksburg, early the next morning and went ashore to see more antebellum homes.

The next day, we stopped for an hour and one-half at Oak Alley, an old plantation near New Orleans. The long driveway is lined with 28 towering interlacing oak trees.

Finally, on the afternoon of the seventh day, we entered the harbor of New Orleans and passed huge warehouses and industrial plants. We tied up at the Toulouse Street wharf, which gave us access to the French Quarter. So much of the old French and Spanish flavor of New Orleans was present that we could easily imagine we had docked at a foreign port.

Incidentally, the absence of Customs, passports, visas, vaccination, certificates, port taxes, landing cards and other formalities of international travel is one of the distinct advantages of a river cruise.

Another advantage is being able to pick up mail at various ports of call.

SHORE ATTRACTIONS

The nearness of the shore also adds to the enjoyment of a river cruise. While passengers sit and watch the world go by, an officer calls attention to points of interest and offers bits of history and legend over the loudspeaker.

The average speed of the Delta Queen is 10 miles an hour. (It is miles and not knots on the river.) It takes a couple of days for people used to the jet age to throttle down.

In the course of a day, the Delta Queen passes dozens of barges, tankers and freighters. Towboats push, rather than pull, strings of barges extending 1,000 to 1,500 feet, and both foreign and domestic shipping is drawn to the oil refineries and grain elevators along the river.

The lack of rolling and pitching reduces the likelihood of seasickness. There is almost no vibration or engine noise, and the boat glides as smoothly as a canoe.

For the most part, passengers provide their own entertainment. There are two cruise directors, a man and a woman, and the evenings are devoted to bingo, movies, dances, filmed horseracing, costume parties and contests.

SUMMER TRIPS

The summer schedule of the Delta Queen offers trips of varying length to Nashville, St. Louis, Chattanooga, Pittsburgh and Reelfoot Lake, Tenn.

In early September, there will be a cruise up the Mississippi to St. Paul, and short voyages are scheduled over Memorial Day and Labor Day. Bookings are always heavy, especially to New Orleans, but space is reported available on most other trips.

DO WE HAVE AN ATTORNEY GENERAL?

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the following editorial by the Messrs. Novak and Evans, it seems that these

eminent columnists also wonder "Do we have an Attorney General?"

FBI GRUMBLING—ATTORNEY GENERAL AGGRAVATED BUREAU BY GLOWING REPORT ON KING CASE

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

The deep-seated unhappiness of J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation with its boss, Attorney General Ramsey Clark, was aggravated by Clark's misleading public optimism about a quick solution of the murder of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

FBI agents working on the King case grumbled privately that Clark's repeated statements hinting at imminent capture of the assassin were not justified by the actual progress of the investigation. On the contrary, some agents complained that what legitimate information the Attorney General did let drop risked drying up the killer's trail.

In Justice Department conferences, Clark justified his contribution to the credibility gap on the grounds that optimistic talk about closing the case "would help morale"—that is, calm down Negro anger in the turbulent days immediately following the murder.

Simultaneously, there is considerable skepticism inside the Justice Department and FBI that the present renewed investigation of Black Power extremist Stokely Carmichael will result in any action.

FBI agents are making detailed probes into Carmichael's role in fomenting the Washington, D.C., riots of April 4-6 following Dr. King's death, but many feel Clark will never push for a Carmichael prosecution. The Justice Department staff overwhelmingly recommended a year ago that the Government seek an indictment of Carmichael but the Attorney General vetoed the advice on grounds that it would only make him a martyr.

LIKE OLYMPICS, RED PROS, U.S. AMATEURS SQUARE OFF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very timely, penetrating analysis of the current United States-Communist peace talks and an interesting analogy to the Olympics contests was presented in a column by Michael Ward, carried in the Thursday, May 16, Suburban Life, of Southern Cook County, Ill. I believe this precise, yet penetrating article, merits deep evaluation.

The article follows:

YOUR WORLD AND MINE: LIKE OLYMPICS, RED PROS, U.S. AMATEURS SQUARE OFF

(By Michael Ward)

The U.S. and Communist North Vietnamese officials are gathered in Paris to discuss peace negotiations but the Reds are already trying to create the impression that they are the "good guys in white hats."

Before the two countries even began talks, North Vietnamese propagandists were informing the world that America is the "aggressor" and the Vietnamese people should be permitted to work out "their own destiny."

Of course no one focuses on the fact that this means North Vietnam's destiny must also be South Vietnam's destiny regardless of the fact that the majority of South Vietnamese do indeed feel otherwise.

Sorry to say, from this distant vantage-point it appears that we have sent amateurs against a team of tough professionals high-

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ly skilled in diplomatic negotiations and psychological warfare.

This is no reflection on the character or competency of the U.S. team; I think its members are able, sincere men ready to negotiate in good faith.

But, if past experience is any barometer, the Americans will view the "peace" table as a peace table, while the Communists will consider it another battlefield on which to attain specific military and political objectives.

Some tactics being applied by the North Vietnamese Communists were used in Korea prior to the negotiations.

It is not unlikely that some of the most intensive fighting in Vietnam will take place while negotiations continue in Paris.

It is also not unlikely that "peace demonstrations" will erupt in this country as well as in Europe calling for the U.S. to capitulate and meet the "reasonable" demands of North Vietnam.

The actual battle strategy in Paris will not come from North Vietnam, but from the Soviet Union and to some extent Communist China. But with Communist Russia supplying more than 80 per cent of the war material to the North, we can be sure that she will do most of the directing behind the scenes.

I think it is unrealistic to believe that these negotiations will result in a true peace. For the word peace to the Communists does not have the same meaning it does for the West.

Certainly the Korean truce talks are an excellent example of the futility of negotiating with the Reds. They still believe in war, and they are confident that guerrilla war is the way to achieve their aims.

Free Asia will be watching to see whether the U.S. sells her out either deliberately or through weakness and indecision. If we fail, all of free Asia will turn her back on us.

OURSELVES, OUR NATION, AND OUR COOPERATIVES

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bob Voosen, of St. James, Minn., has called to my attention an address made by J. K. Stern, president of the American Institute of Cooperation, Washington, D.C. Mr. Stern spoke at the annual meeting of the Central Live Stock Association of St. Paul, Minn., and his thoughtful address touches on many subjects the citizens of our country would do well to examine more carefully. I, therefore, include for the Record a reprint of the speech which appeared in Producers Live Stock News, published March 28, 1968, in Omaha, Nebr.:

(Note.—The following remarks were made by J. K. Stern, President of the American Institute of Cooperation, Washington, D.C. The title of his address was "A Look at Ourselves, Our Nation and Our Cooperatives.")

Bernard Shaw once said—"America is the greatest nation of half-baked people on the face of the earth."

Someone else said "I would rather be able to appreciate the things I cannot have, than to have things I cannot appreciate."

Each of these statements, deserves serious thought today.

We have the highest employment ever in the U.S.—75 million—with the highest wages ever—yet the whole emphasis today seems to be on the few percent who are unemployed, most of whom don't want to work anyway.

We have a poverty program to help the unskilled, the untrained, the uneducated—then we raise minimum wages, set maximum hours, specify working conditions in such a manner that you can't afford to hire the ones who most need your help.

We don't allow children to work—so we have a delinquent generation—we made it so.

At Davis Memorial Goodwill Industries in Washington, D.C., a recent increase in the minimum wage has led to the layoff of 38 handicapped workers. Even a charitable outfit, if it wants to stay alive to help anyone, has to keep its outgo in line with income.

We have a boom—the greatest period of prosperity ever—except for farmers, but we're spending money at the national level to prime the pump. We insist on having some inflation—fooling people into thinking they are prosperous, destroying the equities of the elderly who saved for their old days. Inflation is the curse of all the developing nations we are trying to help. Yet we insist on it here. Let me read you a quote and I dare you to tell me who said it. "If the nation is living within its income its credit is good. If in some crisis it lives beyond its income for a year or two it can usually borrow temporarily on reasonable terms. But if, like the spendthrift, it throws discretion to the winds, is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending, extends its taxing up to the limit of the people's power to pay, and continues to pile up deficits, it is on the road to bankruptcy." That statement was made by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Today the White House approves of wage increases but frowns on increases in costs of products made by higher wages.

We tolerate strikes that tie up our national economy as bad as any Communist effort could.

Each year we get new TV shows for the season after a super buildup. Most now not only have sight and sound but they smell. Very few are wholesome and inspiring—many are violent, vulgar, immoral, emphasizing the worst of human nature.

In 1903—Teddy Roosevelt—in a Labor Day Address said—"No man needs sympathy because he has to work. Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing." What is the Government attitude toward work today? Turn on your TV and you hear:

Did you get your unemployment check?
Are your Social Security checks reaching you?

Are you receiving Medicare benefits you are entitled to?

Now I am not opposed to any of these programs, but I am concerned about the emphasis they receive.

Just once I'd like to hear the President of the United States say on a nation-wide telecast that hard work, thrift, sacrifice, discipline, respect for others, and a belief in our Creator, helped make this nation great.

We're so concerned about rights today—and not much about responsibilities.

It used to be that when you wanted something, you worked to earn it. Now you stage a riot to get it given to you at someone else's expense.

If your father or grandfather lost his job, he took whatever work he could get, and he went (probably walked miles) to where there was work—any honest work—being done. Now hordes of relief 'clients' refuse a job unless it is to their liking, and they demand the job be brought to them in their community.

This nation was built by immigrants (beginning in the 1600's and earlier) who struggled here for opportunity, and would have scorned the false idea of "something for nothing." Now it seems to be an almost universal (and all-too-often the only) ambition. It used to take a lifetime of grueling work

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and scrimping for a family or a country to earn a little surplus, a taste of security. Now mobs of stupid "students" and whole 'emerging nations' demand they be given it, out of your earnings and with no effort on their part.

We change our laws to protect the criminal. We handicap our law enforcement people. When an officer shoots a thief robbing a store—we howl about the shooting instead of praising the officer for doing his duty.

We tolerate hate mongers who would destroy the one nation on earth that is trying to help all the others find peace and prosperity.

We permit the same anti-Americans to destroy property worth millions of dollars and tax the good citizens to repair the damages.

Unruly students and a revolt against discipline are making it difficult to hire school teachers.

This nation is great because it has hybrid vigor—it is made up of minorities who worked and saved to pull themselves up the economic and social ladder.

There is no free lunch and it is time our leaders said so.

It is time we stopped paying bonuses for illegitimate children, close our college doors to the hippies and LSD travelers, enforce our laws and punish the guilty.

Of course, we haven't treated everyone fairly, what nation has?

But we came nearer to it during the last half century than any other nation on earth.

Forty years ago I was Acting County Agent in a Pennsylvania county. I have never worked with happier, more contented people in my life. They hunted and fished, they went to ball games, they enjoyed community fairs, they farmed—they didn't handle much money but they were happier than most people today with many times their incomes. They lived a good life—what's wrong with that?

Your college specialists emphasize efficiency. What has the fantastic efficiency of broiler production brought the broiler grower? I'm not belittling efficiency; but if an effective marketing program doesn't parallel it, the producer ends up with bigger investments, bigger risks, smaller profits and many now who have survived are merely hired men working for someone else.

Farmers are a minority—you don't have many people in Congress today who understand your problems and you'll have fewer tomorrow.

For the first time since the Federal Reserve Board was established—there is no agricultural representative on it.

The President of the United States only a year ago told consumers that food prices were too high—suggested to consumers that they buy cheaper cuts of meat, and ordered part of the armed services to use filled milk and oleo instead of whole milk and butter. This in spite of the fact that consumers spend a smaller proportion of their income for food than ever before in history.

Nearly all of the ice cream made by the large companies during the past year was made from imported fat—it didn't come from U.S. dairy herds.

It's long past time when we should close ranks, stop competing with each other, agree on where we want to go—and all pull in the same direction.

American Agriculture is the envy of the world. It is a product of the educational and research efforts of our land-grant colleges, the county agent, the ag teacher, the state and federal departments of agriculture, our self-help cooperatives, and our farm organizations.

This combination package, which has produced results here, is what we are trying to export to the developing nations.

But too many of today's generation have forgotten what cooperatives and farm or-

ganizations have done for them and for the nation.

Furthermore some of our leaders confuse us by stating that all Government programs are bad—that farmers must solve all their problems without Government help. I don't believe that nor do I believe that Government can solve all of your problems, some can be solved best together.

We need to count our blessings once in a while—recognize the progress we have made...

Too many people want success today without making the necessary obligation and accepting responsibility to achieve it. Being loyal to their own organizations which have proven themselves in the past.

Too many of today's Christians want Christ without the cross.

Too many of us lack the courage of the pioneers who built our cooperatives and our farm organizations.

Charles Kettering of General Motors fame said—"No one would ever have crossed the ocean in a sailing ship if he could have gotten off it during a storm."

We take our liberty for granted—but others died that we might have it. Those who climb the Berlin Wall know what it means—our sons in Viet Nam know what it means. And what must they think of our Government and our Congress that supports England and Russia in a boycott of Rhodesia, while permitting them to deliver war supplies to Hanoi?

Yet we tolerate draft card burning, so-called religious leaders who are saying you don't have to obey the laws of the land, scumballs who urge their followers to burn, kill, and destroy...

What can we do as cooperatives to improve our situation? Have we been guilty of doing things for people instead of with them?

Only now our foreign aid program is finding this out.

If you and I passed a beggar on the street and each day you gave him a dollar, I never gave him anything. One day we pass and you don't give him the dollar he expects. Whom would he be angry with—you or me?

Agriculture is a growth industry—it has to be to feed an ever expanding population. It is the biggest industry in this nation—farmers spend \$100 million a day—every day of the year.

Yet some politicians and educators today refer to it as a dying occupation. It is a dynamic growing, expanding one. While there will be fewer and bigger farms in the future—as there are fewer and bigger passenger airplanes—but the backup crews, all the related agribusiness occupations will continue to employ more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total work force in this nation.

In our work with educators, with youth organizations, and, with other organizations, we continually remind our friends of this. You have done a great job—but you must do better tomorrow.

Will there be a tomorrow? For your co-ops? Your State Co-op Council? Your A.I.C.? Your farm organization? Your college? Your country?

The Historian Arnold Toynbee said: "Of the twenty-two civilizations that appear in history, nineteen of them collapsed when they reached the moral state the United States is in now."

"The average of the world's great civilizations has been 200 years. All nations have progressed through this sequence:

From Bondage to Spiritual Faith
From Spiritual Faith to Great Courage
From Courage to Liberty
From Liberty to Abundance
From Abundance to Selfishness
From Selfishness to Complacency
From Complacency to Apathy
From Apathy to Dependency
From Dependency back again into Bondage."

May 21, 1968

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WORD "RESPECT"?

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. QUILLE. Mr. Speaker, as I have often said, one of the greatest dangers in America is the flagrant violation of law and order so prevalent today.

I ran across an article in the Tennessee Farm Bureau News, published in Columbia, Tenn., with Clyde M. York, president and Murray T. Miles, Jr., editor, which so clearly points out "What Has Happened to the Word 'Respect'?"

We must have respect for law and order and for the basic principles which made this country great. I proudly make this editorial, which appeared in the Thursday, May 2, 1968, edition, available to the readers of the RECORD. Also, my congratulations to Mr. York and Mr. Miles for so realistically pinpointing this important issue.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WORD "RESPECT"?

Respect.

Webster's Dictionary defines it as "to consider worthy of esteem; hence to refrain from obtruding upon, as a person's privacy."

As you read of events in city streets, on University campuses, and on private property, you wonder whatever happened to this good word "respect."

Once upon a time when the term "respect for law and order" was heard, you knew it meant business. But last month in the nation's capital, it meant nothing. According to U.S. News and World Report, a regular Washington policeman said, "I think we could have stopped this thing if they hadn't put us under wraps so. Looters would break a window, then stand aside to watch our reaction. When we did nothing, the mob would move in and ransack the place. We just had to stand there."

How can there be respect for law and order when law officials themselves prevent the laws from being obeyed?

In more recent days, the old Historic Columbia University of New York City was besieged by students who wrecked the President's office and camped out in the buildings until finally the police moved in several days too late.

Were there no parents that taught respect of private property when these young hoodlums were growing up? These are not poverty-ridden youngsters. They couldn't be and afford to be attending Columbia University.

Before we begin to feel smug, and say that such a thing would not happen among the rural and small town folks where we live, may we point up the violence that accompanied a milk situation about a year ago in middle Tennessee. There was little respect for private property then too as trucks were dynamited, bulk tanks shot, and farmers and their families threatened.

Somewhere along the line, there has been failure. Whether it is in the home, the school, or the church, we are not prepared to say. But someone had better wake up soon and find out. There are those who say we should never look back, and that the "good old days" are gone forever. It is true that some parts of the good old days are just as well gone forever, but the basic truths of honesty, respect and so forth always remain the same no matter how the modernists try to twist them around or make excuses.

There must be a turning back to these old moral codes. These things must be taught in the home. The Church must spend more

time on them and less time in defending the rioters, marchers, and draft card burners. And where these have failed, then the law must step in. This country cannot long afford the type of justice that lawbreakers have been getting lately. How can anyone justify giving a thief a year in the workhouse for stealing a \$20 country ham, but do nothing to a looter that carts off a \$500 color TV set? Our hats are off to the policemen and the fine work that they have done, but we turn thumbs down on the politicians and their political appointees who will not let the policemen do their duty.

Respect must return to the land. Respect for parents, respect for property rights, respect for privacy, and respect for law and order. It must be taught in the home, in the schools, and in the Church. If these three places fail in their job, then it will have to be taught by the end of a billy club.

On the same page as the very forceful editorial on respect, there is also an article entitled "Something To Think About," and I quote:

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

"Society cannot leap into Communism from Capitalism without going through a Socialist stage of development."

"I am convinced that tomorrow the Red Flag will fly over the U.S. But we will not fly the flag. It will be the American people themselves."

Nikita Krushchev said it. The first statement was made at the 21st Communist Party Congress in 1959. The second statement in Bucharest, Rumania on June 19, 1962.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP NEEDED

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, is it any wonder that citizens throughout the land are becoming increasingly concerned when they consider the rising cost of living, the series of destructive riots in our cities, the leniency of our courts in law enforcement, our no-win policy in Vietnam, and the depressing *Pueblo* affair. These are but a few of the major issues which are increasingly worsening as ineffective leadership stands passively by.

Consequently, it is reassuring when national figures take strong and forthright positions of compelling issues of the day. The New York Times of today, May 16, reports on a speech made by former Vice President Nixon in Pendleton, Oreg., in which he recommends fast, firm action to cope with the student revolt at Columbia University. I place this item by Donald Janson from the New York Times in the RECORD at this point:

NIKON BIDS COLUMBIA OUST ANARCHIC STUDENTS—SAYS ONLY FAST, FIRM ACTION WILL AVERT NEW CRIMES—CANDIDATE APPLAUSED OFTEN IN OREGON TALK TO 1,000

(By Donald Janson)

PENDLETON, OREG., May 15.—Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon called on Columbia University today to "rid the campus now" of any student groups that was involved in or supported the recent disruptions that closed the school.

He called the Columbia disorders "the first major skirmish in a revolutionary struggle to seize the universities of this country and

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transform them into sanctuaries for radicals and vehicles for revolutionary political and social goals."

Mr. Nixon made his comments in a campaign appearance here in the high, rolling, wheat-growing northeast corner of Oregon. An overflow crowd of 1,000 in the Vert Memorial Auditorium applauded frequently.

The New Yorker is the only active Republican candidate in the state's Presidential primary May 28. It will be Mr. Nixon's last and most difficult primary because a strong drive for votes has been mounted for Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, who is also on the ballot. There is also the threat of a write-in effort for Governor Rockefeller of New York.

Unless Columbia acts swiftly and uncompromisingly, Mr. Nixon said, it will be assuring new crisis on its campus and encouraging student revolts at other colleges.

The place to begin a national drive against the use of force and coercion on the campus, as asserted, "is with the anarchic students at Columbia."

"The eyes of every potential revolutionary or anarchist on an American campus are focused on Morningside Heights to see how the administration at Columbia deals with a naked attempt to subvert and discredit its authority and to seize its power," Mr. Nixon declared.

"If that student violence is either rewarded or goes unpunished, then the administration of Columbia University will have guaranteed a new crisis on its own campus and invited student coups on other campuses all over this country."

He said that neither academic freedom nor peaceful dissent was not involved.

"A university is a community of scholars seeking truth," he said. "It is a place where reason reigns and the right of dissent is safeguarded and cherished. Force and coercion are wholly alien to that community and those who employ it have no place there."

He said that academic freedom required a university to be receptive to new ideas and open to heretics and their views.

"But academic freedom also dictates that the rationally committed stand up and resist the dictates of emotionally committed," he asserted.

"And academic freedom dictates that those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge and truth resist the encroachments of hotheads who assume they know all truth."

Several days ago, on May 9, Mr. Nixon made public his views on another issue which is foremost in the minds of concerned citizens; namely, the crime situation in the United States. The Washington Star in its lead editorial of May 14 refers to this statement and concludes that:

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.

To give American citizens an opportunity to read and evaluate these responsible recommendations, I place the May 9 speech of former Vice President Richard Nixon, entitled "Toward Freedom From Fear," in the RECORD at this point, along with the Washington Star editorial of May 14 entitled "Nixon on Crime."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 14, 1968]

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 col-

oration. 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

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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.

TOWARD FREEDOM FROM FEAR

(By Richard M. Nixon)

In the last seven years while the population of this country was rising some ten per cent, crime in the United States rose a staggering 88 per cent. If the present rate of new crime continues, the number of rapes and robberies and assaults and thefts in the United States today will double—by the end of 1972.

That is a prospect America cannot accept. If we allow it to happen, then the city jungle will cease to be a metaphor. It will become a barbaric reality, and the brutal society that now flourishes in the core cities of America will annex the affluent suburbs. This nation will then be what it is fast becoming—an armed camp of two hundred million Americans living in fear.

But, to stop the rising crime rate and to reduce the incidence of crime in America, we must first speak with a new candor about its causes and cures.

POVERTY NOT THE CAUSE

We cannot explain away crime in the country by charging it off to poverty—and we would not rid ourselves of the crime problem even if we succeeded overnight in lifting everyone above the poverty level. The role of poverty as a cause of the crime upsurge in America has been grossly exaggerated—and the incumbent Administration bears major responsibility for perpetuation of the myth.

On October 16, 1964, the President said that, "The war on poverty which I started—is a war against crime and a war against disorder." If the President genuinely accepted that proposition, the near 50 per cent increase in crime rate since 1964 would be adequate proof of the utter failure of the government's war on poverty.

But the war on poverty is not a war on crime; and it is no substitute for a war on crime. It is certainly true that rising prosperity will gradually reduce the number of those below the poverty level, and eliminate many of the conditions in which crime is likely to flourish.

But poverty cannot begin to explain the explosion of crime in America. In recent years, this nation has grown wealthier and, its riches have been more widely distributed than in any other country in the world. And yet crime has been going up about three times as rapidly as the GNP.

And poverty tells us nothing about the enormous increases in juvenile crime and drug abuse by teenagers in the affluent suburbs of America.

TOO OFTEN, CRIME DOES PAY

The success of criminals in this country plays a far greater role in the rising crime rate than any consideration of poverty. Today, an estimated one-in-eight crimes results in conviction and punishment.

If the conviction rate were doubled in this country, it would do more to eliminate crime in the future, than a quadrupling of the funds for any governmental war on poverty.

In short, crime creates crime—because crime rewards the criminal. And we will reduce crime as we reduce the profits of criminals.

There is another attitude that must be discarded if we are to wage an effective national war against this enemy within. That attitude is the socially suicidal tendency—on the part of many public men—to excuse crime and sympathize with criminals because of past grievances the criminal may have against society. By now Americans, I believe, have learned the hard way that a society that is lenient and permissive for criminals

is a society that is neither safe nor secure for innocent men and women.

JUSTICE FOR THE GUILTY, TOO

One of the operative principles of a free society is that men are accountable for what they do. No criminal can justify his crimes on the basis of some real or imagined grievance against his society. And our sympathy for the plight or the past of a criminal cannot justify turning him loose to prey again upon innocent people.

In the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, this country set it as a goal to "establish justice" in these states. Just as justice dictates that innocent men go free, it also means that guilty men pay the penalty for their crimes. It is that second part of justice to which the nation must begin to address itself in earnest.

In the course of presenting these proposals for dealing with the crime problem in America, I have not dealt at all with the urban disorders that have become commonplace in our great cities. Riots are a special problem, a problem apart from the crisis of daily crime in America.

In terms of dollars and cents the toll of the riots is next to nothing compared to the toll of street crime or even the take of organized crime.

But, riots offer their own challenge to the future existence of our society, and that challenge is different than the menace represented in the 88 per cent increase in crime in seven years. Consequently, I have dealt with the riots as a separate problem in other statements.

NO SENSE OF URGENCY

The primary responsibility for dealing with that 88 per cent figure continues to rest—as it should—with the local and state government. We want no centralized Federal police force in this country. But crime has become a first priority domestic crisis, a distinct threat to the social order, and it should be a matter of the highest Federal urgency. That urgency has not been reflected in this Administration's actions or recommendations.

Crime today is increasing almost nine times as rapidly as the population.

The Administration in Washington seems to have neither an understanding of the crisis which confronts us nor a recognition of its severity. As a result, neither the leadership nor the necessary tools have been provided to date to enable society's peace forces to regain the upper hand over the criminal forces in this country.

The statistics and evidence are there for all to see.

The last five years have been the halcyon days of organized crime. Gross earnings from illicit gambling, prostitution, narcotics and loan-sharking, have grown prodigiously. One reliable authority places the figure in the neighborhood of \$50 billion annually.

As for street crime, for every two major crimes committed in the United States when President Johnson took office in 1963—there are three committed today—and if the present trend continues, there will be six committed by the end of 1972.

These are the dimensions and the elements, the hard facts and the stark realities of the crime crisis to which this Administration's response has been lame and ineffectual.

ORGANIZED CRIME

Organized crime is the tapeworm of the American society. In recent years it has prospered as never before and broadened its influence in government and legitimate business and unions. The absence of an adequate response at the national level—to this national threat—is a glaring failure of the present Administration.

One of the most effective groups of men within government combating this kind of criminal activity over the years has been the Organized Crime Section of the Department

of Justice. Yet, when President Johnson took office, the number of man days spent in field investigating by members of the OCS, the number of man days spent testifying before grand juries, and the number of man days spent in court all suddenly decreased between 50 and 75 per cent.

This wholesale de-escalation of the Justice Department's war against organized crime has not to this day been adequately explained.

Equally puzzling is the Administration's adamant opposition to the use—against organized crime—of the same wiretap and electronic surveillance the government employs to safeguard the national security. Not only does the Administration oppose the use of these weapons against crime, it has asked Congress to forbid that use by law. Such legislation would be a tragic mistake.

GIVE US THE TOOLS

Organized crime is a secret society. By denying to State and Federal law enforcement agencies the tools to penetrate that secrecy, the President and the Attorney General are unwittingly guaranteeing the leaders of organized crime a privileged sanctuary from which to proceed with the systematic corruption of American life.

New York County District Attorney Frank Hogan, who has probably convicted more racketeers than any other man in America, has said that wiretapping is: "the single most valuable weapon in law enforcement's fight against organized crime . . . Without it, my own office could not have convicted Charles 'Lucky' Luciano, Jimmy Hines, Louis 'Lepke' Buchalter, Jacob 'Gurrah' Shapiro, Joseph 'Socks' Lanza, George Scalise, Frank Erickson, John 'Dio' Dioguardi, and Frank Carbo."

An overwhelming majority of the President's own blue ribbon crime commission recommended enabling legislation for the use of wiretap. The Judicial Conference, consisting of ranking Federal Judges from across the nation, and headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, has approved such legislation. And the Supreme Court has left the door open to a carefully drawn wiretap measure with proper safeguards.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ABUSE

The Senate is currently considering such a proposal—drawn to conform meticulously to the Supreme Court decisions. That proposal would authorize the use of electronic surveillance on a court order, in the nature of a search warrant, showing probable cause. The court order would be limited to major crime cases, and specified cases involving the national security.

It would be limited as to time, persons and place. Any extraneous evidence gathered by the eavesdrop device would be inadmissible in court and would have to be held in confidence under pain of both civil and criminal penalties. Special precautions would be taken to safeguard those communications regarded by the law as privileged, such as those between husband and wife, doctor and patient, lawyer and client, and priest and penitent. In addition, the bill would outlaw all electronic surveillance by private citizens.

Yet, despite these carefully drawn precautions, the President defends his opposition to wiretapping in major crime cases with the astonishing assertion that "the principle that a man's home is his castle is under new attack."

"Nonsense in its purest form" was the report by the *Washington Star* which continued:

"This is a comment which shakes our faith in (1) whether the President knows what he is talking about in his anti-crime speeches, or (2) whether he will ever support the measures—wiretaps and the like—that are essential investigative tools if we are ever going to wipe out crime—especially organized crime."

FIVE IMMEDIATE STEPS

There are other steps which Congress can take independently to strengthen the peace forces in our society against the forces of organized crime. Some of these recommendations have been endorsed by the President's Commission on Crime.

(1) *Infiltration of honest business:* Congress should enact legislation making it a Federal crime to invest in legitimate business either money which has been gathered from illegal racket activities or money that has not been reported for income tax purposes. Such measures would focus the tax enforcement machinery on the problem of organized crime.

(2) *Anti-smuggling:* Congress should authorize substantial increase in the number of Customs Bureau officials. In the last decade while the number of customs officials has risen 4 per cent, the number of people entering the country has risen 50 per cent and the number of aircraft 100 per cent. These would be an effective deterrent to the import of narcotics, a multi-million dollar annual item in the income statement of organized crime.

(3) *Permanent watchdog:* Congress should establish a permanent Joint Congressional Committee on Organized Crime.

(4) *More lawmen:* Congress should authorize whatever Federal personnel are necessary to carry out the new responsibilities under these pieces of recommended legislation.

(5) *Immunity power:* Congress should enact the Republican-proposed organized crime immunity statute. Once granted immunity from prosecution based on his testimony, a witness would be required to testify before a grand jury or at trial, or face jail for criminal contempt. This would be another and an effective legal tool with which to cut through the curtain of secrecy that envelops organized crime. Witness immunity would make it possible to get to the higher echelons of the crime syndicate.

These are a few of the steps that can and should be taken if we are to make realistic rather than rhetorical progress in uprooting the infrastructure of organized crime. Yet, both the President and his Attorney General, Mr. Clark, who have the principal responsibility for leading the war on organized crime are either indifferent to or in active opposition to a majority of these measures.

That attitude has made of the President's proposal to the Congress the kind of compromise legislation that organized crime can live with. It has called into question the seriousness of the President's designation of Mr. Clark to be his "Mr. Big" in the war against national crime.

ALERTING THE PEOPLE

There is also a need at the national level to awaken and educate the American people to the extent of the threat within that comes from organized crime. The average American—as well as the Attorney General of the United States—seems tragically unaware of the magnitude and immense impact of organized crime upon his society.

This menace which Mr. Clark astonishingly termed a "tiny part" of the crime picture in the United States was more accurately described by his predecessor, Mr. Katzenbach, as constituting "nothing less than a guerrilla war against society."

How is the average American affected?

The businessman pays higher insurance rates because of the arson committed under the instructions of organized crime; he loses millions in bad debts annually because of fraudulent bankruptcies. Union workers are cheated out of their just wages when the proxies of organized crime take over and corrupt their unions, arrange sweetheart contracts, exploit mammoth pension funds and intimidate the membership. Organized crime cheats the consumer by its corruption of the free enterprise system. With its gigantic earning power it is able to take over individual

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businesses, influence prices, and act as unfair competition for honest business and honest labor.

According to Congressman Richard Poff of Virginia, one of the most knowledgeable men in the Congress on the subject, organized crime controls a "reservoir of wealth unmatched by any financial institution in the country."

CRIME'S WAR ON THE POVERTY-STRICKEN

At the same time that the President has asked for a \$2 billion appropriation to fund the War on Poverty for one year, organized crime earns an estimated \$3.5 million annually from the numbers racket—a racket that exploits, not the affluent, but the urban poor. Organized crime is taking three dollars in gambling revenues from the urban poor for every two that is put into the poverty program by the nation's taxpayers.

Last year, while the Small Business Administration made some \$50 million in loans, the take from loan-sharking amounted to many times that sum. The narcotics traffic in this country, much of it in the urban centers of poverty, netted an estimated \$350 million for organized crime last year—the precise sum spent for the Head Start Program.

Organized crime is also directly and deeply involved in street crime. One estimate is that some 50 per cent of the street crime in some of our major cities is the work of addicts attempting to support their habit—and traffic in illegal narcotics is a major enterprise of organized crime.

STREET CRIME

But organized crime, though a multi-billion dollar enterprise and a major contributing factor to street crime, cannot alone explain the 88 per cent increase in muggings, robberies, rapes and assaults over the past seven years. Another contributing cause of this staggering increase is that street crime is a more lucrative and less risky occupation than it has ever been in the past. Only one of eight major crimes committed now results in arrest, prosecution, conviction and punishment—and a twelve per cent chance of punishment is not adequate to deter a man bent on a career in crime. Among the contributing factors to the small figure are the decisions of a majority of one of the United States Supreme Court.

The *Miranda* and *Escobedo* decisions of the high court have had the effect of seriously hamstringing the peace forces in our society and strengthening the criminal forces.

From the point of view of the peace forces, the cumulative impact on these decisions has been to very nearly rule out the "confession" as an effective and major tool in prosecution and law enforcement.

Justice White, in his dissent in the 5-4 *Miranda* decision, identified judicial prejudice against the use of confession as the bedrock upon which the majority decision was erected.

"The obvious underpinning of the Court's decision is a deep-seated distrust of all confession . . . the results adds up to a judicial judgment that evidence from the accused should not be used against him in any way, whether compelled or not. This is the not so subtle overture of the opinion—that it is inherently wrong for the police to gather evidence from the accused himself."

From the point of view of the criminal forces, the cumulative impact of these decisions has been to set free patently guilty individuals on the basis of legal technicalities.

The tragic lesson of guilty men walking free from hundreds of courtrooms across this country has not been lost on the criminal community.

STRIKING THE BALANCE

The balance must be shifted back toward the peace forces in our society and a requisite step is to redress the imbalance created

by these specific court decisions. I would thus urge Congress to enact proposed legislation that—dealing with both *Miranda* and *Escobedo*—would leave it to the judge and the jury to determine both the voluntariness and the validity of any confession. If judges and juries can determine guilt or innocence, they can certainly determine whether a confession is voluntary and valid. The rule of reason and justice should replace the Dickensian legalisms that have been obtained as a result of recent Supreme Court decisions.

(In Title III of the omnibus crime bill now pending in the Senate, there is a proposal to correct the imbalance resulting from these decisions; that proposal deserves passage despite the vigorous opposition of the Attorney General.)

The barbed wire of legalisms that a majority of one of the Supreme Court has erected to protect a suspect from invasion of his rights has effectively shielded hundreds of criminals from punishment as provided in the prior laws.

If it should become impossible to draw such legislation to the satisfaction of the High Court, then consideration should be given to amending the Constitution. Involved here is the first civil right of every American, the right to be protected in his home, business and person from domestic violence, and it is being traduced with accelerating frequency in every community in America.

LEANING TOO FAR BACKWARD

Wade and *Gilbert* are two other decisions of the Supreme Court, the extension of which have added to the problems of effective law enforcement. *Wade* and *Gilbert*, for the first time, ruled that in a line-up confrontation between witness and accused, the absence of a lawyer for the accused could, of itself, render the identification inadmissible in court.

My own view coincides with that of the dissenting minority, who expressed incredulity at the notion that a lawyer's presence at a line-up can somehow be helpful to the quality of the witness' identification. But *Wade* and *Gilbert* were carried to an almost ridiculous, if logical, extreme in *U.S. versus Beasley*.

In the latter case, even an accidental, on-the-street confrontation between, in this case, victim and accused, made identification of the accused inadmissible—because of the absence of a lawyer.

(In the *Beasley* case, police observed three men beating and robbing an elderly man on the streets of Washington, D.C. When they approached, the assailants fled leaving their victim behind. Police gave chase and apprehended one man, and returned with him to the scene to aid the victim and radio for help. There was thus an inevitable confrontation between the suspect and the victim, and the former was positively identified by the latter as one of his assailants. The identification made on the spot was ruled as inadmissible evidence because the alleged assailant did not have an attorney present when he confronted the victim on the street, immediately following the crime.)

It is decisions such as this, suppressing evidence prior to trial, that underscore the merit of the proposal of Congressman Railsback of Illinois, now before Congress.

Currently, a defendant can appeal his conviction to a higher court, if the case can be made that illegal evidence has been used against him. The prosecution, however, except in limited cases, has no similar right to appeal a decision to prohibit the introduction of certain evidence at a trial.

Congressman Railsback's proposal would remedy this situation; it would give government the same right to appeal these rulings now guaranteed the accused. The President's Crime Commission has endorsed this proposal; it would make for more effective prosecution; it would reduce the number of guilty men walking out of courtrooms on

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technicalities; it deserves passage in this session.

These decisions by a majority of one of the Supreme Court have had a far-reaching impact in this country. They have been the subject of controversy; they were the focus of vigorous dissent on the part of the minority. And I think they point up a genuine need—a need for future Presidents to include in their appointments to the United States Supreme Court men who are thoroughly experienced and versed in the criminal laws of the land.

STRENGTHENING THE PEACE FORCES

A second major deficiency of the "peace forces" in this country is in the number and quality of the men who man the first line of defense—the police.

Today, two-thirds of the community police forces in the country are undermanned. This year there will be 50,000 vacancies for police officers in the United States. To improve the caliber and increase the number of men who volunteer to fill those vacancies, the Federal and State as well as the municipal governments have a role to play.

The primary reason why there are not more and better police officers in our great cities today is quite simply that the rewards—economic and personal—of being a police officer have diminished sharply in the last two decades.

For many years, these men have been in effect increasingly subsidizing the communities which they serve—by accepting a wage rate that gradually fell behind other professions. From 1939 to 1966 while the real income of manufacturing employees in New York increased on the average of 100 per cent, that of a New York City patrolman increased by 20 per cent.

You cannot attract first-class men to do the difficult and complex and dangerous job of police work—if you simply give them a gun and \$100 a week—which is the median beginning salary for patrolmen in our greater cities.

The responsibility for rectifying this situation rests largely with the municipalities and the people who live in them. They must be willing to pay the salaries to attract the kind of men they want standing between their property and family and the rising crime rate.

THE BLUE "PRESENCE"

There is a considerable body of evidence to show that a dramatic rise in the number of patrolmen is followed by an equally dramatic drop in the rate of crime. The New York Subway system is a case in point—where the presence of a patrolman on every train at night brought a reduction of 60% in the epidemic of juvenile terrorism in the first three months they were there. The lesson could be applied to dozens of other cities and communities across the country.

Along these same lines, a judicious reallocation of existing police manpower can often have the same impact on crime as a numerical increase in the force. Systems Analysis can be used to reassign patrolmen from beats and areas where they are not needed to trouble spots. This is one way modern science has been and should be put at the service of justice.)

It would be difficult to exaggerate the urgency of the need for greater police presence—or the danger to the social order if we do not get it. To those who speak and write about that startling 88 percent increase in crime, the figure is an ominous portent to our society.

HARDEST HIT: THE POOR

But it is among the urban poor, the silent victims of most of the reported crime and almost all of the unreported crime that these statistics have already been translated into a brutal society. According to the President's own Commission on Civil Disorders, there are cities in this country where the crimes of violence run 35 times as high in the areas

of poverty as they do in the areas of affluence. Last fall, a Harlem Pastor spoke out in anguish.

Crime is at its worst; the citizens fear to venture out after dark. Church members are afraid to go out to their meetings at night. The law seems to be in the hands of the muggers and robbers. There's panic among the people."

It would be a dangerous delusion to think that we can either "establish justice" in this country or re-establish peace in the central city, until those who are not the victims of this crime crisis are as indignant as those who are.

We are trifling with social dynamite if we believe that the young people who emerge from these brutal societies in the central cities will come out as satisfied and productive citizens. It is too often the case that "those to whom evil is done do evil in return."

STATE HELP

The State can assist the local community in improving the quality of its law enforcement agencies in a variety of ways. One of the most effective would be to use incentives to accelerate the trend toward larger and more efficient police units.

Today, there are more than 420,000 people involved in police work employed by 40,000 separate agencies. Many of these 40,000 agencies are tiny and inefficient municipal departments wholly inadequate to the tasks assigned them. Consolidation of many of these departments and their merger into city-wide or metropolitan-wide forces would give the peace forces a jurisdictional range and a level of strength more commensurate with the criminal forces—which ignore state lines, let alone the lines that divide tiny municipalities.

FEDERAL HELP

The Federal Government can play a leading role as well in furthering this objective of consolidating and reducing the number while improving the quality of law enforcement agencies in this country.

To do so, however, it will have to shift its emphasis from direct grants to local governments, to block grants to the states. The former approach puts the Federal Government squarely into what must and should remain a local function—law enforcement. Direct grants for local police departments could bring domination and control and the door could be opened to the possibility of a Federal police force—a prospect we should avoid. Secondly, the block grant approach to the states will enable them to determine the priorities in the allocation of resources; and that, too, is as it should be. Third, this approach would strengthen the statewide police forces which are, by and large, efficient and professional organizations.

It would also enable the state to strengthen its own investigative and crime laboratory facilities, its intelligence, and records centers—which could be put at the disposal of local police. By providing the assistance to the states, we would strengthen law enforcement at a level at which it could deal more effectively with a criminal community that possesses mobility and strength undreamed of a few years ago.

The shift in emphasis from direct grants to local departments to block grants to the States was written into the Law Enforcement Assistance and Criminal Justice Act of 1967 on the Floor of the House largely through the efforts of the Republican leadership there.

In the upper house, Senator Roman Hruska of Nebraska, one of the most knowledgeable and effective sponsors of anti-crime legislation on the Hill, along with the Minority Leader Senator Dirksen, has worked to have this block grant approach written into the final version of the bill—as it should be.

SETTING AN EXAMPLE

There is another area where the Federal Government can not only play a leading role—but where it has the opportunity to

make a dramatic demonstration of its concern with the problem of crime, its commitment to new solutions and the efficacy of its proposals. That is in Washington, D.C.—the nation's capital where the authority of the Federal Government is great and its prerogatives many.

Today, Washington, D.C., should be a model city as far as law enforcement is concerned—a national laboratory in which the latest in crime prevention and detection can be tested and the results reported to a waiting nation. The record, however, is otherwise.

If across America the peace forces in city after city and state after state have been gradually giving up ground to the criminal forces—in Washington, D.C., the forces of peace are in disorganized retreat. Since 1960 crime in the Nation's capital has increased by 100 per cent.

Again, however, the Administration has been slow to recognize the developing threat. It was only after severe criticism and intense public pressure that the D.C. crime bill was finally signed into law by the President in 1967.

THE PRISON PROBLEM

No national program for turning back the rising tide of crime can succeed if we continue to ignore a primary headwater—the prisons of America. No institution within our society has a record which presents such a conclusive case of failure as does our prison system.

A recent FBI study of some 18,000 convicts released in 1963 revealed that fully 55 per cent had been re-arrested for new offenses by June 30 of 1966. Of those persons arrested on a new charge within 30 months, 67 per cent had been given a mandatory release by a penal institution.

In short—whether one believes that the purpose of a prison is to punish the criminal or to deter him from future crime or to rehabilitate him and guide him away from a career in crime—by either standard our prison system is a failure.

The American prison system needs to undergo a major overhaul—to be changed from a primary cause of the crime problem in this country into a partial cure. Stated simply and directly, the criminal rate in the United States would be a good deal lower if convicted felons were properly trained and equipped for reassembly by the outside world.

Both Federal and State Governments share equally in the responsibility for changing our prisons into something other than an enormous pool of replacements for the criminal community.

Since, however, the Federal prison system houses only 10 per cent of the penitentiary population of about 200,000 its role will primarily be one of example, of assistance to the states, and of clearing legislative roadblocks to effective prison reform.

RECOGNIZING A MISTAKE

During the depression years of the 1930's, with millions of Americans jobless, many pieces of Federal legislation were enacted calling for discrimination against prison-made goods. It was assumed that conscripted labor inside a prison could produce goods at a far cheaper rate and thus enjoy an unfair competitive advantage over both free labor and free enterprise.

This legislation was always questionable, and one certain effect has been to deny to thousand of convicted men the type of work experience that might have given them the essential opportunity to find a job when they left prison. It is time that these existing legal barriers against providing convicts with the type of training and work that will give them a viable employment when they leave—should be removed. According to the President's own Crime Commission, prison labor is no threat to free labor today.

Secondly, of the 120,000 people employed in correction today, five of six are employed

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in custodial or administrative work, leaving only some 24,000 in treatment activities to handle a combined jail and prison population of 400,000 and a total of some 1.3 million who pass through our system each year. That 24,000 figure includes all the psychiatrists, teachers, psychologists and social workers—and if we are serious about changing the results of prison life—then we have to be serious about increasing that number.

MORE PRISON REFORMS

The necessity of other major reforms is equally obvious. A study of the prison population reveals that 50 per cent of it has only a grammar school education or less. Except for New York and California, prison education is provided by inmates—a majority of whom lack college degrees and many of whom are themselves without a high school diploma.

The number of parole officers dealing with that great segment of convict population that has been returned to society is also inadequate to its job. We are thousands of men away from achieving what is considered the desirable ratio of one parole officer to every 37 parolees.

To effect these reforms, to provide the personnel in terms of teachers, to change the psychiatrists, social workers, to change the American prison system from a pool of replacements for the criminal community into a system of effective correction and rehabilitation will take money. It will require millions of dollars—whether those dollars are taken out at the State or Federal level.

It will take not only more dedicated people, but new ideas and new resources and new tools if we are going to rebuild these broken careers and re-equip these men and women for useful lives.

It will require further the cooperation of both State and Federal Government, for the unreconstructed criminal who walks out of a Missouri or Illinois prison, becomes a threat to the community he visits, wherever he goes in the United States.

These are not all of the steps that should be taken. But here, in these proposals, I believe a beginning can be made toward removing from this nation the stigma of a lawless society.

RIGHT TO A SPEEDY TRIAL

There are other areas as well where major reform is needed. The judiciary is one of them. In community after community in this country there are great backlogs of criminal cases. Not only does this delay in prosecuting serve as an injustice to the innocent, it does a grave injustice to society by delaying too long the imposition of penalties which are major deterrents to crime.

There is a need for vastly increased resources in crime research. Today, one-half of one per cent of the law enforcement budgets of the State and Federal government—a paltry \$20 million—is being spent on crime research.

The potential for law enforcement research is enormous.

Space age tools are available to deal with modern crime. Today, we are still working with the forensic toxicology and forensic medicine of thirty years ago. There are promising areas such as olfactronics waiting to be explored, and tools such as the "voice print" waiting to be exploited.

END OF A LAWLESS SOCIETY

As this brief statement indicates, there is no shortage of ideas or programs or tools or potential laws to deal with crime in this country. The only shortage is a shortage of leadership that will place this problem in the first priority of American business.

If the American people are willing to commit themselves to pay the necessary price to restore peace to the society, it can be done. If they are willing to commit themselves to the proposition that any man who disobeys

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the law pays the penalty the law exacts, then we can begin to turn this crime wave back.

We can put an end to an urban situation where the infirm, the old and the women refuse to visit their parks or enjoy the entertainment and good life a city can offer because they are afraid. We can reduce crime by making it a more hazardous and less rewarding occupation.

In connection with the President's Crime Commission Report, a poll was taken of average Americans. It found that of those polled 43 per cent were afraid to be on the streets at night; 35 per cent would not speak to strangers, and 21 per cent used cars and taxis at night to avoid mass transit.

Those are not the statistics of a Great Society; they are the statistics of a lawless society—they are statistics we must and will change.

NEW YORK, May 8, 1968.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I had the opportunity to speak last Thursday, May 16, 1968, at the Congregation B'nai Israel of Midwood at a dinner sponsored by the Charles L. Schreiber Lodge of B'nai B'rith in behalf of the United Jewish Appeal, and I should like to call the attention of our colleagues to my remarks on that occasion, the text of which follows:

I feel deeply honored and privileged to join with the members and friends of the Charles L. Schreiber Lodge on this occasion. I particularly welcome this opportunity to add my words of tribute to Charles L. Schreiber, a prominent businessman in our community, whose deep concern for the welfare of his fellow men is reflected in the energy and time he devotes to help those in need. All of us are enriched for knowing Charles L. Schreiber as are those who benefit from his generosity and compassion.

We are gathered here this evening to reaffirm our resolve to move forward with the traditional program of B'nai B'rith to banish discrimination from our land. We are gathered also to demonstrate, offer, and give our support to the State of Israel, in the critical days, weeks, and months that lie ahead.

Despite the vast progress made over the course of years, the fight against anti-Semitism remains a pressing one. Anti-Semitic virulence continues to burden the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. Anti-Zionism, within the past several months, has become the official policy of Communist dictators in Poland, as a scapegoat in their efforts to stifle demands of Polish students for a greater measure of freedom. In Germany, the Neo-Nazis show increasing strength.

Here in the United States, we have seen the Black Power movement embrace the anti-Semitic tint. In our own Borough, we are witnessing today high-handed, gestapo tactics in our public school system, involving the arbitrary dismissal of teachers and supervisors, without notice, without charges, and without hearing. The tragic consequences of this kind of vigilant action is already reflected in the closing of schools in that strife torn area, making the children the principal victims of prejudice and bigotry.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith deserves our sincerest congratulations for its alertness, in making known its views

and demanding restoration of laws and order in that school district.

The cost of discrimination and bigotry is a burden which takes its toll of all society and not just their victims. For example, in a study entitled "The Ethnics of Executive Selection" by Professor Lewis B. Ward of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, dealing with a critical national shortage of trained business executives, Dr. Ward found that a major difficulty in providing managerial talent is the exclusion of members of various special groups in our society from careers in management.

"The gap between the ideal of equal opportunity and the practice of prejudice is hardly an unknown phenomenon," Professor Ward says. In the case of Jews, Professor Ward found that in many different industries Jews are under-represented. He reports them conspicuously absent in the management teams of banks, public utilities, insurance companies and certain large companies in heavy industry. Professor Ward's study deserves the deepest consideration of the Anti-Defamation League and other agencies dedicated to the elimination of barriers to equal opportunity.

While vestiges of discrimination remain to be uprooted, we must nonetheless observe with satisfaction the progress achieved over the years. For example, three weeks ago, I introduced a bill in Congress to sell to Israel Phantom Supersonic Jet Fighters. The essential purpose of the bill is to maintain peace in the Middle East by preserving in that critical area that balance of military power essential as a deterrent to war. This bill is intended to bring Israel's military strength in balance with the increasing military power of the Arab states, supplied by the Soviet Union.

Initially Israel had purchased 50 Mirage Fighters for 60 million dollars from France. Unfortunately, the French have taken the 60 million and now refuse to deliver the planes. Under De Gaulle, French diplomacy has taken on the morality of the common thief.

When I first introduced the bill to sell Phantom Jets to Israel, 24 Congressmen joined with me as sponsors. The following week 21 additional Congressmen joined the cause. Since then, additional Congressmen have called me offering support for the bill, with the result that next week, I will again introduce the bill, with an additional group of Congressional sponsors. I am certain that our State Department will get the message and before too long will agree to make these planes available to Israel.

Your support for Israel demonstrated by your presence this evening, your generous contributions to Israel in this moment of crisis is significant not only because of your practical and moral aid to Israel, but also because you are contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Middle East.

THE PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF RURAL AMERICA

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, Mr. Howard Bertsch, the Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, spoke last Friday in DeKalb County, Ga., on the advantages and attributes, as well as the needs, of rural America.

In his address, Mr. Bertsch underscored the fact that the problems and

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needs of rural America go hand in hand with those in our crowded urban areas, and that our farms and small towns must have the same measure of attention as that now being given our cities. I concur wholeheartedly with this point of view and feel that if we are ever to curb the massive migration to cities, our rural areas must be revitalized, principally in providing more gainful employment both on and off the farm.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bertsch's address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

SPEECH BY HOWARD BERTSCH, ADMINISTRATOR, FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION, AT DEDICATION OF COUNTY LINE HOUSING PROJECT, DE KALB COUNTY, GA., MAY 17, 1968

The humorist, Peter Dooley once said: "Progress is when you ain't standing still".

Someone else has said that progress is the effort and inspiration which occurs between a dream and its fulfillment.

However you want to define it, what we see and dedicate here today is "progress" in the very best sense of the word.

You have a right to be proud of this fine housing project.

The Farmers Home Administration can share your pride in having been able to assist its financing.

Both the major credit and the thanks of this community belong to Mr. Lincoln Jones who had a dream, and with your help, made it come true.

Just before I left Washington, your distinguished Senator, Herman Talmadge, called me to make sure I would extend to all of you his warmest personal greetings and to express his regret and deep disappointment that he was unable to share this day with you.

While I know you, too, are disappointed he could not come today because of previous engagements—his inability to be here has afforded me an honor and an opportunity I probably would not otherwise have had.

I think I am in something of the same position of the traveling salesman who stopped at a hotel one evening to get a room for the night.

The clerk kept telling him there were absolutely no rooms available.

Finally the salesman said to the clerk: "Look, if the President of the United States came in, you'd find a room for him, wouldn't you?"

The clerk admitted that this would be true.

"Well then," said the salesman, "let me have his room. I happen to know he's not coming."

So, here I am, in the place of the Senator—and I thank you.

I thank you also for showing me what is so very right and so very good about America—particularly rural America.

I get a little weary of the massed choir of the disenchanted, the disaffected and disoriented who sing the chorus of despair and gloom and spend their time telling us what is wrong with America.

I get weary of reading and listening to the various obituaries which announce that rural America is dead.

For more than a decade there has been a rising chorus of voices throughout the land which said that the future of rural America was hopeless.

Write off rural America, they said. Let the towns dry up. Let a few big operators run our vast agricultural plant. The farm problem is insoluble. There is no use investing money to build new homes, community water systems, or new schools or health facilities. In a few years, they keep saying, there will be no one around to use them.

These gloomy Jeremiah's were dead wrong.

As Mark Twain said: "The news of my death was premature and slightly exaggerated."

Rural America is very much alive. It is thriving. It has the greatest potential for opportunity and wonderful living of any region in this nation.

Rural America is undergoing a great revolution.

It's a quiet revolution—not one that tears down the fabric of our society but a revolution that builds it up.

Rural people and rural communities in partnership with their local, State and Federal governments are changing the face and the fabric of the countryside.

New homes are going up.

Communities are being revitalized with the installation of new water and sewer systems and new outdoor recreation areas.

New business and new industry are locating in rural communities.

The migration of rural people to the cities is being slowed down and in some areas is actually being reversed.

The ratio of employment in rural areas is rising faster than in our cities.

Education standards are going up in rural areas and adequate health facilities and services are increasing.

Improved farm programs and expanded farm credit programs have strengthened the family farmer and farm income is nearly double what it was seven years ago.

Practically all this progress has taken place since 1961. It's been accomplished by the people who had faith in rural America—by an Administration that was concerned with the problems of rural people—and by a Congress that was responsive to your needs.

And now—and this is ironic—we have a growing list of people who suddenly have discovered that there is such a place in our country called rural America.

They are discovering for the first time that it's a pretty nice place—free of congestion, free of pollution, where crime and violence is the unusual, not the commonplace. They have discovered that the rural countryside is beautiful, and healthful and relaxing. They find it intriguing that people can actually have names and faces and neighbors.

In recent months there have been a rash of newspaper stories, editorials and magazine articles all based on the discovery or rediscovery of rural America.

All proclaim that the countryside offers a pleasant, profitable and exciting alternative to the frustrations, the congestion, the violence and the depleting malaise of the cities. Even business magazines are singing the new chorus of "rural America, the beautiful".

And all of this, of course, is good.

It's good for rural America—it's good for the whole nation.

It's good for the nation because our cities—where some 70 percent of the population resides—face a serious crisis.

This crisis of impaction, of gilded ghettos and incredible tax burdens can easily get worse unless rural America is used as a viable alternative for living and for business.

This is true because by the year 2000—just 32 years from now—we shall have double the population we had when the last census was taken in 1960.

If we continue the trend of crowding people into cities as we have been doing for the past fifty years, then the whole eastern seaboard from Boston down to Miami will be engulfed by one single megalopolis. The same will be true on the west coast and around the Great Lakes.

But if we continue to build the kind of rural America we set out to do in 1961—then we can easily provide the practical, livable and pleasant alternative for the additional millions of people we shall have in this country a generation from now.

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But if this is to be accomplished, much more must be done in Town and Country USA.

No one understands this better than President Johnson and men like Senator Talmadge.

In his special Farm and Rural America message, President Johnson recommended legislation that will accelerate the progress and opportunity expansion in rural America.

Let me just cite a few of these proposals he gave to Congress and which proves, to me, this Administration's constant faith and confidence in rural people:

He recommended increased funds to assist small farmers to begin new farm and non-farm enterprises;

Additional credit for the establishment and expansion of rural cooperatives;

Continued advancement of rural electrification and rural telephone systems;

Expanded credit and incentives for firms seeking to locate new plants in rural areas;

Increased Federal programs with loans and grants to assist rural communities to build and expand basic facilities like water, sewer and recreation facilities plus increased grants for comprehensive rural planning.

And in the area of rural housing the President has asked Congress to reduce interest rates for low and moderate income families; generally broaden the eligibility for housing credit, provide rent supplement payments, and provide housing at rural manpower training centers which will enable low income rural residents to prepare for improved employment opportunities.

This is only a partial list of programs recommended by the President and I am glad to report that the members of Congress who really care have introduced bills embodying all these recommendations. Hearings have been held on many of them and in the case of the legislation on rural housing it has already been favorably reported out of committee.

Democracy moves at its own pace—sometimes not as fast as we like—but it does move—it does respond to the wants and needs of people.

The future for rural America is one of hope—not of disappointment and despair.

And rural America is no longer a second-class area in a first class nation.

This is what is so very right and so very good with communities such as yours—and what makes it that way, are people like you.

Thank you.

CONGRESSMAN DOMINICK V. DANIELS HAILS ACADEMY OF THE SACRED HEART, HOBOKEN, N.J.—100 YEARS OF SERVICE

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, one of the great educational institutions in the State of New Jersey is the Academy of the Sacred Heart in the city of Hoboken. On May 25, 1968, a great celebration will be held in observance of the 100th anniversary of the founding of this fine school.

Sister Mary Richard, the principal of the Academy of the Sacred Heart, is a very fine educator and occupies a unique distinction. Sister is, to my knowledge, the only nun ever to serve as a member of a congressional staff. Many Members will recall Sister Mary Richard as a capable assistant in my office here in Wash-

ington. Those Members who were fortunate enough to have made the acquaintance of this dedicated woman know how fortunate I was to have her services, even for a summer.

Sister has prepared a brief history of the Academy of the Sacred Heart which I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I know that I speak for every person in the 14th District of New Jersey when I express my own personal "well done" to the sisters of charity who have done so much to keep this school in the forefront during the last century. It has been 100 years of service to the community and I am sure that the next 100 years will see even greater progress.

The history follows:

HISTORY OF ACADEMY OF THE SACRED HEART, HOBOKEN, N.J.

The Academy of the Sacred Heart, founded in 1868, is Hoboken's only Catholic High School. It is the second oldest Academy to be established by the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity in New Jersey. Within ten years after the Convent and Academy of St. Elizabeth was founded by them at the Motherhouse in Convent Station, St. Aloisius Academy in Jersey City and the Academy of the Sacred Heart in Hoboken were begun as private institutions.

In 1868 classes were held in a small building located centrally on the main street. The school was in general a day school for boys and girls; but for awhile New York students were permitted to board, never more than ten at one time because of limitation of space. Within a short time the small frame structure was replaced by a larger brick building on the same site. This building is the one which stands today at 713 Washington Street. In a short time an extension was added to the rear of the building to accommodate the increasing number of students. These additions were made during the superiority of Sister Mary Geraldine.

The Academy had the first girl's basketball team in Hoboken. Games were played in the Armory in the old City Hall where Mr. Ward Brennan coached the Academy girls. Today the Academy basketball team is still among the leaders in this sport.

During World War I students of the Academy served as Red Cross Aides and assisted in the cooking, sewing and caring for the wounded soldiers in Admiral Benson Hall. The Academy has trained many men and women in the role of responsible citizenship. One among the many who became publicly successful was Daniel S. Kealy, Class of 1906, who became the Superintendent of Schools in Hoboken, and later the Vice-President of the National Educational Association. Lawrence Fagan, one of the earliest graduates of the elementary division became the Mayor of Hoboken. His son, Arthur, also a graduate, became co-owner of the Jersey Observer. Mr. Donald Kersey, a high level associate in Anaconda Copper, donated the Chapel. Harold Mintern became a County Judge; Edward Coyle, a County Clerk. Many others obtained important positions on school boards and teaching staffs. Practically all the young ladies who graduated from the high school entered the Newark Normal School of Teacher Training. One alumna, Frances Foley Ganon, became the Deputy Market Commissioner of the City of New York. Miss Hazel Bishop, owner of Hazel Bishop Industry was another graduate who succeeded in the business world. Mr. William Heiliger, the writer of boys' books was also a graduate of the Academy. Miss Mabel Coyle of the Class of 1902 organized the Junior High School in the Public School System of Hoboken years before surrounding municipalities introduced it.

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In recent years the building has been modernized and made fireproof. The curriculum offerings have been expanded to meet the needs of the student and the requirements of the State Department of Education.

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMP-IN

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Columbia (S.C.) Record has published an editorial and an article on the subject of the poor people's camp here in Washington. The editorial is entitled "Fear in Washington"; the article is entitled "Capital Camp-in Presents Massive Health Problem."

The editorial points out that many residents of the Metropolitan Washington area are storing up large reserve supplies of food and that other preparations are being made in the event that the poor people's campaign gets out of hand.

The editorial quotes a high Government official as saying that the only way to get action on anything is "to raise hell." This system has been used by civil rights, students and various other pressure groups. In many cases the college administrations and some Congressmen have reacted with fear and almost hysterical expediency.

In my opinion it is a sad commentary upon the national character of the United States that this tactic should prove successful at all.

The article concerning the health problems of the camp presents a very significant problem. Dr. Murray Grant, Public Health Chief of the District of Columbia, has cited the ease with which disease can spread within a camp like Resurrection City. He cited tuberculosis, meningitis, infectious hepatitis, and dysentery as examples of the kinds of diseases that spread quickly under camp conditions.

Mr. President, I urge the District authorities and the authorities of the present administration who granted permission for the establishment of this tent city to take all precautions necessary to make certain that the fruits of their leniency are not manifested by an epidemic in the greater Washington area. In my opinion, it is their responsibility to arrange for proper sanitation and frequent inspections to see that this potential danger does not become a reality.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

FEAR IN WASHINGTON

Battle-scarred Washington nervously awaits the encampment of a Poor People's Army formed of converging marchers to put pressure on Congress for additional benefits.

Building of a 15-acre slum city has begun in West Potomac Park between the Washington monument and the Lincoln Memorial.

Problems of sanitation, utility services and feeding for the 3,000 that will be permitted

in the temporary plywood development have not been solved. Emergency federal funds will be used, but there are conflicting reports on how public welfare funds for individual compensation will be applied.

Washington does not know how many marchers will come. Estimates have run as high as 150,000. Churches have been trying to get rooms in private homes to accommodate the overflow from the park.

The principal fear is that militants will use the demonstration to start a new wave of violence and looting in the nation's capital.

Resident families are stocking up with large reserve supplies of food. Some of the stores are reducing inventories and have removed window displays. Business generally has been hurt.

At this time of year the city is usually swarming with delegations of school children, but few are making the annual spring visit. Hotels and motels have many vacancies.

Special preparations are being made to maintain order. Intelligence agencies are reportedly shadowing advance elements, keeping a special eye on militants who want to turn the march into mob violence.

Ten thousand troops at nearby bases are said to be on alert. The District of Columbia National Guard has changed its summer training program so that at least one company of 180 officers and men is on duty at all times. The Guard has acquired 50 communications cars so that forces can be quickly assembled at any trouble spot that develops.

A high government official said recently that the only way to get action on anything was "to raise hell." The system has been used by civil rights, student and various other pressure groups. Congressional, university administration and other authorities usually have reacted with fear and hysterical expediency. The Congress is expected to respond to the Poor People's March in like manner.

If President Johnson were running for re-election, he would be the main target of blame if the present demonstration gets out of hand and becomes violent, but the finger of accusation points instead to Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

Clark's general philosophy is to sympathize with the causes of crime rather than to combat crime itself, so if trouble breaks out on a major scale, his official head may roll before the Democrats go into the November presidential election.

CAPITAL CAMP-IN PRESENTS MASSIVE HEALTH PROBLEM

(By Vera Glaser)

WASHINGTON.—The shanty town to be built by thousands of the nation's poor and to which Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, leader of the March on Washington, has promised to bring our "lice and roaches" for an indefinite camp-in, poses a massive public health hazard for the District of Columbia.

The most frightening possibility, according to Dr. Murray Grant, D.C. public health chief, is the rapidity with which disease can spread in a tent within the camp, and into the surrounding community.

Of equal danger to the community is the drain on medical facilities which could be brought about should violence occur.

"We will have to screen individuals daily if they are going to live in tents," Grant predicted, adding that officials have "endeavored to get this across to the March leaders, but I don't know whether they all know it."

Grant considers it necessary that every camper be tuberculin tested, with chest x-rays for those showing a positive reaction. He cited tuberculosis, meningitis, infectious hepatitis, parasitic infections and dysentery as diseases which could spread quickly under camp conditions.

"We will be doing a considerable amount of laboratory testing. It will be desirable to take at least one stool specimen on each

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individual and throat specimen on each individual and throat specimens in selected cases. We think it necessary to immunize all children against diphtheria, lockjaw, smallpox, polio, measles and whooping cough," he said.

Planned sanitation facilities include water for drinking, washing and bathing, toilets, and arrangements for preparation for storage, transportation and refrigeration of food.

Trailers will be used to house such facilities and medical personnel who will work in shifts around the clock.

When an incipient communicable disease is discovered, the camper will be isolated immediately at D.C. General Hospital, where emergency medical and surgical care also will be provided. The U.S. Public Health Service has offered its stand-by assistance.

Working closely with Grant is the Medical Committee for Human Rights, a group of physicians and nurses who volunteer their services to the civil rights movement.

Mrs. Mary Holman, public health nurse and coordinator for the committee, reported 300 physicians and 75 nurses have volunteered to work at least one eight-hour shift in the encampment and said Federal authorities will provide an emergency dental clinic.

Drug shipments are arriving daily at physicians' homes, according to Mrs. Holman, who estimated that about 20 major drug firms have contributed an average of \$500 each in supplies.

"We figure we have enough drugs on hand to service 3,000 people for a month in the encampment. If we run longer, we'll need more," she said.

BUSINESS RESPONDS TO SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, the economic system of our country rests on a partnership between government and private industry. Recently, business has begun to recognize and accept certain social responsibilities, particularly with respect to the problems facing our cities and urban ghettos. Many businesses, acting on their own, have accepted this responsibility for some time now and have been setting up shop in the slums and ghettos, and providing jobs and training.

In March 11, 1968, issue of the Chicago Tribune, Mr. Louis Dombrowski wrote a column in which he discusses this situation and commends those firms for their activities in this area. I hereby insert in the RECORD this column, entitled "Business Responds to Social Obligations":

WASHINGTON FINANCE: BUSINESS RESPONDS TO SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS

(By Louis Dombrowski)

WASHINGTON, March 10.—Some business men do not have to be prodded by President Johnson to involve themselves and their companies in the problems of the urban ghettos. Long before the President inaugurated big government-business partnerships, American business began devoting time, money, and effort to its social responsibilities.

Such corporate giants as American Oil company, United States Gypsum corporation, Aerojet-General corporation, Control Data corporation, Avco corporation, and Eastman Kodak company among many others have been setting up shop in the slums and ghettos and providing jobs and training.

"This responsibility to our social environment is intimately intertwined with our economic responsibility to our stockholders."

PART OF REPORT

The preceding statement was contained in the annual report of the Chase Manhattan bank, the nation's second largest commercial bank. The letter to stockholders, signed by George Champion, chairman, and David Rockefeller, president, went on:

"We cannot, we believe, justify your faith in us simply by earning a profit today. We must also be certain that we are securing a place for tomorrow."

Chase Manhattan is not alone in recognizing that as standards of living are raised throughout society, businesses and their stockholders benefit and prosper.

"Business and industry, in the normal conduct of their affairs, have long occupied a prominent role in the achievement of social progress," L. W. Moore, president of American Oil, said recently. "Our economic system, in fact, has created the abundance that has made social progress possible and also has enabled us to assume the political and economic leadership of the world.

"But business, in turn has benefited from the progress that has been made, and some of its own progress has been based on technological advances that are contributing to the problems that society faces today.

"IT'S GOOD BUSINESS

"It seems eminently sensible to me—and completely responsible—to suggest that we need to sustain and enlarge the nation's economic progress, and our own, by involving ourselves with society and its problems in new and imaginative ways."

But business men, pragmatists that they are, are not accepting this social responsibility because of a sense of altruism and conscience. On the contrary, it is just good business.

"Business is involved right up to the neckline in hundreds of public problems, and the public—that is to say, our customers, our neighbors, our employees, and our stockholders—expect us to accept the responsibility of helping to solve those problems," said John D. Harper, president of Aluminum Company of America. "And in so doing, we protect the very system that permits us all to prosper."

PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT OF NATIONAL AIRPORT

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks a resolution adopted by the City Council of Alexandria on May 14, 1968, regarding the proposed enlargement of National Airport.

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

Whereas, the National Airport is presently being utilized to a point which could be dangerous, and

Whereas, proposals are being suggested to enlarge the runways to accommodate larger planes for greater passenger and freight service, and

Whereas, in order to enlarge the runways it would require further usurpation of the Potomac River which in turn would tend to cause greater flooding potential to all the area below the National Airport, especially the City of Alexandria, Virginia, and

Whereas, the National Airport does contribute economically to the immediate surrounding area, provided it is properly regulated, and

Whereas, we do have within a short traveling distance the Dulles Airport, which was constructed at great cost, to take care of the mammoth planes which are being constructed and which are now being proposed for flights in and out of National Airport, and

Whereas, the enlarged airport, larger planes, the increased air pollution, the increased area of the flight patterns, would so compound the problem now existing at the National Airport and in the area surrounding this Airport,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the City Council of the City of Alexandria, of the Commonwealth of Virginia, feels that

(1) That National Airport must not be enlarged; but its present use reasonably restricted.

(2) That if planes are being constructed of such capacities that National is unable to accommodate them, these planes should be routed to Dulles Airport, which Airport was built for this purpose.

(3) That copies of this Resolution be forwarded immediately to Governor Mills Godwin, to our United States Senators and Congressmen, the Arlington County Board, the Fairfax Board of Supervisors, to the C.A.B., the F.A.A., and the Army Corps of Engineers, and

With the request that every proper effort be utilized by them in preventing this potentially horrendous situation in our immediate area.

Proposed by Nicholas A. Colasanto, Councilman, Alexandria, Virginia.

CHARLES E. BLATLEY, Jr.,
Mayor, City of Alexandria.

ARE WE GOING TO CHANGE IN TIME?

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the question of greatest urgency and importance to the American people next to, perhaps, an early, just peace in Vietnam, is the preservation of law and order here in our own country. An editorial appearing in the Wednesday, May 15, 1968, issue of the Ingham County News, of Lansing, Mich., asks a very straight-forward question, "Are We Going To Change in Time?" and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

ARE WE GOING TO CHANGE IN TIME?

Justice, swift and sure, handed out under the rule of law is must if the United States is to survive the mushrooming anarchy rapidly gaining a foothold.

Anarchy takes many forms. It can refer to a country without any rules or laws. It can mean terroristic resistance to all present government and social regulations. It can mean disrespect for laws, violation of laws without society exacting a reprimand. It can mean selectively accepting some laws but ignoring those with which a person or group does not agree. Anarchy is even a philosophy that recognizes no law.

As someone once said, "Laws are the glue that hold our democracy together."

It is evident that we are becoming unstuck.

It is unthinkable that the looters, the rioters, the snipers, the assassins, the arson-

ists and the law defiers whom our permissive courts, politicians, others in authority have allowed to spawn into a dangerous festering ugly sore, will be able to bring this country to its knees.

The vast mass of law abiding Americans are going to insist that law and order be restored. The mood of America—the America standing for law and order instead of chaos and anarchy—is swinging toward control of lawlessness.

The critical question is whether the legislators, the courts and the politicians are going to recognize this mood in time.

The people are sick and tired of seeing this country torn up and even sicker of seeing those who are in authority being afraid to crack down and enforce the law.

**AMERICA, A LAND FOR ALL MEN—
THE GREATEST**

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, in these days of racial strife, when many would explain away our problems by attributing them to a sickness in America, it is extremely gratifying to hear a voice raised in defense of our land. It is especially gratifying when the voice is raised by a highly respected member of the Negro race who has risen to great prominence on his own merit.

Such a voice was raised recently by Al Bell, executive vice president of Stax Record Co., of Memphis. Mr. Bell is the first member of his race to reach such a position with a major American recording company.

Following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King and the violence and looting which it precipitated, Mr. Bell penned the words to a song which eloquently express the longing of persons of good will of all races.

Contrary to those who would say that America is eaten up with sickness, Mr. Bell says America is "a land for all men—the greatest." And he is the living proof that it is.

I ask unanimous consent that an interview with Mr. Bell, written by James Cortese, and published in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Commercial Appeal, Memphis (Tenn.), Apr. 14, 1968]

THERE'S A LOT BEHIND THIS RECORD

(By James Cortese)

"This is how I feel and what I believe," said Al Bell, executive vice president at Stax Record Co., as he put the latest tape cut at Stax on a recorder.

He flipped a switch and the solid, throaty voice of Shirley Walton filled the air of the conference room at Stax:

*Last time I saw peace and harmony
They were headed down your way.
Won't you please turn them around
And send them straight back to me.*

"I'm not concerned about the sale of this record," Al said. "I just want everybody to hear this message."

Shirley sang:

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*"Winding, winding road
Send peace and harmony home."*

"I've had the idea for this song in my mind for several weeks. It didn't take me long to get the words down after the trouble began in Memphis," Al said.

"There's a lot behind this record that made me want to produce it. I went through the integration thing at Central High in Little Rock . . . I was an announcer at KOKY in Little Rock then.

"There's been great changes in the South in the last 10 years . . . the story as told in the Northern press makes me sick. The South is a good place to live, and eventually Mississippi will be the best place of all because we know each other."

On the tape, Shirley, backed by Booker T. and the MGs, lamented:

*"Tell me what did we do wrong
Seems like all the love is gone
Please help man to see the light
Send them back, make things all right."*

"Only a few actually took part in the riots . . . one should not say 'All the Negroes rioted' anymore than one should say 'all the white people shot Martin Luther King.' This is our land, our nation . . . the greatest!"

The voice of Shirley continued:

*"Winding, winding road
Send peace and happiness home
Winding, winding road
Oh yes, they've been gone too long."*

Al Bell is a tall, serious-minded young man of 29 whose real name is Isbel. "That's a Jewish name," he said with a grin, "and my wife's name was Purifoy, which is French. That's America . . . a land for all men . . . the greatest!"

The new record, Al said, is now being pressed and should be released not later than Wednesday. It is on Stax's new Enterprise label. Basically it's a folk number, with music written by Eddie "Wood Chopper" Floyd and Booker T. Jones.

"I just hope," said Al as the last note echoed, "that every American will listen to the message . . . and send peace and harmony home to our land . . . the greatest!"

IMPROVED VETERANS' BENEFITS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on May 20, 1968, the House passed three veterans' benefits bills in which I have had particular interest and should like to take a moment to note briefly.

H.R. 16902, similar to my own bill H.R. 7086, is designed to promote the care and treatment of eligible veterans in State veterans' homes by increasing the maximum per diem rates of the Federal payments for hospital or domiciliary care from \$2.50 to \$3.50 and for nursing home care from \$3.50 to \$5. In addition, this legislation extends the authorization for appropriations at the present level of \$5 million annually through the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 to assist States in the construction of State home facilities for furnishing nursing home care to war veterans. The maximum Federal participation would remain at 50 percent of the estimated cost of construction. I am pleased to note that under the construction grant provisions of existing law, two construction projects have already been

tentatively approved in the State of New Jersey and construction applications are under review for a second unit at each location.

H.R. 14954 seeks to improve vocational rehabilitation training for service-connected disabled veterans by extending the authorization of subsistence allowances to include part-time training, now limited to those disabled veterans who are pursuing training only on a full-time basis. Allowances are provided for on a sliding scale for three-quarters-time and half-time institutional training, such amounts also taking into consideration the number of the veteran's dependents. There would be no change in allowances paid veterans pursuing full-time training under existing law.

H.R. 7481 proposes to increase the amount which the Veterans' Administration is authorized to pay to private or public nursing home care facilities for care of eligible veteran patients from one-third the cost of care in VA general hospitals, as at present, to 40 percent of such costs. The period of such care for which the VA may pay in connection with any one transfer remains unchanged at generally 6 months. The increase in the statutory limit will considerably broaden the scope and number of nursing homes with which the VA could contract as the demand for adequate and quality care in such facilities continues to increase.

Mr. Speaker, these measures are only a few of the several which have come before this Congress in an effort to improve the well-deserved benefits to veterans of all wartime eras, and especially those for the disabled veterans. I have wholeheartedly supported this legislation and trust the other body will see fit to act promptly to insure the enactment of these needed proposals without delay.

RESERVATION COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

HON. CLIFFORD P. HANSEN

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, on Wednesday, May 15, I attended a hearing before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on S. 1816, a bill to provide for the economic development and management of the resources of individual Indians and Indian tribes.

In the light of the objectives set forth in the proposed legislation, and because of the discussion which took place at the hearing, interesting insight is provided by an article which was published in the Riverton, Wyo., Ranger regarding a meeting held last month at Fort Washakie, Wyo.

The meeting, attended by about 60 men and women from throughout Fremont County, concerned methods by which community development could be accomplished on the Wyoming Indian reservation.

At one point the article, entitled, "Reservation Community Development Is

"Talked," referred to several comments made by Wind River Reservation Superintendent Clyde Hobbs:

He pointed out that any action will start with a need which comes directly from the people on the Reservation. Financing, if money is needed, will be arranged after the needs are determined. He pointed out, however, that many of the needs do not need financing but rather require a fresh attitude within the community and surrounding area.

It is my hope, Mr. President, that in any discussion of legislation aimed at raising the status of the American Indian, we may always maintain "a fresh attitude."

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:

RESERVATION COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IS TALKED

Methods by which community development can be accomplished on the Wind River Indian Reservation were discussed at a meeting yesterday at Fort Washakie involving some 60 men and women from throughout Fremont County.

Yesterday's meeting was an outgrowth of a meeting held in Norman, Oklahoma, last fall at which time all Reservation Superintendents attended a week-long workshop on community development. Preparatory to the local meeting, the same subject was discussed at a Wyoming and Montana reservation officials meeting last month in Bozeman, Montana.

Wind River Reservation Superintendent Clyde Hobbs termed the meeting a "groundswell need within the community." He pointed out that any action will start with a need which comes directly from the people on the Reservation. Financing, if money is needed, will be arranged after the needs are determined. He pointed out, however, that many of the needs do not need financing but rather require a fresh attitude within the community and surrounding area.

Among the subjects discussed at yesterday's meeting was the need for improvement of driveways into Reservation homes from the main roads. It was noted that school children are often kept out of school when weather makes the driveways impassable. Methods of reducing the number of school dropouts was also discussed yesterday. This is the type of problem which will be dealt with through the community development program, Hobbs said.

It was agreed at yesterday's meeting that needs need to be determined within individual communities. The Joint Business Council of the Shoshone and Arapahoe tribes will be presented with this finding and committee within the communities of Arapahoe, Fort Washakie, and Crowheart are expected to be appointed to meet directly with the residents and discuss their problems. A tribal member attending yesterday's meeting, noted that a committee should be well acquainted with needs of the Indians in order to be able to discuss problems and solutions sympathetically.

Participating in yesterday's meeting at Fort Washakie were program heads at the Wind River Agency, representatives from the United States Public Health Service, the county extension service, the Chambers of Commerce from Riverton and Lander, the Reservation Overall Economic Development Committee, the Joint Business Council, and the Mill Creek and Fort Washakie public schools.

Superintendent Hobbs presided at the meeting and noted that through the informal session discussion on attitudes and philosophies of what is necessary for Reservation community development could be exchanged.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

James Canan of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Billings was scheduled to attend the meeting but was unable to arrive due to inclement flying weather. He plans to meet with the Joint Business Council next Tuesday on the community development question.

BATTLE OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the battle of the good people against the criminal element continues in our Nation's Capital.

The taxpayers and law-abiding citizens have become so desperate they publicly ask for restoration of peace—law and order—by escalating the war against robbers, arsonists, and murderers.

But Pat Murphy still is overly concerned about the constitutional rights of criminals in a free society to understand that there also must be constitutional rights for the majority—the victims and those who live in fear of what will surely follow unless firm decisive leadership is taken?

As for lip service suggesting citizens give up their guns—someone is senile. Ineffective leadership rendering police ineffective has forced the public to realize they must arm to defend themselves in an orderless society. Do not blame the people—blame those who want to take the guns. They are the ones who caused the effects we now suffer.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that advertisements from the Evening Star for May 16 and 17, and the Washington Pravda for May 18 follow. The Post still holds out for more money, they still think you can buy law and order.

The items referred to follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 16, 1968]

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE MAYOR OF WASHINGTON

It can happen here. The District of Columbia has become a disaster area and a battleground. The field of combat is clearly defined. It is in the minds of the lawbreakers—and those who are tempted to break the law. Our most powerful weapon must be knowledge that the law will be enforced—fairly and firmly.

The ultimate restraint for the lawless is not jail. It is the possibility of jail. When that possibility is diminished by lax law enforcement, crime becomes a way of life. When lawlessness is blinked at, we're eyeball to eyeball with anarchy: "window shoppers" are encouraged—to break the window. Give a potential criminal an inch and he'll take everything he can get, along with human life.

There are those who think that to deplore the increase in the spiral of crime brands one a reactionary. We are not reactionaries but if we did not react to the growing lawlessness in our city with alarm and protest, we would be irresponsible citizens.

We respectfully urge you, Mr. President and Mr. Mayor, while you seek from Congress the needed legislation for the disadvantaged, to seek also laws which will protect all citizens from irresponsible elements in the community—and to seek the means, if in your opinion you do not have them, to enforce

those laws. We ask you to enforce and reinforce the law's presence—to alter the present climate which keeps salesmen of national manufacturers from visiting our stores in the Washington area because of danger on the streets, and prevents the law-abiding from going about their lawful pursuits. Escalate the war against robbers, arsonists and murderers—to achieve safety in our city and peace at home.

GREATER WASHINGTON DIVISION OF MARYLAND-DELAWARE-DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA JEWELERS' ASSOCIATION, Affiliate of Retail Jewelers of America.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 17, 1968]

AN OPEN LETTER

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. THE MAYOR AND OFFICIALS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:

All citizens of the United States have a right to visit their national capital, and this right should be denied to none. All citizens have a concomitant right to do so with reasonable assurance of personal safety. This dream of every American from childhood, this privileged pilgrimage to the shrine of liberty, is now denied to the vast majority of the people by the actions of a few. The majority of the people are afraid to visit Washington, and many of its own citizens are leaving the city. The effect on business, property values, and tax income can not escape even the casual observer, nor can the effect on the support needed by the people's representatives.

The economic advancement, or even survival, of the entire community of Washington depends largely on the existence and growth of commerce within the city. If all commerce ceased, the community would cease. The daily needs of the people, rich and poor alike, for food, clothing, shelter, transportation, services, health, recreation, and many other aspects of life are provided by the business community. In many areas of this metropolis the innocent citizens are now denied convenient access to these requirements because businesses have been destroyed or driven out by arson, looting, and ever increasing harassment, violence, and open crime.

These same businesses provide the opportunity for tens of thousands to support themselves and their families, but many are now denied the means of livelihood by the destruction or dispersal of the businesses for which they had worked. Why do the many innocent have to continue to suffer while the few guilty run rampant through the streets?

The taxes of the business community provide a large part of the support of the social, welfare, police, fire and other public functions of this city. Taxes have been increasing, and are expected to increase more, but protection has been decreasing, and if the recent past is any indication, it is expected to decrease more.

As businessmen and as private citizens we want to live within the law, but we want others also to live within the law. We want the protection and justice of the law for all. We want to respect the rights of others, but we want them to respect our rights.

Men have given into the hands of society their own defense and the defense of their families in order to attain order and the general welfare through law. Not fear or intimidation, but love of civilization has been the genesis of the self-control and the reluctance to react with force against force on the part of threatened communities during recent disorders. There may well be a dangerous misunderstanding of this point on the part of a militant few. If people are pressed too far, or if their families, com-

May 21, 1968

munities, or means of livelihood are threatened beyond endurance or beyond the ability or willingness of society to provide adequate protection they will retake into their own hands the inalienable right to self-defense and survival.

This nation has borne the allegedly spontaneous rape of its cities with restraint and patience beyond ordinary understanding, but the eyes of the whole country are now on Washington, and with a clear understanding that the approaching events will not be spontaneous. An aura of uncertainty, and personal insecurity, a growing smog of fear, hangs over this, the national capital. It is not just another city. It belongs to all Americans, and all Americans are watching. Continued order and justice under a common law depends on the outcome. If the Government is incapable of assuring the security of the capital and the personal protection of less than a million citizens, you may fully expect that the lesson will not be lost on two hundred million.

Our national policy has been to assure national security wherever possible through the existence of sufficient force to be an overwhelming deterrent to aggression rather than through the use of that force to punish aggression. Will the Government of the District of Columbia and the nation provide an overwhelming deterrent to violence? Will they provide visible police and troops sufficient to discourage the criminal few from acts which unfortunately and unjustly are often blamed on the innocent majority of one segment of our whole people? Or will they allow an apparent danger to become a real disaster? Will they bear the guilt of driving each State, each city, and even each citizen to provide his own protection? Will their example teach each individual that in order to survive he must meet the threat of force with force, action with reaction, and counterreaction with escalation until the fabric of our society and our civilization is rent asunder?

We of the business community feel that we have some guilt for not having pressed for greater protection in the past, for having allowed ourselves to be intimidated by the potential and at times real threat inherent in sticking one's neck out. But it is time to stop worrying about sticking our necks out, about not getting involved. We are involved, and we intend to defend the commercial and economic interests of this city and its people. We ask for the protection to which we have a right, for our lives and property and for the lives and property of the entire community. It will be achieved, but we prefer that it be achieved through the law.

We ask for a deterrent to destruction, not only a promise of control after it has started. A curfew is an effective emergency weapon to curb destruction, but it penalizes the innocent far more than the guilty. Use of a curfew for long periods in itself could destroy large segments of commerce. If sufficient police are patrolling this city, are seen in large enough concentrations and numbers, and are known to be authorized to enforce the law with all means necessary, serious rioting, arson, and looting will never have the chance to begin. If sufficient police are unavailable, there are in the area of Washington and at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief more than sufficient troops to provide the necessary show of force. It would seem preferable to show force before, rather than to have to use it afterwards.

It is obvious to all that the existing number of police does not allow adequate protection, especially when their effectiveness is reduced drastically by imprudent restraints. We, therefore, ask that troops be placed on duty to supplement the police forces prior to and during the impending demonstrations,

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

that they be made clearly visible in sufficient numbers to provide an overwhelming show of force, and that the President of the United States and Government of the District of Columbia make a public statement of policy that the police and the troops will be authorized and directed to use all force necessary to assure the peace and order of the community.

You have taken the oaths of the highest offices of this land that you will to the best of your abilities preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution guarantees the rights of the citizens to live in peace and free from fear. We citizens now call upon the executive, legislative, and judicial officers of the United States and of the District of Columbia to fulfill their oaths of office.

Very truly yours,

PARK AND SHOP, INC.

This letter is sent at the unanimous request of the Executive Board of Park and Shop, Inc., which represents over 200 member merchants and professional firms and over 95% of all commercial parking facilities in the District of Columbia.

[From the Washington Post, May 18, 1968]

POLICE ADD PATROLS AFTER BUS SLAYING—ACTION ENDS THREAT OF DRIVERS' STRIKE

(By Carl Bernstein and Martin Weil)

Reacting swiftly to the fatal shooting early yesterday of a D.C. Transit bus driver, Deputy Mayor Thomas W. Fletcher announced that police will devote an additional 320 man hours a day to protecting transit operators.

Coupled with a plan by the Amalgamated Transit Union under which night-shift drivers will carry no change-making cash on their routes, Fletcher's announcement was apparently sufficient to head off a threatened wildcat strike by D.C. Transit drivers.

Many buses due on the streets at 6 a.m. yesterday were delayed when some operators refused to report for work after the fatal shooting of driver John Earl Talley.

Police have arrested four juveniles in the shooting, which occurred during one of seven bus robberies Thursday night and early Friday.

Talley was the fifth person to be killed during robbery attempts in the Washington area in less than three weeks. Arrests have been made in all the slayings. Four of them occurred in the District, the fifth in Oxon Hill, Md.

D.C. Transit officials said Talley was believed to be the first company bus driver to be killed here in a holdup.

EXACT FARE NEEDED

The Union, whose president said early yesterday that "there will be no more buses until we get some protection," instructed its drivers last night not to accept the \$100 change-making "bank" supplied by the company to drivers as they begin working their shifts.

The order, George Apperson, president of Capital Local 689, said, will be in effect from 6:30 p.m. until 4 a.m. daily.

Passengers will have to provide exact fare or tokens, but if a passenger cannot do so "we'll be courteous and let him ride," Apperson said.

D.C. Transit officials, who joined the Union yesterday in demanding more protection from the police, indicated that the Union's plan is acceptable to the company, at least on a temporary basis.

J. Godfrey Butler, a D.C. Transit vice president, said the matter of passengers lacking exact fare would be "up to the individual driver tonight."

O. Roy Chalk, the company's president, said he "would not order any man to drive a bus after 10 o'clock at night and that he would

take no action against drivers who refused to report for work last night.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 17, 1968]

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CITES RISING THREATS, ASKS STIFF EXTORTION LAW

District government officials said today the problem of threats against business properties is assuming serious proportions in the wake of last month's riot.

The officials asked a House District subcommittee for a stiff new law with penalties of up to \$5,000 and 20 years imprisonment for transmitting any threat to persons or their property.

"A considerable number of persons whose business properties were damaged or destroyed in the recent civil disorders have received threats to the effect that if they should replace or repair their properties and continue their businesses, the properties will again be damaged or destroyed," the statement said.

The statement was prepared by Deputy Mayor Thomas W. Fletcher and presented by Assistant Corporation Counsel Robert Kneipp.

The proposed bill would prohibit extortion by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral or written message.

Present extortion law, Kneipp said, requires that police show that a payoff has been made.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 15, 1968]

SILVER SPRING CHAMBER URGES GUARD IN STORES

The Silver Spring Chamber of Commerce has advised merchants to be prepared for future emergencies by arranging for guards armed with shotguns in large stores in the event of civil disorders.

A memorandum to chamber members included the suggestion for a shotgun loaded with birdshot among a number of precautionary actions advised by Montgomery County Police Supt. James S. McAuliffe.

Also included on McAuliffe's list of proposals:

Send a detail of two or more men to cruise in a specific business area to notify police of any suspicious actions. The superintendent warned that they should not challenge groups found wandering in the area, but should notify police and keep them informed of locations and descriptions.

Store guards should be equipped to extinguish Molotov cocktails and should have emergency telephone numbers for both the police and fire departments.

CITES "DECOY" FIRES

Men on watch, either on patrol or inside a store, should not leave their posts to observe fires or activities in other areas.

"Experience has taught us that the pattern used by arsonists is to start a fire in one area to draw attention, while they set fires and loot in other unprotected areas."

Store owners "must notify the commander of the local police station" when a guard is to be left in the building or when patrols are cruising. "This should be a quiet program; otherwise, it may entice defiance, thereby creating problems," the police chief warned.

Tape or boards should be provided so that the materials will be handy.

Remove inflammables from stores, or rearrange them so they are not in the direct line of fire.

Remove valuables from showcases, such as expensive clothes, jewelry and television sets.

Remove all firearms from showcases and secure them against theft.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Have stores and parking lots well lighted. Have available a dry chemical extinguisher, a regular fire extinguisher, garden hose or buckets of sand, as most fires caused by Molotov cocktails can be extinguished with a minimum of effort after the first fire flash subsides.

Whenever threatening telephone calls are received by merchants, similar to those placed during the April riots which threatened bodily harm or destruction of property unless business places closed, the police should be notified immediately.

IF DANGER IS IMMINENT

McAuliffe's suggestions concluded: In general, you have a right to protect your property from invasion or destruction by all reasonable means at your command. However, extreme measures may be employed only if the danger is imminent and other means have failed or are not practical. If time permits, let the police do it, as they are equipped and trained and just a few minutes away."

The Chamber of Commerce bulletin, which members received through the mail yesterday, urged all Silver Spring businessmen to attend a general information meeting at 10 a.m. May 29 at the Montgomery Hills Fire Station on Seminary Road near Georgia Avenue for a discussion of the basics of fire protection.

The Silver Spring Volunteer Fire Department also will offer a series of smaller, more detailed training courses after the general meeting, the notice said.

County police officials also are being invited to attend the May 29 meeting, which will be open to questions from the floor, the bulletin added.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 15, 1968]

RIOT-HIT MERCHANT INSISTENT ON REOPENING IS SHOT DEAD

(By Fred Barnes)

In the days following the rioting last month, Bert C. Walker's wife and son repeatedly urged him to sell his looted hardware and paint store at 3213 Georgia Ave. NW.

"But he had been there so long—33 years—that he just wouldn't listen," his son, Bert Jr., 22, said.

Yesterday, Walker's tenacity cost him his life. He was found slumped on the floor behind the counter of his store with at least two gunshot wounds in his head, the victim of an aborted holdup.

The 62-year-old Walker, who lived at 6518 8th Ave. in Hyattsville, was the fourth store owner or employee slain by holdup men in the Washington area in the past two weeks.

John Bethea, 69, a porter at Georgia Avenue Liquors across the street, found Walker lying in a pool of blood about 2 p.m. when he came by to deliver some beer. Walker had been working alone in the store, police said.

The slaying occurred between about 1:30 and 2 p.m. Police Capt. Eugene D. Gooding said. There were no suspects.

Police said the store's cash register was jammed, apparently by someone who had punched at the keys in an attempt to open it.

But the register was never opened and Walker's wallet, which contained a small amount of money, was left untouched in his pocket, Gooding said.

The police captain said he found gunpowder burns on Walker's head, indicating that the shots were fired at close range.

Dr. Richard Whelton, District coroner, pronounced Walker dead at 2:45 p.m. His body was taken to the District Morgue where an autopsy was scheduled for today.

Walker's wife, Maude, arrived at the store while police were investigating, after she reportedly heard a radio report about an un-

identified Georgia Avenue storeowner who had been shot.

The store's windows had been broken and the merchandise heavily looted on April 5, causing \$1,800 worth of damage, said the son, a student at Maryland Institute of Art in Baltimore. The store had not been burned.

Son Bert said he had come home on weekends to help his father repair the store. Plywood boards had replaced the broken glass.

Walker "couldn't see the change, the different attitude of the people," his son said.

Benjamin Brown, 58, was shot to death in his Service Liquor Store at 1100 9th St. NW on April 30 by a man who barged in with a crowd of about 15 youths. A suspect was arrested.

Three days later, Emory Wade, 41, manager of the A&P at 821 Southern Ave. in Oxon Hill, was shot to death during a robbery that netted holdup men \$4,000. Three persons have been arrested in that case.

Charles Sweitzer, 58, a clerk at Brinfield's Rexall Drug at 3939 S. Capitol St. was slain when he tried to help his boss who was being kidnapped by holdup men. Four persons face charges in the case.

[From the Washington Post, May 18, 1968]
MAYOR CALLS FOR ACTION—DISTRICT PLEA TO HILL: AID HARASSED FIRMS

(By Leonard Downie Jr. and Peter Milius)

The District government said yesterday that "the problem of threats against business properties is assuming serious proportions" in areas of the city hit by last month's rioting.

In a letter to House District Committee Chairman John L. McMillan (D-S.C.), Mayor Walter E. Washington asked Congress for legislation that would make it a felony to threaten businessmen or their property. He asked that such threats be punishable by five years in prison.

The letter was delivered as businessmen who suffered riot losses testified before a House District subcommittee that police protection "was totally lacking" both during the riot and now in inner-city business areas.

They echoed complaints from businessmen up and down 14th and 7th Streets nw. and H Street ne. that arson, burglary, threats and harassment continue to plague them more than a month after the riot.

City officials and business leaders also said yesterday that these complaints, reinforced by a spate of unfounded rumors, have spread a fear of post-riot crime across the city.

Mayor Washington is known to feel that this "hysteria" is unjustified in the present circumstances. But he acknowledged privately yesterday that "hysteria" and "panic" have gripped parts of the population.

He believes that a disproportionate number of those spreading these fears are residents of the suburbs who have not understood what has been happening in the city for years. He had told Congress earlier this week that what he felt were exaggerated complaints about public safety in the city only aggravated the situation.

But Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) told the Senate yesterday that despite what the Mayor said, Washington is "a city gripped by fear."

He called the city "a veritable jungle where decent citizens must cower behind drawn blinds at night in fear that they may be robbed, maimed, raped or murdered."

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C. May 12, 1968]

SHOTS FIRED INTO TWO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FIREHOUSES

Shots have been fired into two District firehouses since the civil disorders here last

May 21, 1968

month, but nobody was hurt in either incident, fire officials, reported.

An officer of Engine Company No. 12, at North Capitol Street and Florida Avenue, said a single shot was fired into the firehouse about 9 p.m. Thursday while the company was out on a call.

The shot passed through the firehouse door, dented the cowl of a hose truck parked inside, and ricocheted into a wall, the officer said. He said police investigating the incident estimated that the bullet came from a .25-caliber or larger weapon. He said the station has received several threatening phone calls.

An officer of Engine Company No. 30, 49th Street and Central Avenue NE., said a shot was fired into that firehouse about 1:30 a.m. Sunday April 18.

The bullet passed through a window and into a wall, he said. The officer said his company received no threats either before or since the incident.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C. May 15, 1969]

FIRMS IN RIOT AREA REPORT INSURANCE POLICIES CANCELED

More than 100 businesses in areas of the city damaged in the recent rioting have complained that their insurance policies have been canceled, according to the District superintendent of insurance, Albert F. Jordan.

Jordan said the insurance situation in Washington is "very serious" and added that unless a bill pending before Congress is passed to give federal monetary backing to insurance companies hit with riot claims it could get worse.

He said his office is writing seven insurance companies asking them to detail why they have canceled policies. The companies he named are:

Hartford Mutual Co. of Belair, Md.; Home Insurance Co. of New York; Phoenix Assurance Co. of New York; Zurich Insurance Co. of Chicago; Northwestern National Insurance Co. of Milwaukee; Grain Dealers Mutual Insurance Co. of Indiana, and Firemen's Insurance Co. of Washington, D.C.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C. May 17, 1968]

U.S. WORKERS ON LEAVE AIDING MARCH OF POOR

A substantial number of government employees, particularly those in the federal welfare and social agencies, are joining the Poor People's Campaign here.

The employees are offering their services in fund raising, building of shelters, medical aid, and the program of educating the people here to the objectives of the campaign.

Also, a scattering of federal employees in other parts of the country have arrived in the various caravans.

An equal number of white and Negro employees appear to be involved in the campaign.

Workers in some cases are using their annual leave to participate. In other cases they are using off-hours.

Employee participation seems particularly heavy in such agencies as Public Health Service, the Peace Corps, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

There also is participation among some workers of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

About 200 doctors from the National Institutes of Health have volunteered in force.

A spokesman for the Health Service said, "Many of the doctors are 'desk doctors' who have practiced very little medicine and they look on the campaign as a chance to do something directly for the poor."

At the Peace Corps, Allen Rothberg, special services director, said that about 300 of

the 700-member Washington staff are engaged in volunteer work, although not all of them are connected directly with the Poor People's Campaign.

Many of those participating have recently returned from assignments overseas, Rothberg said.

Government agency officials say they are approving requests for annual leave wherever possible to enable employees to participate.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 18, 1968]

MAN SHOT TWICE, VISITOR CHARGED

A District man who was shot in the 2500 block of 14th Street NW yesterday remained in satisfactory condition at Freedmen's Hospital.

Gillette M. Lee Jr., 30, of the 1400 block of Chapin Street NW, was shot once in the stomach and once in the leg.

Police charged Clarence P. Burton, 26, of Minneapolis, Minn., with the shooting several hours afterward when Burton tried to enter Resurrection City, local point of the Poor People's Campaign.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 16, 1968]

FIRST "TOWN MEETING"—BEVEL VISUALIZES A UTOPIAN CAMP

(By Michael Adams)

Resurrection City will be a utopia of goodness, beauty and intelligence if the Rev. James Bevel has his say.

Bevel is a top aide to the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy. Last night he was a principal speaker at Resurrection City's first "town meeting."

"We're going to have a great city," he said. "We're going to have a great time. We're all going to go away from here wiser than when we came.

"What we are going to do is get the record straight on this continent so human beings can live here," he said.

"We are the creators and the lovers."

A GIANT PIECE OF DRAMA

Bevel told the more than 800 persons gathered in a large dining tent that the whole Poor People's Campaign and its interaction with official Washington is, in fact, a giant piece of drama, "the most important drama on earth."

"Some of the policemen are going to come over here and feel they have to exercise their authority," he said, "but don't get upset with them. That's part of the play."

"We're not here because we just want to raise hell," he said. "We are here because unless the black people and the white people turn this economy around, the black people are going to be the victims of genocide."

When the town meeting was originally scheduled, it was assumed by many that the session would be used to institute a form of government for the new community near the Reflecting Pool.

Bevel said that community leadership decisions would be made after all those journeying to the city have arrived.

The town meeting started off with the air of an old-time revival meeting or a civil rights gathering in the earlier days of the movement.

A sense of exuberance was evident in the crowd as the Rev. Frederick Douglas Kirkpatrick strummed his guitar and led the predominantly young gathering in singing "Oh Freedom" and other civil rights songs.

The emotional temper reached an even higher level later when the Rev. Albert Sampson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference staff extolled, preached and exhorted the crowd for more than an hour.

"Just to set the record straight," he said, "we are not here to stay. We're here to do business. We understand how whites work. We've lived with you for 300 years."

GOD'S UNIVERSE

Repeatedly he returned to the theme that "this is God's Universe," and that the white man is breaking God's law by claiming to own most of it.

"You put the Indians on the reservations and called them savages," he said. "You put the Negro on the plantations and called him nigger; you put the Vietnamese in the ocean and called them communists.

"God knew," said Sampson, "that sometime in history, the people would have to go to Washington . . . there is a famine in the land. We say, (President) Johnson, here's malnutrition in Cabin Number 9; here's deprivation in Number 11."

Sampson said: "We ain't going back to Marks, Miss., without a written contract in our hands (that things in America will change.)

"We ain't what we ought to be. We ain't what we were yesterday. Thank God, we're going to make white people what they ought to be."

Bevel said that all persons living in the camp would have to work to make his concept of Resurrection City come true. He talked of establishing departments of sanitation, education and other municipal functions.

"But we won't have any violent relationships here," he said. "In our city, we recognize that each individual is sacred and is a student. We must all learn, no matter how old."

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 18, 1968]

BLACK VIOLENCE ADVOCATES IMPERIL UNITED STATES, HOOVER SAYS

Black nationalist groups that preach violence and revolution are increasing and their teachings become more violent each day. J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation director, said in recent congressional testimony made public today.

Hoover said the revolutionary stand represents a distinct threat to the internal security of the nation.

His testimony was given on Feb. 23 at a closed session of the House Appropriations subcommittee on the FBI's \$207 million budget request for fiscal 1969.

He said the FBI has intensified its intelligence watch on militant black organizations and has penetrated these extremist groups with informants at all levels.

Hoover said there was no evidence to indicate the riots of 1967 were part of any overall conspiracy but pointed out that crowds took violent action following the "exhortations of extremists such as black power advocates Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown."

"To Carmichael, black power signifies 'bringing this country to its knees' and 'using any force necessary' to obtain Negro goals," Hoover continued.

"He maintains that 'violence is inevitable in the struggle for Negro liberation' and he urges Negroes in this country to 'prepare for a bloody revolution.' Brown has traveled this country calling for 'rebellion by any means,'" Hoover said.

The FBI director said he viewed with great concern reports of stockpiling of firearms and other weapons by black nationalist groups.

"I regret what is going on in high schools by inviting such people as Brown and Carmichael to speak to young students," Hoover said.

"Carmichael appeared at a school in Washington just a few days ago. The idea of inviting him to a public school paid for by the taxpayers of this country, a man who has gone the length and breadth of the world damning the United States, saying its government should be overthrown, saying people should get guns to use against 'whites'; that is inexcusable."

MUCH KLAN SYMPATHY

Hoover said there are 14 Klan-type organizations in the United States with an estimated 14,000 hard-core members, but thousands of sympathizers. The Klans, he added, have their largest representation in North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

The crime problem confronting the nation today is more intense than at any time in its history, Hoover said.

In the last seven years, he said, crime has increased 88 percent while the population has increased only 10 percent.

Hoover said he believed in the principles of parole and probation, provided the system does not set repeaters loose on the streets. But of nearly 42,000 offenders arrested in 1966, more than half had received leniency in the form of parole, probation, suspended sentence or conditional release, he said.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 20, 1968]

WASHINGTON'S "REIGN OF TERROR"

(By David Lawrence)

A reign of terror prevails in the capital of the United States. Drivers of buses are afraid to work at night because one of their number was killed a few days ago by robbers. Attempts to steal the money collected from passenger fares have produced 234 incidents thus far this year.

The police force is inadequate. Businessmen are dismayed. Tourists are reluctant to come to the national capital. Residents of the city are scared to go out on the streets at night. Theaters and movies have smaller audiences. Owners of parking lots are particularly apprehensive. Two hundred members of "the park and shop" organization unanimously signed a letter to the President and Congress which was published in a page advertisement in the newspapers Friday. It said in part:

"This nation has borne the allegedly spontaneous rape of its cities with restraint and patience beyond ordinary understanding, but the eyes of the whole country are now on Washington, and with a clear understanding that the approaching events will not be spontaneous. An aura of uncertainty and personal insecurity, a growing smog of fear hangs over this, the national capital. It is not just another city. It belongs to all Americans, and all Americans are watching."

"Will the government of the District of Columbia and the nation provide an overwhelming deterrent to violence? Will they provide visible police and troops sufficient to discourage the criminal few from acts which unfortunately and unjustly are often blamed on the innocent majority of one segment of our whole people? . . .

"We ask for a deterrent to destruction, not only a promise of control after it has started. . . .

"If sufficient police are patrolling this city, are seen in large enough concentrations and numbers, and are known to be authorized to enforce the law with all means necessary, serious rioting, arson and looting will never have the chance to begin. If sufficient police are unavailable, there are in the area of Washington and at the disposal of the commander-in-chief more than sufficient troops to provide the necessary show of force. It would seem preferable to show force before, rather than to have to use it afterward."

The police in Washington are so busy watching the encampments where 3,000 "demonstrators" are to spend 30 days that there are not enough patrolmen to protect people on the streets and prevent the wave of looting and arson which has been going on.

Although the population of this city is more than 800,000, the police number only 3,000. Troops can help temporarily, but a larger force is really necessary. It cost the federal government \$5,375,400 to deploy

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troops across the nation after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. brought on "demonstrations" which gave criminals a chance to start fires and rob stores. Property losses in Washington alone were \$13 million and amounted to much more across the country.

When bus drivers are fearful about operating at night, and the transit company has to require passengers to carry the exact change so that the cash box can be kept locked, it certainly indicates that the governing authorities are lax and that not enough policemen have been utilized to deter acts of crime.

During such periods of disorder, "demonstrations" of any kind should not be permitted. There are enough halls and auditoriums for free speech to be exercised fully.

"Demonstrations" and mass gatherings could be forbidden by city ordinances everywhere until such time as an adequate force of troops has been provided to afford protection. It's an expensive way to assure respect for law and order, but it would cost far less in lives and property damage than bringing in soldiers after the riots and vandalism have occurred.

Disorder, meanwhile, is sweeping the nation. Members of college faculties and students who should know better are joining in the deliberate creation of conditions of disorder. All this is happening because federal, state and city governments are afraid of the so-called "liberal" vote and the possibility that Negro voters will be likely to misconstrue the mobilization of police power as somehow related to the controversies over racial discrimination.

The American people, however, have again and again in a national election held the party in power responsible for unfavorable conditions.

[From the Washington Post, May 18, 1968]

NEEDED: MORE PROTECTION

The fear and frustration which have so suddenly gripped Washington bus drivers are shared in large measure by other segments of the Washington community. There is a widespread feeling that the city is not getting the protection it needs. Are there enough police? Is enough use being made of the right kind of protective devices in shops, buses or taxis? The feeling of a lot of people is that the answer to both questions is No. This feeling comes in part as an aftereffect of the breakdown of law and order during the riots, but it also stems from a continuously increasing rise in serious criminal activity over the years. Housebreaking, auto thefts, robberies and larcenies averaged about 900 a week earlier this year. They now average over a thousand a week.

Certainly after six holdups and the murder of a bus driver in one night, the city must provide the added protection demanded by the bus drivers. The temporary manpower available through massive extensions of overtime, announced yesterday by Deputy Mayor Fletcher, should help relieve the immediate emergency. But if the city is to serve those other segments of the community whose fears are just as real as those of the bus drivers, the police force must be enlarged, and enlarged substantially. The police acted with admirable speed and efficiency last night in apprehending three suspects. Even before yesterday's shooting, police had assigned a special task force of plainsclothesmen to ride buses in the high hazard areas of the 9th, 11th and 14th precincts of the Northeast and Southeast sectors of the city. There effort has been rewarded with several arrests. But a concomitant result has been that already inadequate police forces have been spread even thinner. And as the murder at 20th and P only serves to show, the pattern of criminal attack is far from predictable. The only relief for this uneven balance, then, is to increase police ranks. This must be an

issue of priority for city and government officials.

As to the physical protection which the bus drivers seek, there are any number of devices which might help deter criminals, such as shatterproof plastic cages for drivers or two-way radios for quick communication. District buses are equipped with machines that collect fares which are inaccessible to the driver except by key. The Transit Commission might well insist that the contents of these machines be completely inaccessible, even to drivers, and that drivers on "owl" runs be prohibited from carrying money on their person, thus removing the bait for criminals. To effect this, the Commission could insist that passengers on night buses pay exact fares. Tokens might be sold at stores and restaurants to relieve the driver of the necessity of handling money.

A high proportion of robberies occur at bus terminal points. Schedules could be altered to prevent layovers, or terminals themselves might be relocated in areas where police can more easily provide protection.

Whatever the solution, the bus drivers, the merchants and the citizen who wants to walk the street deserve better protection. The rise in crime must be brought to an end. Already Mayor Washington and Safety Director Murphy have increased police protection by twenty per cent in some areas by stretching existing resources. The grim statistics suggest that this is not enough, either to curb crime or to restore the calm and confidence so essential to the welfare and wellbeing of the city. What it apparently comes down to is a need for more resources—more money and more manpower. The alternative is a continuing rise in the crime rate and, with this, all the debilitating effects of fear and frustration.

FAILURE OF THE McNAMARA WALL

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Greenville (S.C.) Piedmont of May 16, 1968, contains an interesting editorial entitled "McNamara Wall Is Held Failure in Vietnam Battle." The editorial refers to an obstacle system below the demilitarized zone in South Vietnam which was developed at the instigation of former Secretary of Defense McNamara. The wall consists of a series of frontline strongpoints linked with barbed wire, mine fields, and seismic devices that sound an alarm when vehicles move through the area.

This McNamara "Maginot line" is apparently as much a failure as its French predecessor. It is estimated that approximately 80,000 to 100,000 North Vietnamese troops infiltrated into South Vietnam this year. If that is true, the millions of dollars spent on the McNamara wall are as much a waste of Government funds as the billions spent on the F-111B—the ill-fated fighter bomber that proved to be such a costly failure.

The editor points out that "a failure is a failure." He further urges that if the McNamara wall is the failure that the evidence would have us believe, Congress and the people should be so informed.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

McNAMARA WALL IS HELD FAILURE IN VIET BATTLE

All the experts are busy explaining why the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong are continuing their attacks upon Saigon. Another question seems to be ignored—how?

How are the North Vietnamese moving new troops into South Vietnam despite the touted "McNamara Wall"?

This is no wall, of course, but the obstacle system below the demilitarized zone. It was the brainchild of the former secretary of defense, Robert S. McNamara.

It includes a series of front line strongpoints, linked with strips of barbed wire, mine fields and air-sown seismic devices that sound an alarm when troops or vehicles move into the area. It is a warning system.

Military officials never were keen on the idea of the obstacle system, which is named—in Pentagonese—the Dye Market-Muscle Shoals project.

Apparently here the generals were right again, as they were in their lack of enthusiasm for McNamara's F-111 bomber. But they very carefully aren't saying, "I told you so."

In fact, nobody is saying anything about the "wall," which seems strange considering that it is guessed Americans are paying perhaps a billion dollars for the system.

Cost figures are kept top secret, but Sen. Stuart Symington, of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is privy to top secrets, and he has referred publicly to the system as a "billion-dollar Maginot Line."

And just like the French Maginot Line, apparently McNamara's Wall is a sad failure. At least it is estimated that North Vietnam has been able to infiltrate 80,000 to 100,000 troops into South Vietnam this year.

A failure is a failure. And if that's what this thing is, Congress and the public ought to know. That's the only way pressure can be brought to make the Pentagon call a halt.

It's time the Pentagon came out in the open about this obstacle system. If it really is the failure it seems and if it really is costing a billion dollars (or anywhere near that figure), then the military ought to be discontinuing the project.

As it is, there are indications that the system is being extended clear into Laos.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, POPE JOHN XXIII ASSEMBLY, COMMUNION BREAKFAST

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, April 28, 1968, marked the second annual communion breakfast for the Pope John XXIII Assembly of the fourth degree Knights of Columbus of Cliffside Park, N.J.

After the 8 o'clock communion mass which was held at the Epiphany Church, Cliffside Park, breakfast was served at the Benedict Council Hall and was attended by the assembly members and their wives.

The arrangements for this communion breakfast were ably handled by Sir Knight Pat Conlon and members of his committee. The toastmaster chores were assigned to Sir Knight James A. Foy, who performed his task in a very able manner.

It was a great honor for me to be the guest speaker at this communion breakfast as well as to listen to Faithful Friar Father DeLuca give a most interesting talk on the rewards of being a good Catholic gentlemen and representatives of Jesus Christ. Father DeLuca also mentioned the fact that members of the Knights of Columbus should set the example, in their communities and everyday surroundings, of Christian living.

Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I insert into the RECORD at this point the text of my remarks made to the Pope John XXIII, Assembly of the Cliffside Park, N.J., Knights of Columbus.

The remarks follow:

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS—POPE JOHN XXIII ASSEMBLY

I am most pleased to be with you this morning and share in the Annual Communion Breakfast of the Pope John XXIII Assembly of the Knights of Columbus, and to speak to you for a few moments.

This is not the occasion to speak of politics nor of events which are so very controversial in nature that we are faced with a multitude of opinions. Such topics I shall take up during the regular political campaign time.

At the outset, I feel obligated to mention the fact that membership in the Knights of Columbus is a rewarding experience of a man's life. It is more than belonging to a social club. It means a dedication to high principles and an association with men who take seriously the obligations of their Catholic faith and their citizenship in this great Nation.

You, as members of the Pope John XXIII Assembly can take justifiable pride for your contributions to this community and to the Church in New Jersey. Looking back over the years, we can also thank God that a new feeling of good will has come into the hearts and minds of so many that the old ethnic and group prejudices are passing away. Looking to the future, we can have confidence that the Columbian spirit will continue its good work among us.

As Catholics and as Americans we have always found inspiration in the name of Columbus. That great explorer and navigator is for each one of us Knights an outstanding example of the kind of Christian courage needed in the world today. Standing on his tiny ship, sustained by faith in God, he faced the enormous, unknown dangers of the ocean that lay before him. More than that, he did not even have the consolation of loyal shipmates. Faced with discouragement and mutiny in his crew, he continued to believe in his cause and in the ability of the human mind to master the problems and the mysteries of nature. The spirit of Columbus was bigger than all of the power of the Atlantic Ocean, which he conquered. The faith of Columbus was stronger than all the ignorance and fear of those who surrounded him with doubts and discouragement. The manhood of Columbus was equal to the size of the job he had set himself to do. Above his head, painted on the spread mainsail of his ship, was the conquering Sign of the Cross. And by that Sign he conquered the obstacles on his ocean voyage. He was worthy of his name—Christopher, the Christbearer. For he brought not only the light of civilization, but also the light of Christian faith to the new world of America.

Like Columbus, we live in a time of discovery and exploration—a time that is filled with all the excitement, the anxiety, the danger, and the promise of the world of science. In our own country we face enormous new possibilities of hope and progress in overcoming the ancient problems of poverty, ignorance, and prejudice. In the life of the

Church, too, we see that this is an era when men of faith are exploring how they may break down the barriers of misunderstanding, so that all who follow the teachings of Christ may be united.

So too, we see that this is a time when both clergy and laity are exploring new ways in which they may cooperate for the purpose of advancing the kingdom of God among all men of good will. Inspired by the great example of your patron, Pope John XIII, and guided by his outstanding insights into the social and religious problems of the 20th century, we are called upon to explore our own responsibilities as Catholic laymen in general and as Knights of Columbus in particular.

A single day does not go by without the news of some advance in our exploration of outer space or in our discovery of the cause and cure of disease. The vast universe which was first opened up to our knowledge by the telescope is quite as much the realm of the modern scientific explorer as is the world of tiny organisms revealed to us through the microscope. And in the field of mental health, we continue to penetrate into the deep world of the mind and of man's inner life. We are approaching important breakthroughs in the conquest of such diseases as cancer as scientists pursue viruslike particles with atomic equipment that was once used only for military purposes.

There is no doubt that the exploring and adventurous spirit symbolized by Columbus is very much alive in our world today. In scientific work we see the most spectacular examples of what this spirit can accomplish. But as Pope Pius XII pointed out in one of his memorable Christmas messages, there is a depressing contradiction in the modern world between what we have been able to do in conquering the problems of our physical environment and what we have not been able to do in dealing with the problems of society and international peace. As our beloved late President Kennedy so often and so forcefully stated, it is clearly wrong that in a land of great wealth, there are so many who live in great poverty. And it is equally wrong that in an age of such great medical knowledge, there should be so many sick who do not benefit from it. When we think of the educational resources of this great country and realize how many of our youth do not now receive the kind of education they need to make their way in the modern world, we must also recognize a challenge that is quite as important as any offered to us by outer space. In fact, if we do not solve the problem of giving equal educational opportunities to all our youth we will fall behind in the exploration of space and be unable to meet most of the great issues which confront us in our times.

As Catholics and as Americans, the Knights of Columbus have always been very much interested in the progress of education. The work of the Knights which made possible the microfilming of the priceless treasures of the Vatican Library for St. Louis University is an outstanding example of this very interest. This action is one of the many monuments built by the Knights of Columbus—just as the use of correspondence courses in the Catholic religion that have been sponsored by the generosity of the Knights of Columbus all over America. Indeed, we may justly claim that the decline of religious prejudice in this country has been in no small measure the result of this very important educational activity.

I personally believe that the key to the solution of most of the great social problems of our time lies with education. This belief is an essential part of the Catholic religion as I understand it, for Christ himself said: "And you shall know the truth; and the truth shall make you free." Education means learning the truth about ourselves and our world. Without such knowledge we can-

not be free men and women. Just take the problem of automation in industry. Workers who have not learned the skills required cannot hope to find or to fill jobs in modern industry. Labor that requires no skills is fast becoming a thing of the past. And with automation, there is more leisure time. Those who have not learned how to use their leisure time in personally satisfying and constructive ways will be more and more lost in the world of tomorrow. Furthermore, both the problem of poverty and the problem of various prejudices which afflict this Nation may be said to have their deepest roots in ignorance. Consequently, the all-out war on poverty, the struggle for equal opportunity, and other issues, like the fight against juvenile delinquency, cannot be won unless our educational problems are solved.

In the past, the efforts of the Federal Government to do its part in improving the educational opportunities of all our people have been frustrated partly because of confusions arising from debates about relations between church and state. Now I believe that we are beginning to see a new consensus of American opinion which views our schools not as agents of the State or agents of the church, but as agents of our free and democratic society.

In this free society we live as one people under God, but we express our religious values in various ways, exercising our democratic rights to freedom of our consciences. This is as it should be, and American Catholics would not have it otherwise, as the action of our American bishops at the last session of the Vatican Council made it plain to see. We believe in the validity of religious freedom as a human right of men today. And our schools, as the agents of American society, should reflect in their diversity those religious values which are expressed in the free life of our American society. None of our people should be subjected to the injustices of competing with their own tax money in order to make this possible.

The educational aid proposals offer hope that we have finally found a way to give Federal aid to all our varied schools without becoming embroiled in arguments about church and state. For many years, I have felt that such aid should be made available to families and to individual students.

Now that we see aid to education as a part of the war on poverty, now that poverty impacted areas are seen as special areas in need of improved services, there is hope that educational materials can become available on an equitable basis to children in public and non-public schools. This help should, as I see it, at least become available to all children in the areas of greatest need, that is the economically deprived areas.

Several years ago, Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt of the National Catholic Welfare Conference said that the President was calling for cooperation between the Nation's public and parochial schools. This is the principle that the Knights of Columbus should support and promote.

If the Federal Government is a minor partner in American education, it should recognize and carry out its responsibilities in this area in the most efficient manner possible. It has been proposed that we should have a Federal Department of Education headed by a Secretary of Education with Cabinet rank. The future of our young people is too important for anything less. Let's show the world that we in America value education for its true importance by giving it a voice of authority in the top echelon of the executive branch of our Government. Let's stop making education look like a second-rate concern by relegating it to a second-rate status in our governmental structure.

I earnestly believe that in this matter of education, as in everything that touches the public welfare, the Catholic layman has an opportunity to respond to the call of the church for an active laity. The mission of

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the church concerns the welfare of all. It is for every person who lives in the community whether Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or member of no religion. And the mission of the church is to every human activity. It is in our worldly responsibilities—in our jobs and in our family life—that we of the laity can best participate in the mission of Christianity. We must study and heed the teaching of the great social encyclicals. We must be guided by those wise words of Pope Pius XII to the Second World Congress of the Lay Apostolate: "Today more than ever, laymen must cooperate in all forms of the apostolate, especially by making the Christian spirit penetrate all family, social, economic, and political life."

And what is the Christian spirit if it is not the spirit of redemptive charity, the spirit which, like that of Columbus, dares the unknown and ventures courageously to widen the horizons of life for all mankind? Living in that spirit we will be true Knights of Columbus, true Catholics, and men whom posterity will remember as true Christopher—true bearers of Christ. Such men are the greatest need of the world today.

Pope John in his famous encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, stated: "The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hungry and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person."

"This is particularly true since, giving the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persists."

"The lasting peace which I have in mind is not the peace of the battlefield, although this is equally desired. The peace I speak of is that of the quiet within our communities. This can be acquired through education, which in turn provides the needed capacity for an individual to acquire a higher economic level and become a prominent segment of our society."

While we cannot force anyone to become educated, we can afford them this opportunity, and we hope that these undereducated people will take advantage of it.

Because of the possibility that these disadvantaged will accept our desire to help them, I feel certain that our local communities will be faced with the problem of meeting their obligations in this field, and I feel sure that our Federal Government will make every effort to alleviate any hardship condition what may confront any community desiring to do its part in such a program.

Thank you for the privilege of being with you this morning and permitting me to speak to you.

INDIAN EDUCATION—WHERE THE ACTION IS

HON. CLIFFORD P. HANSEN

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, the subject of education for our American Indian children is getting attention these days to which it is not accustomed. The President proposed new and expanded educational efforts in his message to Congress on Indian affairs. One active presidential candidate, at least, has become identified with Indian education.

But, of course, while the issue may be new in widespread public discussion, the problems are very old ones indeed. And there are many, many people, unheralded but very dedicated, who have been grappling to provide adequate education for Indian students for a long time. Most of these dedicated people are scattered in the remotest parts of the country. They are teachers, counselors, school administrators, and school board members living and working on or near Indian reservations. They serve Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, public schools, and parochial schools. They have been—and still are—where the real action is in Indian education.

We in Wyoming have some experience with Indian education, for the Wind River Reservation, shared by the Arapaho and Shoshone tribes, places some 1,300 children in school each year. There are no Bureau of Indian Affairs schools on the Wind River Reservation now, and the public schools carry the heavy load.

I discovered, both from my tenure as Governor of Wyoming and before, that Wyoming's schools serving Indian children on the Wind River Reservation were making significant strides.

Recently, I took advantage of the services of an American Political Science Association congressional fellow in my office, aided by funds from the association, to bring myself up to date on grassroots education for Wyoming's Indian children.

My APSA fellow, Mr. Max Power, of Denver, visited the Wind River Reservation, toured schools there and attended a Fremont County School Administrator's Association meeting devoted to Indian education.

The field report which emerged from his visit emphasizes four points where recent improvements in Indian education can be accelerated. Two deal specifically with those local schools having a high proportion of Indian students; two others deal more generally with the question of Federal aid to education.

I have long felt that the crucial element in Indian education is the teacher's understanding of Indian culture and Indian values. A move is on to establish in-service training institutes for teachers in central Wyoming who deal with Indian students, and I cannot commend this kind of effort too highly.

Indian adults must become more closely involved with the process of education. Too often, it is unfamiliar or alien to them; yet it is the adults who usually generate the will and incentive for Indian children to attend school and to be successful.

The reports coming back show me that Federal aid for education—which plays a prominent part in educating Indian students—must be placed on an advance funding basis. There is a great deal of wastefulness in a system which does not allow for advance planning and long-range obligation of funds.

I have spoken out on this matter as a positive step forward. At the present time, there is a great waste of time, money, and energy when the legislative process, especially the appropriations process, is so delayed that it impedes

advance planning. The slowdown causes educational grants to the school districts to be made well after the start of the school year, resulting in unnecessary confusion and disjointed programs.

I am pleased that funds for education for the 1969 fiscal year, which starts July 1, 1968, and fiscal year 1970, will seek to incorporate advance funding. This means that if Congress has not formally rejected extension of the authorization for a particular program, it will be automatically extended for 1 year to permit advance appropriations.

Adequate quality education for all our children, one of our prime responsibilities, requires well-laid plans. Under this new concept of advance funding, local and State authorities can help assure the best possible schools. That is why such a plan makes such very good sense.

On the other hand, those States whose public schools serve Indian pupils need more flexibility in allocating Federal aid funds. If Wyoming's State Department of Public Instruction could channel its Federal aid with greater discretion and less bureaucratic shuttling, I am convinced that it could make a greater contribution to the peculiar needs of education on the Wind River Reservation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the memorandum and field report submitted to me by my APSA congressional fellow, Mr. Max Power, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

MEMORANDUM ON EDUCATION ON THE WIND RIVER RESERVATION—SUMMARY

To: Senator HANSEN.

From: Max Power.

Date: March 13, 1968.

There are four steps for improving education on the Wind River Reservation to which you can most usefully give attention and support. Two relate specifically to Indian Education, and two relate more generally to federal aid to elementary and secondary education.

The two items specific to the Wind River Reservation are:

1. The establishment of teacher workshops for all teachers who have Indian children in their classes. The first such workshop will be held in Fremont County, October 10 and 11, 1968. I believe this workshop program can be expanded in the future.

2. The establishment of advisory councils of Indian parents to meet on a continuing basis with the administrators of the several school districts involved. These groups of Indian parents would serve as representatives of their tribes to the school districts, and also as intermediaries to get school's concerns and views across to Indian parents.

The other two, more general items which ought to be pushed are:

1. Advanced funding of federally aided education programs.

2. Federal aid to education funds ought to be granted to the states with fewer strings attached. If Wyoming's State Department of Education were able to use federal funds available to it more flexibly and with less paper shuffling back and forth between Cheyenne and Washington, the Department would be better able to assist the local school districts which serve a significant number of Indian students.

Generally, there are two overriding imperatives which I brought back from my visit to the Reservation. First, there is no urgent need for a proliferation of federal pro-

grams to aid Indian education. We need to do more with the resources presently available. Secondly, a good deal of progress has been made in the past ten or fifteen years, and the progress is continuing.

Over all, the school boards and school administrators in Fremont County, and the State Department of Education, are alive to the problems of Indian education and are doing something about them.

FIELD REPORT ON TRIP TO THE WIND RIVER RESERVATION ON MARCH 11, 1968

To: Senator HANSEN.

From: Max Power.

Date: March 13, 1968.

The centerpiece of my Indian Education tour was a meeting of the Fremont County School Administrators Association at Riverton. Most superintendents of the Fremont County district were there, as were high school officials from Riverton and Lander. Clyde Hobbs, Superintendent of the Wind River Agency, Leslie Milan, the Wind River Agency's Adult Educator, Bill Braddock representing the Shoshone Business Council, Herman Moss representing the Arapaho Council, Harry Roberts and Sid Werner of the State Department of Education, and the Superiors of St. Stephen's Mission and St. Margaret's School, Riverton.

The discussion of Indian education, which lasted nearly two hours, centered on high schools. The elementary school people took a relatively small part.

Some figures may put the problem in perspective:

In 1966-67, there were about 1,300 Indians from the Wind River Reservation in all schools. Of these about 50 graduated. This indicated, very roughly, a 50 percent dropout rate.

The highest dropout occurs at grades nine and ten.

Fremont County Vocational High School at Lander has 138 Indian students; the Riverton High Schools has 53 Indians out of 700 students.

The dropout rate at Riverton appears to be rather higher; 13 out of 53 Indian students dropped out last year at Riverton. The rate at Lander appears to be rather less.

Of 31 Indians entering Fremont County Vocational High School in 1963-64, 21 graduated on time (i.e. June, 1967). Three more graduated after summer school; and most of the remaining completed their high school education elsewhere or are still in school.

However, the dropout problem by itself is a relatively small part of the story. These high schools also have dropout problems with white students. The administrators present at the Riverton meeting were more concerned, I think, with achievement.

Eugene Patch, Assistant Principal at F.C.V.H.S., painted an interesting and instructive picture. What follows is a summary of his comments.

The social strides made for integrating the Indians in the Fremont County Vocational High School in the last five years have been significant. There is more involvement, with more Indians in band, athletics, distributive education, and extracurricular activities. A recently formed Indian Club at the High School has been highly successful.

There is a high proportion of those who fail in the high school, both Indians and others, who will not do the work. It is not so much a matter that they cannot do the work. These students need time and space at the school to do their school work. They are unable or unwilling to do their work at home. I gather Fremont County Vocational High School is going over to a modular scheduling system which will provide more time for students to do their work.

The recurring problem is the Indians' inability to stay put in school. Those who start in public high schools often decide they are unhappy there, and transfer to Indian board-

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ing schools. Apparently they drop out of these in even greater numbers. Those who do this and then attempt to return to the public high schools are, of course, way behind. The disadvantage caused by school switching increases the Indians' frustration, leading to a vicious circle of failure or dropout.

A related problem is poor attendance. Students may not drop out in school, but they may not attend regularly. I gather many Indian students do not turn up for school until several weeks after the fall term has begun. This creates problems of frustration and leads again to a vicious circle.

At the root of all this, according to those attending the Riverton meeting, is the problem of parental attitudes. Herman Moss of the Arapaho Council is rather blunt about it: If parents make a point that their children ought to attend school, they will likely attend. Otherwise not. And it appears that there is not much push in Indian culture for regular attendance. On a related theme Leslie Milan from the Agency indicated that the problem of boarding schools lies—as one might suspect—with the mothers. He is apparently trying to get mothers, writing to their children away at school, to encourage the children to stay there.

There is no question but what a minority of teachers in both the high schools serving the Wind River Reservation create problems. The principals report that Indian students feel these teachers do not understand their problems—it seems to be stated more often in those terms rather than in terms of unfairness or discrimination.

What is being done? What can be done? First, it appears that a great deal is being done. Both Lander and Riverton high schools have, within the resources available, remedial and core courses, counselors, and other means to help Indian students. Silas Lyman, Superintendent of Mill Creek School, made a speech saying that great progress has been made in the past 11 years, and we can expect a great deal more if we are but patient. I believe he is correct, though there are a number of ways to help things along a bit.

One of these is a proposed workshop for all the teachers in Fremont County who deal with Indian students. Dr. Palmberg of Central Wyoming College has pushed this proposal under the auspices of Fremont County Administrator's Association, and it has now been scheduled for October 10 and 11, 1968. Harry Roberts suggested that this program could be expanded into summer institutes of longer duration, or continuing inservice training. (I am happy to say that this suggestion comes from the institutes held in Idaho, which produced the book "There is an Indian in Your Classroom," both of which this office brought to Harry Roberts' attention.) Harry believed that there would be some funds available under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and later Clyde Hobbs suggested that Johnson-O'Malley money from the Bureau of Indian Affairs might be made available for continuing teacher orientation.

I believe the administrators are receptive to this idea, and may wish to carry it forward, after their experience with their October workshop. This office may be able to assist them in the future on the workshop proposals. If the program is expanded, all the administrators made it clear that they want it centered in Fremont County.

A second suggestion came from Clyde Hobbs. He wanted to work on the establishment of unofficial groups of parents representing the Tribal Councils, to meet on a continuing basis with the school officials in several districts. These Indians, it was felt, would represent the tribes to the schools, and also represent the schools to Indian parents. Interested parents serving on these advisory councils would be able to reinforce the interest on the part of other Indian parents. They might also be able to serve as

intermediaries in particular cases in which school officials were having difficulties in reaching Indian students.

Nearly all the administrators seem to feel that this approach would be useful, but I detected a general sense that finding Indian parents who would have a continuing interest in the school would be a very difficult task.

Harry Roberts picked up this line and suggested the usefulness of Indian aides in the schools. A number of the school Superintendents said that they had had some success using Indian aides. But Hobbs felt that this missed his point, in that aides being hirelings of the schools, are suspect among the Indians. In other words, what Hobbs is looking for are groups of Indians representing the tribes, not the schools, who could nonetheless be of great help to the schools.

Everyone, of course, is concerned about 874 funding. We suggested that there was a chance that they would receive their full entitlement. Harry Roberts also suggested the possibility that they deserve additional money under the School Foundation program, on the basis of the Virginia case.

Harry Roberts, Sid Werner, and I made visits to three schools and to a Datel vocational class. Very brief accounts might be in order.

The first visit was to the Fort Washakie school. Leon Lanoy, the Superintendent, had held his position a short time. But he appeared to feel that he was getting on top of things. He conducted us around the school. The physical facilities appeared to be adequate and clean. The education, at least in the lower grades, seemed to be quite competent—but I was hardly in a position to make a very sound judgment.

One thing I did notice was a lack of Indian-related displays and materials in the classrooms. I asked Lanoy about this, and he said it was just coincidence—at certain times of the year Indian themes are used extensively. He said he knew of no special readers or other instructional material, however, directed especially toward Indian children. The library of the school, however, like those at Mill Creek and Arapahoe, did contain a number of books about Indians and Indian culture.

Our second visit was to the Mill Creek school. There is no question that Silas Lyman, the Superintendent, runs a tight ship. He has made the advantageous use of all sources of funds available to him, and he has a fine physical plant. He has emphasized cleanliness and health—and both the children and the building show good results. From very brief observation, I was quite impressed with the level of instruction at Mill Creek. In some ways, I believe it might serve as a model.

The Arapahoe school is a different matter. Its physical facilities are less adequate. It uses the old Arapahoe Trading Post as a lunch room and for one classroom; it also uses two housetrailers for classes. We visited after school, and so I was not able to watch school instruction.

The important matter at Arapahoe is that of the need for additional PL 815 funds for construction. We do know that no funds will be available before 1970. When at the school Sid Werner worked rather hard at trying to determine what basis he could find for a sound, legitimate application for PL 815 aid to the Arapahoe school. I believe they will be able to work out a sound application.

The Datel visit was quite instructive. We were met by Mr. Gene Dunbar, of Datel, who showed us the second institutional class. The first four week institutional class had already been completed. The first class was recruited on the Reservation. Approximately 50 percent of its participants went on to on-the-job training at Datel. The class we saw was drawn mainly from Riverton, and included only two or three Indians out of

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about 30 students. Dunbar said they expected the success rate for this group to run at about 95 percent. Datel is apparently quite pleased, so far, with the response and caliber of students in their program.

Generally, in conversation with Harry Roberts and Sid Werner, and in listening to Harry give a couple of speeches, I came away with the impression that we really do need more flexibility in the allocation of federal aid funds. Too often the State Department of Education finds itself with too many funds available for a narrowly prescribed program, while short of funds for basic needs. It also finds that it must spend too much time and effort shuttling applications and interpretations back and forth from the local district to Washington. On a broad front, we could assist Indian education and education generally by pushing for more block grants, or grants made within broad rather than narrow boundaries.

One other observation—there aren't enough Indians serving on school boards which control predominantly Indian schools. There are a few, but nothing like in proportion to the numbers of Indian students. It is a point which ought to be kept in mind.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, the majority of Indian high school students enrolled locally on the Wind River Reservation attend the Fremont County Vocational High School at Lander, Wyo. The assistant principal of that high school, Mr. Gene G. Patch, is a young, perceptive, and dedicated worker in the education field—especially in dealing with the problems of Indian education. In the meeting at Riverton, reported on in Mr. Power's field report above, Mr. Patch emphasized the need for improved school work environment, more positive parental attitudes toward education and more understanding on the part of school teachers. We asked Mr. Patch to elaborate on his wealth of experience and insight, and he did so in a letter to me.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Patch's letter be printed in the RECORD.

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

FREMONT COUNTY
VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL,
Lander, Wyo., March 22, 1968.

Senator CLIFFORD P. HANSEN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HANSEN: Please allow me to express my most humble gratitude for your interest in what comments I might have concerning problems surrounding the education of Indian children. I hope I can be of some value in this matter. I will limit my comments for the most part to those areas which Mr. Max Power indicated you would be particularly interested in.

First of all, what progress has been made with the Indian children? I feel that a great deal of progress has been made. In the past eleven years the Indian students have progressed from extremely shy, non-mixing, terribly withdrawn, and totally clanish students to rather verbal, extroverted youngsters typical of many of our non-Indian students in many cases. Athletics used to be the only outlet they would allow themselves. However, for the past six or more years many Indian students have become steady members of the band and various clubs and organizations. They have joined other students in decorating for dances, parades, etc. They have organized an all Indian Club and have

already sponsored a very successful dance with the music being furnished by an all Indian band. This year we had one of our Shoshone girls elected to the position of a cheerleader for the basketball team and she made a great hit with fans all over the state.

Two Indian girls, one a junior and one a senior, are now and have been since they have attended Fremont County Vocational High School the outstanding English students in their respective classes. Several years ago you would never see an Indian student at a dance, but now it is a common sight. Also, dating between Indian and non-Indian is quite common and even dating between boys and girls of different tribes, Shoshone and Arapahoe in particular, is becoming more common. This is real progress!

It wasn't too long ago that the only Indians who graduated from high school were the athletes because athletics kept them in school. This is no longer the rule. Indian students who don't participate in anything are among our graduates each year. However, the percentage of graduates is higher among those who are participants.

Several of our Indian graduates have gone on to post-high school institutions and have done very well. Some have not done very well, but I feel there is progress here. I could cite many more isolated instances, but I am sure you see the point. If it ever becomes necessary, I could give names and instances.

The second point of concern is the need for proper surroundings at home to instill the desire for an education and to offer a desirable environment for study. This, I feel, is the most serious deterrent to the Indian child. A small house, poorly lighted, with several brothers and sisters of all ages, plus parents, and relatives in many cases, living in this small house and the Indian child comes home with reading and writing assignments. These conditions, plus the absence of reference materials of any kind, are the plight of these children. The fact that they must catch the bus and leave town removes them from the resource centers that are available. Add the presence of liquor in the home, many times in very excessive amounts, consumed by parents, friends, relatives, and sometimes the high school children themselves, and you have a situation intolerable at the best. What I have described here is not the exception in the least. In fact, for many of our Indian children the scene I have just depicted is a common occurrence, especially just after the Government allotment check for the family has arrived.

We here at Fremont County Vocational High School feel we will be meeting more of the needs of Indian students, and slower non-Indian students, next year by virtue of our new flexible modular scheduling. Briefly, this will allow for enough free time during the school day for these children so that any one of them who has the initiative to do so will be able to complete practically all of his or her homework at school and also have the availability of all the resource material we will have. This should help a great deal. We all know that some of the students will use their time wisely and many of them will not. Those who will not are the very ones who are not performing very well now. Some of those are Indian students, but we cannot force them to do the work. There must be a desire, an incentive to do it. I feel this incentive must come from the home first, then be generated throughout the Indian community, the reservation, and finally the individual's problems will be taken care of because of incentive. I know this sounds very idealistic, but this is where I am sure the crux of the problem lies. It is with Indian people as it is with many non-Indian people these days—the children are having a hard time bringing up their parents.

The third problem—developing a sustained motivation among Indian students and others to attend on a regular basis. A tough one! This matter is closely tied in with my comments in the last paragraph. Again let me reiterate, the most effective way to sustain motivation for education is to make education an important factor within the home. This is a difficult task at best. Let's examine the Indian family tree a bit. The average age of an Indian high school senior student's parents is probably forty to forty-five years old. These people went to school at a Bureau of Indian Affairs school where the educational standards were below par at the best. Teachers very often were not totally qualified—at least not in comparison with today's teacher qualifications. The parents of these parents, the grandparents, were born about the time of Custer's last stand and their parents were among those Indians who roamed and ruled the West for a time. . . .

With this discussion of motivation I must add that I feel time will certainly prove to be stronger "medicine" than most of the remedies we can come up with. I do, however, feel the time factor can be tempered with two ingredients that would be of considerable value in this matter. They are: (1) An adult education program for Indian parents taught by teachers of Indian descent and other educated Indians. This to instill in Indian parents the growing need for education for their young people in order to perpetuate their own on or off the reservation. (2) Schools, ours included, must do a better job of indoctrinating teachers, new ones in the system, about the personality make-up, psychology, sociology, and other factors of the Indian youngster. This to make it possible for teachers to be able to temper their attitudes toward those Indian children who seem to reflect a lackadaisical attitude toward education. Most teachers do this already, but I am sure some do not.

Please forgive me for this lengthy harangue, but this matter takes some time and space to discuss. It is not a simple matter. To summarize, I do feel that good progress is being made in educating the Indian child, at least in our school this is true. I also feel that more could be done, but not much more can be done until the Indian child receives more encouragement at home. Not only encouragement but basic incentives from his or her parents and the whole Indian community. Also, school people must realize more and more that many Indian children do exist under the most extraneous conditions many times.

I do not advocate a double set of standards in such things as grading, etc. This would not be fair to underprivileged non-Indian children. Rather, a new approach by teachers new to school systems and a reassessment of thoughts by older teachers in these systems would help a lot, too.

There are many more facets of this total problem that could be discussed, but I feel I have lingered long enough. I know you are a busy man. However, if you feel that you would like to hear more about this from me, I would be very pleased to continue this discussion some other time. I have many more of what I like to think of as reasons for the Indian children's plight, but I don't have too many.

Senator Hansen, once again I would like to thank you for allowing someone like me to take up a bit of your time with some of my thoughts. I sincerely appreciate your concern about this problem and I thank you for hearing me out. If I can ever be of service to you or any of your colleagues in any way, shape, or form, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

GENE G. PATCH,
Assistant Principal.

FACTS ON "STARVING AMERICANS"—REPORTS FROM BACK HOME

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on April 22 an organization by the name of "The Citizens Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States" issued a report entitled "Hunger—U.S.A." The board was created under the aegis of Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers Union.

The report listed 256 counties in 20 States as "hunger counties." There was widespread dissemination by the news media of the report, which criticized the Department of Agriculture for the manner in which it has handled free food distribution. The report also criticized congressional committees handling authorizations and appropriations for these programs.

As a result of this publicity a number of Members of this House received complaints from officials of some of these so-called hunger counties, from officials who not only denied that such conditions exist in their areas, but noting also that jobs were available for all able to work, and welfare benefits were available to those not physically or mentally capable of earning a living.

When these complaints reached the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, the Honorable W. R. Poage, of Texas, he decided that the true facts should be ascertained. The Agriculture Committee, on which I also have the honor to serve, is concerned equally for the welfare of all the people of this country—not just those of some particular economic strata, race, or color.

Consequently, Chairman Poage mailed letters to the county health officers inquiring into the situation. As of today he has received responses from 131 counties. The replies unquestionably comprise the most authoritative, comprehensive, and up-to-date picture possible of the hunger problem which exists in this country today.

Mr. Speaker, those replies have disclosed what appears outright deception embodied in that original hunger report, certainly insofar as many of the counties named in it are concerned.

In the meantime, an article has been published in the current issue of the U.S. News & World Report setting forth excerpts from some of the responses received by Chairman Poage.

I insert the article, written by Grant A. Salisbury, in the RECORD at this point:

FACTS ON "STARVING AMERICANS"—REPORTS FROM BACK HOME

(NOTE.—Is it really possible that people are starving in affluent America? That is being asked after a citizens' group reported that 256 U.S. counties are plagued by hunger. An answer comes from the counties themselves—from health officials who are in day-to-day contact with the nation's poor people. In letters to the chairman of a congressional committee, they give a forthright appraisal of actual conditions in their own localities.)

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A wave of concern over hunger and starvation has swept across the U.S. in recent weeks, touched off by news stories and editorials that followed the release April 22 of a report entitled, "Hunger, U.S.A."

This report stated that at least 10 million Americans are suffering from chronic hunger or malnutrition. It listed 256 counties in 20 States as "hunger areas" involving "desperate situations."

Findings were based on a study by a private group known as the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, with headquarters in Washington, D.C.

A sequel is being written to "Hunger, U.S.A." It is found in letters from health officials in nearly half the 256 counties that were cited as "hunger areas." Most of these officials are physicians or registered nurses.

Their letters were sent in response to a request from Representative W. R. Poage (Dem.), of Texas, who is chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture.

On April 27, Representative Poage wrote to health officers of each of the 256 counties, asking two questions:

1. Do you have any personal knowledge of any actual starvation in your county?

2. Do you have any personal knowledge of any serious hunger in your county occasioned by inability of the individual either to buy food or to receive public assistance?

As of midmonth, replies from 125 of the 256 counties had been received in Mr. Poage's office. In these letters, local officials who see the underprivileged people of America at first hand, tell their side of the story about hunger, malnutrition and starvation in the U.S. Excerpts from many of the letters follow.

Mississippi—Yazoo and Humphreys counties. Dr. John V. James, director of the county health departments:

"Approximately a year ago . . . a citizens' group visiting areas of our State that include the two counties of which I am health director . . . gave a very distressing picture of poverty and especially hunger and malnutrition among the children of this area.

"By autumn of last year, our State Medical Association became so concerned that they sent teams of doctors from the University of Mississippi to these areas to investigate. Their report showed very little malnutrition and no hunger.

"This same citizens' group . . . disputed this finding. . . . The U.S. Public Health Service sent a team from an Ohio medical school down in January of this year to do physical examinations and laboratory work on these so-called malnourished children. A report of each child examined was left in the health department.

"These reports showed every child to have a hemoglobin reading [an indicator of anemia stemming from malnutrition] within normal limits, but most all showed some form of intestinal parasites. . . .

"I do not have any knowledge of any actual starvation in my two counties. . . . I do not have any knowledge of any serious hunger occasioned by inability of individuals either to buy foods or to receive public assistance."

Florida—Washington County. Dr. W. G. Simpson, county health officer:

"I have no personal knowledge of any actual starvation in this county. My two public-health nurses of long years' experience in the county also have no knowledge of such conditions existing.

"The few malnourished individuals I see in the health department occur usually from ignorance of proper foods rather than inability to obtain them, such as an 11-month-old infant seen today that was severely anemic and malnourished—the first child of a mother who has not been taking proper care of the

baby—practically all-milk diet, deficient in iron, etc."

Kentucky—Powell County. Dr. Linda S. Fagan, health officer:

"No! I know of no serious hunger in Powell County occasioned by inability of the individual either to buy food or to receive public assistance. Those persons who have no means of support or are unable to work do receive public assistance in the form of money and food. . . . I have not found a case of a person who was truly disabled with no means of support who was unable to qualify for public assistance."

Montana—Wibaux County. Dr. Clarence A. Bush, county health officer:

"I will pay \$100 to any selected charity, if anyone will find in Wibaux County, Mont., or any adjacent county in Montana or North Dakota, one individual who has suffered for lack of food, or any other necessity of clothing or shelter, medical or hospital care and attention for any reason other than misuse, or failure to notify this correspondent or any other person in authority. I do not believe one can be found who has so suffered, even from these reasons of misuse or failure.

"For 25 years, I have known almost every resident of this and adjacent communities, and I say no such condition exists or has existed in that time. On many occasions of fire, storm, or other disaster, the citizens have responded with cash gifts of \$1,000 or more to help those families so affected, and in not one instance has the welfare board ever refused any request that I have ever made for medical assistance, no matter how expensive it turned out to be."

Texas—Frio County. Dr. Emmett N. Wilson, health officer:

"I do not know of any family in Frio County that is suffering from hunger or malnutrition. There are no doubt, borderline cases where persons are not eating a proper diet, but this is usually due to their own choice of foods. . . .

"Any family, if in need, is eligible for welfare aid and surplus commodities [from the U.S. Department of Agriculture distributed through county offices]. Even aliens are given aid in obtaining groceries by the county. Where anyone could have obtained any information listing this area as one of the 'hunger counties' I do not know."

Georgia—Greene, Morgan and Oconee counties. Dr. G. B. Creagh, district health director:

"There are no instances of actual starvation in any of these counties to my knowledge, nor any county in which serious hunger exists. . . . It is of interest to note the almost total absence of the deficiency diseases in the South today. Pellagra, beriberi, scurvy and rickets are examples of deficiency diseases that we would expect to find in an area where major undernutrition exists. . . .

"We are all sensitive to the possibility of a child's going hungry and this of course does happen. However, there have been several group studies on children and child development in this area in past years, and none . . . has reflected a major problem relative to undernutrition in children."

Virginia—Accomack County. Dr. Belle D. Fears, director, county health department:

"Having been born in Accomack County and having been a general practitioner for 15 years . . . I was well aware that much of the local employment depends on agriculture and is therefore seasonal, and that the average per capita income is well below the national average. However, I was not aware of widespread hunger and malnutrition. . . .

"There is only one situation that I have found recently and think can be improved. In some schools in the poorer communities there are not always enough free lunches to go around. . . . I believe that local officials can get together and reappportion the surplus food, ask for more, or make other adjustments. . . .

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

"I have two questions to which I would like to find an answer. How did the 'Citizens' Board' make its inquiry? In my recent investigation into the hunger problem, I find that no one in the health department or welfare department has been interviewed, no one has asked the school nurse any questions about hunger, and no one has seen any strangers inquiring about hunger. I would like to know how the 'Citizens' Board' arrived at its conclusions about hunger and malnutrition here and elsewhere in the United States."

Alabama—Randolph County. Dr. John G. Baxter, county health officer:

"I have, as county health officer, examined a great number of children each year who are entering the elementary schools for the first time.

"I can truthfully say I have never seen a hungry, malnourished child regardless of race, color, creed, or religion. The other members of the County Medical Society will attest to that statement."

Colorado—Conejos. Mrs. Dixie Moulton, registered nurse, county public-health nurse:

"In many cases I am inclined to agree with your statement [Representative Poage's] that there is a problem of education and decision. I see innumerable children who are participating in the lunch program who wastefully dispose of most of the food served them. I feel that hungry children would eat

"We feel that there are many needy who do not participate in the food-stamp program . . . because of the inflexibility of the program.

"The possibility of hunger does exist, but I do not have knowledge of specific cases that couldn't be cared for. My contact with the population is limited because I am the only nurse in the county. Improvement of the flexibility of the food-stamp program would make it more beneficial to many."

Arkansas—Mississippi County. Dr. J. E. Beasley, medical director, county public-health department:

"It is my opinion that our county is not in great distress from a starvation standpoint. Neither do I feel that there is any gross presence of malnutrition. I arrive at this opinion from personal observation in contact with the low-income and indigent group and also from close questioning of my public-health nurses who have a greater and closer contact with these groups than I do.

"The abundance of payroll checks and food stamps being disbursed by the welfare department, the hot-lunch programs in our school systems, the ready assistance available at our county mission, and the many efforts made by voluntary agencies to distribute food and clothing to the needy, makes a profound difference in the availability of food to needy unemployed and indigent families."

Mississippi—Tunica County. Dr. Cecil C. McKlemury, director, county health department:

"I have no personal knowledge of a death in Tunica County due to outright starvation from lack of food [although] there are instances where death has occurred with malnutrition as an underlying cause.

"There are also a large number of children living in the county that suffer from malnutrition. Most of these children live in homes that have no family social structure. Eighty per cent of the population of this county is Negro-American with wide acceptance of birth out of wedlock as a normal way of life.

"Children born into such a home are deprived in many ways. They have no father to support them and their mother cannot work while having a new baby almost every year. . . . More jobs, better education, instruction of job skills, giving away food are measures that can help, but they overlook the No. 1 cause of malnutrition in these children—absence of family structure. . . . Some measures need to be taken to make it worthwhile for adults to become married to raise their families. As it stands now, this promises

cuous relationship is actually being financed and subsidized by welfare and giveaway food programs. . . . The churches and religious leaders could do more for the people by instruction. . . . Unless a new approach is taken, I remain very pessimistic toward the future as far as eliminating malnutrition is concerned."

Illinois—Alexander and Pulaski counties. Margaret Cotton, registered nurse, acting health officer:

"I feel that I can say with truthfulness and confidence that to my knowledge there is no one in Alexander or Pulaski County starving to death. To verify this, I called on the two public-aid departments and the physicians in this area and they, too, agree that to their knowledge no one is starving. In regard to the clinics this health department serves, the clinicians assure me that none of these patients is undernourished. Even though we are in a low economic area, I'm happy to say that with the help of the various welfare agencies we are able to help our [poor] people with their health and welfare problems."

HOW HUNGER STUDY WAS MADE

From the "Hunger, U.S.A." report, issued by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, a private group headed by Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union:

" . . . We have held hearings in Hazard, Ky. (covering mountain counties of eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia and southwestern Virginia); San Antonio, Tex. (covering also counties of the Texas Rio Grande Valley); Columbia, S.C. (covering counties of Georgia as well as South Carolina), and Birmingham, Ala. (covering also counties of Georgia as well as rural Alabama). We made one field trip each into east Kentucky, the San Antonio area; two into Mississippi; one to the Navajo reservation of Arizona and one to the Indian country of South Dakota; two into the migrant-labor camps of south Florida, and one each into the slums of Boston, Washington, and New York City. . . . The field visits were made by a Board team, including a physician and/or nutritionist. . . .

"The Board also solicited co-operation and material from State and federal agencies, food industries, physicians and appropriate private agencies in a broad attempt to gather all available information. . . ."

THIRTY-SIX MILLION AMERICANS GET SOME FREE FOOD NOW

About 36 million Americans—mostly children—share in the Federal Government's food programs. Cost of the food will be 906 million dollars in the year ending June 30. As to who get it:

12.5 million children get free lunches at schools.

6.5 million children get lunches at less than cost, with the aid of surplus food from federal stocks.

10 million children get free milk at some point during a school day.

6 million people get surplus-food packages, or help through the food-stamp plan.

1.3 million people benefit from donations of food to charitable institutions and summer camps for needy children.

160,000 children in low-income areas get free meals from a new breakfast program at schools.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture.

REVOLUTIONISTS SEEK TO OVERTHROW SOCIETY

HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Spartanburg, S.C., Herald contains an

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interesting article entitled "Revolutionists Seeking To Overthrow Society."

Mr. Hubert Hendrix, the capable editor of the paper, invites our attention to the distressing spectacle of student revolutionaries taking over campuses of colleges and universities.

He cites the recent uprising at Columbia University as one case of authorities' retreat from responsibility. At the same time, he gives the example of the University of Denver where 40 students who seized the registrar's office were dismissed on the spot.

Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to this illuminating article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

REVOLUTIONISTS SEEKING TO OVERTHROW SOCIETY

Americans have been witnessing of late the deeply distressing spectacle of student revolutionaries taking over the campuses of colleges and universities.

These are not simple spring-time outbursts of young passion.

They are plotted, carefully implemented insurrections.

It would be too easy to call them Communist inspired. It's too pat to refer to "civil rights" or "militants" of whatever hue.

These people are revolutionists in the true sense of the word. Their objective is not correction and improvement; it is chaos and disruption. They seek to overthrow society.

Columbia University is the most prominent recent victim.

The leader of that rebellion Mark Rudd, drew up a detailed plan last October. He is president of the Students for a Democratic Society, a radical left-wing organization.

The Associated Press reported the final paragraph in Rudd's blueprint "Phase V—Mass action, April. A sit-in at Low Library which, after one day, turns into a general student strike. University capitulates."

Rudd claims that the plan never was adopted and it was purely coincidental that events worked out so much that way.

That's unimportant. The significance is that the Columbia U. uprising was not a spontaneous protest aimed at specific objections. It was planned from the beginning as an undermining of authority and discipline, and anarchic revolution.

A better example of how to handle such an occurrence comes from the University of Denver, where about 40 students seized the registrar's office. They were dismissed on the spot and arrested for loitering and obstruction when they refused to leave.

Chancellor Maurice B. Mitchell explained the University's attitude:

"In the simplest language in which I can put it, the time has come for society to take back control of its function and its destiny. . . . There is the assumption on the part of some disaffected students . . . that it is immoral for them to tolerate conditions not of their liking and that they have some sort of moral obligation to engage in acts of defiance and violence.

"There is no way to prevent this, but there is every reason to hold those who engage in such practices fully responsible for the consequences of their acts.

" . . . The decision to engage in such activities carries with it the full responsibility to accept punishment; and punishment on this campus under these circumstances and for such acts is going to be instant and sufficient to the cause."

If society is to take back control of its functions, the trumpet must sound as clear from all levels of authority and responsibility.

COMMUNITY SELF-IMPROVEMENT

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, it has frequently and wisely been said that real progress must come from within—that if a community or individual is to improve, such improvement must basically come from within that group or individual.

Money, we are rapidly finding out, is not the answer to our social problems. It is a means toward progress in certain areas of society but the true substance of improvement lies within the individual or the community.

Material welfare is not enough to solve the social problems of our time. This has been well manifested in Sweden, which boasts perhaps, the greatest welfare state yet still is plagued by numerous crucial social problems.

Too often, in our mad rush toward social improvement, we overlook the contribution that can be realized from those with whom we are concerned.

It is quite apparent that we can best help those who are willing to help themselves.

If a group manifests its desire to help themselves, then great progress can be realized through outside help.

It is indeed sad that in this day and age of social consciousness that greater effort is not made by those so able to help themselves.

I was delighted to read of an account of a very spirited group of citizens that have taken it upon themselves to improve their community. The group is known as the Bourdon Boulevard Improvement Committee and consists of the residents of a housing project in Woonsocket, R.I.

The eloquent account of their activities toward self-improvement appeared in the May 17 edition of the Woonsocket Call. It is written by a very able journalist and friend, Miss Louise Lind, and is indeed worthy of note by the Members of this body.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place this article, entitled "Housing Project Residents Improve Their Lot," in the RECORD at this point:

LOT

(By Louise J. Lind)

The winds of change have been blowing through Bourdon Boulevard these past few months.

It all started last summer when four young women, volunteers from the Inner City Apostolate of Providence, breezed into the Fairmount housing project and pointed out to the tenants that they themselves possessed means for improving their lot.

There was no denying it: Bourdon Boulevard had a poor image.

"Just apply for credit somewhere and see the merchant's face change when he sees you write your address," says one resident.

"Just go to a hospital and see the nurses freeze when they find out you're from Bourdon Boulevard," says another. "You can tell they're thinking, 'oh, another one of those!'"

Not only that, but many tenants were dissatisfied with what they felt was inadequate street lighting, speeding cars, and poor serv-

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ice from the city as far as police protection and snow removal were concerned.

So, after attending a few of the volunteers' coffee hours last summer, a handful of couples scheduled a meeting Aug. 22 in Mr. and Mrs. John K. Sullivan's apartment at 175 Bourdon Blvd. So many people showed up, the assembly was moved outside.

That is where and when the Bourdon Boulevard Improvement Committee was born.

Things have been moving ever since.

First, BBIC leaders obtained the use of the housing project's garage for meetings from Alfred R. Rotatori, executive director of the Woonsocket Housing Authority. A few weeks later, Rotatori assigned them a vacant five-room apartment at 286 Bourdon Blvd. as a community center.

In his next request for funds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Rotatori has included \$100,000 for a real community center like the one at Morin Heights.

Attendance at BBIC's biweekly business sessions has never been less than 20 and at times reaches 80, Chairman Sullivan reports. It has 94 members and is currently conducting a membership drive among the residents of the 315 apartments in what is officially named Veterans Memorial Housing Project.

Sullivan, an assembler for Nelmor Steel Corp. of North Uxbridge, is chairman of the BBIC and his wife is editor of the BBIC "Gazette." Ronald Boulris was the original vice chairman, but he is attending electronic school nights in Providence, so he has been named first trustee instead.

Albert Atstupenas is vice chairman. Walter A. Tessier is director of youth activities and Mrs. Tessier is treasurer. Mrs. Lee A. Williams is secretary. Mrs. Bennie Andrews is an alternate to the executive committee and Mrs. Theresa Kenyon is an organizer.

Quickly acting on gripes submitted by their neighbors on a questionnaire sent out early in BBIC history, the committee's officers went to see Public Safety Director John A. Reilly, Director of Public Works Robert B. Russ, members of the School Committee and the City Council.

As one city official said, "They told us things we should have known already, but didn't."

Things began to happen on Bourdon Boulevard.

The very next day, Russ sent men to inspect pot holes and loose manholes on the boulevard and he promised they would be repaired as soon as possible. Mrs. Williams assured him she would call him every day until they were. It took about three days for the "first aid" repairs to be made. And BBIC has been assured the entire boulevard will be repaved this summer.

A great improvement in snow plowing and sanding service was noted this winter, Chairman Sullivan reports.

"The year before, it was sometimes 2 o'clock in the afternoon before we were able to get our cars out of the project to go to work."

BBIC does not get everything it wants, of course.

Its members were too late with their request for bus transportation for the 78 junior and senior high school students who live in the project. The budget for the school department had already been adopted.

However, association leaders learned a great deal from this experience, and you can just bet they will be present at the public hearing when the 1968-69 budget is being drawn up. Edward J. Condon, superintendent of schools, has assured them they will be notified in writing ahead of time.

The BBIC's relationship with the Woonsocket Housing Authority has been a happy one from the beginning.

"They're improving the image of the project and the attitudes of the tenants," says

Rotatori. "It's worked out very well. I go to their meetings from time to time and explain what they can ask for and ask them, in return, to help us."

One woman was heard, significantly, to remark, "And our image of you improved, Mr. Rotatori, since we got to know you better."

"He's tough, but he's fair," seems to be the tenants' general opinion of their landlord.

In addition to Rotatori, BBIC leaders have called in all kinds of experts to counsel them.

They have discussed their plans and problems at their meetings with Albert Butler of the YMCA, Miss Louise Allen and Miss Naomi Sawyer of the YWCA, the Rev. Donald V. Walker of St. James Baptist Church, Mrs. Rita Reed, John J. O'Day and Charles F. Gould of the Woonsocket school attendance office, Charles R. Peloquin of SPAC and with City Councilman John A. Cummings, who lives on nearby Third Ave.

Members have attended some of Cummings' public "gripe sessions" in City Hall. They have traveled to Morin Heights to confer with residents of the housing project there on their rights and how they can work toward making a better community. Two representatives went to the State House April 23 for a meeting with Governor Chafee, welfare and legislative leaders and members of the Rhode Island Fair Welfare Organization.

BBIC arranged a talk April 24 in Globe Park Elementary School during which the Rev. Henry Shelton and Dal Nichols, both of the Fair Welfare group, spoke on the rights of welfare recipients.

Some members on welfare took part in the sit-in recently at the Front St. welfare office.

Armand Beausoleil, SPAC's consumer education expert, will address BBIC later this spring. SPAC's consumer education expert, will address BBIC later this spring.

On April 1, more than 25 BBIC members attended a City Council hearing in support of the re-designation of SPAC as Woonsocket's anti-poverty agency. While remaining independent of SPAC, the BBIC cooperates with and benefits from the services of the anti-poverty organization. Mrs. Margaret Symynkiewicz, SPAC neighborhood worker, regularly attends the meetings at 286 Bourdon Blvd.

Essentially, however, BBIC is for Bourdon Boulevard people who want to solve Bourdon Boulevard problems with their own initiative.

Justifiably or not, some members feel that "Fairmount people don't want us. So we'll work things out by ourselves."

Christmastime gave BBIC its first opportunity to flex its muscles.

With less than \$50 in the treasury, the tenants' organization decided to provide gifts and entertainment for all the young children of the housing project, many of whom belong to welfare families. It took four separate parties, because the apartment-community center is so small. But it got done!

The first step Sullivan took was to name a "scrounge committee." Its members were Mrs. Tessier, Mrs. Bennie Andrews, Mrs. Atstupenas and Mrs. Sullivan.

"They visited merchants everywhere—Woonsocket, Pawtucket, Cumberland. If you want names of people who helped us, we've got them," reports Mrs. Williams, pulling out her secretary's notebook.

"We had the best Christmas of anyone," recalls Atstupenas. "We all got hoarse singing."

Mrs. Cleora Coleman recited Christmas poetry and her daughter, Mrs. Andrews, played the piano for caroling. There were refreshments and Tessier delighted the children by playing the role of Santa Claus.

On Jan. 12, still imbued with holiday spirit, BBIC members served a "Thank You" buffet supper in their community center for all the people from the Woonsocket Housing Authority, the City Council, the School Department, the two "Y's" and SPAC who had helped them launch their flourishing organization.

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The list of activities in the BBIC center at 286 Bourdon Blvd. leaves one breathless.

The adults hold their business meetings there on the second and fourth Monday of each month and conduct whist parties on alternate Mondays. Money raised at the card parties will be used to pay for trips for the youngsters this summer.

On Tuesdays, Tessier and Atstupenas teach arts and crafts to 15- to 19-year-old boys. The teenagers have held a few "dress up" parties, and numerous informal pizza parties and record hops.

Recently they threw a double birthday party for Tessier and Atstupenas.

"The more responsibility we give the kids, the better they behave," Mrs. Williams remarks.

Teenagers pay 15 cents a week dues and have conducted a few cake sales at Warwick Shoppers World. "They wouldn't let us help, either," says Tessier. "They're saving for a trip, too."

On Wednesday nights, Mrs. Tessier teaches girls how to knit and Mrs. Williams has a class in cooking for boys. Dennis Dubois teaches another group of boys how to assemble model cars.

Thursdays are for the 12- to 14-year-olds. Tessier directs a business meeting; they play games; they dance. Gilbert Dubois is teaching carpentry to some of them.

On Saturday, the younger children gather at the center for games and crafts. Mrs. Charles Andrews is teaching little girls how to knit. Sometimes, men of the BBIC take the youngsters to visit such places as Archway Cookies, No. 2 Fire Station or the Police Station.

On Easter Sunday, more than 150 of the very youngest tots engaged in a grand Easter egg hunt on the grounds behind the community center.

Friday seems to be the only night of the week on which there is no regularly scheduled event at the center.

Free use of the center for private parties is one of the privileges of membership in the BBIC. When reminded that there were not many opportunities to enjoy this advantage, Mrs. Williams boasted, "BBIC can do anything. If necessary, we'll arrange an eight-day week!"

Several months ago, BBIC was instrumental in setting up a corps of "walkers."

The "walkers" are older school children, members of the Junior Police Patrol, who were assigned by Officer O'Day to accompany primary grade pupils walking between the project and Second Ave. School. This was done after BBIC complained to school authorities that three or four youngsters had been accosted by a man in the neighborhood.

Membership in the BBIC costs a dollar a year. Among its benefits are a car pool for residents who want to go marketing, transportation to the hospital in emergencies and "jumping" batteries or going for parts when cars won't start on cold winter mornings.

Summer is coming and there are more than \$300 in the BBIC treasury. Mrs. Kenyon has obtained bids from bus companies for trips to Rhode Island beaches, parks and other points of interest. The men are planning to take the boys on an overnight camping trip and on some fishing excursions. They plan to attend a Red Sox game and to visit Quantz Naval Air Station.

One indication that BBIC is earning recognition as an influential community organization is the appointment by Mayor Lussier of BBIC's chairman, Sullivan, to the Citizens Advisory Board on April 23.

If those four girls from the Inner City Apostolate could only see how the seeds they planted last summer have grown!

Sullivan recalls with a touch of wonder in his voice, "You know, one of those girls, Lucille from Providence, was losing her eyesight. She wanted to do something worthwhile before she became blind."

PERMANENT SHOW BY INDUSTRY MAPPED IN NEARBY VIRGINIA

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

MR. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I was interested to learn that an exhibit designed as a showcase of the free enterprise system is being planned for the Washington area. A group of prominent industrialists are working out plans for this permanent exhibition of American industry. I understand the group in charge has under consideration three sites in nearby Virginia. Senator Charles Potter, who served in both Houses of Congress, is president of the group.

In a recent issue of the Washington Star, Donald B. Hadley, the paper's financial editor, outlined plans of the group for this exhibition. I believe my colleagues will be interested in what is being planned and I submit Mr. Hadley's article for your consideration:

PERMANENT SHOW BY INDUSTRY MAPPED IN NEARBY VIRGINIA

(By Donald B. Hadley)

Prominent industrialists across the country have joined in planning a permanent exhibition of American industry, which is to occupy a tract of around 1,000 acres in nearby Virginia.

They have contributed around \$85,000 for preliminary planning and organized a development corporation, the United States Exhibition of Science and Industry, Inc., which is negotiating with eight national foundations to provide \$300,000 for drafting a master plan.

Plans for the big project were disclosed here yesterday by John J. Stack Jr., former banker and industrial consultant, who is serving as executive vice president of the new corporation.

Sen. Charles Potter, R-Mich., is president and Clark Thompson, former Democratic representative from Texas, is board chairman. Maj. Gen. Arthur Trudeau, USA retired, president of Gulf Research Corp. in Pittsburgh, is vice chairman of the board. Trudeau is a former Chief of Army Intelligence and Army Research.

WINS STRONG SUPPORT

The proposal has been gathering a lot of steam without any publicity for the last year and has been endorsed in individual letters from President Johnson, Gov. Godwin of Virginia and 91 members of the Senate.

More than 700 major industrial and business firms have been canvassed, including banks, insurance companies and trade associations and the response has been enthusiastic. In 50 personal interviews with the heads of large industries, the project received unanimous endorsement.

The organization has studied 22 possible sites in nearby Virginia and these have been narrowed to three. Efforts are being made to locate it as close to Washington as possible.

Sen. Potter said the exhibition will be designed as a showcase of the free enterprise system which in particular would be aimed at the hundreds of thousands of school children who come to Washington to view the halls of government.

"It will provide a peek into the future of the accomplishments and plans of American industry, capital, labor and government," he said.

PRIVATE FINANCING SEEN

Financed entirely by private business and industry, the huge exhibition would provide

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a center where corporations could maintain exhibits of their products, their job opportunities and for marketing of products, for foreign purchasing missions for investors and many other purposes.

An exhibitor would be required to man each exhibit and change the displays constantly so that it would not become simply a museum. Unlike the Smithsonian with its emphasis on the past, the new exhibition would place the emphasis on the future and the ways in which America has attained the highest standards of living through cooperation of government, capital and labor.

The National Education Association is supporting plans for informing young people about possible careers in private business and opportunities to get financial assistance by enrolling in educational programs of various corporations.

A leading Washington banker who is on the board of the development corporation said he felt the educational opportunities and nationwide importance of the project could hardly be overemphasized. He predicted the exhibition will become one of the top tourist attractions of the nation.

Stack said that Gov. Godwin of Virginia has met twice with exhibition planners and given assurance that as soon as a site is selected, the state will move promptly to keep the section clear of undesirable developments as was done at Williamsburg.

Negotiations for the \$300,000 master plan financing have been conducted so far with two foundations, but conferences have been scheduled with six others.

The master plan would include a model of the project and would require the work of architects, planning firms, and feasibility studies.

It would answer two major questions: How many people can be expected to visit the exhibition; and how much would exhibitors be required to pay per square foot.

Russia has had a similar permanent exhibition of state industries and products in Moscow for a number of years and is planning to replace it with a much larger one, Stack said.

The Russian exhibition covers 511 acres and its 87 buildings were visited by more than 16 million people in 1966, he said. More than 135,000 pieces of equipment are on display and visitors are told of the benefits of the Soviet system.

A new tract of 1,250 acres now is being developed to replace the present exhibition.

THE NEW APPROACH IN CHESTER, PA.

HON. G. ROBERT WATKINS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

MR. WATKINS. Mr. Speaker, I want to report today on a new, but extremely effective approach to the housing blight causing decay in our cities, which has been started in the city of Chester, Pa.

A group of dedicated citizens in my home district have organized the Housing Development Corp. of Chester—HDCC—and within 2 months plan to start construction on the first of 300 units of low-cost housing there.

It is being done with a minimal amount of Government financial aid or red tape, since three banks—Delaware County National Bank, the Fidelity Bank, and the Philadelphia National Bank—have agreed to commit \$1 million each to this undertaking.

This \$3 million will be used to construct homes in the \$6,000 to \$9,000 range under Federal Housing Administration 6-percent mortgages.

In addition, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has agreed to underwrite 30 low-cost units under its 221-H program, allowing persons meeting Federal poverty standards to buy a home at 3-percent interest with no downpayment.

Mr. William J. Coopersmith, a Chester businessman who was among those instrumental in bringing about this new approach, has promised that no time will be lost in producing concrete results. Rather than turning to more studies, Mr. Coopersmith has pledged that the first 20 units to be built or rehabilitated will be underway shortly and that they in turn would be used for interim housing for other persons whose present homes will then be renovated.

Interestingly enough, he has quoted FHA officials as saying the proposal "is terrific, because it's so simple," but then warning that "because it's simple, it will probably bug all the planners."

Perhaps this is the real crux of the many problems facing our Nation today—ignoring the simple, direct approaches to solving our problems and becoming so mired in bureaucratic redtape that little is ever accomplished to help our people.

Personally, I am impressed with this new, direct approach, which relies for success on private enterprise and doing what must be done. I commend this program and this approach to every city of our Nation.

SPEAKER MARTIN

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, the death of Joe Martin was a loss to us all, on both sides of the aisle. This great citizen of Massachusetts and the United States earned both his titles, "Mr. Speaker" and "Mr. Republican." He wore both of them well.

His record of service was nearly unprecedented. During his 42 years in this body, he was the leader of his party for 20 years and Speaker for four. He presided over five national conventions.

Although the dominant figure in his party for many years, Joe Martin was never a narrow partisan. He worked closely with a great Democratic Speaker, Sam Rayburn, to help guide our country through some of the truly momentous periods of her history. The United States and the free world are far stronger today because of the type of leadership provided by Mr. Martin and Mr. Rayburn.

When I came to Congress in 1963, Mr. Martin had already been here 38 years. Because of his towering reputation, he was of course well known to me before I actually met him. The fact that he

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was unfailing in the consideration and courtesy which he showed younger Members only increased the high regard in which I held him.

Speaker Martin was a patriot in the finest sense of the word; he was also a gracious and kindly human being.

REGISTER AND VOTE

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, in this presidential election year the Post Office Department is leading the way in calling the attention of all citizens to the vital importance for everyone to register and vote.

This morning, I had the privilege of being on hand as Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson unveiled the design of the "Register and Vote" postage stamp which is to be issued on June 27.

The 6-cent stamp will provide important and frequent reminder for the continuing efforts of the American Heritage Foundation and other groups seeking to obtain increased voter participation in election throughout the Nation.

The Postmaster General said that the message on the stamp is "aimed directly at every citizen who truly cares for his country and who wishes to keep the faith with past generations of Americans who made it possible for us to register and vote."

Recalling the closeness of the presidential election in 1960, Postmaster General Watson said the decision on the basis of less of 113,000 votes clearly proves that "your vote does count."

"Let your voice be heard," the Postmaster General added.

Mr. Speaker, following are the very appropriate remarks by the Postmaster General:

REMARKS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL W. MARVIN WATSON AT THE UNVEILING OF THE REGISTER AND VOTE STAMP, MAY 21, 1968

"Register and Vote" is the message of the stamp being unveiled today. It is a message of fundamental importance to every thinking American. It is a message aimed directly at every citizen who *truly cares* for his country and who wishes to keep faith with past generations of Americans who made it possible for us to register and vote.

Perhaps that message was best summed up by President Johnson when he witnessed the certification of the 24th amendment to the Constitution, the amendment that abolished the poll tax.

On that occasion, the President said, "There can now be no one too poor to vote. There is no longer a tax on his rights. The only enemy to voting that we face today is indifference. Too many of our citizens treat casually what other people in other lands are ready to die for."

Americans are willing to fight to protect the weak . . . willing to share with the underprivileged . . . willing to contribute in every way to assure that peoples of other countries have the right to decide for *themselves* how they shall be governed. And by whom.

It is almost ironic that we Americans are ready to die for this privilege of voting for others. Ironic because *these* are the statistics

on voting in this country: In 1960, there were 180 million Americans, 60 per cent or 108 million were eligible to vote, but only 69 million or 38 per cent actually voted. This means that about 19 per cent of the qualified voters of this country actually determined the 1960 elections. This is minority rule, pure and simple, with the consent of the people.

Compare this record with that of recent elections in South Vietnam where 80.8 per cent of the registered voters cast their ballots on September 11, 1966.

The 1960 election was the most direct and vivid demonstration of the power of the individual vote. It was decided by less than 113,000 votes. To anyone who knows this figure, the message comes through loud and clear. *Your vote counts!*

The postage stamp which will be unveiled here today will serve, I trust, as a reminder to every American that voting is his precious privilege and his highest duty.

We fought a great world war to make the world safe for Democracy.

We fought a second world war against the forces of tyranny.

We are engaged in a conflict today against those who would deny this privilege to millions of people.

Despite these terrible sacrifices, a callous unconcern for our own rights at home continues to be displayed.

Through this "Register and Vote" stamp, we join the American Heritage Foundation and other concerned citizens in repeating that message. Register and vote. Let your voice be heard.

DETERRENTS TO ASSAULTS ON POSTAL EMPLOYEES

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, with alarming increases in crime rates throughout the country, it is indeed imperative that measures be taken to improve law enforcement techniques and criminal justice. More than this, however, penalties commensurate with the crime must be prescribed and the tools made available to assure effective enforcement. In a word, it is the potential criminal who must be deterred rather than the law enforcement authority.

A step in this direction was taken on May 20, 1968, when the House overwhelmingly passed H.R. 15387, a measure which I fully endorse. In consideration of the increasing frequency of assaults on postal employees, who are afforded less protection of the law than the mail itself, H.R. 15387, as passed, will provide two additional deterrents to assaults against postal field service employees while they are engaged in the performance of their official duties by first, "providing specific statutory authority for the Postmaster General to take appropriate disciplinary action against any postal field service employee who assaults another postal employee engaged in, or on account of, the performance of his official duties"; and, second, "by adding postmasters and all other employees in the postal field service to the class of postal employees, which now includes only post office inspectors, who are covered under the provisions of Federal law which fix Federal

criminal penalties for any person who assaults or kills certain Federal employees while engaged in the performance of official duties."

Although recommendations to include other groups of Federal employees within the provisions of Federal criminal laws were considered not to be substantiated by sufficient evidence, I am encouraged that the strong interest shown on behalf of this legislation by the Members of the House will spur prompt action on two measures of which I am a cosponsor. H.R. 13030 and H.R. 13031 would make it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while on duty under orders of the President. The increasing use of Federal troops, and in some instances federalized National Guardsmen, to assist the civilian law enforcement authorities in the restoration and maintenance of law and order during riots or other major civil disturbances is, I believe, clear and compelling evidence that such members of the armed services are entitled to the full protection of the Federal criminal laws.

HON. JOE MARTIN

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

MR. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, we were all saddened when we learned of the passing of the late Speaker Joe Martin. I do not know of any man that ever served as a Member of the House of Representatives that had more real friends than the late Speaker Martin.

My office, when I came to Washington, was almost directly across the hall from Speaker Martin's office and I leaned heavily on him for advice. I never approached a Speaker of the House that had more consideration for a freshman Congressman than Speaker Martin. He always had time to discuss any and all problems with both Democrats and Republicans. Speaker Martin contributed so much to the well-being of our country during his service as a Member of the House and especially during the time he was serving as Speaker. I considered him one of the best personal friends I have had during my lifetime. We have had some great men serve as Members of the House of Representatives, but I do not know of anyone during my lifetime that possessed the common touch of all the Members as did the late Speaker Joe Martin.

I know that he made a desperate effort to preserve the dignity and the prestige of the Congress at all times and we can use more Members of this great body of Joe Martin's type during these confused times we are experiencing.

I know that this country is a better place to live because Joe Martin became a Member of the House of Representatives. His great contribution to this country and especially to the Congress of the United States will never be forgotten.

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A TIMELY WARNING

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

MR. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, many Americans are rightfully concerned over the dramatic increase in crime in the United States in recent years, coupled with the spreading scourge of rioting and civil disorder in our Nation's cities. In such a context, Mr. Henry J. Taylor recently gave a timely warning to our country in outlining a 16-point program "for the destruction of the United States." The United States is the greatest free Republic this world has ever known, and a land of hope and opportunity for all its people. It is, however, at present threatened by the violent actions of a criminal, extremist, and subversive minority, coupled with an attitude of permissiveness and even encouragement of civil disobedience on the part of political and religious leaders. Since the rights and freedoms of every American can only be protected within the framework of law, it is high time people in high places and low became aroused to the dangers of anarchy and lawlessness and determined to set our house in order while it still stands. To this end I commend to my colleagues the reading of Mr. Taylor's article included herewith:

[From the Birmingham Post-Herald, May

7, 1968]

FOR THE UNITED STATES THE ROAD TO DESTRUCTION HAS 16 MARKERS

(By Henry J. Taylor)

A 16-point program for the destruction of the United States:

(1) Pound home the preaching of individual rights instead of individual responsibility. Preach the sick sentimentality that condones criminality as society's fault and dismisses the individual from responsibility.

(2) Go easy on anarchy.

(3) Glorify cowardice as intellectualism and appeasement as enlightenment. Steal the liberal label and falsify the contents of the bottle.

(4) Sneeze at patriotism. Teach the youth to shun the battlefield. "Be a lover—not a fighter." And if the enemy is a fighter, not a lover? The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. repeatedly stated: "The Vietnam War must be stopped and one way is to have 'peace rallies' like we have 'freedom rallies'." But would Ho Chi Minh allow those parades in the place that is holding up the peace—Hanoi?

(5) Claim the aggressor can be bought off. The Carthaginians gave their sons and daughters to the Roman aggressor to prove and guarantee Carthage's nonaggressive intent. History means nothing?

(6) Do not require the study of American history. Two-thirds of our institutions of higher learning fail to require—require—students to study American history. One out of four of our teachers' colleges do not require any course in it, more than half do not require any preliminary knowledge of it. Yet good citizenship and progress in American ideals are admittedly impossible without an appreciation of our unique American heritage and the great sacrifices it took to establish and preserve them.

(7) Breed distrust of the military; belittle the men who have advanced in this responsible career. Make them seem ignoble and to lie about their democratic purposes long enough,

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and the military establishment on which a nation's security must depend becomes only a hollow shell, incompetent for a country's defense.

(8) Be patient with hippies who disrupt the universities and other established institutions. Let their protests take the form of sit-ins, lie-ins, flag-burnings, draft-card burnings and mayhem along with missiles and stink bombs. The first business of good government is to provide safety for its citizens. Destroy this.

(9) Pound home to the population that discrimination and lack of opportunity account for all who are "underprivileged." Ignore individual capability and personal application entirely. The IQ of the American population varies from about 50 to 180. The national dropout rate for college students, reflecting both incapacity and failure to apply one's self, exceeds 50 per cent.

(10) Teach all "underprivileged" that somebody else owes them a living. Preach this long enough and it is sure to create a "march of the poor" on the nation's capital, government by city-burning, government by blackmail. It is also sure to create a great many loafers who wouldn't do a day's real work under any conditions whatever. In just New York City, during history's biggest boom, 816,699 people (as of February, 1968) are drawing relief, some for the second and third generations.

(11) Emphasize the "curing" of poverty as the cure for civil disorders. The report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders found that the average rioter did hold a job, was not unemployed and was better educated than his nonrioting neighbors. It completely demolished many of the usual contentions regarding the "causes" of the looting and disorders.

(12) Sponsor unlimited government spending. Said Lenin: "The surest way to destruction is to debauch the currency."

(13) Preach "permissiveness." If "anything goes" then, of course everything goes. Every internal and external enemy knows the advantages of destroying a nation's standards. The rewards are as old as the Trojan horse. See that the TV, drama and movie critics, book reviewers, etc., accept the immoral as moral, the abnormal as normal, the obscene as valuable. Countries that praise the pigs in the pasture don't last very long.

(14) Infiltrate or confuse the teaching-talking-writing intelligentsia, especially those who work behind a prominent man as ghost writers.

(15) Draw the churches into politics. See that the churches gradually liquidate their influence as a spiritual power, and thus as a stabilizing force, having ministers and church leaders make the historic mistake of using the church itself as a political lever.

(16) Manipulate the news.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT OF 1968

HON. BROCK ADAMS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

MR. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, the 90th Congress has been studying numerous bills of major import, such as the tax surcharge, the Safe Streets Act, and improvement of health and education programs.

There is one major bill that I wish to commend to my colleagues, today, legislation which will help upgrade working

conditions of the nearly 80 million employed persons.

I refer to the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968, H.R. 14816, introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] and others.

The Occupational Safety and Health Act will help develop a strong partnership of Federal, State, and local agencies, together with industry, labor, and science. All of these must join together to formulate a program for controlling the health threats and other hazards that accompany earning a living.

The legislation sets up the framework for identifying health hazards, so they can be prevented or controlled, and for setting standards and enforcement procedures.

Mr. Speaker, there is a great need to do something about occupational health and safety. There are many statistics on productivity and lives lost due to occupationally caused illnesses and injuries. One authoritative estimate places the number of such cases at 336,000 per year in the United States.

Many workers are exposed daily or often to the hazards of toxic chemicals, physiological stress, and psychological pressure.

The present system of State standards finds a widely diverse pattern of allowed tolerance levels and enforcement. In all of the United States last year, there were only some 500 persons assigned full or part time to occupational health duties by State and local governments.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include the text of remarks made by Dr. Philip R. Lee, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on April 17, 1968:

REMARKS OF PHILIP R. LEE, M.D., ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HEALTH AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 represents a major and vital link in the chain of health and health-related legislation of the last four years. The Congress has enacted more than 30 laws since 1963 aimed at making good health, decent health care, and a livable environment realities for all Americans. I need only mention Medicare, Medicaid, maternal and child health care, air pollution control, the partnership for health, and the neighborhood health centers program to suggest the tremendous forward movement that is the record of the present Administration in improving the health of the Nation.

But the great strides that have been made only make more clear the distance we have yet to go.

This is a Nation of workers—nearly eighty million of them. On the vitality and productivity of the Nation's work-force depends the strength not just of our economy, but of our society. Yet the health of American workers is being increasingly threatened by the very surroundings in which they toil, by the tools they use, the fumes they breathe, the deafening and nerve-shattering noises that are the normal state of affairs in all too many workplaces in this country. And to these occupational hazards must be added the thousands of subtle and insidious threats posed by radiation, lasers, and a steadily growing host of chemical agents whose effects on health are all but unknown.

Frankly, I don't think anyone knows the full extent of the occupational safety and

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health problem in this country. But some of the things we do know paint the outlines of a bad and worsening picture.

Eighty percent of the employed persons in the United States do not have access to health protection where they work.

The combined expenditures for occupational health in 42 States, 32 local jurisdictions, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico amount to only about five cents per worker per year, a sum that is ludicrously small in the face of the occupational health problem.

In my home State of California, where occupational illnesses are reported and tabulated, 27,000 cases were uncovered in 1965 alone. If this California experience were applied to the whole Nation, we could assume that there were at least 336,000 cases of occupational disease that year. But the fact is, we don't know how extensive occupational illness is, because we don't have the national system for detecting and preventing this intolerable health problem.

This is one reason why passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 is of such critical importance. We need to develop a partnership of Federal, State, and local agencies, of industry, labor, the scientific community—indeed of all those who can and must join forces to bring under control the health threats that accompany earning a living.

This important legislation sets up a strong working relationship between the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare under which we would greatly intensify our efforts to identify occupational health hazards so that they can be prevented or controlled, so that this Nation can gain and keep the upper hand in the struggle to make employment safe and healthful, rather than a poorly calculated risk to life and limb.

STEPS TO HELP THE UNEMPLOYED

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, last week I was pleased to call to the attention of the House an effort being made by 25 private firms in my home city of Trenton to rehabilitate housing in the rundown areas of the city. I did so to illustrate the ways in which private industry can help solve the problems of our center cities.

I am pleased, therefore, to bring to the attention of the House another example of how private industry in my home county of Mercer is working to bring job opportunities to the hard-core unemployed. This effort is set forth in a story by Miss Donna Standen which appeared in the May 19 edition of the Sunday Times Advertiser:

ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN TAKES STEPS TO HELP UNEMPLOYED

(By Donna Standen)

Wanted:

People who care.

Corporations that care.

Human beings willing to extend a hand to those who need it.

And human beings on a quest for self-respect and self-esteem.

These people—and businesses—are wanted by the Mercer County Alliance of Businessmen to find jobs for hard-core unemployed.

This same alliance wants to find the men and women to fill those jobs.

The Mercer County Alliance of Businessmen (MCAB) is a fledgling organization started by 40 concerned civic-minded businessmen and women who want to find both permanent and temporary jobs for the unemployed and underemployed.

MOST ACTIVE UNIT

The MCAB is a chapter of the New Jersey Alliance of Businessmen. To date it is the most active chapter.

In the 10 days since its inception the Mercer chapter has received pledges for 50 permanent positions and 80 summer jobs. The goal is 1,200 to 1,500 summer jobs and 600 full time permanent positions.

"There is no limit to man and his ability," says Philip Hofmann, chairman of the board of Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick. Gov. Richard J. Hughes appointed Hofmann chairman of the New Jersey Alliance.

The state alliance is closely related to the National Alliance of Businessmen, whose chairman is Henry Ford 2d. The National Alliance reaches 50 metropolitan centers in the country, including Newark and Camden. The state alliance is geared to serve the rest of New Jersey.

Merger's chairman is dynamic Barry Shepard, executive vice president of The Acme-Hamilton Manufacturing Corp.

USES COMPUTER

Shepard is using a computer to outline all businesses in Mercer County. His machine is programming an account number and industry class with each firm in the county, plus the number of employees and possible additions to the employment rolls.

His list of firms in Mercer has come from every conceivable source.

"There is an immense duplication in the area of job development and human development," says Shepard. "Everyone's talking about the problem. No one's doing anything."

But the 40 concerned people in Mercer County, he says, have started acting. Each of the 40 has been given a list of names to contact for pledges of job opportunities for the disadvantaged.

Shepard realizes it isn't an easy job to find employers willing to take on untrained men. "But it's an important one, trying to sell a better way of life and a better community.

"Industry has both the money and the talent," he adds. MCAB plans to put both to work.

Neither the state nor the Mercer alliance is funded. Time, space, materials and talent are being donated. "But the more I see it," he adds, "it is a base, a starting point."

And MCAB, according to philosophical Shepard, will go to anti-poverty organizations, churches and even saloon-keepers in order to find the hard-core unemployed and give them job opportunities.

"The history of America is the story of job opportunity," Shepard says softly as he pauses to reflect his words. "What more are we talking about than perpetuating that heritage and making it stronger?"

The CFAI Steel Corp. on South Broad Street, has made office space available to the alliance, and a "Job Fair" is planned for June 1 to 15 at the Civic Center, when businessmen will be able to interview prospective job applicants.

Shepard is both optimistic and realistic. "We know there are problems involved in hiring unskilled and even illiterate people. And we know most of them have no working habits, or poor ones, to begin with."

But the MCAB will face these problems head-on, Shepard told members of the New Jersey Alliance the Mercer group is trying to have unions waive requirements for summer employees and that they are asking potential employers to drop educational requirements for its employees and to relax standards of physical requirements.

But MCAB plans something more than just turning into a gigantic employment service. Follow-up attention is planned for those who are placed in jobs.

"IN THE STREAM"

"The disadvantaged person already has entered the stream of our conscience," says Shepard as he pauses in reflection. "Now let him enter the stream of our economy."

"This program has been presented to superimpose over many agencies who work with a common purpose in mind."

WAUKEGAN NEWS-SUN SUPPORTS HUMAN RENEWAL PROGRAM

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the need for doing something constructive in behalf of the impoverished and disadvantaged citizens of our Nation is critical indeed. The Poor People's March dramatizes the plight of some 30 million Americans who have not succeeded in benefiting from our society of affluence.

The Congress cannot and should not indulge in endless welfare programs. Our disadvantaged citizens want opportunities, not handouts. It is incumbent upon us to point the way toward greater opportunity through increased job training, educational advantages, and encouraging individual initiative and motivation.

The Republican sponsored human renewal fund is designed primarily to meet these needs. Arguments in behalf of the Republican program were expressed convincingly in the Tuesday, May 16 issue of the Waukegan News-Sun—Lake County's only daily newspaper—and a leading journal circulating in the 12th Congressional District of Illinois.

I am inserting this editorial at the conclusion of these remarks for the benefit of my colleagues in the Congress as well as for the information of all citizens of the Nation:

HUMAN RENEWAL EXCELLENT WAY TO FIGHT POVERTY PROBLEMS

A proposal to really do something about relieving the distress of the poor and unemployed is now before the House of Representatives.

Aptly named the "Human Renewal Fund," the program is backed by a group of 70 Republican members of the House. What makes it such an attractive idea is that it would be funded through cuts elsewhere in the national budget.

Proposed is a budget reduction of \$6.6 billion, with \$2.5 billion to be plowed back into the Human Renewal Fund. The net reduction would be \$4.1 billion, and the gain in human resource would be incalculable.

The GOP plan is predicated on the premise that much of the federal spending is for low priority projects that, during wartime, can well be postponed or eliminated.

To put the savings to work the Republicans propose to institute a Human Renewal Fund. The fund would be aimed at promoting jobs, housing, education and agricultural revitalization. It would also fight crime, air and water pollution and help stop the urban decay in Washington.

To be postponed or eliminated are the huge funds allocated to public works, public build-

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ings, non-military research, highway beautification, supersonic transport, and government public relations efforts.

Other low priority spending would be reduced or eliminated to improve the nation's financial situation and prevent the great waste in human beings among the poor, and still provide ample funds to carry on the war.

Such a realistic approach to government spending is long past due. Under the Human Renewal Fund the crisis in the cities would get immediate attention, with jobs and vocational training taking precedence over the politically motivated war on poverty and other such schemes which have been complete failures.

The Republican program calls for a three per cent cut in federal civilian employees to halt the ever-increasing number working for the government. It would suspend for the time of crisis the construction of new government buildings in Washington and the renovation of others which are not necessary. It would eliminate for the time being the government's subsidy of the Arts and Humanities foundation and many additional spending schemes that are not essential.

Jobs and job training would absorb \$750 million of the Human Renewal Fund, with housing and rent subsidies taking another \$500 million.

The need for priorities in government spending has long been argued by those who recognize the serious financial slump into which the nation has sunk. Now Congress has before it a priorities list that takes into consideration the needs of the distressed people of the country.

The Human Renewal Fund program should be adopted quickly. It will go a long way toward saving the value of the dollar and at the same time provide hope for those people who are without hope.

THE "DOC" ABERNATHY AFFAIR

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the widespread interest in the deflation in the savior image of "Doc" Ralph D. Abernathy of SCLC and his clandestine sex dramatizing with poor little Vivian McCoy Davis continues with new exposures. After her denouncing ole "Doc," Vivian Davis was made the victim of vicious attacks by a periodical called Jet magazine—possibly trying to rescue "Doc" Abernathy from his role as the great destroyer. Her husband, Edward Davis, in defense of his spouse sued the owners of Jet for libel.

I ask that the clerk's certificate showing the court judgment for Davis against Jet magazine, a Johnson Publishing Co. enterprise, follow:

[In the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, No. 24800]

EDWARD DAVIS, PLAINTIFF v. JOHNSON PUBLISHING COMPANY, ET AL., DEFENDANT

STATE OF ALABAMA,
Montgomery County

I, John R. Matthews, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Montgomery County hereby certify that in the above case there was a Jury and Verdict for the Plaintiff in said Court in the sum of \$67,500.00, said judgment being rendered against Johnson Publishing Company on the 8th day of May, 1960.

I further certify that said case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Alabama, and the Supreme Court of Alabama reduced

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the judgment to the sum of \$45,000.00, and that on the 29th day of December, 1960, said judgment was marked "satisfied and discharged of record" by the attorneys representing the Plaintiff, Edward Davis.

WITNESS my hand and the seal of said Circuit Court is hereto affixed this the 14th day of May, 1968.

JOHN R. MATTHEWS,
Clerk, Circuit Court, Montgomery County.

WRONG PEOPLE MARCHING

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the May 16, 1968, issue of the Bradford Era, Bradford, Pa.:

THE WRONG PEOPLE ARE MARCHING

It is impossible not to feel sorry for those individuals gathering this week in Washington under the banner of the Poor People's March. We feel sorry for them because the great mass is being used and abused by certain individuals who are neither poor nor genuinely concerned with the poor, but are concerned only with either anarchy or a grab for power.

The similarity between this march and the legendary Coxey's Army of the 19th Century and the later, Communist-inspired and led Bonus March, is clear in some respects. But in neither case was the object of bludgeoning Congress into passing welfare legislation quite so obvious.

Coxey's Army fell apart over a number of issues, and the Bonus Marchers were finally routed out of their shantytown by forthright action led by Gen. Douglas MacArthur and Col. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The judgment of those who urged the so-called poor people to march on Washington at this juncture must be questioned. One does not light matches in a powder magazine, and as the riots which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King clearly demonstrated, our nation's capital can be looked upon as nothing less.

Sen. Carl Mundt has warned his constituents to stay away from Washington this summer and if they must come, to leave their families at home. Others have noted that SNCC and other black power organizations have been appealing to students to spend this summer whipping up sentiment among the poor folks in order to keep the pressure on Congress.

One cannot question the right of people to petition for redress of grievances, but at the same time that petitioning must be carried out in an orderly manner. In a tone of voice which barely conceals their anger, many leaders of the march have made it clear that their purpose is anything but peaceful.

As for the demands themselves, they need close scrutiny. There have been proposals for a guaranteed annual wage, rather than a welfare system. This, it is said, will guarantee every man in the nation a minimum salary, whether he works or not. The absurdity of this is breath-taking.

But just as the poor people who have been dragooned into coming to Washington are the pawns in a larger game, so is the real object of the pressure. For it is not Congress the march leaders seek to destroy, but the American middle class, already hard-pressed by taxes; taxes which are often poured down the rathole of welfare and dubious "social service" projects.

It is the middle class which the leaders seek to destroy—and it should be noted here

that destruction of the middle class is the first object of the Revolution, as outlined by both Marx and Lenin. It is the middle class which stands in the way of the workers' paradise—how blind people can be—and it is the middle class which stands in the way of a Leftist takeover.

The United States has long been a nation of opportunity. Our guarantee to every man who came to these shores, was the right to seek his own level; to make his own bed and lie down on it. That some of those beds are lumpy is not the fault of the rest of us. When real misfortune strikes, of course we are willing to help, and we have helped, both through voluntary organizations and through tax-supported projects. But beyond that, we have no obligation to people who will not seize fortune by the forelock and make a decent life for themselves.

We say the wrong people are marching on Washington. It's the middle class that should be there—demanding that Congress stop giving away our money with both hands to buy band-aids for social ills that are largely overstated. If the middle class did march, then Congress would really get an ear full!

MRS. ROSA HAGAN, OF INDIANAPOLIS, CELEBRATES 100TH BIRTHDAY

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, 1968, Mrs. Rosa Hagan, of Indianapolis, will celebrate her 100th birthday. Those who live far past the Biblical "three score and ten" deserve special recognition from their friends and acquaintances, to be sure, but I believe we should consider something else: the very real, living link that these extraordinary people give the era of the 1960's with the past.

Mrs. Hagan was born in Germany on May 28, 1868. She came to the United States from Germany in 1939, and from 1939 to 1965 traveled about her adopted country living with her children. The United States is a great country because of the contributions made to it by persons who, like Mrs. Hagan, came to our shores seeking freedom. Who can say or who can measure what this woman and her descendants have given us all?

Let us consider one fact: If Mrs. Hagan had been in the Western United States when she was born, her eyes could have seen Indian war smoke on the hills and her ears might have heard the thunder of Indian tribal drums, preparing for war against the advancing settlers. Today, however, her eyes see another kind of smoke: the contrails of jet airplanes that fly 6 miles above the earth; and her ears hear another kind of thunder: the sonic boom, as these planes break the sound barrier and attain speeds not even dreamed of when she was a girl.

Her life has spanned the 100-year period that saw this transition in civilization and technology.

In her own native country of Germany, when she was born, the "Iron Chancellor," Prince Otto von Bismarck, had completed his consolidation of the German nation and was negotiating to put a

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member of the German royal house of Hohenzollern on the Spanish throne.

In Russia, czarist expansionist tendencies had moved into central Asia, for the eventual conquest of Kokand, Bokhara, and Khiva. This eventually led to much friction between England and Russia. England thought, correctly, that Russia was pushing toward India.

The Suez Canal was almost finished—it opened in 1869—and the Turkish Ottoman Empire had granted concessions to build a railroad to connect Constantinople with Hungarian rail lines.

In the field of technology and exploration, the first Sholes typewriter was being put to commercial use, and a Norwegian explorer had penetrated the pack ice north of Spitzbergen, helping open the route to the North Pole.

In the United States, 2 days before Mrs. Hagan was born in Germany, President Andrew Johnson's impeachment trial had ended in the U.S. Senate; by one vote, he was acquitted.

Two days after she was born, the first Memorial Day was officially observed, on proclamation of Gen. John A. Logan, commander of the Grand Army of the Republic.

The second session of the 40th U.S. Congress was sitting in Washington. Oliver Morton, Indiana's great Civil War Governor, was an Indiana Senator. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, fiery New England statesman, was also in the Senate.

In the House, Benjamin Butler, the controversial Civil War general, was a Representative along with Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the uncompromising and bitterly antisouthern radical. This Congress had eight territories represented, not yet States: Arizona, Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington.

In the South, reconstruction was at its height. There were five military districts in this part of our country, each ruled over by a military governor. Confederate veterans organizations, parades, and even historical societies were banned. Thousands of local officials, along with the Governors of six Southern States, were removed from office that year. The civil courts were superseded by military tribunals. The Legislatures of Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana were purged; State laws were set aside or changed. A 20,000-strong Union army of occupation was still in the South. In the summer of the year of Mrs. Hagan's birth, eight Southern States received "reconstructed" governments. The hideous, bleeding scar of the Civil War was still upon our country. In 1868, President Andrew Johnson pardoned 13,500 Confederates, and by Christmas of that year, only 300 were left unpardoned and ineligible to vote.

What incredibly interesting years of history Mrs. Hagan's life spans. Will someone born in 1968 be able to say as much, if they live until the year 2068? Will the next 100 years show so much progress, change, and, sadly, bloodshed and war? We hope, devoutly, the next 100 years will not see the terrible conflict and bitterness, but we hope equally that mankind's progress will not only equal but surpass that of the last century.

So let us pay special tribute, and give special recognition to these outstanding citizens like Mrs. Hagan who serve as a living reminder and link with the past. I wish Mrs. Hagan many more years of health, happiness, and—many more birthdays.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I recently distributed a questionnaire among the residents of the 23d District. I received more than 15,000 replies which were tabulated. Results are as follows:

1. Problems, ranked in order of importance were: Vietnam; crime; race relations; inflation; high taxes; urban decay; older people's needs; housing shortage; public transportation.

[Results in percent]

2. Voting age: Do you favor reducing the voting age to 18?

Yes	37
No	57
Undecided	6

3. Police: There seems to be general agreement throughout our area that added police protection is needed. Do you think the Federal Government should assume part of the added cost?

Yes	60
No	32
Undecided	8

4. Drugs: Do you think use or possession (as distinct from sale) of the following drugs should be a criminal offense?

LSD:

Yes	71
No	22
Undecided	7

Marihuana:

Yes	60
No	31
Undecided	9

5. Transit: The Federal Government continues to help highway construction at a rate twenty times as high as that provided for mass transit (such as subways and buses). I favor permitting use of some of the highway aid for mass transit. Do you agree?

Yes	80
No	15
Undecided	5

6. Immigration: The 1965 immigration law made many good changes but it has worked a hardship on citizens of some countries by instituting stiff standards for the first time. I favor easing these requirements temporarily for those countries that were not previously covered. Do you agree?

Yes	52
No	30
Undecided	18

7. Travel: The President has proposed a tax on travel to reduce our international balance of payments deficit. Do you favor such a tax?

Yes	43
No	52
Undecided	5

8. Middle East: If the Soviet arms aid to the Arab States continues, should the U.S. make needed weapons available to Israel?

Yes	70
No	22
Undecided	8

9. Vietnam:

(a) Do you believe the Vietnam conflict can and should be brought to a conclusion by—

Military victory	27
Negotiated settlement	54
Withdrawal by the U.S. forces	19

(b) If you had to decide, would you accept a negotiated settlement in South Vietnam which provides—

Internationally supervised elections in South Vietnam in which all parties, including the National Liberation Front, would be free to participate

A coalition government in which the NLF would be included but would not have control	67
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10. The draft: Last year the President proposed a lottery system with 19 year olds being taken first. Would you favor this over the present system?

Yes	39
No	42
Undecided	19

11. Medicare: There are a number of suggestions for additions to this program. Please mark the two you think are most desirable.

In order of marking, they were: Include cost of prescription drugs as part of basic coverage; increase the number of days of hospitalization permitted; extend coverage to persons under 65 who are receiving Social Security benefits; eliminate requirement that senior citizen pay the first \$40 of the hospital bill; eliminate requirement that senior citizen pay \$4 per month for the medical insurance (hospital; insurance is free).

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import gates for subsidized foreign agricultural products, such as billions of pounds of milk and dairy products, meat and meat products, sugar, and even grain and grain products while our cash exports of these commodities are constantly being reduced.

For years now the slogan has been, "Save the American family farm." Unless action is taken soon, the slogan of the future may be, "Save the American farm."

SAFE STREETS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, we cannot permit a condition to exist where our citizens walk in the shadow of fear. A breakdown of law and order means a paralysis of society and will not be tolerated. Lawlessness has been shown by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice to be a national phenomenon that reaches into every section of the country, but we know, too, that crime is essentially a local problem that must be dealt with by State and local governments.

There are few who will not agree that we do not want a national police force, but we can all agree that there must be a national strategy against crime. The prevalence of crime has convinced me that whatever can be done on the Federal level must be done.

Every person must be protected. Property must be protected. As chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, which is the committee charged with the responsibility of enacting criminal laws, I want you to know that I have assumed, and will assume, the grave challenges that face all of us in coming to grips with the intolerable consequences of the present wave of criminal activity.

Criminal behavior pervades a much greater segment of American society than previously has been comprehended generally. In the United States today, the Crime Commission reports, one boy in six is referred to the juvenile court. In 1965, more than 2 million Americans were received in prisons or juvenile training schools, or placed on probation. One Crime Commission study indicates that about 40 percent of all male children now living in the United States will be arrested for a nontraffic offense during their lives. A survey of 1,700 persons found that 91 percent of the sample admitted they had committed acts for which they might have received jail or prison sentences.

Thus, with assistance from the Federal Government, the cities could, for example, flood communities with light, put into use noncrippling chemical deterrents, special photographic equipment for identification of criminals, increased patrol activity, better detective devices. Law enforcement agencies could develop techniques in riot prevention such as "slick streets," tear gas, and nonlethal weapons. There should be police call-boxes, which should be left open and

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brightly marked, installed on as many streets as possible.

Congress has not been silent. For a number of years, the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I am chairman, has worked intensively on crime legislation. Because I could see the growing menace, I secured passage of significant acts, now law of the land, dealing with this evil in our society. I cite for your information a number of them:

Public Law 87-216, to amend the United States Code with respect to the transmission of bets, wagers, and related information.

Public Law 87-218, to prohibit interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia.

Public Law 87-228, to prohibit travel or transportation in aid of racketeering enterprises.

Public Law 87-368, to strengthen the Fugitive Felon Act.

Public Law 87-849, bribery, graft, conflict of interest.

Public Law 87-338, imparting or conveying of false information.

Public Law 88-251, with respect to escape or attempted escape of juvenile delinquents.

Public Law 88-316, to prohibit schemes in interstate or foreign commerce to influence by bribery sporting contests, and for other purposes.

Public Law 89-68, prohibiting travel in aid of arson.

Public Law 89-141, providing penalties for the assassination of the President or Vice President.

Public Law 89-196, authorizing funds for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement.

Public Law 89-197, training State and local law-enforcement officers and improving capabilities, techniques, and practices in State and local law enforcement and prevention and control of crime.

Public Law 89-218, authorizing Secret Service agents to make arrests without warrants for offenses committed in their presence.

Public Law 89-801, establishing a National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws.

Public Law 90-123, prohibiting obstruction of criminal investigations of the United States.

Pending before the Congress at this time is the "Safe Streets" Act, which I introduced; also the bill for better control of interstate traffic in firearms; the bill creating the U.S. Correction Service; the bill establishing a Federal Judicial Center; and the bill prohibiting wire interception and eavesdropping, all of which I introduced. As your Representative in Congress, I could do no less.

Thus, there is an indisputable need for national assistance to support and encourage greater effort by State and local governments to find new answers to the threats presented by criminal activity.

It is for this reason that I sponsored the Safe Streets Act, to assist State and local governments, which provides for financial and other assistance in—

EXTENSION OF THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, there is no question that a new and aggressive farm program is needed, but the extension of the Agricultural Adjustment Act is necessary to fill the gap until such legislation is passed.

We should note that the purchasing power of farm products, when adjusted to today's values, is only 40 cents on the dollar, very little more than even in 1934 when farm parity stood at 71 percent rather than 73 percent as it is today.

Farms are disappearing, not because the farmer has not been working hard and efficiently. His productivity exceeds that of any other individual. Farm output per man-hour has climbed 61 percent since 1959, but while he is producing more and better food, he is continually being asked to produce it at lower and lower wages.

Agriculture needs a more sympathetic ear from the news media of the Nation. It needs a stronger voice in the operation of the Department of Agriculture. It needs an understanding on the part of the consumer that if the farmer is put out of business food prices will be increased many times.

Because of this, it seems rather senseless for our Government to open wide the

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First. Specialized training, education, and recruitment programs, including intense training in such critical areas as organized crime and police-community relations, and the development of police tactical squads.

Second. Modernization of equipment, including portable two-way radios for patrol officers, new alarm systems, and improved laboratory instrumentation for applying advanced techniques in identification.

Third. Programs for the reorganization of personnel structures and the coordination and consolidation of overlapping law enforcement and criminal justice agencies.

Fourth. Advanced techniques for rehabilitating offenders, including the establishment of vocational prerelease guidance in jails, work-release programs, and community-based corrections facilities.

Fifth. High-speed systems for collecting and transmitting information to police, prosecutors, courts and corrections agencies.

Sixth. Crime prevention programs in schools, colleges, welfare agencies, and other institutions.

Every examination of crime discloses these two facts: First, that most crimes are committed by boys and young men; and, second, that most crimes are committed in cities. Thus, a conclusion has been reached that most crime-prone groups in the population are males between the ages of 15 and 24, and that the 15-to-24 age group has been the fastest growing group in the population because of the increase in births that took place after the Second World War. It becomes clear then that programs not only of prevention and detection are urgently needed, but also programs of rehabilitation.

Certainly, ways must be found to reduce the opportunity to commit crime. In auto thefts, for example, we find that the key had been left in the ignition or the ignition left unlocked in 42 percent of all stolen car cases. Auto theft could be greatly reduced by installing an ignition system that automatically ejects the key when the engine is turned off. We need stricter gun controls. And we need an increase in the number of juvenile probation officers as well as an increase in probation officers working with adult felons.

The existence of crime is as old as the world is old: yet we are only in this 20th century beginning to look at its cause and prevention with any degree of depth. Through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, which became law in September of 1965, we have already begun a comprehensive study of the application of science and technology to criminal justice as well as a study on pooling police services, a survey of unreported crimes, correctional agencies and how they work, and police-community relations.

The annual report to the President and Congress on the activities under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965 reveals that—

The Department of Justice has, in 30 months, granted some \$19 million for 330 criminal justice projects in 50 States,

the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

Comprehensive law enforcement assistance—LEA—programs have motivated State and local governments toward significant actions, strengthening the fabric of our criminal justice system:

Twenty-seven grants have financed State crime evaluation and planning commissions. None existed before this program. Each provides a major opportunity to implement the recommendations of President Johnson's Crime Commission and to effect other important improvements. Each State has been urged for more than 2 years to form such a commission. Each State needs one.

Thirty-four grants to police departments have financed police-community relations programs addressed directly to law enforcement's most pressing problem.

Twenty-seven grants have been awarded for police-science courses in colleges and universities, nearly doubling the number of States with schools offering such study. These courses provide a major opportunity for professionalization of police.

More than 650 police departments, with Federal support, are using filmed and printed training materials carefully developed by experts under the supervision of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Twenty-one States have received grants to develop comprehensive training programs for correctional officers in prison, probation and parole work. Only six States had such programs previously. These programs can have a profound long-range impact on the recidivist who commits most controllable crime.

Twenty States have received grants to develop or improve State police standards and training activities. These grants can begin statewide improvement of law enforcement.

One hundred and twenty police departments have participated in riot prevention and control seminars sponsored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the Department of Justice.

The war on crime must be pursued with unrelenting determination. It is a war with many battlefronts. The apprehension and the incarceration of the criminal is only one front; prevention is another; elimination of the conditions which breed crime is yet another; the cultivation of discipline and standards within the home and the school is still another. It is a disease like cancer that cannot be eradicated by any one single method of treatment, but we can attack it, we will attack it, and we will succeed.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 120th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

PIPELINE SAFETY LEGISLATION

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the action of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on pipeline safety regulations has stirred up a great concern among many segments of our society, either directly or indirectly affected by this proposed legislation.

Among others who are deeply concerned about this most serious problem of safety and adequate controls over pipeline installations and inspection is the International Union of Operating Engineers. In a letter sent to me by Mr. Peter Weber, president-business manager of the several locals organized in New Jersey, he expressed his alarm at the action taken by the House Commerce Committee in not conducting open hearings on this vital safety legislation. His position on this matter has been affirmed by the 10,000 members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, as responsible citizens of the State of New Jersey, desiring every safety precaution to be taken in the control of pipelines and pipeline installations.

In expressing his concern over the methods used by the House Commerce Committee on this legislation, Mr. Weber included a clipping from the May 13, 1968, Newark Star Ledger, written by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson on this proposed legislation and on the behind the scenes actions of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks the clipping sent me by Mr. Weber on this matter.

The item follows:

MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson)

WASHINGTON.—The families who had their homes blown up in the latest gas pipeline explosion in San Jose, California, will be interested in the closed-door debate in which certain congressmen gutted the pipeline safety bill.

So will the citizens of Queens, New York, who lost twelve blocks of homes, and the citizens of Natchitoches, Louisiana, where seventeen people were killed by another pipeline explosion, and all the others who lost loved ones and property in pipeline explosions in the last couple of years.

They and the rest of the public will not be able to read the debate which affects their own safety, because it was held behind the closed doors of the House Commerce Committee. However, we can report that at least five congressmen were so angry at the way their colleagues buckled under to the lobbyists that they announced they would make a fight on the House floor to restore the stronger provisions of a Senate bill which guarantees tough federal inspection of 800,000 miles of underground pipeline.

The five protesters who voted against the weak House bill were: Reps. John Moss, D-Calif., John Dingell, D-Mich., Daniel Ronan, D-Ill., Brock Adams, D-Wash., and Richard Ottinger, D-N.Y.

Rep. Torbert Macdonald, D-Mass., also said he would support amendments on the floor.

"I must say I am disenchanted with the bill as approved by this committee," he declared. "Most of all, I do not like the provision which enables states to exempt themselves from federal regulation by simply cer-

tifying that they are satisfying federal standards in pipeline safety."

"This bill guts the Senate bill by exempting pipes already in the ground from meeting construction standards for new pipelines; that is, unless the Secretary of Transportation disagrees," protested Moss of California.

He said that the secretary would have to make separate findings of hazards "in each section" of a pipeline in order to compel replacements.

"This is ridiculous," complained Moss. "There might be 100 sections of an old pipeline that are hazardous. The secretary would have to make 100 findings to put it in shape to meet safety standards. It is a weak, badly drawn piece of legislation all around."

"One reason it's a bad bill is that it is written largely by lobbyists," declared Adams of Washington. "In at least five of six cases that I know about, the committee has adopted the precise language the lobbyists wanted in the bill."

The congressmen who have yielded to the lobbyists behind closed doors were: Horace Kornegay, N.C., Democrat; plus Republicans James Broyhill, N.C., James Harvey, Mich., Donald Brotzman, Colo., and Clarence Brown, Ohio.

They weakened the bill so drastically that civil penalties were reduced from the Senate figure of \$400,000 to \$100,000 for total damages to any person injured by a gas explosion. A maximum liability of \$100,000 is peanuts compared with the several million dollars of damages in the Queens fire.

Two of the lobbyists who fought hardest to weaken the pipeline inspection bill were Hal Connor and John A. Vance of Pacific Gas and Electric, the very same company whose pipeline exploded in San Jose last week. They wanted state instead of federal inspection. Connor and Vance called on Representative Moss and his administrative aide, John Bilett, four times in one day, trying to weaken the pipeline bill. They called on Representative Van Deerlin eight times. Both congressmen stood firm.

The Senate leaders for a tough pipeline bill were Warren Magnuson, D-Wash., chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, and Vance Hartke, chairman of the subcommittee. They were successful until their efforts were undermined by lobbyists in the House.

Note: Pacific Gas and Electric has been much more community-minded of late. When PG&E undertook to build a nuclear reactor, it consulted the Sierra Club in advance to get its approval of the best place to locate the reactor. However, PG&E lobbyists did their best to persuade the House Commerce Committee to adopt an amendment to transfer pipeline inspection from the federal government to the states where utility commissions are notoriously weaker.

SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been drawn to an editorial from the Wellington Daily News edition of April 19, 1968, which was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on April 29. The thrust of the editorial was that the \$600 a year allowance permitted the taxpayer for each of his minor children is insufficient to cover the actual cost.

Mr. Speaker, I have no quarrel what-

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ever with that proposition. Six hundred dollars is, indeed, an inadequate sum under today's price structure. However, in making his point, the writer, to emphasize the inadequacy of the figure contrasts it with sums which the Government purportedly spends for other purposes. One of the statements made is that the VISTA program spent \$15,000 a year to train each of its trainees in the last fiscal year.

Mr. Speaker, that figure is totally erroneous. Last fiscal year VISTA spent \$3.7 million to train 3,700 VISTA volunteers. The cost per trainee, therefore, was about \$1,000 per trainee. I am pleased to advise that VISTA training costs in 1968 have dropped to an average of \$694. I am sure that you and my colleagues are aware of the very fine services performed throughout the country by these dedicated volunteers. I am pleased to have this opportunity to set the record straight.

A COMMUNITY SERVANT—OUTSTANDING AMERICAN: HAROLD T. GRAY, 1894-1968

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following article and editorial from the Courier-Express, DuBois, Pa., on the passing of Harold T. Gray, president of the Courier-Express Publishing Co., and publisher of the newspaper. The articles were written by George Waylonis, associate editor of the Courier-Express:

[From the DuBois (Pa.) Courier-Express, Mar. 27, 1968]

COMMUNITY SERVANT—OUTSTANDING AMERICAN: HAROLD T. GRAY, 1894-1968

(By George Waylonis)

Harold T. Gray, as the eldest son, learned the raw rudiments of printing at the side of his father in a small print shop in DuBois more than a half a century ago.

And then responsibility was thrust upon him on an autumn day in 1923 while he was still in young manhood.

In the years that followed, Harold T. Gray sculpted a communications media complex equal with the best in Small Town, America. This covered newspapers, radio stations and distinctive quality printing.

This achievement became a legacy this morning (March 27) at 1:45 o'clock when Harold Thomas Gray succumbed at his residence, 239 E. Logan Ave., after an extended illness.

He was 73.

He was president of the Courier-Express Publishing Co., publisher of this newspaper. He was president of the Tri-County Broadcasting Co., operators of Radio Stations WCED-AM-FM. He was president of the Gray Printing Co., a commercial printing firm; and two holding companies.

These organizations were not founded during times of affluence but, rather, during days of the Depression when frugality and struggle were the ingredients for progress. And they were founded because DuBois was emerging as the metropolitan center for a vast section of mountain country in north-central Pennsylvania.

While pioneering the newspaper and radio

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media, Harold T. Gray also became known statewide, and in some instances nationally-known, for his civic labors in the fields of education, charity, religion, fine arts, and patriotism. He pioneered many of these efforts in the DuBois area, and remained actively associated with these civic movements until he was hospitalized in January when he underwent surgery at Mercy Hospital, Pittsburgh.

Harold T. Gray was a prime mover in the establishment of Bucktail Council, Boy Scouts of America . . . was an early booster of what today is the DuBois Campus, Pennsylvania State University . . . a charter director of the Civic Arts Society that initially stimulated the Fine Arts in this area . . . a supporter and a director for the Salvation Army for many decades, participating in its works of charity.

A deeply religious man, he was the driving force and held various posts of responsibility in the Presbyterian Church.

A deeply patriotic man, he was the driving force in the Tri-County Reserve Officers Association more than 40 years ago that gave an unprepared America trained men from this area when World War II was thrust upon this nation. He saw service in the two world wars; and he was the second charter member of Montgomery Post, No. 17, American Legion.

Tantamount with these major milestones are his decades of service in the business and industrial life of the area, the promotion of the common weal and being the confidant to hundreds of area persons, many of them young people in whom he took sincere interest.

As publisher of the Courier-Express, he directed and urged his editors to stimulate and promote the progress of the DuBois area and to give all-out support to civic enterprises.

HIS FATHER

This flaming interest in his community stemmed from his boyhood when he heard told and retold, from the lips of his father, the struggle that faced DuBois to re-build after the Great Fire of 1888. This was the gigantic effort of the pioneers, moving shoulder-to-shoulder, re-building the City into a progressive and prosperous one in the coal and timber region of Pennsylvania.

This was the impetus given to Harold T. Gray in his boyhood by his father. For he knew the struggles of his father—a "printer's devil" at the age of 14 in the rugged mountain country of Caledonia, Pa., and how he started his own small printshop in Driftwood, Pa., but only to lose all in a fire there 13 years later.

EARLY DAYS

Busted by this fire, the father, Edwin Willis Gray, came to DuBois in 1884 and became associated with the Morning Courier. News-papers was raucous and raw in those days—full of financial insolvency, labor disputes, cut-throat competition, and political chicanery.

Fire again plagued the father of Harold T. Gray. This time it was the Great DuBois Fire of 1888. This devastated the Morning Courier. But, quickly, the newspaper returned to life and it eventually became the only newspaper in the community because it was best representing the community.

This was the philosophy, this was the training, and this was the heritage that came to Harold T. Gray when on September 26, 1923, his father was killed in an automobile accident near Clarion.

Thrust on his young shoulders was the task of directing the Morning Courier and a small job printing plant.

THE START

This is where he started. As the eldest son, he was to be the twain between the pioneer settlers and the new generation of developers of DuBois. As the new generation, he was to link this past with the new image of DuBois that was emerging in these days of

the Roaring Twenties. His, too, was a generation returned from War, ready and prepared to take an active role in the community.

The philosophy of Harold T. Gray fashioned quickly. The heritage of the past, its hopes and aspirations, were fused with the pragmatism then developing in America, and in DuBois.

He formally entered the business in 1921, as a result of a shift in the top management of the company.

He had two years working beside his father before the fatal highway crash that would propel him into the leadership seat. During this time, he heard of his father's plans to expand the business. These plans included moving to larger quarters and the eventual merger of the Morning Courier and the Evening Express. The untimely death of his father postponed those plans for a number of years.

But the eldest son of Edwin Willis Gray remembered the aspirations of his father. And he vowed to realize them. This he did.

Within two years—June 1925—the Morning Courier was moved from the Hight building (Pugh Brothers) into the then Lowe building, W. Long Ave., and High St., the present location of the newspaper.

Two years later—May 16, 1927—the merger of the Morning Courier and Evening Express was consummated. The newspapers continued to be published separately, with distinct staffs, but were owned by the Gray Printing Co.

This continued for 17 years, until World War II, when the two newspapers were consolidated into one—the Courier-Express, which became an evening newspaper.

Trained and experienced personnel was plentiful at the merged newspapers in the late Twenties and Thirties. There were men like A. E. Hasbrook, W. B. Ross, Lloyd F. Mohney and Frank I. Gillung; and J. S. Gray, the other son of E. W. Gray. So J. S. Gray became editor of the Daily Express in 1928.

Because there were sufficient executives directing the newspapers, Harold T. Gray began concentrating in another phase of communications—that of printing. Although he continued to help fashion the editorial policies of the two newspapers, he focused primarily on needed growth of the commercial job printing department of the Gray Printing Co.

"JOB PLANT"

This was a mere "hole-in-the-wall" department when he assumed presidency of the company. This consisted of a small section in the mechanical department of the newspapers, called the "job shop." The big production orders in those days were printing circulars for newspaper advertisers, or turning out year-books for the many small high schools that dotted the district at that time.

But the aspirations of his father were remembered. Harold T. Gray mapped plans for the future. He could find no suitable building in DuBois for installing heavy printing equipment. So the "job plant" was moved to Falls Creek, to a factory building near the B&O Station. The most recent occupant of this building was the "Bargain Spot." However, the building was demolished in 1967 to make room for a new access highway to the Keystone Shortway.

The move was made in 1928, at a time when America was on a binge, enjoying a false prosperity.

The Stock Market Crash came a year later.

However, the pioneering spirit of frugality and perseverance embedded in the "Gray Brothers" by their father, were strong against the hopelessness of the times.

DEPRESSION

In fact, in 1932, during the heart of the Depression, the Gray Printing Co. was looking ahead to its next major expansion. This came because the quality and distinctive styling of its printing was recognized in the

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graphic arts industry as among the finest being produced in the United States.

There was a vacant glass plant building in Falls Creek. This was purchased in 1932. This was an extensive building at that time, with a brick warehouse that could be fashioned into a printing plant building; and there was a railroad siding.

The old printing equipment was moved into the new quarters during the summer of 1932. The room practically was empty.

But it filled quickly.

EXPANSION

During the next 25 years, the original room was filled. Three additions have since been built. Today the plant is an integral part of the industrial life of Falls Creek, with more than 20,000 square feet of floor space.

During that period, sales increased ten-fold, composing equipment more than doubled. All machinery was made automatic, and personnel grew to more than 50 full-time persons.

This came about under the direction of Harold T. Gray, and his sister, Mrs. Rosanna Shields.

Ever alert to changes in the graphic arts industry, the Company was the first in this general area of Pennsylvania to install offset printing, and today this method rapidly is becoming the main printing style.

The Falls Creek plant now prints several monthly publications, textbooks for Pennsylvania State University; multi-colored catalogs and brochures for major industries in the nation.

INTO RADIO

About this time—another vista was looming on the horizon. This was capturing the curiosity of communications men. This was radio broadcasting.

Up to this time, radio broadcasting was confined to metropolitan centers. Several feeble attempts had been made by amateur radio (ham) operators to start a station in DuBois. But after a few weeks, they lost breath. This had whetted the appetite of the DuBois area.

Officers of the Gray Printing Co. decided to form the Tri-County Broadcasting Co.

This was in 1939. Arrangements were made to create a fully professional station, one that would be permitted to broadcast around-the-clock.

Radio was new to the area, so the founders had to go out-of-town to obtain experienced talent. On February 14, 1941, at high-noon, the "Star Spangled Banner" was rendered and Station WCED was born. This was the first radio station in this area—a pioneer voice. DuBois, again, was a forerunner in progress.

And again it was displayed that DuBois was in step with the times. Back in 1941 only the larger cities in Western Pennsylvania had radio stations. They were Pittsburgh, Erie, Williamsport, Oil City, Altoona, Greensburg, Sharon. But this small third-class city joined this group with a 250-watt station, which a few years ago, was boosted to 5000 watts. And WCED was the first station in this immediate area to affiliate with a network—the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The creation of a radio station was a result of the continuing credo of the Gray Family, first promulgated by "Father Ed," to keep abreast "with the times," to give the community it served the finest in communications—its chosen field of activity.

Native talent was uncovered and given an opportunity to learn the profession. This has been the continuing policy of the directors—H. T. and J. S. Gray—to give local persons the opportunity to develop their professional talents in newspapering and radio.

After World War II, such stations mushroomed throughout the area—but WCED continues to be the pioneer voice of the area.

When Frequency Modulation—FM—sidled into the radio industry after World War II, the Tri-County Broadcasting Co. was among

the first in the nation to adopt this high fidelity system. The sister station was established in a new building at Luthersburg, and went on the air in 1948 with 9500 watts of power.

When the Courier and the Express consolidated into a single newspaper during World War II, J. S. Gray, who had been editing the Express, also took on full duties as the chief executive of the radio station.

These—newspaper, printing plant, and radio—were the keystones of a life-time of enterprise for Harold T. Gray, who, as the president of each company, shared policymaking with his brother.

Plans for progress during the Sixties were made after the Gray Family assumed full control of the companies in 1956.

The Hotel DuBois was closed, so this adjacent building was acquired. This permitted future expansion of the newspaper facilities. This is continuing as the DuBois Area unfolds a New Era which looms with the opening of the Keystone Shortway and the modernization of Route 219. The hotel rooms were converted into apartments for housing is needed in DuBois today.

DORMITORY

And most recently, a dormitory was erected near the DuBois Campus of Pennsylvania State University. There was a dire need of dormitory housing for students and none were available. So the Gray Family formed the Penn-Haned Corp., to fill another need.

Interwoven in this personal business and industrial life has been a life of public service by Harold T. Gray—notably in scouting, education, and patriotism.

"The Army Reserve Training Center (Armory) is a monument to Harold Gray's persistent efforts in behalf of the citizen-soldier and his contribution to our national security."

These words were voiced today by former Congressman James E. Van Zandt, who now is Governor Raymond Shafer's personal representative for the Commonwealth in Washington, D.C.

The dedication of this federal military facility in October, 1959 climaxed practically a one-man crusade by Harold T. Gray. True, everyone wanted an "armory" here, but getting one demanded dogged persistence in Washington, D.C.

He was determined to achieve this for DuBois because he had come home from War a second time, and was again convinced that Reserve Units were needed to keep a potential military might available for future emergencies.

During World War II, he served as a colonel on the staff of the Adjutant General in the Philippines, China, and India, and was flying "The Hump" frequently. Earlier he had been on missions to Africa, and had made a round-the-world flight. And after the War, he had traveled extensively in Europe.

THE ARMORY

He was convinced DuBois needed an armory whereby this area could produce the citizen-soldiers this nation would need in the future, to carry on the cause of Freedom in a world facing the Communist threat.

This coming home from War was reminiscent of another day—when he came home from that first Great War. He, then, was a rarity for he came home a First Lieutenant. Commissioned officers were few in the DuBois area in those days.

Here is what former Congressman Van Zandt had to say:

"Harold's concern for his country was always paramount and well do I remember our many discussions which conveyed to me his deep interest and great knowledge of the national and international affairs. His interest and knowledge of the nation's military needs were of great help to me during my Congressional career."

This knowledge was born in military service in two wars, upon realizing that the United

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States had emerged as a world power and that isolationism was anachronistic in this new era.

RESERVES

In his strong way, in the small community of DuBois, Harold T. Gray, 1st Lt. (Reserves) was the driving force in the organization of the Tri-County Chapter of the Reserve Officers Association. He was aided in this undertaking by William Hyde, of Ridgway. Early in the Twenties, the reserve officers chapter was formed with men from DuBois, Clearfield, Brookville, Sunmerville, Ridgway, St. Marys and Punxsutawney.

The beginnings of this military unit were humble. Qualified men were recruited. One evening in 1925, Harold T. Gray headed a trio of examiners, quizzing applicants. Among those interviewed was a Russell R. Love, of DuBois. He had been in France, a first sergeant in the Signal Corps (Regular Army). He quickly was accepted by Harold T. Gray for officer training.

Significantly, it was Russ Love who later became commanding officer of the local reserves, when they were switched from the horse cavalry to the field artillery and the units mobilized into active duty January, 1941, almost a year before Pearl Harbor. Mr. Love made a career of the military, retiring several years ago as a lieutenant colonel.

This was the rank held by Harold T. Gray when he went on active duty after Pearl Harbor.

He had gone on active duty many times before, for short periods, to help train youth in the Citizens Military Training Command (CMTC). These were the years, 1929-1930 and later. He, too, attended infantry weapons training and staff duties during those early years when the military was a rarity.

At least three times he was president of the Tri-County Reserve Officers. He continued active in the Reserves until his retirement October 1, 1953. But he remained in an advisory position. By then, the DuBois reserve had come of age, well-organized and commanded. This he had developed from a humble beginning.

AMERICAN LEGION

His further patriotism was shown by his interest in the American Legion. He was a charter member of Montgomery Post No. 17. In the Late Twenties he was a delegate to the Legion convention in Paris, France.

Former Congressman Van Zandt had this further to say:

"Harold's military service to his country demonstrated his deep patriotism and love for this Great Republic. His exemplary conduct as a military officer and a citizen will never be forgotten by those privileged to have known such an outstanding American."

When he retired as a reserve officer on October, 1953, his tenure of duty had covered 33 years and two months with the military.

This began when he enlisted in the infantry at Allentown, Pa., on October 12, 1917, and was a sergeant at Camp Gordon, Ga., when he was discharged June 4, 1918 as an enlisted man. A day later, June 5, 1918, he was presented a commission as a second lieutenant in the infantry.

He was promoted to first lieutenant before he was discharged on December 12, 1918. His reserve officer career started May 9, 1919, and on March 29, 1924 he was promoted to captain, and then to major on October 26, 1939.

During these years he went on active duty eight times for short periods, primarily to receive advance training or to help train civilian-soldiers. He was on active duty in 1925-28-30-32-35-37-39.

On October 19, 1940, he was elevated to Lieutenant-colonel, the rank he held when he went on active duty in World War II on March 9, 1943, and reported to Munitions Bldg., Washington, D.C. He immediately became a chief of a major department in the Adjutant-General's Department. He directed

the procurement of all published material for which the Adjutant General is responsible. For 19 months during World War II he had staff supervision of all Army field printing plants and duplicating units both in the continental United States and overseas.

Harold T. Gray was promoted to full colonel on January 3, 1946 and was discharged March 26, 1949, and was placed on reserve status.

During World War II, he received the Asiatic Pacific campaign medal, and the American campaign medal.

His military service was utilized when on March 3, 1940, he was named chairman of the Clearfield County Job Mobilization Committee.

On April 6, 1946, he was appointed to the Army Advisory Committee for the Second United States Army headquartered at Fort George G. Meade, Md. He completed two courses in the Field Economic Mobilization Course presented by the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C., in March 1949, and again in 1952-53.

As younger men took command of the military reserves here, Harold T. Gray turned more of his community interest to education and the task of developing the DuBois Campus of Pennsylvania State University. He assumed the presidency of the DuBois Education Foundation in 1962 and directed this guiding arm of the DuBois Campus through its most prodigious expansion program in its history. He ended his last term as president this year. Only the late P. J. Swift, who was the founding president, in 1945, of the Foundation, had held that office longer, from 1945 to 1957.

DUBOIS CAMPUS

But during the terms of Harold T. Gray, funds were raised and an actual campus started. Buildings erected during that period have a value of 1.5 million dollars. The Swift Building, opened in 1964, was financed entirely by local area funds—\$560,000—contributed by industry and civic leaders in this immediate area. This won statewide recognition for the DuBois Campus for no other Penn State Campus had such a building constructed entirely with funds donated locally. A second building, a multiple-purpose building, was completed last year, built with government funds.

During these years, Harold T. Gray conferred frequently with Penn State President Eric Walker, and persuaded him to develop the DuBois Campus into the major education facility it is today.

As enrollment swelled, there came a need for immediate housing of students. That was why the Gray Family decided to erect the Penn-Rose dormitory—to fill an urgent need.

These contributions were formally recognized when a plaque was presented in February 6, 1967 to Harold T. Gray "in appreciation for outstanding service as President, DuBois Educational Foundation, 1962-1968."

Scholarship, too, was tantamount to Harold T. Gray's civic interests. He conceived the idea of the Scholarship Dinner, sponsored annually by the Gray Associated Industries. This was to honor the valedictorians and salutatorians from 13 area high schools. This is a unique event. Awards were given the honor students. Impressive programs presented. And only the most interesting of speakers addressed these gatherings—men like Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota and former president of University of Pennsylvania; and Harold Bradshaw, noted foreign correspondent.

The intent of this event was to give recognition to scholarship as booster clubs in most communities fete their athletes. The honor students come from schools in Elk, Jefferson and Clearfield counties. This displayed the interest of the Gray Family for the entire area it served.

FINE ARTS

Fine arts, too, won the support and activity of Harold T. Gray. He was a part of the Civic Arts Society, founded here in the Late Thirties that stimulated interest in culture that continues to exist today. In the beginning there was DuBois' own symphony orchestra, and amateur acting groups. After World War II, these were fused into the Community Concert Association, on which both Mr. and Mrs. Harold T. Gray have served as board directors until the present day. This early stimulation to the fine arts has resulted in a myriad of cultural activities in DuBois, making this city a focal point of fine music and the theatre.

Dearest to his heart, of all of his interests, probably was his work with the Boy Scouts. For this meant working with and for youth.

He was a prime-mover in the establishment of Bucktail Council, Boy Scouts of America. This was founded in 1931, in the dark days of the Depression.

Countless hours were spent in the years since then, building this Council into one of the finest in the United States. He interested business executives and industrialists in the Scouting Movement.

Name a position in Bucktail Council and Harold T. Gray at one time or another filled that position. From 1930 until 1963, he served as a member of Troop 25, sponsored by the Courier-Express.

His other offices read like a litany . . . DuBois District Commissioner, Council Scout Commissioner, Council Vice President, Training Committee Chairman, District Chairman of Seneca District. He was Council President 1957-58, a member of the Region III Executive Committee and representative to the National Council.

EARLY SILVER BEAVER

For his service to Scouting, in Bucktail Council, Harold T. Gray was awarded the Silver Beaver in 1939, one of the first men in this area to receive this high honor. The apex came October 8, 1965 when, for his service to Scouting in Region III, he was awarded the coveted and rare Silver Antelope during ceremonies at Chalfonte-Haddon Hall, Atlantic City, N.J. This Antelope award is made for noteworthy service of exceptional character to boyhood by registered Scouters in a wide region. Similar awards have gone to former Governor James Duff and the great Pennsylvania conservationist, Ross L. Lefler.

The development and improvement of Camp Mountain Run practically is complete and this Camp for the Boy Scouts is a monument to those pioneers of the Scouting Movement in this wide area.

Through Scouting, Harold T. Gray was to come into contact with hundreds of youths. He extended helping hands to many of them in later years, as they sought higher education, a place in the military, or in being placed in a business position.

MASONIC ORDERS

His membership in the Masonic orders was recognized on January 25, 1968 when he was presented with a 50 year Masonic pin, in recognition of his membership in that organization. He had become a member in Buffalo, N.Y., in January, 1918 and seldom missed the Maundy Thursday observance.

DuBois, although a small-town, was one of the first communities in the United States to establish an American Legion post after World War I. Montgomery Post 17 was founded here.

Harold T. Gray was a prime in this founding. His name is the second one to be signed on the original charter. The first is that of Alvin Hutchinson, who died February 23, 1968.

And when the first officers of the post were elected, Harold T. Gray was named the first Adjutant of the Post. For his contributions to the local Legion, he later was granted Life Membership.

CHARITY

Charity was another community endeavor in which Harold T. Gray labored. Back decades ago, before government became the vehicle which aided the needy, the Salvation Army was the principal instrument in assisting the unemployed.

Harold T. Gray has served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Salvation Army for more than 30 years, serving a term as its president.

He guided many fund drives for the Army, in order that it meet its responsibilities. And only last year, 1967, he played a big part in the capital fund drive for a new Citadel.

Since he joined the First United Presbyterian Church on March 13, 1907, Harold T. Gray had been a faithful and active member, participating in a multitude of church activities.

He served on the Board of Trustees and was president of the board for a number of years. He served for a number of years as a Parish Zone Leader and headed a discussion group.

Fund raising was his forte. He was chairman of the Every Member Canvas for several years; and was Chairman of the 50-thousand Dollar fund that the denomination was raising for its missions.

Aiding health funds was another interest of Harold T. Gray. Among the oldest of these in this area is the Clearfield County—Philipsburg Tuberculosis Society. He had served on this board of directors for a number of years.

THE CHAMBER

Always vitally interested in the activities of the Chamber of Commerce, of which he has been a member his entire business life, he served as a director on the board from 1957 to 1964; and has always supported its projects, particularly to the Airport and to flood control.

His business interests were not always confined to DuBois and area. After World War II, he joined with several of his friends in establishing radio station WILK in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and later established a television station there. He sold his interest in these facilities a few years ago.

GIRL SCOUTS

While Harold T. Gray was active in the Boy Scout Movement, his wife, Nina Bentley Gray, concentrated much of her community interest in the DuBois Area Girl Scout Council, of which she at one time was president. And when this council was merged with others to establish the Keystone Tall Tree Council, Mrs. Gray served as Neighborhood Chairman, an important post in the orderly transition of the new organization.

"Harold Gray was a tremendous help to us," recalls Mrs. Lillian Lowe who was a pioneer mover in the Girl Scout Movement here. "He gave us great support, both financially as well as advisory and we gained from his experience with the Boy Scouts."

A certificate of appreciation from the Girl Scouts to Harold T. Gray was presented January 23, 1958.

He was raised in Masonry in Occidental Lodge, Buffalo, N.Y. in 1918. Attending his initiation and participating in it was his father, Edwin Willis Gray, who was then Past Master of Garfield Lodge, DuBois. For this third degree installation in Buffalo, Harold T. Gray took a leave of absence from his Army assignment in Georgia.

His other affiliations with Masonry beside Occidental include Kosair Temple, A.A.D.N.-M.S. in Louisville, Kentucky; Commandry in DuBois; Council in Ridgway and the Consistory in New Castle, Pa.

So this was the saga chronicled during his lifetime.

EDITORIAL: OUR LEGACY FROM H. T. GRAY

"Harold's military service to his country demonstrated his deep patriotism and love for

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

this great Republic. His exemplary conduct as a military officer and a citizen will never be forgotten by those privileged to have known such an outstanding American."

These are the words of former Congressman James E. Van Zandt upon learning of the passing of Harold T. Gray, president and a publisher of the *Courier-Express*; and associated companies.

In those words, Mr. Van Zandt places the life and times of Harold T. Gray into succinct perspective. The impact of these words are important to us because Mr. Van Zandt should know, having been associating with outstanding Americans for many, many years; persons well-known on the national and international scenes.

We in DuBois, normally, are parochial. We have been too close to Harold T. Gray to fully comprehend his contribution. He had been matter-of-fact to us the past 40 years contributing to the community in the things that are really important to any community, large or small. Youth . . . education . . . patriotism . . . religion . . . charity, and the economy.

These facets are the pillars of any community—large or small. Harold T. Gray was a pillar in our community.

Mr. Van Zandt terms Harold T. Gray "an outstanding American." He was that.

This is something that crashes into our ken now that his life and times jell into rhythmic continuity. His is another fascinating chapter in Americana.

Review his life and times and the secret power of our democratic nation is revealed—why the United States is a paradox on this planet. How can a nation with a polyglot from all over the globe emerge as such a mighty nation in such a short time, as history goes? A heterogeneous people with a solid character.

Review the life of the urbane Harold T. Gray and you are nearer an answer. Every few generations communities across the nation are blessed with such unique men as was Harold T. Gray. They are strong men. They have strong opinions. They fight for what they want, and for what they believe. They build industrial or business empires, or become perceiving and pioneering professional men or become statesmen with vision.

But—and this is the secret. They keep the common touch. They stay young—intellectually. They are ever alive with vigorous ideas. They accept challenge at every period in their lives. They are more intellectually alive in their Fifties and Sixties than most are in their Thirties.

Some become nationally famous. But the majority remain in the small cities, making their contributions. In Early America, it was the frontier. At the beginning of this century, it was the rural area. In mid-century, it was the small city. This is where the strength of the national character lies. This is the strong backbone of America.

This is possible because the credo of America is and will continue to be Opportunity and Freedom. And respect for the dignity of man.

This is how the material and spiritual wealth of America was amassed. In villages and cities across Our Land, such men have lived. They have left their imprint on the face of America for all time. They produced the humane Grand National Product that makes America the envy of the world.

The hallmark of Harold T. Gray is on the DuBois landscape. His credentials to the community are carved in the granite of our history.

Harold T. Gray was constantly aware of the responsibility that goes with the communications media. He used these tools delicately. There was always restraint and courtesy.

Back in May, 1916, the great Kansas editor, William Allen White wrote: "The newspaper is more than the voice of the country town

spirit. The newspaper is a measure of the will of the town and the town character is displayed with realism in the town's newspaper. A newspaper is as honest as its town, is as intelligent as its town, as kind as its town, as brave as its town."

Harold T. Gray never said it that way, but he lived it that way. His life, influence and character were strong in shaping the destiny of DuBois.

He considered himself a conservative. He was not. He was an individualist, always receptive to change and to new ideas. He was everlastingly young. He was prepared and equipped for new ideas when he took over the presidency of this company in 1925, and he was still welcoming and accepting new ideas in 1968! This is not the typical matrix of a small-town publisher. But this was the font in DuBois!

Harold T. Gray was for God, for Country, for Community, for his Family. There is no greater echelon by which to carry on a life of living.

A newspaper, if it is worth its salt, develops a soul through its years of service. Though a great publisher. A fearless editor. A crusading reporter. Their contributions make its personality. The id.

This reflects the city it serves. This is the face of the town.

We at the *Courier-Express* would like to believe our newspaper has a soul. We believe this because we know we had a great publisher (George Waylonis, associate editor).

"To lose the earth you know, for greater knowing; to lose the life you have, for greater life; to leave the friends you loved, for greater loving; to find a land more kind than home more large than earth . . . Whereon the pillars of this earth are founded, toward which the conscience of the world is tending—a wind is rising, and the rivers flow."

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH W. MARTIN

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, an American institution sadly passed from the scene when our former colleague, Joe Martin, died.

For his 42 distinguished years in Congress he was a living example of the American legend which has so inspired and excited the imagination of the world—he was a poor boy who made good. A blacksmith's son, who had little time for formal schooling, he rose to become one of the Nation's great political leaders and achieved the singular honor of being elected by his colleagues as Speaker of the House, a position which placed him only a heartbeat away from the Presidency.

Joe knew and understood Congress well, and through this knowledge and the force of his warm personality he made bipartisanship work effectively. A dedicated advocate of the Republican Party philosophy, he was a genial and gracious person who had a legion of friends on both sides of the aisle. While one might disagree with his position on some issues, he was always respected as a man of the highest principles who placed duty to his country ahead of any personal or party considerations.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

May 21, 1968

It was my privilege to share his friendship, and I join with his many friends in mourning his passing. I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

WILBUR J. COHEN: "SOCIALIST ARCHITECT"

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the "back-room" ultra-Socialist schemer against the midstream of the American people has made his debut in public life.

His political reward has been appointment to command HEW.

Past denied rumors are confirmed in the announcement. Many wonder why Wilbur wants to hurt low-income people.

I place the Evening Star announcement of May 17, Frank Capell's Herald of Freedom for April 19, and a résumé of Mr. Okun's remarks in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 17, 1968]

COHEN HAILED ON BECOMING HEW CHIEF

Wilbur J. Cohen has been sworn in as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and has promised to fight for social justice.

He pledged yesterday to continue the campaign "to eradicate ignorance and disease, eliminate squalor, poverty and discrimination" and work for "a sound and progressive system of Social Security in an expanding economy for all of our people."

His White House oath was administered by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and presided over by President Johnson.

Cohen, 54, a short, balding folksy advocate of social welfare, was hailed by Johnson as the planner, architect, builder and "repair man on every major piece of social legislation in the last 35 years."

Johnson said Social Security and medical care, "two landmark laws," are monuments "to the compassion and the enlightenment of the American nation and each bears the indelible mark of one man—Wilbur Cohen."

Cohen, 54, a Milwaukee native and a former professor, was named March 22 to the Cabinet post to replace John W. Gardner, who resigned to head the Urban Coalition.

[From the Herald of Freedom, Apr. 19, 1968]

WILBUR J. COHEN: SALAMI SLICER

While the take-over from below (Negro Revolution) is proceeding according to plan, the faceless architects of the take-over from above are becoming bolder and moving their people into the spotlight. The appointment of Wilbur J. Cohen as the new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare brings into position one of the prime movers behind the Welfare State which has progressed from the Fair Deal, New Deal, New Frontier and finally to the Great Society.

The Communist goals which are part of their strategy for conquest of the United States were set forth in the book, "The Naked Communist," written by W. Cleon Skousen who served sixteen years with the FBI and also has been a university professor, attorney-at-law and Chief of Police.

One of the goals is "Support any Socialist movement to give centralized control over any part of the culture, education, social agencies welfare programs and mental health clinics." Another is "Create the impression that violence and insurrection are legitimate

aspects of the American tradition; that students and special interest groups should rise up and use 'united force' to solve economic, political and social problems."

Beginning with the New Deal in 1933 there has been a steady but sure collectivization of America through social legislation until at present government regulations, controls, laws, directives, etc. etc. reach into all phases of industry, agriculture, business and even our private lives. As is always the case, there has to be a "social planner" and one of the most important of these "planners" is Wilbur J. Cohen who has been operating quietly but consistently since 1934. He has just been given his reward, the goal toward which he has been striving in his journey up the (un-elected) bureaucratic ladder—the Cabinet post of Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The liberal Time magazine of April 5, 1968 stated: "In 1934, when Lyndon Johnson was a lowly aide to a lowly Texas Congressman, Wilbur Cohen was busy helping to draft the law that established Social Security, a keystone for both the New Deal and the Great Society. Down the years, Cohen co-authored many other major social measures, from the 1946 act that put federal money into the financing of new hospitals to Medicare in 1965. But even after he became Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare three years ago, he remained a back-room man." (Emphasis ours, Ed.)

The Time article describes Cohen's modus operandi. "With an eye on the generation ahead, he has always been willing, if necessary, to sacrifice cherished legislative objectives so long as he gets at least a small piece of what he wants. This morsel, Cohen believes, can be fattened a little year by year until eventually the legislation resembles what he wanted in the first place. An aide calls his technique 'salami slicing.' One slice does not amount to much, but eventually there is enough for a sandwich."

This strategy of the Fabian Socialist-Communist plan has been referred to as the "salami technique" many times before. Through this technique Cohen has been responsible for much social legislation which, though introduced by others for passage into law, was actually his own project or his consolidation of the project of others more brilliant but less crafty.

The N.Y. Times in a "profile" on Cohen published March 25, 1968 stated: "He has been so identified with the architecture of public welfare since the mid-thirties that it is difficult to imagine what the structure would have looked like without him."

"When President Kennedy brought him back to Washington in 1961 as Assistant Secretary of H.E.W., after four years as a professor, conservative elements in the medical-hospital-pharmaceutical field began to attack him. They rightly saw him as the architect of the medical care program for the aged that they had resisted as 'socialized medicine.'"

"When Cohen went before the Senate Finance Committee," according to the Times article, . . . "Mr. Kerr's (the late Sen. Robert F.) protective questions shielded Mr. Cohen from innuendoes that he was a Socialist at best and a Communist at worst." Mr. Cohen's explanation of the reason for this was that "Not many people know it, but I wrote the Kerr-Mills bill . . . so today he helped me."

Wilbur Joseph Cohen was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 10, 1913, the son of Aaron Cohen (a grocer) and the former Bessie Rubenstein. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1934 with a B.A., majoring in Economics, and has had no post-graduate education. On April 8, 1938 he married Miss Eloise Bittel of Ingram, Texas. They have three sons: Christopher, age 25, who is employed by the legal services program of the Office of Economic Opportunity

in Chicago; Bruce, age 23, who is with the Peace Corps in Bolivia; and Stuart, age 21.

Cohen started to work for the U.S. Government in 1934, fresh out of college, as a staff researcher in the Commission on Economic Security. In 1935 he became a technical advisor to the U.S. Social Security Administration and by 1954 was Director of the Research Statistics Division. From 1956 to 1961 he was professor of Public Welfare Administration at the University of Michigan. While there he was also Chairman of the Michigan Public Health Advisory Committee and a member of the Michigan Board of Health. During part of 1957 he was a visiting professor at the University of California at Los Angeles and a consultant (1956-7) on aging at the United Nations.

Human events wrote as follows about Cohen July 2, 1968 (page 6), "Great Society" Concept—A top administration official has predicted a 'revolution' in government policy toward the poor in the next 20 years. Wilbur Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, endorsed a guaranteed annual wage for all Americans. 'The concept of a "Great Society" has emerged as one of the great social and political thrusts of our nation's history,' he said."

The program of a "guaranteed annual wage" is the same program promoted by the revolutionary "Black Power" advocates and by the Marxists. The result of such a program would be to raise taxes to new heights, financing illegitimate children and lazy shiftless people, destroying family life and a sense of responsibility.

In the Congressional Record of March 27, 1968 is recorded a speech of Sen. Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut, who stated:

"I have known and worked with Wilbur Cohen for over 7 years. In fact, President Kennedy and I drafted him in 1961 to be Assistant Secretary for Legislation when I was named Secretary of that Department.

"While he is well known as an architect of medicare, and deservedly so, many are not familiar with the leading role he has played in the development of important legislation in the field of mental health and mental retardation . . ."

Sen. Ribicoff also pointed out that Mr. Cohen is currently a member of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. Other Senators joined in the praise of the new Cabinet Member. Senator Hart stated on the same day:

"Mr. Cohen—happily for the Nation, I think—has been active in the shaping of domestic programs for a great many years." Sen. Hart placed into the Record an editorial from the Washington Post of March 24, 1968 which stated:

"He was among the recruits to government gathered in by President Kennedy's remarkable talent hunt in 1961—a part of that class of distinguished governmental servants which included Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk, Willard Wirtz, Walt W. Rostow, George Bundy." (We can afford to be truly frightened if Cohen is in a class with such as these!)

Sen. Proxmire told the Senate on March 25, 1968: "Wilbur Cohen has been described as one of the most coolly efficient, pragmatic, and persistent innovators Washington has ever seen. . . . He is still the crusader who back in the first days of the New Deal helped put together the Social Security Act of 1935."

That Cohen has been the architect or planner of much of our "Welfare State" legislation is readily admitted by most people but the leftist background of this master "innovator" has not been publicized. In the Executive Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Volume 5, page 2383, there is the testimony of Ben Mandel, one-time important member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and later a consultant for the Dies Committee and, until re-

cently, Research Director for the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee. This record, again documented in the Special Committee on Un-American Activities 78th Congress, 2nd Section (Appendix IX), page 1685, shows the membership of Wilbur Cohen in three Communist and subversive organizations.

Wilbur Cohen has been identified as having been a member of the Washington Bookshop, also known as the Washington Co-operative Bookshop and the Washington Bookshop Association. They promoted the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and many Communist writers. Identified Communists such as Anna Louise Strong, Dr. Harry F. Ward and Corliss Lamont were used as lecturers. U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark cited the Washington Bookshop Association as "subversive and Communist." Attorney General Francis Biddle's citation reads: "The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name 'The Book Shop Association,' was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938. . . . It maintains a book shop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures held. Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations . . . certain of the officers and employees of the book shop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia." (Cong. Record 9/24/42, p. 7688)

It has been documented that Wilbur Cohen was a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. This organization has the following citations in the Congressional Guide to Subversive Organizations: (1) "Cited as subversive and Communist" (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; (2) An "affiliate" or "local chapter" of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. "The program of the Washington committee followed that of the national federation. National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist-front organizations." Many of its members were active in the American Peace Mobilization. (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7688 and 7689); (3) "When the American League for Peace and Democracy was dissolved in February 1940 its successor in Washington was called the Washington Committee for Democratic Action." The latter was affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report, House Report 2277, June 24, 1942, p. 22). This Communist organization was located at 1410 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. in Room 312. Among its sponsors were Ralph Bunche (now of the U.N.), William H. Hastie (now a federal judge), Doxie Wilkerson (identified Communist, now a professor at Yeshiva University in New York), Dr. Susan B. Anthony (now Dean of a Catholic college in Florida).

On April 20-21, 1940, in the Hall of Nations of the Washington Hotel in Washington, D.C., this organization held a conference on civil rights. At 10 A.M. on Sunday, April 21, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, was a featured speaker on the issues of cultural freedom and war hysteria, right of asylum, anti-Semitism, alien and sedition laws, political minorities and freedom of the radio, press and assembly.

Wilbur Cohen, then living at New Cut Road, Rural Free Delivery No. 3, Bethesda,

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Md., and an employee of the Social Security Board, was a member of the Washington Committee for Aid to China, which organization has been officially cited as a Communist front. From the Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (1944) Sixth Section: "The Washington Committee for Aid to China was affiliated with the China Aid Council" . . . "it will be noted that Frederick V. Field was one of the featured speakers of the Washington Committee for Aid to China." (The aid, of course, was for the Communists to help in the take-over which was later accomplished). . . . "The China Aid News, a monthly bulletin published by the Washington Committee for Aid to China, carried on energetic propaganda for the communists in China.

"On August 7, 1941, a subcommittee of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities took extensive testimony on the Communist control of the Washington Committee for Aid to China. It was for example, established by original documents that the Washington Committee for Aid to China had entered into a typical Communist maneuver with the National Negro Congress in a concert given by Paul Robeson at the Uline Arena in Washington, D.C. April 25, 1941." It was shown that the Communist fronts, Washington Committee for Aid to China and the National Negro Congress, shared the proceeds of the concert 50-50. Paul Robeson, while a noted singer, was also identified as an important Communist.

Working closely with Wilbur Cohen on Welfare State programs over a period of years has been Robert Meyers Ball. Evidence has been set forth to show that Mr. Cohen actually arranged for this to take place by his usual devious methods. Ball was born in New York City, March 28, 1914, the son of Archey Decatur Ball and the former Laura Elizabeth Crump. His father was a Methodist minister with a record of numerous affiliations with Communist fronts, according to the records of Congressional Investigating and other Committees. These included the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, an Open Letter protesting deportation orders against Harry Bridges (identified Communist) and others.

Robert Meyers Ball, after working in the Social Security Administration for years, became Commissioner of Social Security in 1962. He has been a committee member of the International Labor Organization, a staff project director for the National Planning Association and the recipient of a Rockefeller award. Ball, who was raised under strong leftist home influences, is a dedicated Welfare State planner and worked on the same projects as Wilbur Cohen. Together they planned and helped draft the legislation for Medicare.

In her book, "Wilbur J. Cohen: The Pursuit of Power," (Shearon Legislative Service, 8801 Jones Mill Road, Chevy Chase, Md. 20015. Price \$4.50 Paper, \$5.50 Cloth) Marjorie Shearon, Ph.D., has this to say about Ball:

"On the same day Cohen wrote to Solomon Barkin at the Textile Workers Union in New York, sending him a copy of the letter he had written to (Nelson) Cruikshank, a copy of background information on Robert Ball, and the additional information that Ball has been Assistant Editor of the People's Press in East Orange, N.J.

"To elaborate on the People's Press would carry us far afield. It was a leftist labor paper of which Harvey O'Connor was managing editor and Viola W. Bernard was part owner. O'Connor had many Communist citations. . . . And if the People's Press, of which Harvey O'Connor was Managing Editor, were the same as the one of which Robert Ball was Assistant Editor, how did it happen that Wilbur J. Cohen mentioned Mr. Ball's connection with the People's Press almost as

though it was a recommendation in his favor?"

Dr. Shearon gives us a glimpse of the inner workings of the Washington bureaucracy with which she is very familiar having worked with Cohen, his predecessors and co-planners. She knows them all well and has this to say of Cohen:

"To gain his ends, Cohen has deceived five Presidents regarding Social Security legislation. He has deceived Congress. Pushing, manipulating, and scheming, he finally, in 1965, steered through Congress the bill known as Medicare, designed to nationalize medicine for ten percent of the population. Labor's Boy had fulfilled Labor's demands without regard for the damage it would do to the health of the elderly."

Concerning the Welfare State, largely the product of Cohen's efforts, Dr. Shearon states:

"The Welfare State, with the Social Security Empire at its center, has arrived. . . . In the three decades since 1935 welfare has become big business. . . . Cohen & Co., building on the concept of a 'floor of protection,' have created a high-rise of welfare affluence with wall-to-wall carpeting. Public welfare, once regarded as shameful, is now presented as socially acceptable."

A headline in The Star-Ledger (Newark, N.J.) on March 24, 1968 stated: HEW Chief Foresees Some Form of Guaranteed Income. The article presented "some highlights of his vision for 1975." It stated:

"Perhaps the most controversial of Cohen's prophecies involved the guaranteed income. Here's how he stated it then:

"By new and ingenious (sic) provisions in our private enterprise, Social Security and tax systems, the private and public sectors will be able to assure a minimum income to all who work, and to all who are too sick or disabled or too old or too young to work."

It looks as though Wilbur is going to grab the whole salami this time with no one to stop him.

In Virginia, Friday, Arthur M. Okun, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, speaking before the Business Council at Hot Springs, Va., Mr. Okun asserted that the Federal Government has been "the major cause" of the recent inflation because it has poured so much more money into the economy than it has taken out. This policy, Mr. Okun said, was "inappropriate" to the economic conditions that existed.

What Mr. Okun was saying in a round-about way is that the Federal Government is spending too much money.

I agree.

I agree with Mr. Okun, too, that this policy is "inappropriate" to the economic conditions that have existed.

Mr. Okun was a little more frank than I had anticipated. Of course, his assertion was coupled with a renewed demand for an increase in taxes. But even if the taxes are increased to the extent the President recommends, the new fiscal year will end with a deficit of approximately \$15 billion—unless there is a sharp reduction in Government spending. The current fiscal year will end with a \$20 billion deficit.

So I agree with Mr. Okun that the major cause of the recent inflation has been Government spending. Even if taxes are increased the inflation will continue because the deficit will continue.

Another factor I want to emphasize today is this:

If the Federal Government were to levy a 100 percent tax—yes, 100 percent tax—on all income over \$10,000—\$20,000 on a joint return—the revenue gained would be only \$13.2 billion—not enough to pay the interest on the national debt.

To me this dramatizes not only the seriousness of the financial crisis which our Nation is facing, but it dramatizes, too, that the bulk of the Federal Government's rev-

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venues come from the middle income and lower income groups. That is a fact the liberal spenders should bear in mind.

FAILURE OF RED AGRICULTURE ADDS TO WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is an obvious wave of self-criticism sweeping the country and while this is commendable in the proper form, nevertheless, it makes us blind to defects, even monstrous failures, in other parts of the globe.

One of the most penetrating observers of the national scene is Dumitru Danielopol, of the Copley News Service, whose commentary on the failure of Red agriculture carried on the May 6 Aurora Beacon-News has, I believe, special significance.

The article follows:

DUMITRU DANIELOPOL COMMENTS: FAILURE OF RED AGRICULTURE ADDS TO WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE

WASHINGTON.—One of the key factors in the world food shortage is the abysmal failure of Communist agriculture.

At a recent State Department briefing, William Gaud, administrator of the Agency of International Development, painted a grim picture of the world food situation.

Production is lagging while the world population has increased in leaps and bounds.

Some experts, Gaud said, believe that the race has already been lost and that the world faces a calamitous famine.

He is more optimistic and thinks the race can still be won by drastic measure on a world-wide scale.

But any such program must include a complete overhaul of the Marxist theories that have turned some of the most fertile regions in the world—Russia and Eastern Europe—into food importing areas.

The facts have been known for years, but for some reason the West has been reluctant to face the truth.

By destroying the independent farmer the Communist regimes killed the goose that was laying the golden eggs found in Eastern Europe. Salaried hands proved poor substitutes for hard-working, land-owning farmers.

Even more shattering, longer lasting and possibly irremediable is the fact they destroyed the peasant love of land that was necessary for successful farming.

Even the Russians are beginning to realize the mistake.

Moscow's Literary Gazette in a recent article candidly recalled the times of "the peasant landowner," when agriculture was flourishing in Russia.

"... Yes it was the landowner," it acknowledged. "Today there are no landowners... Thank Heaven (sic). But the trouble is that in eradicating the feeling of ownership, we have unwittingly eradicated our... love of the land. The baby is being thrown out with the bathwater."

Some admission for a Communist.

What happens now?

Are the Communists going to change radically their policies?

Not if they want to remain in power. Restoring the free enterprise system on the farms would be tantamount to the end of their rule.

Ideology overrules the flexibility of good sense in Communist lands.

Can we afford to allow some of the most fertile land in the world to be ruined because of rigid ideologies, while hundreds of millions go hungry?

Isn't it about time that the United Nations, which is so actively interfering in the affairs of South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal and other countries take up the question of Communist agriculture?

FOR MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, enactment of H.R. 16357, a bill to assist local educational agencies to develop programs for more effective schools, offers a realistic promise for a sustained assault on illiteracy and ignorance and the prospect for ultimate victory in the war against poverty, through educational programs which will prepare our children not only for employment in our technological society but also for a more creative community life.

As a former member of the New York State Legislature who has worked closely in New York City with Local No. 20 of the American Federation of Teachers, I have had the opportunity to observe intimately the constructive impact of the more effective schools program in our ghetto areas, in stimulating pupil interest and in improving pupil performance. Consequently, I was proud to join with a group of my colleagues in the House of Representatives as a cosponsor of H.R. 16357.

There is no mystery for the success of a more effective schools program. It involves a reduction in the usual pattern of ratio between teachers and pupils. It seeks enrichment of the pedagogical staff with trained parapedagogical assistance—teacher aides, psychologists, social workers, and in other related disciplines. It proposes to improve teacher performance through special teacher training programs and through curriculum enrichment. It looks toward improving the school physical plant and the employment of modern aural and visual teaching aids.

These, in short, are the objectives of H.R. 16357. To achieve those objectives, this bill appropriates \$1 billion for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968, and provides for a half-billion-dollar increase annually in Federal appropriations until they level off at \$5 billion annually.

From an administrative point of view, this bill departs from the normal practice of categorical grants to State education departments. Instead, Federal grants will be made directly to local boards of education, thereby eliminating supervening administrative layers which tend to dilute responsibility. Under the new program, by making funds directly available to boards of education, more effective school programs can be worked out in cooperation with school administrators, teachers, and parents, who

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most intimately know the education needs of the community.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the American Federation of Teachers for its leadership in working out this constructive legislative program. The next step is to arouse strong public support to assure its enactment by Congress. This will not be an easy task. Pressures on Congress for economy are heavy, and the most likely victims of economy are the most vulnerable segments of our society. And children are vulnerable. It becomes urgent, therefore, for all of us to mobilize our resources to push this bill through Congress. Not only is the future of our children at stake, but also the future of our Nation.

HIGH OVERHEAD EXPOSÉ CONTINUES

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, it has been disclosed by the Chicago Tribune and the Better Government Association of Chicago that nearly \$2 million in overhead expenses have been incurred in order to distribute less than \$800,000 in home improvement loans in Chicago under the federally funded Neighborhood Service Center program.

The disclosures of the Tribune-BGA investigation of the Chicago Building Department should be of concern to the Congress.

The Neighborhood Service Center program is funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The purpose of the program is to provide loans and grants for the rehabilitation of housing in urban renewal areas.

In the RECORD of Monday, May 20, 1968, I offered the first three articles in the Chicago Tribune series on this matter. I offer the fourth and fifth articles, as follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 16, 1968]
HOME PROGRAM DISCLOSED IN NEW SCANDAL—
BUILDER ALLOWED TO ESCAPE PENALTY

(By William Jones)

An official of the city building department's 5-million-dollar home improvement loan program said yesterday he permitted a contractor to rewrite his own construction contract to avoid paying more than \$1,000 in penalty fees.

William Burke, an assistant director in the building department's neighborhood service center program, said the contractor rewrote the contract in pencil in the living room of the loan recipient at 5316 Hyde Park Blvd.

Burke said the contract was rewritten with his approval after the property owner, a University of Chicago professor complained of long delays and insisted the contractor pay a \$25-a-day penalty for running nearly three months behind in the work.

WORK IS STILL DELAYED

Mrs. Muhsin Mahdi, wife of the professor, told the Tribune that she and her husband signed the pencil-written contract after Burke promised that more than \$14,000 in home improvements would be completed with no further delays. Mrs. Mahdi said the work still has not been completed even tho

the new contract terms specified a completion date of April 19.

The state's attorney's office continued its investigation into the activities of Charles V. Harris, 43, a city rehabilitation supervisor charged Tuesday with official misconduct and bribery. Harris, who has been suspended from his job as administrator of improvement loans in the program's West Lawndale area, has been accused of soliciting and receiving a \$210 bribe from a contractor working in the program.

VACATE FOR 2 MONTHS

Mrs. Mahdi said that under the original contract, she and her husband signed to have more than \$14,000 in improvement work performed on their condominium, all work was to have been completed by Jan. 15.

"We even moved out of the place from Oct. 15 to Dec. 15, to permit the contractors to do the work," Mrs. Mahdi said. "When we returned, the place still was torn up and I had to bring water from the bathroom to wash my dishes." She said that repeated complaints to the contractors, Alexander-Cook, and the service center brought few results.

Mrs. Mahdi said she and her husband then insisted the contractor pay a \$25 a day penalty fee, included in the contract, for failing to finish the work by Jan. 15. She said that representatives of the firm and Burke went to the home April 1, and Burke approved a suggestion by the contractor that the contract be rewritten to include a completion date of April 19.

Mrs. Mahdi said Burke also told her on several occasions that construction work to be performed under the terms of the original contract was not necessary. She said this included electrical work and the removal and repair of 22 window frames.

TELLS HIS POSITION

"I did approve the rewritten contract, but I did so only after the Mahdis agreed to the suggestion," said Burke. "Mr. Mahdi is a professor and I felt he could handle his own interests in the matter. I also questioned the need for certain electrical work because the original contract was ambiguous. There was an inference in the contract that all electrical wiring was to be replaced, but it wasn't clear."

Burke said he did advise against removing the windows for repairs because it would have involved additional repainting after that phase of the project had been completed.

Abel Swirsky, deputy city building commissioner and director of the federally financed program, said:

"I'm just beginning to take over this program and I can't answer whether that should be an accepted procedure," said Swirsky.

Fred Lindstrom, director of rehabilitation in the program, said some funds are being withheld from the contractor until all work is satisfactorily completed.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Friday, May 17, 1968]

PROBE ORDERED OF ALL FACTS IN HOME PLAN (By William Jones)

A full investigation of all construction contracts in the city building department's 5-million-dollar federal home improvement loan program was ordered yesterday by Sidney D. Smith, city building commissioner.

Smith acted after recent disclosures by The Tribune, and the Better Government Association of large overhead costs and a key administrator's connections with three construction firms involved in the program.

Smith declined to say how many inspectors and investigators eventually will be assigned to study the operations of nine federally-funded neighborhood service centers. However, he said four two-man teams began investigating construction contracts yesterday.

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WANTS CONTRACTS STUDIED

"I don't know how long the investigation will take," said Smith, "but I have ordered a thorough examination of all contracts, the circumstances under which they were awarded, and whether work performed has been in accordance with city building codes."

Tribune and B. G. A. investigators have gotten many complaints about the quality of construction work and long delays after loans were approved. The service centers were organized in 1966 under a federal grant to provide property improvement loans to persons living in urban renewal areas throughout the city.

Robert Boyle, deputy chief of the criminal division of the state's attorney's office, said additional information in the case of a suspended program administrator will be presented to the county grand jury next week.

ARRESTED ON WARRANT

Charles V. Harris, 42, of 8035 Crandon av., the suspended supervisor, was arrested Tuesday by state's attorney's police on a warrant charging him with bribery and official misconduct. Harris is accused of soliciting and receiving a \$210 bribe from a contractor to insure that project work would pass city building codes.

Boyle said that his office is attempting to obtain a copy of the check signed by the contractor and admittedly indorsed by Harris.

Harris is one of 10 employees who has been suspended or has resigned from the scandal-ridden building department during the continuing investigation. The disclosures also include the presence of slumlords on the department's payroll and phony building inspection reports.

COMMENTARY BY JIM CLARKE

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are concerned today about the crisis with which this Nation is faced, with the breakdown of law and order in all segments of our society.

All of us are seeking solutions to the crisis, and though we disagree with regard to the solutions, we know they must be found.

It seems to me that the following commentary by Jim Clarke of WMAL News in Washington, during his newscast last Sunday evening, clearly articulates the crisis and the solutions needed. I commend it to all who read this RECORD for thoughtful consideration:

As the traditions, the institutions and the officials of this nation are subjected to increased abuse, it becomes abundantly clear the nation is on the brink of dangerous public disorder.

The problem is national and it would be difficult to exaggerate it. It has infected virtually every facet of American life.

It ranges from legitimate grievances over poverty and discrimination to imaginary and sometimes fabricated beefs about the most trivial and outlandish things.

But its cumulative effect has been to bring about the virtual paralysis of the machinery that grinds out the increasingly complex and difficult public business.

At a time when the nation must deal with the enormous problems presented by trying to end the war in Vietnam, to curb the outflow of dollars and harness a growing financial problem, it is forced to gear up once again for the summer riots.

Responsible public officials are saying that unless the Congress responds we can expect America's major cities to be burned.

Universities are seized and closed by fat, affluent kids who—it seems—are unable to communicate with both their parents and their teachers.

Every major local, state or Federal government project is hamstrung by the customary red tape and the new extraordinary citizen protests.

The right of petition is, it seems, now being translated as the right to Pound, and pressure and force.

Added to all this is a far more serious thing than the problems that stem from decaying cities, large-scale unemployment and all their attendant ills.

It is an almost universal lack of respect for duly constituted authority and, from that, a genuine and growing fear among the citizens of this land.

The latter is especially dangerous because those who would exploit this fear are almost certain to underestimate its results if it turns violent.

It seems several things are needed and they are needed now:

The first ought to be that any fair objective analysis of the problems this nation faces at home should indicate the problem is being caused by a decided minority.

For example, blue-ribbon panels have indicated that a hard-core of criminal repeaters are largely responsible for the street crime in this city and in the nation.

The first order of business with crime, then, ought to be to separate these hardened criminals from the rest of society.

Secondly, as regards the now recurring problem of annual riots and arson, two things are necessary: an unmistakable warning that persons engaging in either are risking their freedom, if not their life.

And, since this is occurring generally in neighborhoods populated predominantly by Negroes, the decent citizens there have got to decide that this is going to stop. And they must not protect by silence the criminals and the anarchists whose destruction will hurt them the most of all.

And, finally, those who have been entrusted with the authority to maintain order must renew a respect for authority. Of all the other things, that is the single most important thing that must be done.

This is Jim Clarke, WMAL News.

TEACHER RECOGNITION DAY

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, today, May 21, 1968, is Teacher Recognition Day in the State of New York. As a parent of school-age children, I wish to join in paying tribute to the fine teachers of our State and Nation who labor long and hard and often without the recognition and appreciation they need and deserve.

The teachers of our Nation literally hold our future in their hands. As parents, we give training in the amenities of life to our children and, by example, we largely lay down the pattern they will follow. But, few of us are equipped to give our children the basic education in the "three R's" and certainly not in the many fields of endeavor that the school children follow today. These dedicated people must constantly study and keep up with the rapidly expanding and changing fields of science, mathematics,

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and so forth, and they do so without great monetary reward.

So, on this particular day, I take pleasure in joining in this day which is set aside to recognize the classroom teachers and the great contribution they are making to our society.

TRIBUTES TO FORMER SPEAKER JOE MARTIN

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, among the many tributes to former Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., were some which heretofore have not been brought to the attention of the Congress and, through it, to the general public. I wish, therefore, at this time to present some of these as part of "The Joe Martin Story."

Two distinguished former U.S. Senators from Massachusetts expressed their sympathy in letters to Mr. Martin's family, which has made them available for inclusion here.

Said Leverett Saltonstall:

(Joe) was a patriotic American citizen in the best sense of the word, but he never forgot his friends and relatives at home.

I shall never forget Joe's remarks to me about the people in your district or state are those who make it possible for you to carry on your services in our National government in Washington. As you well know, he toured his district every year. I tried to follow his example in this state as Governor and Senator.

We were friends over many years, and like many others I shall miss his kind smile and advice on practical political affairs in the years to come.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge wrote:

(Joe) was an old friend, going back so many years—to the time when he managed my grandfather's campaign for reelection in 1922. I always enjoyed my many contacts with him. You and yours can indeed be proud of his life, so full of service and friendship.

Mrs. Elizabeth P. Farrington, who before Hawaii attained its statehood completed the unexpired term of her husband, the late Delegate Joseph Farrington, and was then elected to a full 2-year term as Hawaii delegate, told the Martin family:

Speaker spent so many years in the House of Representatives and was always recognized as so fair with all Members on both sides of the aisle. . . .

From the time my husband took a seat in Congress, there was no time when we needed a sympathetic ear for Hawaii that we couldn't go to Speaker Martin. Congressmen are always so busy, but Mr. Martin always saw us.

Hawaii has lost a great friend and the nation has lost one of the most beloved and sincere Members of Congress in my generation.

Former Postmaster General James A. Farley stated:

During the years when I was part of the Washington scene I saw a great deal of him, and in the years which have followed I saw considerable of him at different gatherings and functions. I had great admiration for

Joe because he was a man of honor and his word was his bond. He had the esteem and warm liking of all who came within range of his influence, and he will be long remembered by his friends and acquaintances.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said of Joe Martin:

He dedicated his life to the service of his fellowman and his contribution to our American way of life will be a lasting memorial to him. I am proud to be counted among his friends.

Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, wrote:

Mr. Martin's passing has left the Nation with a deep sense of loss—

And he continued:

His career in public office was distinguished by an adherence to principles and a philosophy grounded in the traditions of his State and the Federal government. He earned the admiration and respect of his colleagues in the Congress and the public to a degree seldom equaled.

The contributions he made to the land he loved and defended with an intense and unfailing loyalty will long stand as a monumental inspiration to the generations which follow.

NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS

Editorial eulogies to former Speaker Joe Martin appeared in newspapers in all parts of the country. Typical of these are the following:

[From the Providence (R.I.) Journal]

The qualities displayed by Joseph W. Martin Jr. were not the qualities usually associated with a successful politician. He was no back-slapping gladhander, nor was he ever noted for his oratorical ability or his sartorial excellence.

Yet, Joe Martin was a remarkably successful politician. For 40 years, he was considered unbeatable in his congressional district, even though he was a Republican and the district often was strongly Democratic. For 20 years, he led the House Republican forces, twice serving as speaker, and on five occasions he was chosen by his party to be chairman of the GOP National Conventions.

He accomplished all this because he was an amiable man, a generous man, and a man who earned respect for his integrity and his political shrewdness. Perhaps part of his charm was that he didn't look the part. A stranger would hardly identify this burly man in the rumpled suit as one of the influential leaders of a national party. But it may have been precisely this lack of affectation, this quality of being "plain as an old shoe," that made Joe Martin so well liked among his constituents and colleagues.

It is a tribute to the man and to our system that a young Joe Martin could start from scratch, work up the hard way, reach a position of great influence, and spin out a long and useful career in the service of his people, his party and his nation.

[From the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press]

Very few human beings become legends in their own time, Joseph W. Martin Jr., who died this week, was one of the very few.

For three decades, from the 30's through the 50's, Joe Martin of Massachusetts was one of the most influential men in America. Except for the strange twists of fate, he would have been President of the United States.

He was "Mr. Republican" to two generations of Americans before and after that title was given to Senator Robert Taft. Martin served as chairman of five straight Republican National Conventions, he was the Republican leader of the U.S. House of Representatives

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for 20 years, and he was the only Republican since the Coolidge-Hoover era to be Speaker of the House.

Martin and Sam Rayburn held a monopoly on the Speakership from 1940 until Rayburn's death in 1961. Martin was Speaker in 1947-49 and 1953-55.

President F. D. Roosevelt campaigned for his third term in 1940 urging the nation to defeat the combination of "Martin, Barton and Fish." It became one of the most famous of all American political slogans.

Joe Martin finally wrote a book a few years ago. Entitled "My First 50 Years in Politics," it is one of the most fascinating political biographies we've ever read.

Here was a man who truly "moved the nation," not for a few months or years but for half a century. Joe Martin always will be remembered as one of America's greatest political leaders, a legend in his own time, and probably the last of his kind in a nation which is noted for its fluctuations of leadership.

[From the New Haven (Conn.) Register]

Joseph W. Martin Jr. is dead at 83. This man served his native state of Massachusetts in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1924 to 1966. His fame as a political power in his state dated back to 1911. It might be said that he had outlived his time. But it should be said that his service offered a model for his time—and for time yet to come.

Sharing, or deserving to share, the title of Mr. Republican with the late Sen. Robert A. Taft, Joe Martin had a well earned, and much revered, national reputation. He was, first, last and all the time, a politician—but in the truest and best sense of that word. He was unswervingly loyal to his party. But his first loyalty was to his country and to those whom he was elected to serve.

Thus, as another of the old guard dies, he leaves behind a life and a career of public service which could serve as a model for all who come after him. Were "public servants" to serve in the "Martin" manner, the nation and its people would be the distinct beneficiaries—and the image of the politician would be less tarnished and far more polished than it is in this day of the credibility gap.

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner]

Former Representative Joseph W. Martin's circle of friendship was not limited by political boundary lines, nor is the area of regret at his passing. He was held in respect and affection on both sides of the party aisle in Congress—a Massachusetts lawmaker of stature, whose 42-year tenure had the added distinction of two decades as Republican House Leader; and House Speaker in years of the party's congressional majority.

He served well, with no taint of partisanship where matters of national interest were concerned. As a parliamentarian he was a stickler for the rules of legislative order. In party affairs, as in his capacity repeatedly of chairman of national nominating conventions, he presided with dignity and firmness.

The nation knew him as a man of strong convictions, whether occupying a seat on the floor—the representative of his constituents—or serving as presiding officer of the House. It esteems his memory.

REPORT FROM WEST POINT, N.Y.

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the young men that I have appointed to our military academies have always been a

great source of pride and satisfaction to me.

Therefore, I was very interested and pleased to note a column in this morning's Chicago Tribune by that paper's New York area columnist, William Fulton, commenting on cadets at West Point. The column follows:

REPORT FROM WEST POINT, N.Y.

(By William Fulton)

WEST POINT, N.Y., May 20.—It is like a breath of fresh air to come out of New York City to an institution of higher learning where patriotism and loyalty are regarded as virtues, there are no hippie long-haired youth or draft card burners and respect for the faculty supplants rebellion and anarchy on the campus. This is the United States Military academy.

The heights above the Hudson river where Gen. Benedict Arnold once walked and brooded over treason that would have surrendered the strategic fortress to the British have come alive with flowering dogwood, blazing azalea, and green rhododendron.

"Flirtation walk," the romantic wooded stretch where the cadet strolls with his sweetheart on a moonlight night and officers never tread, is all bowered over with the leaves of spring.

Founded on March 16, 1802, the academy—more familiarly known as West Point—has been a prime source of supply for some of the nation's most illustrious and heroic leaders of the armed forces. West Point belongs to the nation. It is by accident of birth only that the establishment is located in New York state.

Character, knowledge, and leadership are the goals at West Point today as they were in the early 1800s when Col. Sylvanus Thayer, "father of the military academy," as superintendent, set the pattern for the school that has endured and flowered.

STAR-STUDDED ROSTER OF GRADUATES

Among the academy's star-studded roster of more than 27,000 graduates have been Douglas MacArthur, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John J. Pershing, Ulysses S. Grant, and Robert E. Lee. Each spring the academy graduates about 700 new officers dedicated to the service of their country.

Today's full corps numbers 3,400. Congress has authorized expansion up to 4,417. Increases gradually are undertaken.

Three cadets from Chicago explained to a recent visitor what the academy means to them.

Nick Skertich, 19, of 13306 Mackinaw st., said the school had given him maturity.

"It has shown me what I can do," he asserted. "I have found how far I can be pushed, and here there is more opportunity to demonstrate capabilities."

Skertich, a sky-diver and scuba-diver when he gets any spare time, is a "yearling" or sophomore. He is a graduate of St. Francis De Sales High School.

A SENSE OF SELF-DISCIPLINE

Jim Bachta, 20, of 2733 W. Gregory st., agreed with his colleague, "Yes, the school has given me a sense of self-discipline," he said. "I now know my capacities on the physical and academic sides."

Two years brigade boxing champion, Bachta is a second classman [junior]. He is a product of St. George High school, Evanston.

Jim Reid, 22, of 145 Mayfield st., was graduated from Oak Park High school.

"Basically, West Point has given me a sense of responsibility, a realization of a greater mission in life than just living for myself," he said. "It has rounded me out as a person."

Cadet Reid, a first classman [senior], plays football on the 150-pound team and has been having a go at rugby this spring. Reid took

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the visitor to a class in "managerial psychology."

The visitor had a fuzzy notion of what it was all about until cadets started juggling "X," "Y," and "Z" on the blackboard to explain human behavior and then became completely befogged. The class instructor, Maj. Quay Snyder, a veteran of the 82d airborne, is shortly going to Viet Nam as a helicopter pilot with the first cavalry.

Bob Hope, also a visitor, had a few pertinent words for the corps about the different academic life on the outside.

"I've been very busy these past couple of weeks entertaining our fighting men at different universities around the country," he remarked. "I had an offer to speak at Columbia. Well, it was more of a dare. My insurance company canceled it."

Hope was given the Sylvanus Thayer award for outstanding service to the nation, the first comedian to be so honored.

LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, we are scheduled to consider this week H.R. 8578, legislation to amend the land and water conservation fund which was established in 1964 to provide funds to Federal and State governments for acquisition and development of park and outdoor recreation land.

The fund was designed to eliminate the time lapse between authorization of national parks and monuments and the actual acquisition of the lands. We have found, however, that the original authorization was not sufficient to meet the needs of acquiring all lands. The Department of Interior, therefore, has recommended that an additional authorization be made, and funds from the receipts from leasing of the outer continental shelf oil lands be made available to the land and water conservation fund.

The New York Times strongly endorsed the approval of the bill reported by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in an editorial on Sunday, May 19, 1968. I share the Times strong support for this measure which I have co-sponsored, and hope that the House of Representatives will act this week to approve H.R. 8578. The Times article follows:

THE CONSERVATION FUND

The Land and Water Conservation Fund, established by Congress four years ago, has failed to keep pace with the nation's needs for more national parks, protected seashores and recreational areas. Revenue from visitors to existing parks and facilities has fallen below estimated levels, and land prices have skyrocketed.

Since Congress does not make money available immediately after it authorizes a new park or seashore, the Government frequently finds that between the time of authorization and the time of actual acquisition, the price of land has doubled or quadrupled.

To meet this problem, a bipartisan bill was unanimously approved in the Senate Interior Committee. It empowered the National Park Service to acquire options on land and make contract commitments to a

limit of \$30 million a year as soon as a park or seashore is authorized. The bill also augmented the Land and Water Conservation Fund by assigning it a share of the oil royalties from the federally owned Continental shelf. These royalties are now part of the general revenue of the Treasury.

When the bill came to the floor of the Senate last month, Senators Ellender and Long of Louisiana led a successful fight to deny any oil royalties to the fund. They put forward the specious argument that Congress ought not tie its hands in this fashion since other national needs in the future might deserve higher priority. But Senator Jackson, chairman of the Interior Committee, made plain the hidden basis for their opposition:

"The real question at issue here is not the ear-marking of funds for Land and Water Conservation Act purposes for a limited period. It is whether in the long term the states that happen to abut the outer Continental shelf are to be given, in the future, certain special preferential rights to money that may be earned from the outer Continental shelf."

In other words, Louisiana, Texas, and California, having obtained in 1953 a monopoly of the revenue from the tidelands oil, now hope to cut themselves in on a sizable share of the revenue from the outer Continental shelf which lies beyond the tidelands. This would be unconscionable. As Senator Jackson pointed out, the outer Continental shelf belongs to the nation, and all fifty states should share in it.

Since the House Interior Committee has reported a measure similar to that which the Senate gutted, Congress will soon be taking a second look at the Ellender amendment. House approval of a larger Land and Water Conservation Fund is imperative.

It is false economy to put off this essential reform. Everyone knows that a growing nation needs additional parkland and recreational space. If not acquired with planning and foresight, the land will have to be purchased later at exorbitant prices. Congress cannot permit parochial greed and irresponsible land speculators to frustrate the public interest.

NIGHTTIME IN THE CAPITAL OF OUR NATION

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, syndicated columnist, has written an excellent article on what citizens of the District of Columbia are living through in terms of crime and general lawlessness. Included in this piece are her comments—discouraging at best—on what has happened to forces of the law. As usual, blame for the failure of law enforcement is not to be placed on the rank and file policeman but on the policymakers the leaders within law enforcement.

I include the column at this point:

NIGHTTIME IN CAPITAL OF NATION HIDES SCENES OF CRIME, VIOLENCE

WASHINGTON.—Each night an elderly colored woman I know turns off the lights in her living room so that passersby cannot spot her as she looks out of her window at the scenes of violence and destruction that have become commonplace on dozens of streets in the nation's capital.

This woman, who lives only a few blocks from me in a predominantly Negro section, described to me what she saw last Friday.

"It was about 7 or 8 p.m. I saw some teenager pouring gasoline from a tin bucket on top of rags and papers they'd piled up in the middle of the street. They struck a match and it caught fire. I called the police and a fire truck came. After the police left, they came back. This time, they brought a plastic ash can filled with garbage and burned that. The police came a second time but I know one night they won't come. Maybe it will be my house that will burn down or my neighbor's."

The pages of Washington's newspapers these days have become almost statistical when they describe arson, theft and violence. Every night throughout this city, a number of fires are set, stores and homes are looted and citizens are beaten, robbed, raped and shot. A protection racket has emerged all over the city with storekeepers paying so-called protection money.

My woman informant significantly declared: "Somebody's behind these gangs of teenagers. Grown people are behind it."

Indeed, this writer was told there is a correlation between the riots and toleration for crime and political "change" adherents in and out of government. The word "change" in this political context means abolition of the private enterprise society and its replacement by the Reds. John Immer, president of the Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia, told me:

"This is part of a plan to make basic changes in our form of government. The revolutionary elements want to destroy the economic base of the Negro communities and wipe out the middle class."

Immer charged that certain administration figures had brought in Patrick V. Murphy as director of public safety over the head of the District's police chief "in order to wreck law enforcement in the District."

Murphy is a charter member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and as such, is a believer in its sociological approach to law enforcement which is fostered by our Supreme Court. Veteran police officers have told this columnist that this association, headed by Quinn Tamm, has been collaborating with the Justice Department to see to it that local police units conform to special criteria laid down in Washington. Politically sophisticated police officers are aware that this must eventually lead to a national police force run by the attorney general, a move which is vehemently opposed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as destructive to liberty.

A recent survey by the International Association of Chiefs of Police published in the Appendix to the Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia constitutes an attack on the authority of local police units. The survey cites a study describing "successful police officers" as "more conservative, more dogmatic, had less creative ability, tended to be more aggressive and suspicious, and tended to rely on one another more than their less successful colleagues."

The association urges that "everything in the selection process should be designed to screen out applicants" for police departments who lack such qualities as "the desire and ability to adapt his thinking to technological and sociological changes." This works out in practice to an extension of the "one voice in government" principle to local police departments.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police urged in its survey that patrolmen in the D.C. police system get 40 hours of training in "human relations." The art of self defense is no longer taught in the 12-week course given to rookie policemen in Washington, D.C. Instead, for a whole week, they are taught theories concerning "the nature

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of contemporary social change" and "the consequences of social change in terms of human behavior." Morale in the District's police department is at a dangerous low because they are compelled to listen to indoctrination by Black and Red power militants from the same government-financed poverty organizations that they know helped to instigate the riots.

THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA IS BUSINESS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the editorial appearing in the spring 1968 issue of Ward's Quarterly, an authoritative journal on automotive matters, offers some salient comments concerning the current state of government-relations. Among other things it should recall to the reader's mind President Johnson's 1966 state of the Union promise:

I intend to ask the Congress to consider measures which without improperly invading State and local authority will enable us effectively to deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest.

Congress and the Nation are still waiting.

I commend the editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA IS BUSINESS
(By Robert B. Powers, editor and publisher)

Calvin Coolidge, whom TV wits and some columnists are reviving for musty jokes in this presidential election year has a thought for the America of today.

To begin with "Silent Cal" of the '20s was catapulted into the national scene when as mayor of Boston he forthwith settled a crippling policeman's strike.

In answer to overseas criticism that America was "too commercial", as president of our Republic he crisply replied:

"The business of America is business."

Isn't it still? Wasn't it always? Where does all the money come from for the city, state and federal governments? For the ever-increasing mountains of money demanded for all sorts of programs and nostrums here and around the world? Where else but from the men who create new products and services, the men and women who invest in business, the men who manage it, the men and women earning their livelihood from it?

Elliot Janeway, our favorite economist and contributing editor, recently interviewed a powerful U.S. Senator on the rapport between business and the federal government. It was agreed that in general it was pretty bad. Businessmen troop to Washington in droves shy as second-class citizens, was the Senator's summation.

Isn't it past time for business to speak up? After all, if the wheels of industry stop the whole nation stops, and government has no money to spend.

Never has our nation been so plagued with such costly strikes—copper, autos, newspapers, tires, airlines, subways, nursing, education, even garbage collection! They've all had their share in contributing to the nation's loss of billions of dollars and to untold inconvenience and misery to the citizenry.

There is a current wave of interest in the origin of man, African Genesis started it, The Naked Ape finished it, we hope.

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The cruelty and indifference of men of power to their fellow man is excused by the psycho-zoologists in terms of ape behavior hundreds of millions of years ago.

This may satisfy the intellectually inclined, but how about those injured?

Isn't there a better way to establish sanity in the human jungle than for men or cliques of power to lord it over their defenseless brothers?

In the noble effort of our age to uplift all mankind, surely there is a better way.

The Stalworth brothers Studebaker who built the Conestoga wagons that were the key in opening up the West and whose automobiles and trucks helped pave the way to create modern America had a simple but very useful philosophy. It was this—Give more than you promise. It would be well to heed this homily today—the age that may be remembered as one of false hopes and ignoble deeds, if we do not soon change our spendthrift and deceitful ways.

the line of authority and responsibility

For a future issue of the Quarterly, we had

planned a symposium on labor. We have

had two in past issues on other subjects.

We have reason to believe they were rather

useful and enlightening.

On this subject, we invited to participate

the government's top spokesman on labor,

labor's own garrulous statesman, an educational authority on the subject and a prominent

spokesman from industry.

Our question was: In view of the endless

succession of costly strikes and work stop-

pages that periodically upset the economy of

the nation and the tranquillity of our people,

isn't there a better way to resolve labor dis-

putes than by strikes?

Industry was ready with a program. Labor

never acknowledged our question. Education

was too timid to reply. And the federal govern-

ment, through an intermediary far down

lamely responded for his chief with:

The Secretary regrets that the heavy press

of his schedule will prevent him from pre-

paring such an article.

He would like you to know, however, that

he feels free and responsible collective bar-

gaining is the best means of settling labor-

management differences that our industrial

democracy has yet devised.

A lot of answers given out these days are

not only not good enough for our poor and

our underprivileged but they are not good

enough either for business—for the creators

of a nation's prosperous economy.

Business should not forget its rightful

voice in the conduct of the affairs of our

country as seemingly it has.

"The business of America is business."

A government that depends on the busi-

ness money-tree for its own comfort, privi-

leges and survival will get the meaning if

that meaning is effectively spelled out. But

not like our Senator infers by businessmen

who meekly consider themselves as second-

class citizens when they come or are called

to Washington.

LAKE ERIE POLLUTION

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have received statistical data that underscores the seriousness of the fight to save Lake Erie and that reveals that the Federal Government continues to be a major polluter of our lake waters.

In calendar year 1967, according to

the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Government dredging projects at 14 Lake Erie harbors produced a total of 7,671,000 cubic yards of polluted material. Of this total, 5,438,000 cubic yards were dumped at "authorized" lake disposal areas, while 2,233,000 cubic yards—of which Toledo, Ohio, accounted for 2,130,000 cubic yards—were consigned to diked area disposal. Also during 1967, permit dredging accounted for 185,000 cubic yards of dredged material, all of which was polluted and all of which was dumped in "authorized" lake disposal areas.

For 1968, according to the same source, Government dredging at these same harbors is expected to produce 7,015,000 cubic yards of material, virtually all of it polluted. Of this total 5,302,000 cubic yards are planned for lake disposal while 1,713,000 cubic yards will be consigned to diked area disposal. In addition, applications have been approved for permit dredging of 348,000 cubic yards of polluted material for lake disposal and for 60,000 cubic yards that will be diked.

The above figures reveal that of total Government dredging in 1967, amounting to 7,671,000 cubic yards of polluted material, 70.9 percent was dumped in Lake Erie. Of the 7,015,000 cubic yards of Government dredging predicted for 1968, by contrast, 75.5 percent will be consigned to open lake disposal areas. I find it shocking that the Government intends to dike approximately 500,000 cubic yards less in 1968 than in 1967—1.7 million cubic yards in 1968 versus 2.2 million cubic yards in 1967. This is hardly persuasive evidence that the Government is assuming forceful leadership in the fight to combat water pollution.

One must also note with alarm that permit dredging for open lake disposal in Lake Erie has already doubled from 185,000 cubic yards in 1967 to 348,000 cubic yards as of May 1, 1968. This, of course, does not include a large number of applications pending or expected for permit dredging which the Corps of Engineers understandably finds impossible to estimate.

In response to a letter recently directed to the Secretary of the Army, I received a reply assuring me that the Department of the Army and the Corps of Engineers share my concern with pollution abatement and water quality improvement. I was also advised that since 1960, more than 2 million cubic yards of dredged spoil from the Rouge River have been deposited within the diked disposal area known as Grasse Island. The letter went on to say that because remaining capacity is limited, it seems impossible to permit—as I had suggested—the concurrent use of this disposal area by private contractors.

This sounds persuasive until it is remembered that since 1960 the Government has dredged some 40 million cubic yards of polluted materials from widely separated rivers and harbors and deposited this spoil in "authorized" disposal areas along the entire U.S. shoreline of Lake Erie.

One must also wonder why the Army on one hand consigns about 300,000 cubic yards annually of Government-dredged

polluted material from the Rouge River to the diked Grasse Island area while at the same time recommending approval of permit dredging of equally contaminated material from the same river for open lake disposal.

Mr. Speaker, I believe there must be a prompt clarification of Federal policy if we expect the confidence, support, and commitment of our citizenry in fighting pollution and achieving our national goal of clean water. We can hardly expect credibility or cooperation as long as the Federal establishment says one thing and does the opposite.

THE ARNHEITER-ALEXANDER CASE

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the case involving Lt. Comdr. Marcus A. Arnheiter and Capt. Richard G. Alexander is exceedingly complex. It goes back approximately 2 years and involves a large number of naval personnel, some of whom are no longer in the U.S. Navy.

In order that as many people as possible may be fully apprised of a matter which has already cost the Navy two brilliant young officers, and its integrity in the eyes of the American public, I insert in the RECORD at this point, a chronological order of events in the Arnheiter-Alexander case:

THE ARNHEITER-ALEXANDER CASE: CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EVENTS

December 22, 1965: Lt. Commander Marcus A. Arnheiter assumed command of the USS *Vance*.

December 28, 1965: USS *Vance* left Pearl Harbor for Vietnam.

January 16, 1966: In direct violation of Navy Regulations Article 1243, Lt. Ray S. Hardy, Jr., USS *Vance* Executive Officer, advised Generous to "seek outside help anonymously" in Generous' efforts to undercut Arnheiter.

January 23, 1966: Lt. William T. Generous, Operations Officer aboard the USS *Vance*, sends letter to Chaplain Richard Osterman criticizing Arnheiter's character guidance program (in plain violation of Articles 1212 and 1243 of Navy Regulations).

March 22, 1966: Chaplain George Dando filed report of low morale on ship to Rear Admirals T. S. King, Jr. and D. G. Irvine via Commander D. F. Milligan (in violation of Articles 1212 and 1243 of Navy Regulations). The failure of King, Irvine, and Milligan to inform Arnheiter of this report violated Article 1404.1 of Navy Regulations.

March 31, 1966: Arnheiter received orders from the Bureau of Personnel, detaching him from command—before any hearing was held and before Arnheiter was even informed of the charges against him. This summary relief violates Article 7801 C, paragraphs 4 (b), (c), (d) and (f) of the BuPers Manual. On same day Milligan came aboard, assumed command and placed Arnheiter under guard.

April 4, 1966: Arnheiter informed of some of the unsubstantiated allegations against him. Given less than 24 hours to prepare defense.

April 5, 1966: Arnheiter "hearing" commenced at Subic Bay. Presiding officer was Captain Ward Witter.

April 11, 1966: "Hearing" ended. Witter's

findings sent to convening authority RADM King who forwarded them to Rear Admiral Walter Baumberger, Commander of Cruisers and Destroyers in the Pacific, and the duly constituted reviewing authority.

August 30, 1966: Baumberger, after personal review, recommended "that no disciplinary action be taken against Lt. Commander Arnheiter" and "that, in view of his evident high potential . . . he be reassigned to command in a DE (destroyer escort) in this force" and forwarded his opinion to Vice Admiral B. J. Semmes, Chief of Naval Personnel.

September 9, 1966: Semmes covertly "approved" Arnheiter's "detachment for cause" by memorandum sent to the President of Arnheiter's Selection Board (despite the fact that on the same day, Semmes also sent an official endorsement on an Arnheiter letter to the Selection Board saying he was "withholding endorsement on the report of the (Subic Bay) investigation"). By "approving" of Arnheiter's detachment despite Baumberger's recommendations to the contrary, and by failing to inform Arnheiter of this endorsement to the Selection Board, Semmes violated Navy regulations and BuPers Manual.

Vice Admiral L. P. Ramage, Deputy Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet, sent Baumberger a letter requesting re-analysis of his original recommendations.

November 1, 1966: Baumberger, throwing out all but three of the 41 alleged Arnheiter violations, and branding Witter's hearing as lacking in objectivity, resubmitted his earlier recommendations that no disciplinary action be taken against Arnheiter, that Arnheiter be given another command and that the relief of command from USS *Vance* not be "for cause".

November 24, 1966: Generous submitted letter of resignation to the Secretary of the Navy, via Semmes, saying the Navy isn't "big enough" for him and Arnheiter. Semmes failed to provide Arnheiter with copy of this critical letter, thereby violating Article 1404.1 of *Navy Regulations*. Semmes argued that this letter of resignation is only available to Members of Congress, relying on opinion of Navy JAG.

January 20, 1967: Admiral Roy L. Johnson, Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, defended Witter's conduct, yet upheld Baumberger's critical review of Witter's findings, and then reversed Baumberger's recommendation for a new command for Arnheiter and recommended sustaining relief for cause.

February 2, 1967: Semmes signed orders assigning Arnheiter to permanent shore duty.

February 5, 1967: Semmes asked VADM T.G.W. Settle, USN, Ret. to review entire record of the case at Navy Department and to make recommendations.

February 10, 1967: After viewing entire record, Settle recommended that Arnheiter be promoted to the rank of Commander, that he be given command of an Atlantic Fleet ship, and that his relief for cause be not sustained.

May 11, 1967: Arnheiter wrote Secretary of the Navy accusing VADM B. J. Semmes Jr. of extreme prejudice, and requested redress and court of inquiry.

June 29, 1967: In a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, Semmes wrote "no memorandum on LCDR Arnheiter was sent to the selection board at any time while it was in session". As indicated above, however, on September 9, 1966 Semmes himself sent such a memo to the Selection Board.

November 7, 1967: Captain Richard G. Alexander, prospective commander of the battleship USS *NEW JERSEY*, and intimately familiar with the details of the Arnheiter case, delivered a 26-page statement to Secretary of the Navy Ignatius, highly critical of the Navy's handling of the Arnheiter case.

December 28, 1967: Alexander relieved of command of the *NEW JERSEY* and transferred to a desk job in the Boston Navy Yard.

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January 17, 1968: Ignatius stated that there is no connection between Alexander's transfer and his outspoken views on the Arnheiter case. Navy later retracted this.

May 8, 1968: Despite Semme's response to Arnheiter after Generous' letter of resignation, (See Nov. 24, 1966), Congressman Joseph Y. Resnick was denied access to the letter.

**SAVE THE WETLANDS COMMITTEE
TRYING TO PRESERVE CONNECTICUT'S TIDAL MARSHES**

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, Save the Wetlands Committee, a private conservation group, is actively involved in preserving Connecticut's tidal marshes. I think their efforts to acquire this land are to be commended and I am sure a better knowledge of the value of the wetlands will be of interest to my colleagues. Therefore I enter an article written by Stan Simon from the April 7, 1968, Hartford Courant:

CIVILIZATION BURIES BIRTHPLACE OF LIFE, THREATENS FUTURE

(By Stan Simon)

Cement highways, asphalt parking lots and buildings are burying the birthplace of life itself.

This insidious movement of civilization eventually could choke off life in the oceans and dry up diminishing water supplies. Ironically, it could also cause flooding.

Few people seem to care.

The areas in danger have been the most fertile on the planet since land masses lifted out of the sea and have produced more plant and animal life than either land or sea.

Scientists believe the threatened areas are where life itself began, where animal life first stepped on to land and where the most marine life now gets its sustenance.

The endangered areas are tidal marshes, where the tide mixes fresh water and elements from the land with the mineral-rich salt water of the sea.

Organic products of decay are constantly stirred together in a sheltered environment. The result is a kind of broth which spawns microscopic plants and animal life that feed higher forms.

Thus, a chain of life is created. Experts say at least two-thirds of the ocean's fish and shell fish depend on tidal marshes during part of their lives.

Tidal marshes produce an average of twice as much as the best mid-western farmland and 20 times as much as most of the sea itself.

The delicate natural balance of tidal marshes can be easily upset, however, and, once changed, is impossible to restore.

Nearly half of Connecticut's tidal marshes have been destroyed in the past 50 years. The state's 26,500 acres of tidal marshes have dwindled to 14,839 and are disappearing at a rate of about 200 acres a year. And yet Connecticut is better off than most East Coast states.

To most, the marsh is a menace, a wasteland which should be reclaimed for more taxable income by dredging and filling for roads, parking lots, housing developments, factory sites and marinas.

The results are not only detrimental, but often dangerous.

Filling marshes and swamps significantly restricts the potential water supply. "Swamps, lakes and porous earth are Nature's only reservoir wherein the rainfall

is stored to be fed . . . into our streams," according to Prof. Thurlow C. Nelson, Ph.D., of Rutgers State University in New Jersey.

In addition, marshes, with their long mud flats, grasses and natural canals, act as barriers to hurricanes, absorbing water like a sponge, preventing flooding and breaking down heavy waves.

"Every time an onshore storm hits hard, you hear of homes on the coast that have to be evacuated. It's more than likely they were built on filled marshes. Watch what happens if we get a real bad hurricane like '38," says Theodore B. Bampton, director of the State Board of Fisheries and Game.

The destruction of tidal marshes could destroy certain species of birds such as the clapper rail, sandpipers, plovers and some sparrows, according to James S. Bishop and Ruth Billard, game management technicians for the State Board of Fisheries and Game. They say ducks, geese, herons and gulls are dependent upon the marshes during limited periods of their lives.

Oysters and other shellfish depend on tidal marshes. In Connecticut, once the world's largest producer of "seed oysters," production has dropped from three million bushels in 1910 to about 250,000 last year—that's a drop from \$40 million to \$3 million at the market.

Fishermen know of the gradual disappearance of weakfish and blue crabs. More than 60 species of fish use Connecticut tidal marshes as a spawning ground and nursery, including flounder, shad, smelt, bass, bluefish and tom cod.

Preserving Connecticut's tidal marshes has become the number one conservation priority of the State Fish and Game Department and the sole purpose of a group called Save the Wetlands Committee, a private conservation group formed in 1966.

Fish and Game Director Bampton says the state now owns 4,200 acres of tidal marshes and plans to purchase another 1,300 acres in the next two years and another 5,500 by 1973—if it has the money. He says the remaining 3,500 acres are scattered and would best be preserved by municipalities or conservation groups.

The 1967 General Assembly gave the state the right of eminent domain to take privately owned wetlands. Bampton says the state now has the legal tools to acquire tidal marshes—if it gets the funds.

But Freeborn G. Jewett of Lyme, president of the Save the Wetlands Committee, wants tighter control over individuals who want to dredge and fill tidal marshes—now the responsibility of the State Water Resources Commission. Jewett's committee, which includes some 30 persons, has hired a New London law firm and a group of Yale and University of Connecticut students to research the legal problems.

But law and legal language cannot restore what already is gone.

A whole generation of shoreline residents and summer tourists can remember walking through the ankle-deep warm marsh waters, feeling the hard shells of quahogs under the soft carpet of mud, watching small baitfish jump ahead of the splashes, and seeing small softshell crabs scurry across the sometimes clear water. But they can only remember.

THE WALT DISNEY MEDAL

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my intense satisfaction over the passage of House Joint Resolu-

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tion 1234, providing for the issuance of a gold medal to the widow of the late Walt Disney and for the issuance of bronze medals to the California Institute of the Arts in recognition of the distinguished public service and the outstanding contributions of Walt Disney to the United States and to the world.

In company with most Americans, I have come to regard the work of Walt Disney as one of the truly remarkable artistic developments of our time. We seldom have an opportunity to watch the flowering and fulfillment of genius but surely that was our experience during the lifetime of Walt Disney.

From a small garage-studio the Disney enterprise grew into one of the most modern movie studios in the world, producing short and feature-length cartoon programs and full-length programs featuring live actors. Success greeted Walt Disney's efforts for the first time in 1928, when the public acclaimed the presentation of Mickey Mouse, and from that point forward until the close of Mr. Disney's life, one success followed another, to an extraordinary extent.

Where any other Hollywood producer would have been happy to receive one Academy Award—the highest honor in American movies—Mr. Disney broke all records by receiving 27 such awards.

Repeatedly, he saw fit to blaze new trails, against the warnings of friends and fellow moviemakers. Although distributors doubted the selling value of Mickey Mouse, the public felt differently, and Mr. Disney's faith in Mickey was handsomely rewarded. When Mr. Disney proposed the production of the first full-length cartoon, "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," he was told that nobody would sit still that long just to watch cartoons. Again, the critics were wrong and he was right. Mr. Disney was the first major producer to make films for television, and he was told that nothing could be expected to come of this endeavor except financial reverses. Once more, the critics were mistaken.

Such shows as "Disneyland," "The Mickey Mouse Club," "Zorro," "Davy Crockett," and "The Wonderful World of Color," have captured the hearts of millions of television viewers all over the land.

Mr. Disney's imagination drove him on to pursuits outside the movie world. One of his creations—Disneyland, a 300-acre tract of amusement rides, fantasy spectacles, and recreated Americana—has become, since it was established only 10 years ago, one of the leading tourist attractions in the country. By last year it had been visited by some 50 million people. In the final year of his life, Mr. Disney was forging ahead with a similar project, near Orlando, Fla., to be called Disney World. He was also in the process of developing a giant \$35 million summer-winter resort in California's Sequoia National Forest.

In all his undertakings, Walt Disney emphasized the best in the America way of life, and for that he was revered by millions. Congress has acted wisely, I believe, in providing for the issuance of the Walt Disney Medal, in honor of a man who made the world a happier place for millions and millions of his fellow men, all over the world.

A SPACE DISCUSSION

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a space discussion by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, executive secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council, in which he lists a few controversial questions which are frequently asked, followed by his answers:

SOVIET SPACE PROGRAM

The initial question is: *What is the status of the Soviet space program?*

Of course there are many specifics about their space program we do not know but there are also many significant things we do know. First of all, they appear to have placed a higher funding priority on space exploration than we have. They see clearly the practicalities of space as a builder of national prestige and as a supplier of useful technology. This is evidenced by the fact that they are devoting at least twice the percentage of their gross national product to space activities compared with us.

Second, the Soviets have been accelerating the tempo of their space investment and their space performance. For example, on the performance side they had nine successful launches—all Earth orbiters—in a twelve day period just last month. This was the most active twelve days in the space history of any nation. So far this year they are surpassing last year's payload successes numerically and, what is also significant, they are surpassing substantially the number of successful payloads launched this year by the United States. While our activity curve is moving down compared to 1967, theirs is headed up.

Third, they have made and are continuing to make major investments in space resources—particularly in manpower and facilities. There is almost a technology cult which has developed in the U.S.S.R. these days and much of its attention is focused on aerospace projects.

In generalized summary on this question I would say that the U.S.S.R. has an orderly, persistent, and well planned space program, including a vigorous project for a manned landing on the lunar surface. They do not seem to be handicapped by fluctuations in their budgetary thermometer, as we sometimes are. We can all be certain that, regardless of the speed with which the U.S. pursues its space goals, the U.S.S.C. will continue to expand its space effort.

SPACE COMPETITION

The next question which frequently follows is: *Who is ahead in the space race?*

We could get into a lot of semantics just trying to figure out what being "ahead" means or even what a "space race" is. So let's skip that for the moment and look at the picture statistically. An examination of the overall space activity of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. shows that we to date have put about 560 payloads into Earth orbit or on escape missions compared with about 310 by the U.S.S.R.

As for manned space flight alone, the record shows: 1994 man hours in space for the U.S. compared with 533 for the U.S.S.R.; 16 manned flights for the U.S. compared with 9 for the U.S.S.R.; 12 hours of EVA for the U.S. compared with 20 minutes for the U.S.S.R.; and 10 rendezvous and 9 dockings of manned spacecraft, with the U.S.S.R. not having made any attempts in these regards as yet. The Soviets have, however, rendezvoused and docked unmanned space vehicles on two occasions.

In communications, navigation, and me-

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teorology, the United States has developed an operational lead but the Soviets are now showing considerable activity in these fields, also.

In unmanned lunar and planetary performance, the U.S. has been generally more successful—although that is a subjective judgment—but the U.S.S.R. has certainly been more active with many more attempts and many more failures than the U.S. The Soviets pursue deep space exploration with a persistence that reveals clearly the high priority they place upon trying to be first in knowing the most about the planets.

Although we have placed the largest weight into orbit on a single launch by the world's most powerful rocket in use, it is estimated that the Soviets over the years have orbited a greater total weight than we have. We also can be confident that they will continue to increase the thrust and the capability of their launch vehicles.

In general, this brief review of our technological competition with the Soviets in space can be summarized by saying that we were behind them once but no longer are. However, their determination and their currently accelerated activity leave no room for complacency on our part and, if we value technological leadership, a continually growing economy, and world respect, we must maintain a vigorous pace in our national space program.

SPACE COOPERATION

The third question is: *Why do we not save money in planning our space program by cooperating more with the U.S.S.R.?*

As you all know, it is this nation's policy—frequently stated by the President and the Vice President—to cooperate whenever such action would be of mutual advantage. We have seen opportunities which would seem to offer mutual benefits if accomplished through international cooperation and we have made numerous proposals to that end. New ideas for international cooperation on a broad scale should continue to come forth. For example, what about a joint manned lunar surface laboratory? It does, however, take at least two to cooperate and the Soviets have been reluctant. Just why they have been, I don't know, unless they are convinced that because they can get so much more information from us through our free press than we can from their closed society, the existing situation is more to their advantage.

I think such reasoning is unfortunate, if it is in fact the way they think. Actually, not much of the space program of either nation depends upon the guarding of technological secrets. Rather, both nations are engaged in a constant drive to solve problems—and certainly both could solve more problems more rapidly if there were more cooperation and less duplication in individual projects.

The argument that such international cooperation would save large sums of money is, however, a relatively hollow reed to lean on. Neither country would want to fall behind the other as producers of hardware or as innovators. However, through effective cooperation in vigorous programs both countries could get more accomplished for the same total investment of resources. This does not suggest that we should for a moment slack off on our efforts, or that they would on theirs. If we are wise, we will keep in the forefront of our thinking that a country which vigorously advances space technology gains much from new inventions and new managerial methods, as well as from increased employment and an increased Gross National Product. In a sense, to cut back sharply would mean a decline in the chances for international cooperation and, even more, a real possibility of losing our place as the world's leader in technology.

SPACE VERSUS POVERTY

The next question is: *Why not postpone spending on space and concentrate on solving such problems as poverty?*

This may be the most frequently asked question of all, coming particularly from those who do not understand the nature and the impact of the space program. The answer can be either lengthy or brief but it still comes out the same. It is almost too obvious to point out that funds spent on the space program are spent right here in this country, rather than out in space, and that the technology born through such efforts remains here to further private enterprise in many, many fields. It is probably not so obvious but just as true that there would be more poverty and more unemployment, almost automatically, if the space program were severely curtailed. I suggest to those who oppose our space effort that they give some additional thought to that very point.

We should all know that the U.S. is stronger and wealthier because of its space program and we also should know that such strength and such wealth makes us better able to handle the other problems which confront us. As I have just said, space activity increases income, increases products, increases jobs, and creates new sources of employment through advances in technology.

There are those, of course, who are trapped by the illogical proposition that if the money involved were not spent on space and if the talents of the manpower employed were available for use elsewhere, such resources would automatically flow into projects of health, housing, crime, air or water pollution, education, and other problems of our complex society. Hence, they suggest that it would be better if we invested our resources in those areas instead of in space technology and space exploration. I do not agree. It is not an "either/or" situation. I have great confidence in the capabilities of this country to handle a number of high priority projects at the same time; and I believe that the problems of poverty and its related ills deserve high priority—and I also believe that the space program likewise merits high priority. I never have been able to understand those who favor solving problems with the wasteful approach of "let's wait and maybe do it later."

Moreover, the methods for solving the many complex problems of our cities for example can and should be borrowed from the management techniques developed in the aerospace industry. I refer to what is frequently called "systems analysis"—the managerial approach which enables one to handle many related variables simultaneously and effectively. For emphasis, and to show the penetrating insight of the Vice President, who is also Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, let me quote briefly from one of his recent statements on this subject:

"The systems analysis approach—so highly developed in the space program—contributes importantly to community planning; municipal police and fire-fighting; improvement in our educational system; control of crime and delinquency; as well as the modernization of urban, regional and national transportation systems. It is also applicable to projects for the elimination of water, air and soil pollution; more effective use of our natural resources, etc. These are vital fields for bettering man's life, and as such, provide some of the most compelling reasons for a dynamic space program."

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The next question is: *Should we always have a specific mission, a specific requirement, before we undertake research and development?*

The answer to that question is so obvious that I will take little of your time in stating it. It is "no"! Yet, as obvious as the answer is there still seem to be a few people who miss it. I know that some of you have previously heard me say that we never would

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have invented the wheel, let alone the automobile, the steam engine, electric lights, the telephone, or the airplane—if we had waited to draw up the precise mission to be accomplished by the research or if we had insisted upon determining ahead of time whether the end result was going to be practical or profitable. The truth is that frequently the end product of research is unknown until the research has been accomplished and also that we frequently obtain a number of useful but unanticipated results from the same research investment. Should ignorance deter us from pursuing answers? No, we must engage in research vigorously, and since resources are not unlimited, we should be selective to a degree in pursuing development. Such selectivity, however, should be applied only to make it as certain as possible that we invest most of our resources in areas where the potential of accomplishment appear greatest.

DUPLICATION

The final question which I plan to take up in this discussion is: *Do the Manned Orbiting Laboratory and the Apollo Applications Program duplicate each other, and are they not therefore wasteful?*

The answer is that they are neither duplicatory nor wasteful. Of course we all recognize that there has been a substantial investment in both programs, and that to curtail or protract either one of them would add to the total costs in the long run. So, if our concern is over the possibility of waste in these two very important projects, examination might well reveal that the major risk of loss would come from attempting to curtail the flow of funds and thus delay the payoffs from our investments.

The Manned Orbiting Laboratory has military experiments on board and its mission is to find out if manned spacecraft can carry out these functions better than if the spacecraft were unmanned. We must learn this in order to get the maximum defense in the most efficient way and we cannot identify the way unless we try these experiments. You can be certain that if the results show that the missions can be carried out as effectively and as efficiently without men on board that is the route we will follow, but we do not plan to base our defense plans on guesswork or solely on the figures of budget analysts.

When we look at the Apollo Applications Program we find that it has 87 experiments scheduled, all of which call for different equipment, different orbits, and different timing than the MOL. To combine these two projects would be a little like joining two major departments of government together because both have to do with people. To combine these projects would be more expensive, not less, and less efficient, not more.

CONCLUSION

I have made a number of references throughout these remarks to the adverse effects which would come from serious curtailment of our space program. That does not mean that the whole program would be ruined if there were to be some postponement or slow-down of some projects. But, I hasten to add that it would be far better if we were able to increase our space effort, instead. However, as one faces the political realities of the day it appears that curtailment is much more likely than is any increase. I hope we are wise enough to assign the cuts where they will do the nation the least harm.

This country's leadership continues to support the space program vigorously. Some people seem not to realize that just this January President Johnson asked the Congress for more money for space for the fiscal year 1969 than was appropriated by the Congress for space in fiscal year 1968. That was done in the face of many other high priority demands for this country's resources and seems

to me to be convincing evidence of his strong belief in the essentiality of the National Space Program.

Just last week, the Vice President stated: "Our space program is a splendid challenge and a noble mission—one whose practical benefits for today are exceeded only by its promise for tomorrow. I urge every American to support the future development of our space program, and I, for one, shall do so with pride and vigor."

If over the coming years we continue to have that type of leadership, I believe we can and will maintain a world pre-eminent position in space.

EARN RIGHTS BY PERFORMING DUTY

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Southwest Messenger Press, a chain of newspapers serving dozens of communities in southern Cook County, has an editorial policy which continuously reflects strong civic interest and a keen insight into public affairs. The Thursday, May 16, edition carried a very timely and forceful editorial on methods of building a better Nation. I am pleased to submit this comprehensive commentary for the RECORD, as follows:

EARN RIGHTS BY PERFORMING DUTY

"Only a lawful society can build a better society" was the theme for Law Day U.S.A., celebrated on May 1 at patriotic observances throughout the United States. The Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois commends the importance of Law Day, because the ideals of equality and justice can never be attained without a deep respect for law, without putting forth individual effort to sustain our rights and freedoms, and without learning the basic fact that the rule of law is always superior to the rule of force.

As a citizen each one of us has certain rights, such as:

The right to equal protection of laws and equal justice in the courts.

The right to be free from arbitrary search or arrest.

The right to equal educational and economic opportunity.

The right to choose public officers in free elections.

The right to own property.

The right of free speech, press, and assembly.

The right to attend the church of your choice.

The right to have legal counsel of your choice and a prompt trial if accused of crime.

As a citizen each one of us also has certain duties, such as:

The duty to obey the laws.

The duty to respect the right of others.

The duty to inform yourself on issues of government and community welfare.

The duty to vote in elections.

The duty to serve on juries if called.

The duty to serve and defend your country.

The duty to assist agencies of law enforcement.

The duty to practice and teach the principles of good citizenship in your own home.

As a citizen of our great country and as enumerated above, each of us has rights and duties, but such rights and duties must have an active place in our daily lives. Law

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Day must not just occur once a year; it must occur every day. Then we will make progress toward the goals given to us by our Founding Fathers. Otherwise, the advocates of force will prevail with the rights and duties of citizens in jeopardy and a huge tax bill to pay for other than our cherished freedoms.

GARY, IND.: A CITY WITHOUT HOPE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the attempt of the social mechanics to force, by law, social justices against the will and wants of our people have and will continue to create monstrous problems. Drawing board solutions and statistics in human behavior just are not constants.

Syndicated columnist, John J. Synon, has detailed a factual report of the frightening death of a midwestern city—Gary, Ind.

It should be studied by all our colleagues as evidence that government cannot force men to do what men will not do themselves—free men, that is.

GARY: A CITY WITHOUT HOPE—I

(By John J. Synon)

If a person were to choose, carefully, the thought to properly describe Gary, Indiana, it is likely the most accurate would be this: Gary is criminally malicious. It is the only city in the nation that is intellectually and spiritually dead, almost totally devoid of the graces normal to a civilized community. The word a visitor hears most often to describe Gary is "jungle".

Gary is a city where merchants overtly wear six-guns strapped to their hip.

Gary is a city where retail business is done behind bolted doors; each customer is examined—a la speakeasy—before being admitted.

Gary is a city hag ridden by racketeers.

Gary is a city with more than 3,000 criminal cases backlog in courts that sit, on an average, of but two hours a day.

Gary is a city without a middle-class citizen. As a result, there is no discernible effort being made to alleviate its debased nature.

Gary is 65 per cent black. On November 7, 1967, Gary elected a Negro as its mayor. Since then, the degree of lawlessness in always-lawless Gary has worsened to a point that boggles the mind. There simply is no way, today, to catalogue or to analyze its debauched nature.

Gary, withal, has had no race riots and none are foreseen.

This monster, a city of about 180,000 people, sits amid swirling dirt just south of Chicago. It was created in 1906 by U.S. Steel as a site for its blast furnaces. Elbert Gary, then Big Steel's board chairman and whose brain child the town is, worked better than he knew. Whether the furnaces of Gary are up or down, the city blasts away. That it is beyond redemption, few dispute. None, not even its lone daily newspaper, make any pretense at uplift.

Gary is a thriving, money-worshipping cesspool of crime and corruption, with human life one of its cheapest commodities.

"We are not interested in red-white-and-blue", a cynical real-estate appraiser said, "only green".

How it happened, how Gary became the jungle it is makes a fascinating study.

For 40 years after Elbert Gary put fire to the town's first furnace, the mills of Gary were manned by waves of immigrant Poles, Italians, Croatians, and Slav-Middle Europeans. They were brawlers, these people, among the roughest, most physical ever grounded in this nation. They were, in addition, herculean workers, brawny. But their women, by contrast, were gentle and deeply religious: 90 per cent Catholic. While the men worked by day and fought by night, the women of Gary sought—as women always seek—to make their new home both moral and habitable. It wasn't easy. For, tugging at the paychecks of their ham-fisted husbands, as leeches, were hordes of prostitutes, pimps, crimps, flick-fingered gamblers and hawkers of narcotics.

Despite these problems of the "new world", the women of Gary made progress. Their decency became apparent.

Thus, during the first four decades of its life, Gary knew a double life: The physical—with a criminal element always in the political saddle—and the spiritual, the nature of its immigrant women. Gary, for 40 years, then, was no different in essence—only in degree—than any other American city.

Perhaps Gary would have worked out its problems; other towns have. But no one will ever know, for the war—World War II—with its insatiable demand for steel, brought the Negroes. Mothlike, they flocked to the hearth flames of Gary and high wages. They came in thousands upon multiple thousands. Thus concentrated, the Negroes of Gary became perfect foils for politicians without honor or conscience. The Negroes were lied to by succeeding national administrations, made to believe they were a cut above the law. The result was inescapable: This combination—naive, ignorant Negroes and coldly-evil politicians—ended whatever chance Gary had of evolving into a decent community.

GARY: A CITY WITHOUT HOPE—II

(By John J. Synon)

On November 7, 1967, Richard Hatcher, a law-trained, 34-year-old Negro was elected Gary's first Negro mayor. His election proved to be calamitous for the brawling steel town that sits just south of Chicago.

By common acknowledgement, Mayor Hatcher is an honest man; money honest. But that his election doomed Gary is equally true. Gary is now a city without hope, locked in a vice of terror and crime from which it sets no escape.

Richard Hatcher, the evidence indicates, is either incapable of competent service as mayor of this rolling town of 180,000 people, or is only superficially interested in its welfare. Critics say he is in residence about one day a week. When inquiry is made as to the reason for his peripetetic travels, word comes back that "the mayor is improving his national image"—speaking somewhere. His choice of topic, generally, is a hymn of praise to (1) Richard Hatcher, or (2) Bobby Kennedy, his political godfather.

This is an understandable combination. From the point of view of both, it is a politically profitable arrangement; they wash each other's shirt: Kennedy has the money; Hatcher has the votes. An executive of the town's bland daily newspaper says, "the Bobby Kennedy Foundation is sending in money to upgrade the mayor's staff". No one can fault that; if money can upgrade, even by a cubit, the motley, mostly-Negro entourage now cavorting at Gary's city hall, it will be money well spent. Gary's municipal government, since Hatcher's inauguration, has become a circus. The staff's ludicrous inefficiency is attributed by some to inexperience, to their being amateurs. A not-so-friendly voice calls it "a Kingfish operation". "Nobody in his right mind", the voice said, "would ask the City Attorney" (a Hatcher-appointed Negro) "for a legal opinion".

Stories of the staff's hilarious incompe-

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tence abound. A stringer for a great Chicago daily has said he once waited two hours for an answer to a routine question. "They couldn't find the answer." Another tells of a secretary who snatched back a posed, dignified photograph of the mayor with the silly comment, "Nobody is supposed to see that".

A favorite tale deals with the clever method Hatcher designed to discourage black office seekers. Shortly after his election, amid a clamor for jobs, the new mayor pompously announced it would be the policy of his administration to hire only the best, that is, Ph. D. holders, preferably, but college graduates, certainly; none other need apply. That took care of that.

Gary's tax rate is becoming a macabre sort of joke and its public schools have become custodial institutions: Of 47 practise teachers who trained last year in Gary, only two would consider contracts; no assurance could be given they would not be assigned to Negro schools. "We never get Big Ten graduates any more", the father of a teenage student said. "They all come from unknown places. You should see them in action. If they are teachers, I'm Kenyatta".

Gary, to use a trite phrase, has had it. Its situation is hopeless.

Why wouldn't it be? The two opposing forces—the black Ins and the white Outs—that today make up Gary's public life, apparently are controlled by evil. There are no pro-bono-publico spirits in this absentee-landlord town, none in sufficient number to make a difference. A group of concerned private citizens—shop owners, mostly—some months ago did form themselves into a Committee For A Safer Gary; they hoped to slow the robbery rate, the assaults and the murders. Unfortunately, they proved ineffectual. The group is now withering into a nothingness.

Roving gangs of black criminals hold the town in thrall. Apparently they are untouchable. Even The Syndicates, the world's hitherto toughest, avoid crossing lances with this new breed of cut-throats and Mayor Hatcher seems unwilling to vigorously prosecute the murderous acts of the apes. It may be he has in mind his "national image" as Gary's first Negro mayor and the politics of "civil rights". Whatever the reason, the national news media will not touch the story, either. As a result, every decent person in Gary—black and white, alike—lives in a self-spun cocoon, withdrawn from civic problems as though the land were ruled by these phantom terrorists, as indeed, for all practical purposes, it is. A venturesome opera star, Roberta Peters, last fall, sang in Gary to "row upon row of empty seats". It isn't likely she will return.

The police—those of them who are not involved, themselves—are almost helpless. The Chief of Police, a Hatcher appointee, keeps them hooded. Thus, the town is stultified. There is no hope.

GARY: A CITY WITHOUT HOPE—III

(By John J. Synon)

If any city in this nation should be able to integrate successfully, it should be Gary, Indiana. And yet, except for "tokenism" and except for forced public-school integration, Gary is as segregated as any Southern city—more segregated than many.

Theoretically, though, social integration in Gary should pose no problem. This is why:

Gary was created from a wasteland only 62 years ago. It has never known a middle class, and the upper class, the town's owners, live elsewhere. Its workers, with rare exception were, as they remain, muscled immigrants—now the sons of immigrants—who make steel. Until World War II, its citizenry had seen Negroes, a few even lived in Gary, but "race" as we know it today was not among the problems besetting the town built by U.S. Steel. There was no overt

"prejudice"; there were not enough Negroes in residence to form an opinion.

Since 1940 or thereabouts, and the coming of the war, the unprecedented demand for the output of the mills has maintained an extraordinarily high demand for labor—any strong back will do, white or black. Today, the lowest paid receives about \$3.00 per hour, \$25.00 a day, and many such jobs go begging.

Because of this high hourly rate, servants are practically unknown in Gary. Every man is his opposite's economic equal, if he has what it takes. If not, there is an abundance of Federal "relief" money—no stigma attached—for those who find both millwork and domestic employment not to their liking. Moreover, with the Negroes now in complete political command, with a Federal government anxious to spend whatever is needed to make the town's Negro mayor (and thus, its own policy) look good, there is no cause for riot—nor have there been any riots.

Gary, then, is a near-perfect hotbed for the theories of the integrationists.

But there is no social integration in Gary, nor any sign of it.

Instead, the "native" population, pushed off balance by the black newcomers, eyes them warily and goes its own way. Where integration is forced, however, as in the public schools, racial troubles do exist. They are vicious, unceasing and unreported. There is little on-the-job trouble because the white workers of Gary, as elsewhere, are not really in competition with the Negroes since the whites hold the straw-boss and supervisory positions while the Negroes seem unable to rise above the lowest—the \$3.00—run. There are exceptions.

Thus, while there is no integration, in the sense sought by the Federal government, neither is there any threat of grand-scale racial troubles. Times are too good for that.

But if the employment situation changes, if hard times come to Gary, if job competition develops, a holocaust seems inevitable. It will be Raw Power vs. Black Power in that case and there is little question as to who would win such an imbroglio as that. If Gary's Poles and Slovaks, its Croatians and its Italians, those who go to make up the town's indigenous population, if such as these begin to move, they will clean Gary's sinkholes like rotor-rooters, the good and the bad, alike. Physical violence is the stuff they are made of.

A number of knowledgeable Garyites were questioned as to the upcoming November election. They were in near-unanimous agreement: Against Nixon, and anybody else but Bobby Kennedy, George Wallace would carry Gary (Lake County). But if Bobby Kennedy is the Democratic nominee, they were not so sure of a Wallace victory. "Wallace would have a fight on his hands." Their reasoning turned on the voting practises of Gary's Catholic women. In their opinion, the white women of Gary would thoughlessly abide by what the church urged them to do, vote for Kennedy. Their votes could spell the difference.

They would do so, it is believed, despite their resentment of the preferential treatment being given Negroes. They would do so despite these facts:

Public housing—mostly Negro occupied—is being erected in Gary at a cost of \$16,000 to \$18,000 per unit, and is eligible to people-making to \$9,000 per year.

Public schools have degenerated to such a point some Negroes, now, are refusing to allow their children to attend.

Lawlessness is universal. In a Gary area known as Tolleston, Negroes have armed patrols to protect themselves from other Negroes.

Gary's present is black. Its future is blacker.

"It is inevitable," a resident said, "Gary will be totally black, one day. And the blacker it gets, the worse it gets. It is hopeless; just hopeless".

That's Gary, Indiana, a city without hope.

GARY: A CITY WITHOUT HOPE—IV

(By John J. Synon)

A friend had told me I could not get a meaningful impression of Gary, Indiana, without talking to one of the merchants "on the firing line".

I asked if he had any suggestions. He named several possibilities. I asked which was the closest. He said, of the four, Lake County Furniture Company.

Lake County Furniture Company is located at 2172 Broadway, Gary. It is owned by a friendly, middle-aged man named Richard Burke. Mr. Burke proved to be the only person in Gary I found who would allow himself to be quoted.

It was early afternoon when I arrived. Even so, the door of the store was bolted. But a rattle brought the owner and I expressed surprise at his closing at that time of day.

"We aren't closed", he said, as he replaced the one-inch steel rod that locked the door. "This is the way we do business—and so is that", he added, pointing to a neat, round hole in his plateglass window. "Bullet", was his laconic explanation.

"And so is this", he said, patting the six-gun that swung from his hip.

My eyes must have bugged.

"Sit down", he grinned, "What would you like to know?"

I told Mr. Burke I was trying to get a line on Gary; the sort of town it is.

"You came to the right place; how many holes can you count in the ceiling?"

I looked, and tallied four.

"See that hole in the lamp shade; see the one in the stove—all bullet holes I have undergone 12 unsuccessful attempts to rob me; I have been actually robbed three times, and I have had three shoot outs."

"Shoot outs?"

"Shoot outs. After I got tired of turning over my receipts to the black criminals that scourge this town, I prepared for them. They got to me one day, shortly afterwards, took my money and made me lie face down on the floor. Then they took a can of gasoline, sprinkled it all over the place and set it afire—then they ran."

"Did you catch them?"

"Catch 'em? I dropped them as they went through the door."

I asked if his case was unique, isolated.

"Oh, no. I'm about average. Some places have been held up twice a day. You should see Midtown Market, at 16th and Jackson. That place looks like a fortress. It should; it's been held up 40 times in 37 months.

"Or Comays; they are the biggest jewelers in town. Everybody on the floor, there, wears a six gun in plain view. That's something to see; swankiest jeweler in town".

I asked what kept him at such a business, in such a town. He answered: "I've got accounts receivable". And when I made no response to so shallow an answer, he added:

"I came to Gary 20 years ago with nothing. I'm not going to leave with nothing. I've worked hard. These blacks have this place bulldogged; people are afraid to come into the city; my daughters in college, for instance. They are afraid to come home. Even my wife won't come into the store".

As we talked, the door rattled. Mr. Burke eyed the newcomer, then beckoned his clerk to permit entrance.

"That fellow comes as my friend", he said, sotto voce, "but he isn't. He is a stoony for city hall. Just keep your voice down".

After chatting with the clerk a moment, the newcomer left. The door was again bolted.

"What did he want?" Mr. Burke asked his employee.

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"He wanted to know who your visitor is. I told him a salesman".

"Good".

It was time to go and I asked Mr. Burke if he would call a cab. He said cabs were not available. I offered to walk; it was about 14 blocks to my mid-town hotel—straight down Broadway, the town's main street.

"Oh, no, don't do that—that's a pretty good suit you have on I'll drive you".

It was a memorable drive. Mr. Burke knows all the merchants, those still in business and those who have fled. He pointed to their places as we passed—some are boarded up now—recounting the times their owners had been robbed, beaten or murdered—"poor Mr. Rosenberg".

"See that place", he said, as we neared my hotel, I nodded.

"Two years ago it was offered to me at \$200 a month. Today, it houses Youth Opportunity, or something like that. The government pays \$975 a month rent to a trust".

"Who owns the trust?" I asked. And Mr. Burke's answer told me all I needed to know about Gary.

"That's anybody's guess".

In 30 minutes I was out of town.

LT. ROBERT C. MCKELLIP, USMC, KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER OF NEW YORK IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents, 1st Lt. Robert C. McKellip, USMC, of Bronxville, N.Y. died in Vietnam earlier this month.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man, and to honor his memory, by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article:

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter Dispatch]

LIEUTENANT MCKELLIP KILLED BY MORTAR FIRE

BRONXVILLE.—Marine Lt. Robert C. McKellip Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. McKellip of 3 Bacon Court, was killed in action in Vietnam last Wednesday.

Lt. McKellip, a platoon commander, was leading his men in a search-and-destroy mission when he was struck by enemy mortar fire. He had been in Vietnam for two and a half months.

Lt. McKellip, 23, was graduated from Bronxville High School in 1963 with honors in mathematics and placed third highest in scholastic standing.

He received varsity letters in football and tennis and was a member of the Bronxville Field Club tennis team.

He was a 1967 graduate of Columbia University with cum laude honors and at his commencement exercises, he was chosen to carry the Pierson Flag as the one who did most for the college that year.

He received his commission as second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in a separate ceremony the same day as commencement.

Lt. McKellip received his basic training at Quantico, Va., in January, 1968, and received a citation for fine performance and leadership for military skills and academic achievement, placing seventh in a class of 237.

He also won the Col. Leney Award for achieving the highest academic average during training.

Surviving, in addition to his parents, are a sister, Elizabeth; a brother, Peter, both of Bronxville; his maternal grandmother from St. Louis, Mo., and his paternal grandfather from Palo Alto, Calif.

May 21, 1968

THE RENEGOTIATION BILL

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the year, I introduced legislation to strengthen the powers of the Renegotiation Board, to give it more power to deal with war profiteering. As a result of my efforts and those of others with similar views, the bill which has been reported by the Ways and Means Committee strengthens the Renegotiation Board's powers to deal with excessive profits. This strengthening occurred in three areas.

First, the bill continues the life of the Board for longer than has been the case in prior extensions. In the past Congress usually has continued the life of the Board for 2 years or even less. I strongly supported making the Board a permanent agency because excessive profits on Government defense work are going to continue for a long time. This bill, although it does not make the Renegotiation Board permanent, does extend the life of the Board for longer than has been the rule in the past. I am happy that the Committee on Ways and Means agreed that the Renegotiation Board should be continued until the end of the fiscal year 1971.

Second, this bill cuts down the area of application of a major exemption from renegotiation. Since the Renegotiation Board was established in 1951, the powers of the Board have been successively weakened over the years. My legislation was designed to reverse this trend, to give the Board more power to deal with profiteering on defense business. One of the most important exemptions from the Renegotiation Act is the standard commercial articles exemption. Under this exemption billions of dollars of Government sales escape renegotiation each year. This bill reverses the trend of prior years and tightens up this provision. The bill amends the exemption in a number of ways to insure that only truly commercial articles qualify for it. For instance, in determining whether an item is of a commercial nature, existing law allows sales to foreign governments, to State governments, and to many Federal Government agencies to be counted as commercial sales. This bill corrects the erroneous idea that these types of sales are commercial sales.

Presently, an item can qualify for the standard commercial articles exemption even though only 35 percent of the sales of the item are made commercially. The bill tightens this provision by raising the required percentage of commercial sales to 50 percent.

This bill also requires that for the standard commercial articles exemption to be available, the price at which an item is sold to the Government must be the same or less than the commercial price of the item. This will prevent items on which the Government is being overcharged from escaping the renegotiation process by means of this exemption.

These amendments represent a substantial step toward returning to the Re-

negotiation Board the powers it needs to prevent Government contractors from reaping excessive profits on defense business at the expense of the American taxpayer.

The third area in which there has been at least a start in tightening involves the \$1 million floor. Under the present law, a contractor who has less than \$1 million of sales covered by the Renegotiation Act in a year is exempt from renegotiation. This exemption constitutes an avenue for profiteering particularly because of the Government policy in recent years of providing a preference to small contractors. My legislation would have substantially lowered the amount of this exemption so that the many small contractors now participating in defense business would not escape from renegotiation. In committee I fought to lower the amount of this exemption to at least \$500,000, and I supported another effort to lower the exemption to \$750,000. The majority of the members of the committee, however, did not accept either my, or the other, motion to lower the exemption.

Nevertheless, the committee did adopt a reporting requirement which will enable the Renegotiation Board to check up on contractors whose renegotiable sales are less than \$1 million because of the exemption for standard commercial articles. These contractors, who do not have to file statements with the Renegotiation Board at present, will be required to report to the Board if their sales in the absence of the standard commercial articles exemption would exceed \$1 million.

Although this bill does not strengthen the powers of the Renegotiation Board as much as I wanted, it is a step in the right direction. The legislation in past years has almost always weakened the ability of the Renegotiation Board to eliminate excessive profits. I introduced legislation to reverse this trend. I fought in committee to change this pattern—to add to the Renegotiation Board's powers, not to take away from them. This bill is the turning point. It does reverse the trend. It adds to the powers of the Renegotiation Board rather than weakening those powers.

When this legislation is before the House of Representatives, I expect to propose or support an amendment to lower the floor to include contractors whose sales to the Government exceed \$500,000 per year.

PAUL WESTMORELAND

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul Westmoreland, the composer of the song "Detour" resides in Sacramento, Calif. "Detour" was written more than 20 years ago and since that time it has been recorded by a variety of artists ranging from those in the country and western field to the sophisticated Patti Page.

"Detour" has been a tremendous hit throughout the 20-odd years of its exist-

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ence. In recognition of Paul Westmoreland's contribution Assemblyman Leroy Greene of Sacramento introduced a resolution commanding him in the California State Assembly. The resolution was passed on February 26, 1968. I am pleased to share it with my colleagues:

RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO COMMANDING PAUL WESTMORELAND

(By Honorable Leroy F. Greene of the Third District)

Whereas, Paul Westmoreland has been engaged both in the fields of broadcasting and in the writing of popular music; and

Whereas, He has been associated with radio station KRAK in Sacramento for the past five and one-half years; and

Whereas, He has lived in the State of California for twenty-five years, residing in Sacramento for the past twenty; and

Whereas, It was during Mr. Westmoreland's residence in California that he wrote and had published the nationally acclaimed popular song, "Detour"; and

Whereas, It was first recorded more than twenty years ago by twenty-two artists in the country and western field; and

Whereas, It then moved into another area of popular music, being recorded by, among others, Duane Eddy, Patti Page, and Dean Martin, and with sales mounting into the millions; and

Whereas, He has been presented with a "Citation of Achievement presented by Broadcast Music Incorporated to Paul Westmoreland in recognition of the great national popularity attained by 'Detour'"; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California, That the Members commend Paul Westmoreland for his contributions to the field of music, thereby enriching our music heritage, and extend to him their sincere best wishes for success in all future endeavors; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit a suitably prepared copy of this resolution to Paul Westmoreland.

House Resolution No. 105 adopted unanimously February 26, 1968.

JESSE M. UNRUH,
Speaker of the Assembly.

[Attest:]

JAMES D. DRISCOLL,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

FREDERICK COUNTY YOUTH DIES NEAR SAIGON

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

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

FREDERICK COUNTY YOUTH DIES NEAR SAIGON

A 20-year-old Frederick county paratrooper has been listed as killed in action in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

He is Pfc. Charles W. Harbert, son of Mrs. Audrey I. Harbert and the late Floyd H. Harbert, of Brunswick.

A graduate of Brunswick High School, Private Harbert enlisted in the Army January 10, 1967, and took his basic training at Fort Bragg, N.C.

Subsequently, he decided to become a para-

trooper and was transferred to Fort Benning, Ga. After a period of training he left with the 101st Airborne Infantry for South Vietnam.

WOUNDED NEAR SAIGON

Early in April of this year he was hospitalized with an arm wound received in the fighting in the Saigon area, but he recovered and returned to his outfit.

He was reported killed by small arms fire in the Saigon area May 2.

The soldier's mother said yesterday she received a letter last Saturday in which he wrote that "things were not too good" and that on the last patrol he was "the point" (leading the squad).

She added that he complained in the letter that his arm "was a little stiff" from the wound.

DID WELL IN SCHOOL

Mrs. Harbert said her son did well in school and that during this last year he completed an agricultural course at Fort Detrick, Md. He was a member of a Little League baseball team in Brunswick.

Besides his mother he is survived by two brothers, Floyd H. Harbert, Jr., and James W. Harbert, both of Brunswick.

MIRACLE RICE DEVELOPED IN HAWAII OFFERS HOPE FOR ASIA'S HUNGRY MILLIONS

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the first plot of a new "miracle" rice that may take Asia out of the shadow of starvation has just been harvested in Hawaii. This encouraging news comes from the Tropical Rice Production Training Center, located in the old Wailua Valley on my own home Island of Kauai.

The extraordinary new dwarf variety of rice, called IR-8, was developed by the University of Hawaii's International Rice Research Institute and, according to field director John Tompkins, it promises to produce three crops a year with a yield of 8,000 pounds of rice per acre.

This new variety of rice could well provide the answer to some of the world food problems, especially in Asia where rice is the staple diet for millions.

A report on Hawaii's contribution in the war on hunger is discussed in an informative article by Harold Ching from the May 16, 1968, edition of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. I commend the article, "New Miracle Rice Harvested on Kauai" to the attention of my colleagues and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NEW "MIRACLE" RICE HARVESTED ON KAUAI

(By Harold Ching)

WAILUA, KAUAI.—IR-8 is a newly developed "miracle" that could prove the brightest hope for Asia's hungry millions.

IR-8 is an unimpressive looking, but very productive dwarf variety of rice, developed by the University of Hawaii's International Rice Research Institute.

Test site for the new plant is the Tropical Rice Production Training Center's farm in old Wailua Valley.

Rice specialist John Tompkins, the center's field officer, said today the first plot of the variety has been harvested and promises to yield 8,000 pounds per acre.

DOUBLE PRODUCTION

This is almost twice the rice produced by other plants used in a comparison test, Tompkins said.

The Joljutia variety, obtained in Indonesia, is a lush plant which towers higher than six-footer Tompkins—but it produces only about 1,800 pounds of rice an acre.

A more normal field is the Calusa variety from California, considered a "normal" type rice to those in local rice farming. This produces about 5,000 pounds of rice per acre.

IR-8 is a runty plant and certainly no "miracle" in appearance.

"But it produces three crops a year, where you can get one or maybe one and a half per year with the other two," Tompkins said.

GROWTH CYCLE

Its growth cycle doesn't seem so markedly different, either.

But Tompkins said his records show the IR-8 crop ran about two weeks past the four-month growing cycle. He blamed it on the "cold and rainy" spring weather experienced some of the time during the experiment crop period.

The crop period is supposed to be 120 days. Tompkins said the weather also caused other comparison varieties tested in Wallua to take a little extra time, too.

BIRDS DON'T LIKE IT

To an old-time rice planter, the feature of IR-8 which makes the most sense is its resistance to the voracious rice birds.

Other varieties showed a high percentage of empty husks, squeezed dry by the birds when the grains were still in the milky stage.

But the "miracle rice" was almost untouched by the birds.

HEARN WINS HIGHEST HONOR

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the Farmers Home Administration in North Carolina is rendering outstanding service. The success of this fine agency of the Department of Agriculture in North Carolina is due to a great extent to the devoted service of the men and women who are FHA employees.

The FHA in North Carolina is under the able direction of Melvin H. Hearn. Mr. Hearn has been North Carolina State director of the FHA since 1961. In recognition of the excellent service that the FHA is rendering in North Carolina under his leadership Melvin Hearn was awarded the Distinguished Service Award last week by the Secretary of Agriculture.

An article appearing in the May 15, 1968, edition of the Statesville, N.C., Record and Landmark, describes Melvin Hearn's career with the FHA. I insert the article in the RECORD at this point:

HEARN WINS HIGHEST HONOR

Melvin H. Hearn, State Director for the Farmers Home Administration, yesterday received the U.S. Department of Agriculture's highest honor, the Distinguished Service Award, from Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman during ceremonies in Washington.

Hearn, a native North Carolinian, has headed USDA's rural credit agency in North Carolina since April, 1961. In those seven

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years, the FHA loan volume has increased 534 per cent, from \$12.87 million to \$68.44 million, and families aided jumped from 7,000 in 1960 to 51,000 in 1967, a seven-fold increase.

The award cited Hearn's "noteworthy achievement in furthering rural areas development and community relations in North Carolina through effective administration of USDA credit, technical assistance and outreach programs."

Substantial expansion of Farmers Home Administration service to Negro and American Indian minority groups has taken place under Hearn's leadership, and employment opportunities in his agency have been extended on a basis of equality for all, the award nomination noted.

Hearn also is chairman of the North Carolina Technical Action Panel, which coordinates the efforts of USDA and other agencies to meet the needs of rural North Carolina most effectively. As chairman of the TAP since its inception, he also helped organize county-level TAPS and Rural Areas Development groups in each of the state's 100 counties. These groups have developed more than 80,000 projects to benefit rural citizens.

The award winner is a graduate of North Carolina State and an Army veteran of World War II. He held executive positions with the Melville Dairy at Burlington and the Catawba Dairy at Hickory before taking his present post seven years ago.

Hearn was named "Tar Heel of the Week" by the Raleigh News and Observer in 1964 and was the Hickory Exchange Club's "Man of the Year" in 1960.

A CONSTRUCTIVE SCHOOL PROGRAM

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I know that many of our colleagues, reading reports of disruption of schools in the Brownsville-Ocean Hill area of Brooklyn, must necessarily wonder about what is happening to and in the school system of the city of New York. To those concerned about the New York City school situation, I have words of comfort.

The widespread publicity attracted by events in the Brownsville-Ocean Hill School District falls squarely within the man-bites-dog concept of news. The simple truth is that, despite many shortcomings, the people of our city have many reasons to be proud of our school system. Our graduates do well in the Nation's colleges and universities and they win more than their fair share of awards and scholarships in stiff, national competition.

We are proud of a dedicated staff of teachers, who, through their membership in the United Federation of Teachers, play a vital role in plans and programs to improve our school system. Our supervisors are trained and experienced and provide the creative leadership essential to a vast, urban school system. Through the United Parents Association, the parents of our city participate actively in the formulation of school policies.

Just 2 weeks ago, I was privileged to attend the annual field day at Manhattan Beach Park of Public School 225,

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located at 1075 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, in my congressional district. This is an integrated school with more than 200 children bused in daily from Bedford-Stuyvesant, East New York, and Coney Island.

Field day is the nearest thing to a country picnic that most of the pupils will ever experience, for many of them have been raised in typical apartment houses in our city.

The day's festivities began with opening exercises conducted by the sixth grade band, followed by competitive track and field events for both boys and girls of the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

Prizes were awarded by community leaders, acting as judges: Herman Field, president of the Brooklyn Civic Council, Paul McGuirk, vice-president of the Lincoln Savings Bank, and Daniel Shwam, president of Atlantic Lodge B'nai B'rith.

Picnic lunches were prepared over open barbecue pits and eaten on the beach. Pupils were free to select their own form of activity—softball, handball, swings, seesaws, slides, checker tables, and shuffleboard. The highlight event was a volleyball game between the faculty and students.

Mr. Louis Samet, principal of PS 225, maintained discipline throughout the entire park area by riding a bicycle and using a walkie-talkie, assisted by a corps of student marshals who also rode bicycles. A loudspeaker address system carried general instructions to the entire school assemblage. Informal singing and dancing by various groups of pupils throughout the day added to the joyous spirit. Parents who come to assist at the barbecues stay to marvel at the wonderful time these city-bred youngsters have in the wide-open spaces, even though they have to observe specific rules of behavior.

In addition to the field day exercises, Public School 225 has underway active plans for an outdoor dance festival on June 5, and an outdoor art show on June 14, in which students, faculty, parents, and the community all participate.

It is indeed a tribute to the dedicated leadership of Dolores Chitraro, district school superintendent, Louis Samet, the school principal, and Sally G. Ehrlich, assistant principal, the teachers at the school, the pupils, and their parents that such creative plans are formulated and successfully executed. This is an outstanding example of what can be accomplished in an urban, integrated school.

These programs may not consume as much newsprint as events in the Brownsville-Ocean Hill School District. Yet they are more typical and more characteristic of the schools in our city.

SENIOR CITIZENS MONTH

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the month of May is Senior Citizens Month. It is fitting and proper that we recognize and pay tribute to our senior citizens.

We owe them so much for what we now have. They have been pioneers and have been responsible for the growth of our Nation. Iowa is especially aware of the senior citizens since the percentage of its population over 65 is the greatest of any State in the Union. Our Nation has taken its responsibility to its elders seriously. Last year a 13-percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits to 24 million older Americans became law and this year in March the effort of this increase was first felt. While the passage of this legislation was helpful, it could have been even more constructive and progressive. Increases in social security benefits have been made necessary primarily because of inflation. Along with many other Members of Congress I called for a change in the social security law to provide for automatic increase in social security benefits when the cost of living rises. Our senior citizens deserve this protection against irresponsible fiscal policies which result in inflation. Another area where corrective action has not been taken is in the area of tax deductions for medical expenses and cost of drugs for people over 65. This right of deduction was taken away last year as provided in the Social Security Act of 1965. The loss of this deduction places an unnecessary burden on our retired citizens. The reasoning that medicare eliminates the need for this deduction is faulty. Medicare's payment of drug costs and other medical expenses is limited. This leaves a gap in the overall medical cost picture. Many elderly persons and couples are now being penalized because the deduction has been eliminated. A deduction for medical expenses and drug costs above medicare should be reinstated as soon as possible. Last year the Older American Act was also extended. This has increased educational, recreational and health services for senior citizens. In addition 1967 saw the passage of long-overdue legislation to prohibit discrimination because of age in employment. Yes, there has been an increasing awareness of the problems of our retired citizens. Significant steps have been taken to meet those problems. But always one is impressed by the fact that a stable economy and dollar is the single most important thing to a retired person living on a fixed income. The challenge here has not yet been met. We must dedicate ourselves to this task.

PRAISE OF THE SALVATION ARMY IN WASHINGTON, D.C., DURING THE RECENT RIOTING DISORDERS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, during the civil disorder in Washington the Salvation Army was on duty around the clock for 7 days with its canteens bringing food and beverages to policemen, firemen, lawyers, dis-

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trict workers, fire victims, prisoners, news media, and military personnel. In that amount of time over a quarter million cups of coffee were served along with a thousand gallons of soup, 51,000 sandwiches, 775 dozen doughnuts, and a variety of fruit, cakes, and soft drinks. As many as 14 different units were on the streets of Washington with food and hot coffee for displaced persons, as well as the men on duty and unable to leave their posts.

Winnie's Chuck Wagon caters through the cooperation of Mrs. Winfield Kelly and the Automatic Retailers of America assisted the Salvation Army in preparing, delivering, and distributing sandwiches and coffee. Thirteen Winnies Chuck Wagons were decorated with Salvation Army Emergency Services banners and cruised throughout the city distributing free coffee and food. Mr. Kelly is a member of the Salvation Army Advisory Board and through a previous arrangement made his trucks available for the emergency. Twenty-four of his employees including some supervisors volunteered their time and a total of 278 man-hours were given without reimbursement. Winnie's entire warehouse stock was put at the disposal of the Salvation Army.

Civil servants and military personnel continually praise the Salvation Army for its valiant and unselfish effort.

In addition to the canteen service the Salvation Army operated seven clothing and furniture centers. Financial assistance was also given to distressed families by Salvation Army caseworkers. Brig. W. R. H. Goodier, Divisional Commander for the National Capital Division stated:

As displaced families were able to be relocated into new homes there was an increased need for usable furniture, beds, tables, sofas and chairs. As citizens called to donate these items Salvation Army trucks manned by volunteers were dispatched to pick them up and take them to the distribution points.

The Salvation Army was designated as official collection-distribution agency for clothing and furniture under the Mayor's Urban Coalition.

The Salvation Army centers were able to distribute over 13,000 usable articles such as dozens of diapers, pairs of shoes, blankets and clothing.

Eight hundred items of furniture such as beds, dressers, tables and chairs were given to victims of the disorder—others were given assistance in finding housing, and some even received their rent from Salvation Army caseworkers. Two centers offered emergency shelter to burned out persons.

Similar services were offered in other cities in the United States where disorder broke out.

In Washington, D.C., the Salvation Army is a member agency of the Health and Welfare Council sharing in the United Givers Funds.

Although this has heavily taxed the Salvation Army's local budget there has been no appeal made for funds to offset the expense. The Salvation Army with 102 years of experience again in traditional manner met the need at the time of need.

JUSTICE AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, last June, those of us who have an emotional commitment to the State of Israel rejoiced when the word came in of the incredible Israeli successes in the 6-day war, successes which resulted in a whole new set of frontiers, far more defensible than the old. Today, in spite of those more defensible frontiers, Israel faces grave dangers, not only from the determination of the Arab States to destroy her, but from the ambitions of the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

Last Sunday night, May 19, I had the honor of addressing a dinner of the Jewish National Fund, League of Men's Organizations in Philadelphia, and I outlined what I felt should be our country's short-range and long-range policies insofar as Israel is concerned. I should at this time like to share these thoughts with my colleagues in the House of Representatives, considering first the immediate future and then taking a longer range view.

First. We should stop trying to pretend that we are neutral as between Israel and the Arab States. If both sides wanted peace, we might have reason to adopt a policy of neutrality. But as long as only Israel wants peace and as long as the Arab States avowedly want the destruction of Israel, there is no reason, and there is no excuse, for trying to equate our attitudes toward the two sides. Sometimes our Government seems to forget this basic difference between the two sides in the Middle East. Particularly at the United Nations, the underlying facts tend to be obscured—literally covered over—by the torrent of passionate Arab speeches.

Second. We should fully support the Israeli insistence that they not be expected to give up any of the territory they won in the June war except as a result of negotiations leading to a permanent peace settlement. The Arab insistence to the contrary that Israel should return to her former frontiers, and then negotiate, not only flies in the face of reality, but totally overlooks the fact that the Arabs lost these territories in a war which they started by attempting illegally to close the Gulf of Aqaba and other warlike acts. Here again, the fact that the Israelis were for years willing—indeed eager—to make permanent peace on the basis of the old frontiers must be always kept in mind. But no one could reasonably expect that, after the Arab aggression of last year and the costly conflict that ensued, Israel could still accept those old frontiers.

Third. We must stand ready to make arms available to Israel to the extent needed by Israel to offset the vast shipments of arms to the Arab States by the Soviet Union. This is particularly necessary now that France, under the leader-

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ship of the faithless De Gaulle, has not only abandoned her former role of principal arms supplier to Israel but is refusing to ship planes that have actually been paid for. We should make these arms available to Israel on such terms as she can afford to meet.

Fourth. In addition to the sale of conventional weapons, I suggest that we should consider a massive program of assistance to Israel to establish an effective system of border controls to prevent the incursions of terrorists. Now that King Hussein is no longer politically strong enough even to attempt to prevent terrorist raids upon Israel from being launched from the lands of Jordan, these constant attacks have become almost intolerable for Israel. For understandable reasons, mainly arising from problems of domestic morale, the Israelis feel compelled from time to time to launch retaliatory attacks on Jordan. Yet it seems, on balance, that these attacks are counterproductive. Instead of deterring the terrorist attacks from Jordan, they give such attacks a color of respectability. The temptation may mount for Israel to launch even more extensive attacks, but these would serve no good purpose either and might result in general renewed hostilities in the area. For us to assist in the construction of physical barriers to infiltration along the Jordan River, even if they were expensive, would thus make a substantial contribution to peace in the area.

Fifth. We should also stand ready to assist in the difficult problem of relocation and resettlement of the Arab refugees. Here again, over the years, the Arabs have been intransigent in their opposition to resettlement programs, preferring to retain the refugee camps as centers of political unrest. If Arab-Israel negotiations were to take place, they might well lead to a final resolution of the refugee problem as well as of the frontier questions. Obviously, Israel is now in a stronger position on that score than before.

Sixth. We should make more definite than ever before our commitment that we will not permit Israel to be driven into the sea. Ever since 1952, I have felt that the Arab States were living in a dream that some day U.S. policy might change and we might let Israel be destroyed. Many American residents in the Arab world have contributed to such dreams and hopes. And surely it did not help when the President last December emphasized that we had a treaty commitment to South Vietnam, but none to Israel. For the United States now to make crystal clear our determination not to let Israel be destroyed would greatly contribute to peace in the area. For it would tend to strengthen the hand of those Arabs—and friends of Arabs—who recognize that Arab belligerency toward Israel has been a tragically mistaken and costly policy and who want to see the Arab States concentrate instead on solving their own problems of poverty and illiteracy and disease. There is an organization called the Union of Free Arabs, about which I know very little, which is trying to achieve this change in the Arab

point of view. In a recent brochure, this organization of Arabs said:

We have sold the fifteen past years to our militarist leaders, who wasted our scarce resources upon adventurous militarism. Now they are selling our future, at the rate of \$4,000,000 per day. This is the sum we are paying daily to maintain our military leadership and their armies in power. This is the sum by which we are set backwards daily in education, science and research. How much longer must this last? How much longer shall we lack the courage to face the future? For all thinking Arabs and for all honest friends of the Arabs this is still the fateful hour of choice.

Seventh. In pursuing these policies, we should rely on the United Nations only to supply machinery to carry out decisions that are agreed upon by ourselves and Israel on one hand and by the Soviet Union and the Arab States on the other. In a situation such as we confront in the Middle East, it is impossible for the United Nations to impose solutions or even greatly to influence the decisions of the embattled parties. This is partly because of the structure of the United Nations, which permits the Soviet Union to veto any Security Council decision it does not like. But it is, more importantly, because the United Nations as an institution reflects the attitudes of its members. In the case of the Israeli-Arab dispute, unfortunately, too many of the members are so influenced by the Arab point of view that they apply a double standard to events in the area. In consequence, organs of the United Nations themselves sometimes apply such a double standard.

The latest example of this was the unanimous Security Council vote calling upon Israel not to hold an anniversary parade in Jerusalem on the ground that to do so would be "provocative," while ignoring the fact that on almost the same day Nasser was once again calling for "a total mobilization" of Arab resources for "the decisive battle" against Israel. Could anyone reasonably deny that this speech was more "provocative" than Israel's parade? Yet not even the United States proposed a resolution criticizing Nasser's rantings. In other words, the members of the Security Council expect and demand that Israel act in a superrestrained way. They have no such expectation of the Arabs, and make no such demands.

Turning now to the longer range aspects of the problem, I would like to say first that, in my view, the really dangerous element in the situation is the apparent ambition of the Soviet Union to become the dominant power in the Middle East. I have no fear that, with a reasonable amount of help from us and from other friends, Israel can take care of herself insofar as the Arabs are concerned. But to face a ring of hostile Arab States, backed to the hilt by an aggressive Soviet Union, is quite another matter.

I do not believe that the Soviets want another war in the Middle East. But they seem to be playing a very dangerous game in continually stirring up trouble in the area and in encouraging the Arab States to remain intransigent. It is

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a kind of brinkmanship which could lead to disaster, and yet it is a policy that is not easily countered by the United States or anyone else. In this situation, I think we must proceed with a combination of firmness, insofar as our commitment to Israel is concerned, and of flexibility insofar as our attitude toward the Soviet Union's legitimate objectives in the area is concerned.

With these considerations in mind, I would suggest that we should pursue two separate, but related, long-range objectives:

First, we should explore the possibilities of a treaty under which the signatories would agree to guarantee such frontiers as might be agreed upon through negotiation. Such a treaty commitment would initially run in favor of Israel, but it could be made clear from the start that the protection of such a treaty would also be available to any of the Arab States whenever they chose to join the treaty organization. In other words, we would be saying to the Arab States that as soon as they are willing to make a permanent peace, we will underwrite that peace, so that they may feel secure from Israeli attack—and indeed from each other—just as much as Israel would be secure from attack by the Arabs.

Second, as soon as the time seems propitious, we should invite the Soviets to a conference with regard to the Middle East. At such a conference, we should first of all attempt to ascertain what the true Soviet objectives in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East are and to what extent those objectives might be acceptable to us. For example, are the Soviets concerned about access to a warm-water port—historically a Russian objective—or about the availability of the Suez Canal? Surely it would be in our interest, and in the interest of peace in the area, for us to give reasonable assurances on these points. Similarly, we might ask to what extent the Soviets are concerned about having hostile governments on their southern borders. This too would be a legitimate concern, and should be the more easy to meet in view of recent changes in the foreign policy of Iran and Turkey in the direction of friendship and accommodation with the Soviets.

Another question would have to be: To what extent are the Soviet ambitions in the Middle East aimed at the control of the area's oil resources, or at least at the denial of those resources to the Western Powers? This of course would be an objective that the Western World could not concede, but there is no clear evidence that the Soviets are actually pursuing such an end.

While the present might not seem to be a propitious time for such discussions with the Soviet Union, we have found it possible to carry on negotiations with the Soviets, even during the Vietnam war, on matters of common interest, such as the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty and the Consular Treaty which was recently ratified by the Soviets. In order not to have the Arabs insist on being present, we would not be able to invite the Israelis to

participate in such talks, but we could of course keep them fully informed, and my guess is that the Israelis are realistic enough, and are worried enough about the ultimate results of current Soviet policies in the Middle East, so that the Israel Government would welcome any effort on our part to find out what the Soviet aims in that area really are and whether they are compatible with our interests and with those of Israel.

No one can be sure what the result of such discussions would be. If it should turn out that Soviet objectives are in fact objectives that neither we nor the Israelis can accept, the sooner we find out the unpleasant facts, the better we can plan for the future.

If, on the other hand, the discussions were to prove fruitful, the way would be opened for a peaceful settlement that the Arabs would find it hard to resist. And this, in turn, could mean a new, bright day for the peoples of the entire area.

UNCUTTABLE FEDERAL BUDGET?

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the Capital Journal of Salem, Oreg., carried an editorial on May 16 concerning our Federal budget. I commend this excellent editorial to all who are interested in fiscal responsibility:

UNCUTTABLE FEDERAL BUDGET?

The public must be wondering if this merry-go-round over a tax increase in Washington will ever stop.

For two years Congress and the President have been fighting over who'll cut what, and how. At one point Lyndon Johnson said he'd agree to a spending cut equal to estimated revenue from a tax increase, just to stop inflation.

Now he says no. Now that Congress is within shouting distance of a tax bill-spending cut package LBJ is yelling foul. He'll take a \$4 billion cut, he says, but any more isn't in the national interest.

Well, adding at least \$8 billion to the giant federal deficit this year isn't in the country's best interests. That's for sure. That's what will happen without added revenue.

And few persons could believe that the government will go to pieces with \$6 billion in cuts, as Congress is proposing now.

Just a quick scanning of the budget shows these vulnerable programs:

Space programs, \$4.1 billion.

Highways, \$4.1 billion.

Farm price supports, \$3 billion.

Development of a supersonic airplane, \$230 million.

Soil Conservation Service projects—\$710 million.

"Pork barrel" public works, about \$1 billion.

Surely many of these products could be reduced, and partially delayed, without damaging the country's long-range interests.

Indeed there are good arguments for phrasing out some of the more unsuccessful efforts, such as the farm subsidies. Others, like the supersonic airliner, are questionable to begin with.

At any rate the budget has to be cut or no practical amount of taxing will accom-

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plish the goal intended. Even the \$6 billion figure is full of loopholes. Vietnam war expenditures can increase, for example, if war costs go up. Interest on the debt also can increase. And both categories surely will rise, above estimates. They always have.

Tax increases in the past have nearly always produced just more federal spending, not merely debt reduction. Unless that spending is cut heavily Congress won't be meeting its responsibility.

PRIVATE PROGRAM SHOWS UNCLE SAM THE WAY

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the May 1968 Nation's Business highlighted the ability of the private sector to successfully tackle and carry out major programs to meet public needs.

The article describes the highly successful program of the United Student Aid Funds, Inc. and the work in providing student financial assistance to young people throughout the Nation.

The Congress should be proud of the excellent record which this organization established and I want to take this opportunity to bring the article to your attention.

The article follows:

PRIVATE PROGRAM SHOWS UNCLE SAM THE WAY—COLLEGE LOAN PLAN STARTED BY BUSINESSMEN SETS CRITERIA FOR HELPING WORTHY STUDENTS

Timothy Glidden, ex-1st Lieutenant, Army, had a wife, no job, no prospect of one for three long years, no credit record and no collateral.

So he applied for a \$1,000 loan.

And he got it.

Is this any way to run a loan business?

You bet it is, United Student Aid Funds, Inc., says. And it has the statistics to prove it. In five years, it has grown from a small one-horse operation serving 17 colleges in a single Midwestern state to a nationwide organization.

It now operates in all 50 states, and has endorsed more than \$185 million worth of loans for 300,000 students.

It persuaded more than 9,000 commercial banks, savings and loan companies and other lenders to extend credit to college students on a nonprofit basis—backed up with no more than a promise to pay.

More than 900 colleges and universities, plus some 100 vocational schools, steer students who need help to USA Funds.

It all started with a simple idea, pursued by men who were determined to prove that the federal government hasn't a monopoly on brains—or on desire to solve social problems.

Founders included John Burkhardt, Indianapolis life insurance executive, and Richard C. Cornuelle, then staff head of the Foundation for Voluntary Welfare. As the founders saw it, the problem was real, but a practical solution was possible.

College costs were going up, and more and more people were sending their youngsters to college. But many had a hard time paying the bill. Long-term loans seemed a foolproof answer. Since a college education adds about \$200,000 to a student's lifetime earning power, it makes sense for him to borrow to obtain this increase. And investigation proved that college students are good credit risks if:

The loan is formal. And the repayment plan systematic and reasonably prompt.

Then USA Funds came up with a gimmick that greatly multiplied the amount available for loans. It was modelled on a successful plan tried locally in Massachusetts.

In the past, colleges had loaned students money out of school funds. But to make a \$1,000 loan, the college needed \$1,000 in gifts or other funds.

MAKES \$1 DO WORK OF \$25

USA Funds made that \$1,000 do the work of \$25,000.

It told colleges that for every \$1,000 they put in its reserves, USA Funds would put in another \$1,000 it raised by grants from businessmen and foundations. It then persuaded banks to sign a contract to lend \$12,500 at a nonprofit rate for every \$1,000 USA Funds held in its reserve, security fund.

Thus, \$1,000 of a college's cash became \$25,000 in loan capacity.

It permitted undergraduates (freshmen temporarily excepted) up to \$1,000 a year, graduate students up to \$2,000, to an overall total of \$4,000.

The student began to repay the loan four months after graduation, and got three to four years to wipe out the debt.

USA Funds President, ex-General Dynamics Vice President Allen D. Marshall, puts it this way:

"We were founded in the belief that an educated citizenry is the greatest asset of any nation."

USA FUNDS ALUMNI

Timothy Glidden, ex-1st Lieutenant, Army, is now legislative assistant to Sen. Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico. He is one of the thousands of bright, young men USA Funds helped put through college.

"It was a lifesaver for me," he says.

"After pre-law in Middlebury College in Vermont, I went into the Army for two years. I got out in February, 1964, and enrolled in New Mexico University Law School in the fall of the same year.

"I had saved \$1,500 while in uniform. That was all I had to continue my education. At the time, there was no GI bill that applied to veterans like me. It lapsed after the Korean War, and we didn't get a new one until I was a senior in law school.

"The money I had saved was gone in the first year of law school. Also, I had married. I was faced with this dilemma—find the money to go to school full time, or take a job and become a part-time student. The school encouraged me to continue full time.

"I got two USA Fund loans. The first for \$650, then \$1,000 a year later. Thanks to them, I was able to get my law degree in three years instead of four.

"Now I'm paying \$22.48 a month on my \$650 loan. Later I'll pay off the \$1,000 debt. It's the best investment I'll ever make."

SKEPTICS DOUBTED

When USA Funds started out, some credit men said the idea was folly. "College kids aren't good risks," they argued. But the businessmen who started it on a shoestring, and a deep faith in American youth, didn't buy the risk argument. Their faith was not misplaced.

In a study of USA Funds loans guaranteed from February, 1961, to January, 1967, only three per cent were delinquent. Half of these will eventually be paid. Thus, the loss rate is well below two per cent.

Last year, USA funds helped 77,826 students by guaranteeing loans for them worth \$58 million. This year more than 100,000 students will obtain loans totalling almost \$100 million.

Some 20 states have set up similar programs and have loaned more than \$350 million in the past seven years.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR H.R. 14816

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, when you sponsor a bill which is designed to improve working conditions, you have to brace yourself for a lot of criticism. The history of H.R. 14816, the Occupational Health and Safety Act, has been no exception to this general rule. I have received, as have many Members of this House, a large number of letters, ranging from the merely outraged to the downright abusive, in opposition to this legislation.

But now, as it does in the history of most legislation, the support has begun to appear in the mail as it did in the hearings.

Under unanimous consent I place some of the mail I have recently received in support of this needed legislation at this point in the RECORD:

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE,
Washington, D.C., May 10, 1968.

Hon. ELMER J. HOLLAND,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLLAND: The National Consumers League has been campaigning for decent safe working conditions for all workers since 1899. We are, therefore, extremely pleased that your committee is considering the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968 and urge that you give it prompt and favorable action. The rising number of deaths and disabling accidents which the states have obviously not been able to check require Federal action without delay.

Enclosed is the League statement on H.R. 14816.

Sincerely yours,

SARAH H. NEWMAN,
General Secretary.

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE ON H.R. 14816, THE OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1968, MAY 1968

The National Consumers League, which was established in 1899 to use the power of consumers to obtain improved working and living conditions for all Americans, strongly endorses the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968—H.R. 14816. Our organization speaks for the consumers who are concerned with the conditions under which goods are produced and services performed. Our members feel that the assurance of safe and healthful working conditions is the right of every worker, and of utmost concern to every one of us. The waste of human life and capacity resulting from occupational accidents and diseases should no longer be tolerated.

The problems which H.R. 14816 would seek to attack have grown tremendously in recent years. Back in 1925 when the National Consumers League spearheaded a campaign to provide protection for the women working with radium on watch dials in New Jersey, the whole nation was aroused by the shocking stories. Now, more than 40 years later we find that the revolution in science and technology has produced occupational health and safety hazards never before dreamed of, and increasing almost day by day. Not only are the numbers of disabled rising because of our growing work force, but the percentage disabled is on the increase.

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz pointed out in his testimony that although the rate

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

of disabling injuries per million man hours was at the high point of 10.8 in 1958, they rose to a record high of 13.2 in the first half of 1966. The National Safety Council, reporting the statistics differently, found that there was an increase from 13,300 deaths and 1.8 million injuries in 1958 to 14,500 deaths and 2.2 million injuries in 1966. These figures show a discouragingly rapid rate of increase, and we feel that this legislation is the first hope offered to workers which can help put an end to such spiraling fatalities.

Some other statistics, shocking to contemplate, show 55 dead, 8,500 disabled and 27,000 injured daily. In only one year there are between 14,000 and 15,000 deaths reported from industrial accidents and diseases. It is too easy to think of these figures as simple statistics, and to forget that each of the 15,000 probably represents an anguished family, suddenly stricken down financially and emotionally. Even these high numbers don't reflect the entire picture. It is agreed among the experts that the reporting system is inadequate and many deaths and illnesses are not always recognized nor recorded as having an occupational origin.

This great loss to our society should not be measured in human terms alone, although that is certainly the area of greatest tragedy. These same statistics also represent a great economic loss to our country. In 1966 the loss in production was more than five billion dollars. The increase in benefits paid out in Workmen's Compensation has continued to rise in the past 10 years until it is now over two billion dollars a year. This represents an increase of 130% during that ten-year period. And yet, three out of every eight workmen involved in accidents were not even covered by Workmen's Compensation. Surely, the prevention of many of these fatalities by this legislation, which it is estimated would cost only \$2 per worker, is the more economical, and even more important, the more humane way out of this dreadful situation.

Technology is advancing so rapidly and the introduction of new chemicals into industry grows so constantly that it has been necessary to set recommended exposure levels for many of them. So far levels for only 400 of the 6000 chemicals now in use have been established. Also, the list of occupational diseases is adding a whole new dimension to our life, let alone our vocabulary, as we learn of illnesses like pneumoconiosis, asbestosis, silicosis and lung cancer from uranium. These result from occupational hazards ranging from simple dust and roofing materials to uranium dust.

The one bright side of this dismal picture is that an effective safety program can reduce these deaths and disabilities. Secretary Wirtz pointed out that under the 1960 safety and health regulation promulgated under the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers Compensation Act a 44% reduction in injuries in shipyards and a 38% reduction in injuries in longshoring activities was effected over a 7-year period. In this same period over 22,000 injuries were prevented in shipyards at a total saving of over \$33 million, which resulted in millions of dollars in insurance rebates to employers.

It is obvious that the states cannot be depended upon to protect the workers in our economy today without substantial federal assistance. Some state programs have been very effective. But in many states the lack of protection is unbelievably shocking. In New York where there is a fine safety program there were 17 deaths per 100,000 industrial workers, while in Texas where the program is weak, the incidence is over four times as high—74 deaths for the same number of workers. State programs vary greatly with their expenditures ranging from a high of \$2.11 per year to a low of 2¢ per worker. The number of safety inspectors varies also

from 3 in one state up to 255 in another, or, stated differently, from less than one inspector per 100,000 workers to a high of 12.6 inspectors per 100,000 workers.

These facts make us realize the program provided for in H.R. 14816 is long overdue. Even with prompt enactment of this bill it will take at least one year to set standards and 5 years to achieve any substantial improvements. The bill provides a way to start correcting a very bad situation. At the same time it provides for maximum cooperation between the States and the Federal Government. Hopefully, its enactment would also prod the states into coverage of the small intrastate establishments where such a large percentage of our workers earn their daily bread.

We would, however, suggest that the bill be amended to give the Secretary of Labor the power to call back the authority delegated to any state which has demonstrated that its program is compatible with the purposes of this Act, whenever such state fails below the standards originally adopted.

The research provided for under this bill should do much to provide information about the new industrial hazards and help reduce or eliminate the old ones. The provisions to conduct educational programs and to provide training for safety personnel are absolute prerequisites to insure proper inspection programs, and full funding for these programs must be made available. Adequate inspection and enforcement provisions will assure progress in achieving the objectives of this legislation.

We know that a dollar price cannot be placed on an eye, a limb, or a life. This bill is not only an economic necessity, it is a moral necessity as well. The cost of this legislation must not be used as an argument to prevent the savings in lives and well being, as well as in dollars which it could produce. Each single day of delay means another 55 Americans will leave homes and families wreathed in sorrow and despair. The National Consumers League urges prompt approval by your Committee of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968.

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO, RAILROAD DIVISION, PITTSBURGH LOCAL NO. 2044,

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 13, 1968.

Hon. ELMER J. HOLLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOLLAND: I am writing to you in behalf of myself and the members of Local 2044, Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, Railroad Division, urging your support in the enactment of H.R. 14816. Your support in this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

M. C. Lococo,
President, Local 2044.

THE FALL RIVER DIOCESAN COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC NURSES,
May 13, 1968.

Hon. ELMER HOLLAND,
Chairman, House Select Labor Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The Fall River Diocesan Council of Catholic Nurses calls for an end to needless on-the-job slaughter, injury and health hazards. It calls for establishing uniform standards of occupational health and safety through federal action. It calls upon the Congress of the United States to enact the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 to end competition at the expense of life and limb on-the-job, to protect the fair employer who wants safe and productive working conditions, and to provide for more than

50 million working Americans in interstate commerce the protection they so richly deserve.

Respectfully,

ANNE V. FLEMING, R.N.,
Secretary.

ARCHDIOCESAN COUNCIL OF
CATHOLIC NURSES,

Washington, D.C., May 7, 1968.

HON. ELMER HOLLAND,
Chairman, House Select Labor Subcommittee,
House of Representatives, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOLLAND: Although American industry is the most productive in the world, its record is blemished by an appalling number of injuries and illnesses resulting from safety and health hazards at work.

More than seven million workers suffer on-the-job injuries every year; more than two million workers are disabled by on-the-job accidents; between 14,000 and 15,000 are killed while at work. Hardly a day goes by in any major community without a serious on-the-job accident.

Occupational health hazards leading to illnesses are a matter of serious national concern. A new compound is introduced into industry every 20 minutes, often with toxic impact. Workers today are needlessly exposed to radio-active substances, excessive industrial dust, hazardous gases and other harmful substances. More than half a million workers annually suffer from job-connected illnesses.

Occupationally connected injuries and accidents too often reduce families to poverty, and sometimes force them to turn to public assistance for survival. Accidents and illnesses are prevalent at all levels of skill, but disproportionately claim as their victims the unskilled and the low-paid who lack resources for adequate care and economic survival.

This horrible and often needless waste of precious human resources robs all Americans of production and wealth that could result in higher personal living standards, more and better private and public services, and better lives. It costs the worker and his employer \$3,090 for every accident on-the-job. Accidents alone—lost wages, medical costs, insurance claims, lost production and other losses—cost the nation \$6.8 billion every year.

While all on-the-job accidents and health hazards cannot be entirely eliminated, the majority can be prevented through observance of adequate health and safety standards. A California study of the electrical industry, for example, has shown that three in four on-the-job accidents in 1964 involved unsafe conditions.

State safety standards vary greatly and few provide the kinds of protection that American working people merit. Under present conditions, the states compete with each other at the expense of the health and safety of productive Americans.

The Washington, D.C. Council of Catholic Nurses, therefore, calls for an end to needless on-the-job slaughter, injury and health hazards. It calls for establishing uniform standards of occupational health and safety through federal action. It calls upon the Congress of the United States to enact the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 to end competition at the expense of life and limb on-the-job, to protect the fair employer who wants safe and productive working conditions, and to provide for more than 50 million working Americans in interstate commerce the protection they so richly deserve.

Sincerely yours,

DOROTHY N. KELLY,
President, Archdiocesan Council
of Catholic Nurses.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., May 9, 1968.

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE HOLLAND: The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968, as proposed in H.R. 14816, is a matter of proper concern to all citizens, including those who are members of the teaching profession. The high rate of occupational accidents, especially among the unskilled, is deplorable, not only in the terms of human misery, but also in the matter of dollars and cents.

Teachers are vividly aware of the tragic results that occupational accidents create for the children of the victims. We are also concerned for the future safety of the majority of our students who will enter the world of work upon high school graduation. We feel strongly that these young people deserve a safe working environment as well as an adequate wage as they enter adult life.

We urge the enactment of H.R. 14816 or basically similar legislation by the 90th Congress.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. LUMLEY,
Assistant Executive Secretary for
Legislation and Federal Relations.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF
ELECTRICAL WORKERS, LOCAL
UNION NO. 5,

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 8, 1968.
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOLLAND: The proposed Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 (S. 2864) and (H.R. 14816) is a most important piece of legislation in an area that has been too long neglected.

In protecting the health and safety of 50 million workers engaged in interstate commerce, the Act will produce untold benefits to the entire community.

We urge you to support this legislation as vigorously as possible.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM G. SHORD,
Business Manager.

WEST VIRGINIA NURSES ASSOCIA-
TION, INC.

Charleston, W. Va., May 8, 1968.
Representative ELMER HOLLAND,
Chairman, House Select Labor Subcommittee,
House of Representatives, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLLAND: The West Virginia Nurses Association, composed of approximately 2,300 registered nurses members, want to wholeheartedly endorse the American Nurses' Association's Statement on H.R. 14816, Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968, to the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor.

Being from a small state geographically, but one with a great deal of industry for its size, we are ever cognizant of the need for an improved Occupational Health and Safety Act.

We urge passage of this legislation.

Sincerely yours,

JULIANN RITTER, R.N.,
Executive Director.

VERMONT STATE NURSES ASSOCIA-
TION, INC.

Burlington, Vt., May 9, 1968.
HON. ELMER HOLLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLLAND: The Vermont State Nurses Association urges your support of H.R. 14816, the proposed Occupational Health and Safety Act.

We support the position of the American Nurses Association, which calls for an end

to needless on-the-job slaughter, injury, and health hazards. It calls for establishing uniform standards of occupational health and safety through federal action. It calls upon the Congress of the United States to enact the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 to end competition at the expense of life and limb-on-the-job, to protect the fair employer who wants safe and productive working conditions, and to provide for more than 50 million working Americans in interstate commerce the protection they deserve.

Sincerely yours,

ROSALIE M. LOMBARD,
Chairman, Committee on Legislation.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPER-
ATING ENGINEERS,

Newark, N.J., May 9, 1968.

HON. ELMER HOLLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOLLAND: It is my understanding the Bill H.R. 14816, known as the "Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968" is presently before the Education and Labor Committee, of which you are a member.

The passage of this bill is heartily endorsed by this Local Union and its 10,000 members residing in the State of New Jersey and five Counties of the State of New York. This is legislation that is sorely needed. Safety, too often is given lip service only. Now is the time to show sincerity of intentions by making law a strong bill to protect the safety and health of millions of American workmen.

Statistics show that 14,500 workers are killed at their jobs each year. If the passage of this bill can reduce that total just one, you will have served humanity well.

Respectfully,

PETER W. WEBER,
President-Business Manager.

MARYLAND NURSES ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Baltimore, Md., May 9, 1968.

Re H.R. 14816, Proposed Occupational Safety
and Health Act.

HON. ELMER HOLLAND,
Chairman, House Select Labor Subcommittee,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLLAND: The Maryland Nurses Association wishes to let you know of its support of the position taken by the American Nurses' Association, urging passage of H.R. 14816.

This Bill, "to authorize the Secretary of Labor to set standards to assure safe and healthful working conditions for working men and women; to assist the States to participate in efforts to assure such working conditions: to provide for research, information, education, and training in the field of occupational safety and health; and for other purposes" should have a far reaching impact in improving the health and well being of working people, including those employed in hospitals and nursing homes. It should also promote opportunities for obtaining the knowledge and skills needed by all concerned with health and safety. This includes occupational health nurses.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) GENEVIEVE M. JORDAN, R.N.,
President.

FLORIDA NURSES ASSOCIATION,
Orlando, Fla., May 9, 1968.

HON. ELMER HOLLAND,
Chairman, House Select Labor Subcommittee,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLLAND: The more than 6,000 members of the Florida Nurses Association support the proposed Occupational Safety and Health Act, H.R. 14816.

The statement submitted by the American Nurses' Association on April 1, 1968, to the Select Labor Subcommittee clearly shows the need for early passage of this bill.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Your prompt consideration within the Subcommittee and favorable report to the House of Representatives at an early date will be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially yours,

HELEN F. VOSS, R.N.,
President.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA DIOCESAN
COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC NURSES,
GREENVILLE CHAPTER,

May 10, 1968.

Hon. ELMER HOLLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLLAND: The Catholic Nurses Association, Greenville Chapter, Greenville, S.C. would like to go on record as being in support of the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

Sincerely,

S. M. —, S.F.P.,
President.

ST. RITA'S HOSPITAL
SCHOOL OF NURSING,
Lima, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: Although American industry is the most productive in the world, its record is blemished by an appalling number of injuries and illnesses resulting from safety and health hazards at work.

More than seven million workers suffer on-the-job accidents; between 14,000 and 15,000 are killed while at work. Hardly a day goes by in any major community without a serious on-the-job accident.

Occupational health hazards leading to illnesses are a matter of serious national concern. A new compound is introduced into industry every 20 minutes, often with toxic impact. Workers today are needlessly exposed to radio-active substances, excessive industrial dust, hazardous gases and other harmful substances. More than half a million workers annually suffer from job-connected illnesses.

Occupationally connected injuries and accidents too often reduce families to poverty, and sometimes force them to turn to public assistance for survival. Accidents and illnesses are prevalent at all levels of skill, but disproportionately claim as their victims the unskilled and the low-paid who lack resources for adequate care and economic survival.

This horrible and often needless waste of precious human resources robs all Americans of production and wealth that could result in higher personal living standards, more and better private and public services, and better lives. It costs the worker and his employer \$3,090 for every accident on-the-job. Accidents alone—lost wages, medical costs, insurance claims, lost production and other losses—cost the nation \$6.8 billion every year.

While all on-the-job accidents and health hazards cannot be entirely eliminated the majority can be prevented through observance of adequate health and safety standards. A California study of the electrical industry, for example, has shown that three in four on-the-job accidents in 1964 involved unsafe conditions.

State safety standards vary greatly and few provide the kinds of protection that American working people merit. Under present conditions, the states compete with each other at the expense of the health and safety of productive Americans.

The Lima Ohio, Chapter of Catholic Nurses therefore, calls for an end to needless on-the-job slaughter, injury and health hazards. It calls for establishing uniform standards of occupational health and safety through federal action. It calls upon the Congress of the United States to enact the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 to end competition at the expense of life and limb on-the-job, to protect the fair employer who wants safe and productive working conditions, and to provide for more than 50

million working Americans in interstate commerce the protection they so richly deserve.

Sincerely,

MRS. DON CUNNINGHAM.

LETTER TO MAYOR OF
INDIANAPOLIS

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.
OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1968

MR. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a letter from a member of my staff to the Honorable Richard G. Lugar, mayor of Indianapolis. The letter's eloquence and beauty sum up concisely the simple truth about the American dream of equal justice under law:

HON. RICHARD G. LUGAR,
Mayor, City of Indianapolis,
Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MAYOR LUGAR: I watched with great interest and general approval your talk on TV last Tuesday evening.

As a lawyer, I have been concerned over the years with harassment arrests of our citizens. Therefore, I was hoping you would spell out more definitely the changes you intend to initiate. However, I recognize the limitations of time imposed on your presentation.

The fact is that by cessation of harassment arrests, police would be required to do only what every other good citizen is required to do: Obey the law.

The law of arrest contemplates generally four instances in which a valid detention of the person can be made:

(1) Where a person is arrested on a warrant issued after a proper affidavit or indictment fixed against him;

(2) Without a warrant where a police officer has reasonable grounds to believe the person about to be arrested has committed a felony;

(3) Without a warrant where the person about to be arrested has committed a misdemeanor in the presence of such officer;

(4) Where such arrest is made pursuant to a proper search prior to which a valid search warrant has been issued. Some other exceptions exist by statute, but they are not relevant here.

We hear it said that the above rules are all right for you and me, but we cannot treat others that way. By others, the speaker usually means "known" gamblers, dope addicts, prostitutes, alcoholics and other disreputable elements. It has been thought quite within the bounds of good police practice to lean on these groups, vulnerable as they are, especially when their constitutional rights are violated with impunity.

The script goes like this:

(1) A citizen fitting one of the above categories is "known" by a police officer and put under arrest for exercising the right to walk on a public sidewalk. (Parenthetically, if such person is known well enough, this ends the script.)

(2) Lacking such intimacy, the subject is placed in jail overnight or until bond can be posted.

(3) Comes now the police court charade.

A well-known criminal lawyer recites the time honored concepts of personal liberty outlined above. And the victim, by now somewhat lighter in the pocket, is turned loose presumably to sin more carefully.

This script, I'm sorry to say, is enacted thousands of times yearly. And by far the preponderance of victims just happen to be

Negro. "No man is above the law and no man is below it." This was the theme of Law Day last year and it is the promise implicit in the Constitution. But in actual practice it is more like Orwell's "Animal Farm": "Everyone is equal except some are more equal than others."

Two centuries old at least is the principle that only an overt act can be criminal, and at least that old are its abuses. The landmark case in England held that since "the devil himself knows not the thought of man," an arrest was valid only where an overt act was or had been committed.

I believe a strict adherence to the law of arrest will accomplish three immediate and tangible objectives:

(1) It will curtail a policeman's right to pick and choose whom to arrest. (The effect on bribery is obvious.)

(2) It will increase respect for departmental methods and result in better police work. (See enclosed clipping from *Time's* latest issue.)

(3) It will alleviate overcrowding in our courts and result in proportionately higher conviction rates.

The intangible results are, in the long run, much more important. We have, at the very least, the duty to preserve and pass along to posterity our Constitutional rights, still vital and unimpaired.

Sincerely yours,

JUDSON F. HAGGERTY.

May 21, 1968

REMARKS OF JUDGE MARVIN JONES

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

MR. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, few Americans of our times have served in public office with greater distinction than Judge Marvin Jones, senior judge of the U.S. Court of Claims.

In the 1930's, he served as U.S. Representative from the Panhandle of Texas and his leadership during these depression years was magnificent.

It was through his efforts that many of the landmark measures of agriculture were passed. These laws helped bring agriculture up to par with other sectors of industry and played a vital role in healing the national sores that accompanied the depression.

During his years on the bench, he has added luster and distinction to an already outstanding career.

Judge Jones is a great personal friend of mine and many Members of this body.

Recently, he spoke at the national observance of the 35th anniversary of the signing of the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1933 and I feel his remarks are timely and meaningful.

I respectfully insert them to be reprinted at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF JUDGE MARVIN JONES

This is no ordinary occasion. It is crowded with wonderful memories for all the honored guests gathered here today.

The Secretary has painted with a master's touch a picture of the dark days of depression that followed the collapse of 1929. During the eight months prior to the crash, the papers were headlining the great bull market. Stocks had doubled in price in those few months. People thought they could live off the stock market. It had an hectic flush and seemed healthy.

But in one day many people lost their life savings. It is difficult for anyone who did not live in that period to appreciate the conditions that prevailed in late 1932 and early 1933. Banks were breaking on every side. Farms were being foreclosed by the thousands. Millions of hungry people were shuffling in the breadlines, helpless, hopeless and despairing. Our country was nearer to the crumbling brink than it had ever been before.

It is a special privilege to be asked to respond on behalf of those still living who played a vital part in the process of healing the broken body of our national life; and also to pay tribute to the many brave spirits no longer living who had a part in the rebuilding process. In view of the great work they so courageously performed, I am sure they walked into the shadows head up and unafraid.

It is only possible to mention a few of the highlights in connection with the tremendous amount of basic farm legislation in the eventful years following the Inauguration of 1933. Eleven major bills were reported by the Committee on Agriculture and passed by the Congress. In practically all these measures Clifford Hope and the other members of the Committee joined me in getting the job done. All three major farm groups, the American Farm Bureau, the National Grange and the National Farmers Union not only helped in drafting and in securing the passage of needed legislation, but materially aided those who had the responsibility of administering the programs.

Some great men and women appeared on the scene in that crisis. Darkness brings out the stars, and it takes the north wind to produce a Viking. Somehow the new President seemed to fit the occasion like a garment. The colorful inauguration, the fireside chats, and the very atmosphere seemed to dispel the encircling gloom and to inspire confidence.

Even before the inauguration, Mr. Roosevelt got in touch with the Chairmen of the different Committees and gave them assignments.

Two or three days before the inauguration Honorable Henry Morgenthau walked into my office and said, "The Governor (FDR) wants you and Bill Myers (William I. Myers of Cornell University) to write an Executive Order pulling out of the different Departments of Government the various divisions that have been lending money to farmers, placing all of them in a single agency and naming the agency."

I said, "Mr. Morgenthau, I have never written an Executive Order."

Mr. Morgenthau said, "That is the order of the new boss and you'd better do it." He then turned on his heels and walked out. Anyway, we prepared the order, but I must admit that most of the credit is due to my friend Dr. Myers, since I was busy with other farm legislation.

We named the agency, The Farm Credit Administration. The President signed the Executive Order a few days later. Dr. Myers was a technician and an administrator of great skill and we worked together on many problems thereafter; in fact so long as Cornell University permitted him to remain on leave.

Much has been written about the "First Hundred Days" of the Roosevelt Administration. It so happens that I had the privilege of handling more major bills in their passage through the House during those hundred days than any other Member of the Congress. These included the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Act for Refinancing of Farm Mortgages, the Farm Credit Administration Act, the measure reducing the gold content of the dollar, as well as two other rather important measures. I was greatly assisted by the members of the very loyal and hard-working Agriculture Committee, in which there was practically no partisanship.

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The condition was entirely too serious and the emergency too great.

It is altogether fitting that we should memorialize the enactment of this early legislation. Food and raiment are magic words in any language. Food is as essential as the air we breathe. Life cannot be sustained without it.

According to the story as told in Genesis, the first living things that were created were grass, herbs, and fruit trees—food—and the first living creatures mentioned to walk upon the earth were cattle—prime sources of food. Man was created last, and was given dominion over every living thing that moves upon the earth. Sometimes I wonder how well we are running the show. Perhaps we all need to pray a little more.

So today, not only do we mark the beginnings of national farm policies but I think we recognize also the continuing forces that link land, man, food and country.

The land and its people—the soil and the farmer—simply must have the mechanism and the means to be protected and to provide substance for this Nation to survive. It was the genesis of such programs that emerged 35 years ago.

In the long, long span of history, it is an incontrovertible fact that no Nation has survived—and no Nation has progressed to any level of achievement for long—that did not have a strong agricultural plant.

Food is an absolute essential to the national welfare. The producers of that food are pivotal factors in our economic, social and political institutions.

And a vigorous agriculture—balanced within and in balance with other segments of our society—is the fulcrum point of American democracy.

I believe that if the time ever comes when we are forced to go beyond our own land, our own farms and our own people for the substance to live, then we start on the downhill road to disaster.

The years, and the passing of a generation, have softened or blotted out the experiences of those dire and chilling Depression years that began with the market crash in 1929.

The passage of time has dulled the impact of an era when discontent, uneasiness and fear swept across the land. Those of us here today, though, can well remember. And may we never see it happen again.

It was said then, and it is known now, that the legislation of the Thirties, and the programs that were authorized, saved American agriculture. I do not know of any time in our history that this Nation was closer to catastrophe.

The legislation of 1933 was directed to immediate farm relief. It was new, an untried path. There were changes and there were modifications in the legislation that followed. But that legislation, and the other major acts of the Thirties, molded theory into action and judgment into practice.

And I think, without any doubt, that all of our efforts including the humanity and the magic of Franklin Roosevelt and the acumen and brilliance of Henry Wallace and his people—were rooted in the unshakable conviction that the national interest demanded protection of our food supply and its producers.

The legislation of the Thirties was directed to correcting an imbalance between agriculture and the rest of the economy. Adjustment was a key word—adjustment in income, adjustment in credit, adjustment in production and adjustment in land use.

I would like to dwell on land use for a moment. There are only a few inches of soil between us and deprivation. Not only is the land close to my heart, but protection of the land was a basic objective of the Triple-A legislation.

I did a little checking recently on this facet of the farm program. I am happy to report that figures supplied me indicate that, since the Agricultural Conservation Program

began in 1936, cost-sharing by farmers in soil and water protection practices alone have resulted today in:

Enough terraces to make five round trips to the moon;

Enough tree planting to produce a forest 10 miles wide that would reach from this auditorium to Chicago;

Enough forest land improved to equal all the farm woodland in New England;

Enough diversion ditches to encircle the earth six times; and

Enough irrigation ditches to match the stripes of all the zebras in the world.

Where I come from, this is considered a pretty good record. And remember, these conservation practices also benefit the cities and urban areas—particularly water supply. You know, a lot of people tend to forget that there are two wings to farm legislation. One wing is directed to the farmer—but the other wing is to assure the rest of us that a productive land is around to give us a continual supply of food.

Those were tremendous days—those days of the Thirties and of Triple-A. The farm problem was a common problem. Up on the Hill, both sides of the aisle joined to solve what before had been an insolvable matter.

The farm and trade organizations threw their full support into ironing out program provisions and getting the message out to the land. And any knowledgeable person was liable to be grabbed out of hand and turned to the task for pulling the farmer out of his economic quagmire.

The hopes and the dreams . . . the programs and the solutions . . . weren't confined to the '33 Act. Triple-A was really an era that went through 1939—until the clouds of war began to darken our horizons.

There was sugar legislation in 1934, the Section 32 amendment in 1935, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

I would like to mention Section 32 . . . I had quite a time with that, particularly with Henry Morgenthau—as some of you may remember. We were good friends, but he really raised Cain over that one. And when he got angry, he got angry clear through.

I penciled out Section 32 at my desk and included it in a legislative bill with many other provisions. Then we had to go to conference with the Senate, where Senator John Bankhead headed up the Senate conferees. He was primarily interested in extending a bill that I didn't like much anyway.

Well, we came to my Section 32 provision and John said to let it go over—it was a controversial thing—and for us to take up his act. I said I didn't think I wanted to do that. I wasn't too sure I was for an extension of his act. I said let's take up Section 32 first.

John looked at me and said "You don't have any compromise in your make-up—you want everything just like you want it!"

So I said, "I will make you a proposition. If you let me write Section 32 like I want it, and agree to that, then I'll agree to extend your Bankhead provision when we get it."

And he got up and walked back and forth by the table and pulled his hair. I said "What is the matter, John? Don't you have any compromise in your makeup?"

And he wheeled around and said, "All right, I'll agree to that."

So I sat down there and I struck out "there shall be authorized to be appropriated" and wrote "there is hereby appropriated", and I made it a permanent piece of law.

I took it back to the House and I said, "Mr. Speaker, I offer the Conference Report and I ask that all points of order be waived."

Well, Bert Snell got up and said, "What is the idea of waiving all points of order?"

I stated all the steps we had been through, pointed out it was a unanimous report of the Conference Committee, and told him "All

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you can do is to delay this. I'll have to get a rule. We want to pass this bill."

He said, "Did Clifford Hope sign this?"

I said, "Yes, he signed it all and recently and both sides, unanimously."

Bert Snell said "All right," so they waived the point of order.

Well, when it was passed, Henry Morgenthau discovered it, and he hit the ceiling. He called me up.

I told him "You used to be a pretty good farmer, but you got over there as Secretary of Treasury and got hardening of the financial arteries." It wasn't funny to him, though.

He told me he was going to have the President veto it. I told him to go ahead and ask the President. I told Henry, however, he'd better point out to the President that he couldn't veto Section 32 without vetoing the whole bill—and we had more things in there that the President wanted than anybody would dream about.

That did it. Henry said, "Well, then, take the whole blankety-blank Treasury."

But Morgenthau wasn't one to give up—and he got the President to recommend its repeal in the next budget message. You know, Henry had a lot to do with writing those.

Well, Congressman Buchanan, who was Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, came to me. He said, "Look, the President has recommended against this. You call it up when I am out of the House." So I called it up when he was away.

A short time after that I had a date with the President and he said, "What sort of a provision is this that you have cooked up there?"

I said, "Well, Mr. President, I want to tell you about that."

I told him the farmers had been paying the burdens of the tariff for a hundred years without any corresponding benefits, and this provision wasn't giving them a substitute, this was simply making restitution.

I quoted Alexander Hamilton (I don't believe in Alexander Hamilton's philosophy, but in this instance he was on the right track) who put in his original report of the Treasury in 1791 the first recommended tariff.

I told the President that Hamilton said the tariff would not benefit the farmer and there should be a bonus, either paid on the exportation, or on his production at home, to bring things into balance.

I said, "Mr. President, now I don't believe in the philosophy of Alexander Hamilton, but he was intellectually honest. And it was his report that gave me this idea."

President Roosevelt said, "That is not a bad idea, is it?" I said, "No, it is a good idea."

And he became as enthusiastic as anybody else—and then the critics didn't have a chance. They never were able to touch it.

Anyway, I'm a little proud of getting that Section 32 provision for agriculture. And from all reports, it has served its purpose wonderfully.

There are a lot of stories, Mr. Secretary, from those days—and some more from the Twenties—but perhaps it's best to keep them for another time.

I want especially to mention Clifford Hope, a truly great man, possessed of great ability and a wealth of courage. He has a becoming modesty, but intellectually he's as tall as any man. I love every member of the Committee with whom I served. I see many here who had a big part in the administrative field. Chester Davis, who is unable to be here, was one of the most skilled administrators I have ever known. There are a host of others here—the list is too long to call here—all were dedicated people.

In the administration of these activities, Henry Wallace had to bear the criticism and abuse that always accompanies a series of

vast projects that plow new fields of activity that vitally affect the entire Nation. But he never flinched or waivered. Some members even suggested that he should be impeached. I often defended him on the floor of the House.

He was accused of being a dreamer, but I don't think anyone ever questioned his integrity or his devotion to the cause. In all the storm of criticism, like the Hebrew children of old, a spirit must have walked with him and preserved his garments from the smell of the flames.

I do still miss that gold watch, though.

FOUR STATE GI'S KILLED IN WAR

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. George H. Schroeder, Sp4c. Reginald A. Bowman, Pfc. Paul E. Watson, and Pfc. James N. Davis, four 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:

FOUR STATE GI'S DIE IN VIETNAM—THREE LIVED IN CITY, OTHER WAS FROM PRINCE GEORGES

The Defense Department announced yesterday the names of four Maryland men killed in action with the Army in Vietnam. Reported killed were:

Sgt. George H. Schroeder, Jr., husband of Mrs. Martha Triplett Schroeder, 4815 Truesdale Avenue, Baltimore.

Sp4c. Reginald A. Bowman, ward of Mrs. Mamie E. Evans, 1916 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore.

Pfc. Paul E. Watson, husband of Mrs. Helen A. Watson, 924 North Stricker Street, Baltimore.

Pfc. James N. Davis, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph T. Davis, Sr. of 6305 Forty-eighth Place, Riverdale.

SECOND TOUR

Sergeant Schroeder, 25, had served in Japan and Korea and was on the twenty-fifth day of his second tour of duty in Vietnam when he was wounded by a booby trap April 25 near Saigon, his wife said last night.

She said the Defense Department told her he died May 16 in a Saigon hospital.

Sergeant Schroeder, she said, was a member of C Company, Sixth Battalion, of the Ninth Infantry Division's 35th Infantry.

He was serving with a mortar crew at the time of his injury, Mrs. Schroeder said, but was a paratrooper on his first tour from which he was sent home after contracting malaria.

His wife said the Army, which he had planned to make a career "was his whole life."

"Anytime he had to give his life for his country he was willing," Mrs. Schroeder said.

Sergeant Schroeder was born in Baltimore, and was the son of Mr. and Mrs. George H. Schroeder, Sr. He is also survived by an infant son, George H. Schroeder 3d, a brother, James R. Schroeder, and a sister, Mrs. Donna M. Hoffman.

JOINED IN OCTOBER

Specialist Bowman who was 18 years old, joined the Army last October, and had been in Vietnam for three months, Mrs. Evans said.

Private Watson, 25 years old, was reported shot May 16, his wife said today.

Mrs. Watson, who said she had not yet received a promised Defense Department confirmation of her husband's death, said he is also survived by one child.

May 21, 1968

Private Davis, a 20 year-old mail carrier in Riverdale when he volunteered for the draft last October, was killed by small arms fire May 17 while on the perimeter of Saigon, his father said yesterday.

"AWFUL PLACE"

"He said it was an awful place," in frequent letters home, Mr. Davis said. "It was dirty and filthy, and he didn't know who the enemy was. He disliked it very much."

Private Davis was assigned as a grenade launcher with the 25th Infantry, his father said, and had been in Vietnam for two months.

Besides his parents he is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Linda Lou Bloom and Miss Sharon Lee Davis, and a brother, Ralph T. Davis, Jr.

PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the 17th President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, is going down in history as one of our greatest Presidents.

He, at one time, represented the congressional district in the House of Representatives I now have the honor of representing.

Rather than review the history of his achievements, which were many, the article in the Greeneville Sun, Greeneville, Tenn., on Thursday, May 16, 1968, is a reminder of one of the crises in his life. It was just 100 years ago that President Andrew Johnson was tried in the Senate after being impeached by the House.

Senator Edwin G. Ross, Senator from Kansas, played an important role in this trial by casting the deciding vote for acquittal of President Johnson.

Bobbie Barrett, Greeneville Sun staff writer, is to be commended for such a fine article, and I am inserting it in the RECORD for the benefit of the readers:

EDMUND G. ROSS, 100 YEARS AGO TODAY, HAD STARRING ROLE IN IMPEACHMENT COURT

(Note.—Edmund G. Ross—100 years ago he was the senator from Kansas and played an important role in the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson . . . who was acquitted by one vote! "Personally I was no admirer of Johnson and politically we were enemies. . . . I saw only one right thing to do and I intended doing that at all hazards." These were his thoughts . . . his vote was "Not guilty.")

(By Bobbie Barrett)

It was noon. The hands of the clock pointed to exactly twelve o'clock as the Chief Justice in his silk robes entered the Senate Chamber and took his seat as presiding officer of the court.

The court is a court of impeachment . . . President Andrew Johnson, former Greeneville tailor, is being tried . . . the date is May 16, 1868.

It was just 100 years ago today that the roll call vote began on Article XI of the impeachment and one of the starring roles is played by Edmund G. Ross, senator from Kansas.

The gallery is packed with an overflowing crowd of spectators numbering 1500. Admission is by ticket only and like some hit play, the tickets have been so much in demand that people would go to any lengths to get whole of one. There is even talk that there are counterfeit tickets in circulation.

It has been an emotion packed trial since it began back in March. Threats of violence have been received by those Senators whom it was felt might vote against impeachment.

Charges of "Judas" and "Benedict Arnold" . . . burnings in effigy, suggestions that he commit suicide, and threats of murder have been heaped upon Senator Ross.

A statement from Senator Ross years later contained these thoughts on the perilous position he was in during the trial, "Being a radical Republican state, I believed then and believe now that had it been supposed I would have voted for the acquittal of President Johnson I would have been assassinated. I was informed by a colleague that the police had been instructed to keep close watch of me for fear of violence."

As he continues you can see a small portion of the conflict he was suffering, "In my own mind was the question that in the existing condition of affairs had I the courage to vote for acquittal if I should deem that the proper course?"

A two-thirds majority is needed to find Johnson guilty . . . there are 54 members of the jury (Senate) . . . 36 votes are needed for conviction.

On the other hand, with 12 votes already on his side, Johnson needs only seven more votes for acquittal.

These seven votes could come from the seven radical Republicans later to be called the "Seven Tall Men," but there is no way to know for sure how these men will vote. The pressures from their home states to vote guilty are heavy.

The vote is being taken on the eleventh article, an obscure conglomeration that tries to incorporate all of the previous articles . . . eight of which have to do with the violation of the Tenure of Office Act (a measure forbidding the President to dismiss any appointee, including his cabinet members, without consent of the Senate).

There is no longer time to talk about it or even to think about it . . . the time of decision is here.

To each Senator is now put the question, "How say you, is the respondent, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States guilty or not guilty of a high misdemeanor as charged in this article of impeachment?"

As the name of each of the Senators is called you can feel the tension increase . . . the crowded gallery is so still it's as though they were holding their breath and when they hear a "not guilty" they release the breath in one tremendous gasp.

There are many moments of drama . . . Senator James Wilson Grimes of Iowa is helped to an aisle seat just before the roll call. Senator Grimes collapsed a few weeks ago with a stroke. His vote is important, he is one of the "Seven Tall Men."

Other members of this group are William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, John B. Henderson of Missouri, Joseph O. Fowler of Tennessee, Peter G. VanWinkle of West Virginia and Edmund G. Ross of Kansas.

Of all of these men it is Ross's vote that is most in doubt. He's a newcomer to the Senate and up to the very minute that he's asked, "How say you . . . ?" he has not committed himself as to how he will vote.

When the clerk finishes reading the question, Ross replies, "Not guilty."

By one vote . . . President Andrew Johnson is found not guilty . . . the vote is 19 to 35.

While Ross's vote is not the 19th, with his vote the outcome is known because his is the one remaining vote that neither side has been able to count on.

The accepted date of acquittal is May 26, 1868, but the deciding vote was 10 days before . . . and it was 100 years ago today on May 16, 1868, that the deciding "not guilty" vote rang through the Senate Chambers.

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Of the seven Republican senators who voted for acquittal not one of them ever held political office under the Republican administration after they left the senate . . . they were hounded to their political graves.

The courage and vision of these men not only saved Andrew Johnson from conviction of his impeachment, but according to many historians saved the checks and balances built into the constitution regarding the judicial, legislative and executive branches of government.

ANARCHY ON CAMPUS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, deterioration of administrative control over some portions of the student body in far too many established institutions of higher education in the United States is the result of years of apathy and laissez-faire. It is also the result of the failure of school administrators to require minimum standards of dress and conduct as the price of attendance at that institution. A substantial measure of responsibility for the scourge of disrespect and nihilism that is upon us rests with the teaching profession as well.

Those close to the scene are in a particularly strong position to write intelligently on the anarchy now in vogue with such organizations as the so-called Students for a Democratic Society. Such an article is that written in Barron's Weekly, issue of May 20, 1968, by Robert Hessen, an instructor in Columbia University's Graduate School of Business. It is must reading for those who seek to understand and help meet this latest and most unnecessary challenge to the structure of our society.

The article follows:

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND?—COLUMBIA IS A WARNING TO ALL AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

(Note.—The accompanying article was written by Robert Hessen, a young instructor in Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and candidate for a doctorate in the Department of History.)

A larger-than-life portrait of Karl Marx dominated the entrance of a classroom building; a red flag flew from its rooftop. Chains barred the doors of other buildings, and chanting mobs roamed across the campus. The scene might have been the University of Havana or Peking. It wasn't. It took place just a few express stops from Wall Street, at Columbia University, where, from April 23-30, student leftists seized and occupied five university buildings.

The siege tactics which disrupted Columbia and brought its normal activities to a halt represent the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America. The rebels are members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a nationwide organization with chapters on over 250 campuses (Barron's, November 15, 1965, and March 11, 1968).

Originally, when SDS began as an outgrowth of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it repudiated communism as an authoritarian system and excluded communists from its membership. However, in 1964-65, SDS sought to broaden its power base by

forming a united front with communist youth groups. Although SDS continued to describe its objectives in such murky phrases as "participatory democracy," the real tenor of its philosophy can best be seen in its intellectual heroes, Marx and Mao; in its action hero, Che Guevara; and in its slogans scrawled across the embattled Columbia campus—"Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win, too!"

SDS' hard-core membership at Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,800 students. But after it seized campus buildings, barred faculty and students from their offices and classrooms, and held a dean as hostage, its ranks were swelled by several hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

1) The severing of Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-sponsored consortium which performs research and analysis relating to national defense and domestic riot control. SDS complained that Columbia's affiliation was aiding America's "imperialist aggression" in Vietnam, while at home I.D.A.'s studies in riot control were designed to suppress demonstrations by antiwar groups.

2) A halt to the construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, which adjoins Harlem, on land leased to Columbia by the City of New York.

SDS claimed that Columbia was guilty of "institutional racism," that the university was poaching upon the territory of the adjacent Negro community, and that the separate entrance for the part of the gym set aside for use by the neighborhood children constituted "Gym Crow."

In fact, the Columbia gymnasium had been warmly endorsed by over 40 Harlem community groups when it was announced eight years ago. It would occupy only two of the 30 acres in Morningside Park. Its presence would create an atmosphere of safety in an area which is now the territory of muggers and addicts. Separate entrances would be necessary because Columbia students would enter from the Heights on which the university is located, while Harlem residents would more conveniently reach the gym through the park which lies some 200 feet below. The issue is not one of bigotry but of geography.

SDS spokesmen claimed, truthfully, that they had sought to arouse the Columbia community into opposing the gym and the I.D.A. links. They admit that their campaign was a failure, which they ascribe to student and faculty apathy, and to the administration's refusal to hear and to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted to their ultimate political weapon: the initiation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had released many trial balloons to test this technique: they had obstructed N.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had prevented recruiters for business firms and the C.I.A. from interviewing on campus. In each case, the consequence had been a polite rap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

On April 23, after trying to block construction at the gym site, SDS demonstrators and their militant Negro allies, members of the Student Afro-American Society, returned to campus. At the urging of their leaders, they marched on Hamilton Hall, the main classroom building of Columbia College. They were determined to barricade themselves in until the university met their demands. An unexpected fissure occurred within the ranks of the rebels who claimed to be united in their opposition to racism: the Negro mill-

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tants ordered the whites to get out, and SDS complied, SDS then proceeded to capture a base of operation of its own. The rebels first seized the administrative offices of President Grayson Kirk in Low Library, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with bewilderment and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed caravans of litter-bearers marching across campus with cartons of supplies, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not ordered the cutting off of electricity, water and telephones inside the buildings held by the rebels, since it was known that they were making Xerox copies of President Kirk's letter files and formulating strategy with outside allies by phone.

The administration's failure to take prompt action evidently sprang from a number of motives: fear of bad publicity; uncertainty about the morality of using the police to uphold law and order; reluctance to make a decision which might prove unpopular with some of the faculty, students or alumni; anxiety that members of the Harlem community might march on Columbia if police were used to clear the buildings; and the delusion that if they took no punitive action, the rebels would recognize them as men of good will. An SDS leader later admitted that if President Kirk had responded within the first hour, or even the first day, by sending in the university's own security police, the rebels would have "folded like a house of cards." By its inaction, the administration gave the rebels time to organize their resistance, bolster their morale and mobilize sympathizers and supplies from the outside.

Members of the senior faculty attempted to mediate between the administration and the rebels. But their efforts were futile, since they were faced with an impossible assignment: to devise a peace formula ambiguous enough to satisfy both sides—which meant that the terms of settlement had to both promise and refuse amnesty for the rebels. The faculty mediators labored under the belief that the rebels would be willing to negotiate for a peaceful solution to the mounting crisis. What they discovered, however, was that every concession made by the administration only produced escalated rebel demands. SDS' ultimate demand was that they be granted total amnesty as a precondition for negotiation.

It grew increasingly obvious that the rebels would not withdraw from the building until forced out by the police. They wanted blood to be shed, so that they could raise the cry of "police brutality," acquire the aura of martyrdom, and thereby win the majority of students and faculty to their side. Regrettably, President Kirk played right into their hands, by waiting until the sixth day of seige before calling in the police. The only other alternative open to him at that point would have been total capitulation, a final act of appeasement which would have served as an engraved invitation to renewed rebel demands in the future. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen campus security officers could have achieved what it later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, at a price of over 100 injured rebels, spectators and policemen.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an upsurge of sympathy for the rebels. Their allies on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to demand the ouster of President Kirk for having called them in. One mark of the effectiveness of this strike is that Columbia College, the undergraduate division of the university, voted to end all classes for the rest of the semester, which was scheduled to run another month. The

strikers also won support from those who disapproved of both the tactics and objectives of SDS, but who wished to take advantage of the strike to bring about what is cryptically described as "restructuring of the university."

Even those most sympathetic to SDS, however, do not deny that the issues of I.D.A. and the gym were merely pretexts to justify the resort to force. SDS' short-range objective is to achieve "student power," which means total control over the university. They seek student veto power over appointment and tenure of faculty, admission of new students, courses offered by the university, degree requirements and the disposition of university funds. They propose to "radicalize the faculty," which means to purge it of conservatives and of law-and-order liberals who oppose the initiation of force to achieve political ends. As befits socialists, they regard the university as just another natural resource awaiting their expropriation.

But the long-range objective of SDS is even more sinister. As a sympathetic article in *The New Republic* (May 11, 1968) states: "The point of the game was power. And in the broadest sense, to the most radical members of the SDS Steering Committee, Columbia itself was not the issue. It was revolution, and if it could be shown that a great university could literally be taken over in a matter of days by a well-organized group of students, then no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the chaos a better America would emerge."

The rebels have no patience for any slow process of change. They are tired of "just talk"—they want "action now." They will tolerate no opposition. They are indifferent to the fact that their tactics will destroy Columbia University by driving out the best minds, just as Nazi terror tactics drove the Jewish intellectuals out of the universities of Germany. But there is a crucial difference now. While men like Einstein could escape to England or America during the Thirties, SDS will try to close all avenues of escape. The use of intimidation and force will spread until there will be no sanctuary for men of reason within the academic world, or, ultimately, within the nation. One need only consider the fate of conservatives and liberals alike in countries which have been overrun by SDS' intellectual mentors: Mao's China and Castro's Cuba.

Since SDS tactics have succeeded in crippling a great university, the next targets can be City Hall, the State Capitol, or even the White House. If this prediction seems alarmist, consider the fact that SDS sympathizers known as "Yippies" already have announced plans to intimidate and disrupt the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer, in order to extract concessions on platform and candidates.

Whatever the final outcome of the Columbia strike, one thing is certain: the methods used at Columbia will be embraced by other student leftists on campuses throughout the country. Those who resort to force will justify their tactics by the same arguments advanced by the Columbia rebels and their apologists. If this national menace is to be checked, it is imperative that one know how to answer them.

1) Some rebels claim that none of their tactics involved the use of force. This was true only in the narrow sense that they did not shed blood. But force was inextricably involved in every act that they perpetrated. They held the Associate Dean as hostage against his will—that was force. They barricaded faculty and student from their offices and classrooms—that was force. They seized property which was not rightfully theirs and refused to release it until their demands were met—that was force. Each of these is

punished as an act of force under the civil laws of our society. They are crimes known as false imprisonment, criminal trespass and extortion.

If these acts were perpetrated by a lone individual, their criminal character would be obvious. If a single felon had held the dean hostage, or seized the office of President Kirk, rifled his desk and copied his files, no one would have confused him with an idealistic, "committed" crusader. On an individual basis, if someone demands that you grant him wealth or power that he has not earned and which he can only obtain by threats of violence, one does not doubt for a moment that he is an extortionist. The act of a lone thug does not become legitimized when he teams up with other hoodlums. As Ayn Rand noted in *"Capitalism: the Unknown Ideal,"* no individual can acquire rights by joining a gang. "Rights are not a matter of numbers—and there can be no such thing, in law or in morality, as actions forbidden to an individual, but permitted to a mob."

2) Other rebels admit that they used force, but claim that force is justified when peaceful tactics fail. The fundamental political principle that all men must respect is that no individual or group may initiate the use of force for any purpose whatever. To accept SDS' alternative amounts to *carte blanche* for violence, and invites the complete breakdown of the rule of law.

To understand the grotesque irrationality of SDS' argument, consider the following. Imagine that there were a student chapter at Columbia of the Ku Klux Klan, which was protesting the proposed use of the new gym by Negroes. They tried, through campus rallies and petitions, to arouse the students, faculty and administration to support their demands, but their peaceful tactics failed. If this group then proceeded to seize university buildings and hold members of the administration as hostages, would anyone have condoned their use of force, or have called for negotiations and compromise? The principle is the same: the initiation of force to achieve one's political objectives is both immoral and illegal, regardless of whether the initials of the aggressors are KKK or SDS.

3) The rebels claim they were justified in using force because the administration had refused to give them a hearing on their demands for change. A university, like a well-run business should be interested in knowing whether it is satisfying its customers. If it provides students with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or supports political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies have a right to peacefully protest and petition, and even, in extreme situations, to boycott classes or organize a student strike. But they have no right to compel anyone to listen to their demands, nor a right to force other people to go on strike with them by prohibiting access to classes or by creating a general climate of terror to intimidate those who would oppose them.

4) The rebels claim that since force is justified when peaceful tactics fail, they should be granted full amnesty. The single best answer to this argument is provided by Professor Leonard Peikoff in his forthcoming book, *"Nazism and Contemporary America: the Ominous Parallels,"* who says: "The demand for amnesty on principle is the demand for the abdication on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formal sanction in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the promise that such acts may be perpetrated hereafter with impunity. It is a demand to institutionalize the appeasement of brute force as a principle of civil policy in this country."

5) The rebels claim that police represent

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violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus which is a citadel of reason and persuasion. Here the rebels evade the fact that they were the ones who first resorted to violence. They obliterate the distinction between criminals who initiate the use of force and the police whose function it is to retaliate with force to restore peace and to protect the rights of the victims.

6) The rebels claim that their quarrel with the administration was purely an internal dispute, hence the introduction of police represents meddlesome interference by outsiders. By the same reasoning, one could just as well conclude that if workers seize a factory, customers seize a store, or tenants seize an apartment building, these, too, are internal matters and do not justify calling in the police. In reason there can be no such concept as an "internal dispute" which allows someone to be victimized and prevented from calling the police. Those who violate property rights are scarcely in a position to claim that their conquered territory is "private property" upon which police may not enter.

7) Rebels should not be criminally prosecuted. After all, they are students, not criminals. One need only remember that it was Nazi students who set fire to university libraries and terrorized professors. Being a student does not grant one an exemption from the laws which prohibit attacks on human life and property. The rebels acted like criminals and should be punished as such.

8) It is impractical to suspend or expel the student rebels because there are so many of them. This amounts to saying that if a sufficiently large mob breaks the law or violates individual right, it will be immune from punishment. If this principle is accepted, then every lawbreaker will be safe from prosecution if he can find enough members for his gang. This will provide the leader with an absolutely irresistible recruitment device, and invite the outbreak of a reign of terror.

9) Admittedly the rebels violated property rights, but calling in the police could result in injury or loss of life, which is more important than loss of property. This argument amounts to saying that the lives of aggressors are more important than the property of victims. In action, this would mean that the police should not restrain rioting mobs from looting stores, or interfere with the KKK when it uses firebombs on Negro churches. On this principle, any victim of theft or expropriation would be advised to surrender his property—his wallet or warehouse—without resistance, lest the thief be hurt in the struggle. Acceptance of this principle would make every individual the defenseless target for any vandal or socialist.

The Columbia crisis vitally affects the life of every American. No one's life or property can be secure in a society which tolerates the use of force by any group to achieve its goals. And no one will be safe as long as college and civil authorities persist in their policy of answering aggression with appeasement.

Now is the time for intelligent counteraction. One means is to withhold financial support from colleges which condone or compromise with student terror tactics. A second is to write to the president and trustees of colleges urging that they endorse the following position: that their institution offers no sanctuary to any group which advocates the initiation of physical force, and that they will act immediately and without hesitation to expel and criminally prosecute any student guilty of such tactics.

Men need to live by the guidance of rational principles and to resolve their disagreements peacefully. It is both immoral and impractical to abandon principles in a time of crisis, and then hope to survive on the basis of pragmatic expediency and cowardly compromise. Each time that a violation

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of individual rights is tolerated, it serves as an invitation for future violations. A free society cannot survive unless men of reason rally to its defense.

PROSPERITY AND OUR NATIONAL PARKS

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, in an age of ever-increasing technological advancement and unparalleled prosperity, we are under constant pressure to yield our valuable open spaces in the name of so-called progress. Admittedly, we are more aware of the need for acquiring open spaces for natural preservation, but we are only beginning to recognize the many problems which arise as we use these areas. Clearly, we have to achieve a proper balance between the various recreational and other uses to which we put our public lands.

In the February issue of *Natural History*, Associate Editor Jack Hope grimly describes how we are presently utilizing our national parks. I would like to commend to my colleagues Mr. Hope's excellent article, "Prosperity and the National Parks," which follows:

ABOUT 90 FEET AND NEARER MY GOD TO THEE:
PROSPERITY AND THE NATIONAL PARKS

(By Jack Hope)

Driving into the valley, you can see the falls. As the rushing water leaves the gray granite cliff to leap into space, it is whipped into frothy whiteness; and continuing its wild fall, the stream of white widens quickly, then hits the rocks below. The impact shoots the flying droplets upward and outward, but they fall again and instantly gather to slide and pound in a furious rush down the mountainside, pausing here and there to eddy and curl among unmoving boulders. At the lower falls, the white water holds together, and is driven deep into the valley floor before it glides away from the base of the 2,400-foot cliff.

For many millenniums, the view of the cliff, the valley, and Yosemite Falls changed only slowly. And, until recently, the landscape remained much the same as it was at the time of the last glacial retreat. But during the last century, the minds and words of men have given the region the status of first a state park, then a national park; and within this time, the soft green valley at the foot of the waterfall has undergone more changes than at any time in the last ten thousand years.

Today the valley contains two asphalt roads, three hotels, hundreds of cabins, an outdoor amphitheater, two grocery stores, a hospital, seven souvenir stands, a laundry, three auto service stations—and not much grass. On any given weekend between June and September, row upon row of tents butt up against one another, suburban fashion, and upwards of 40,000 visitors swarm over the landscape. At several locations, parking lots sparkle as the sun plays on the skins of several thousand of Detroit's latest creations. Lines of automobile traffic clog the access roads, while hundreds of other motorists impatiently scout the park for a vacant parking space.

In the evening, a haze hangs over Yosemite; not the fragrant mist of a wilderness valley, but a heavy layer of campfire smoke and exhaust fumes. Many of the daytime

visitors depart, and the sound of human voices lessens somewhat; but the clatter of pots and pans, the snarl of a motorcycle, and the cacophony of transistor radios rise to take its place. Along toward morning, after campers have gone to bed, the wind through the evergreens and the age-old roar of the waterfall again become audible.

When you first drive into the park, you wonder how the valley used to look. And if, by chance, you happen to know that the act of Congress which established the National Park Service in 1916 states that the environment of the parks is to be preserved "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations," it occurs to you how futile this legislative idealism has become in only fifty years. But no wonder, for the language of the act incorporates a basic contradiction—the incompatibility between the concept of "unimpaired," and the swelling ranks of the "future generations," which have now arrived in full force. And while the Department of the Interior is fully aware of its schizoid mandate, no one, from Park Service Director George Hartzog to Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, has yet decided how to direct the conflicting policies it engenders.

Probably the language of the organic legislation didn't strike anyone as being contradictory in 1916, when the Park Service first opened its doors to the public. But the population of the United States in those days was only 100 million, and of that number, only 356,000 found their way into the national parks.

For a number of reasons, park visitation increased slowly during the System's first thirty years. Few people owned automobiles and fewer still had the time (or courage) to drive them to the western states, where many of the national parks are located. Most of the population lived in a rural setting, and even life in the big cities wasn't particularly stifling. Air pollution was in its infancy, and the traffic jam hadn't yet come into its own. There was abundant open space. Woodlands surrounding metropolitan areas hadn't been leveled for shoebox developments or sliced with highways, and except in urban areas, few industries had shovled their ways to the riverbanks and lakeshores as a means of solving their waste disposal problems. If you wanted a swim in a cool mountain brook, a hike through an evergreen forest, or just a few days of solitude, you could find them relatively nearby, if not in your own backyard. The need for park space did not seem urgent, and in 1940 only 17 million people visited the National Park System.

But coincident with the unprecedented increases in population, and the mobility and affluence of the postwar years, the flow of traffic into the parks underwent a sudden upturn, from 33 million in 1950 to 79 million in 1960 and finally to the current figure of about 145 million man-days spent in the national parks each year. And if park visitation continues its geometric rate of increase throughout the remainder of the century, then during every day of the four summer vacation months of the year 2000, there may be an average of something like ten people on each acre of the National Park System. So, if you're planning to spend some of your retirement years camping in the national parks—even if you plan to camp in what is today called the "back country"—perhaps you'd better make your reservations now.

When dealing with magnitudes like these, when facing up to the pressures created by a wealthy and rapidly expanding society, you suddenly realize that it becomes entirely legitimate to ask whether the National Park System can survive prosperity.

Today, a typical visitor to the national parks has at least a two-week vacation and a total of almost four months of "off" time every year. He, along with 80 million others, owns an automobile, which in a matter of a few days can carry him over a series of superhighways to Yellowstone, Shenandoah, or

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any other park within the continental United States. He's probably saved enough to treat himself, his wife, and their 1.6 children to a trip of 2,000 miles, which may include several of the national parks. The cost of motel rooms may present something of a barrier, but if he owns a camp trailer or tent, he can cut expenses by staying overnight in a national park—provided he can find a vacant campsite.

If he is on vacation, trying, as many park visitors do, to see as many of the national parks as possible in a minimal period of time, his stay in each will be a short one—somewhere in the neighborhood of 36 hours. Of course, he can't get to see much of the park that way, nor can he get much of a feeling for the outdoors, other than what can be absorbed through the windshield of an automobile. But that's probably not the reason he came to the park in the first place, and so, like other visitors, he'll most likely spend 95 per cent of his time on less than 5 per cent of the total parkland—on the roadways and in the heavily developed and highly convenient areas surrounding the "visitor centers."

If you belong to this group of "windshield visitors," as Director Hartzog dubs them, your conception of the much talked about "park experience" might be typified by the remark of the well-dressed lady in Yellowstone's Old Faithful Inn who announced, as she sipped her gin and tonic, that she and her husband were "anxious to do the Tetons" before returning home to the East. "Do" in this case didn't include anything as rigorous as overnight camping, but then, most of the larger parks have hotel or motel accommodations, so probably her way of using the parks continued undisturbed.

Small wonder that those interested in the function of the parks worry over the nature of the benefits derived from a visit to the National Park System, for observation and statistics indicate that the park experience has taken on many of the characteristics of a circus sideshow. A three-minute look at Old Faithful ("watch it steam and spout!") or a quick jaunt on a boardwalk above the Everglades alligators ("living monsters from another era!") and the hurrying visitor is off to see another "freak" of nature in a different park.

On the other hand, the tourists who never stray far from the visitor centers are indirectly performing a service for which many Park Service employees are grateful. For, by confining their activities to a small portion of the park, these visitors greatly simplify the task of safeguarding the true wilderness areas where relatively few people venture. But perhaps this situation engenders a false optimism, for as park visitation increases, even wilderness areas will be subjected to destructive pressures.

Although the park experience has not been officially defined, a notion of what it might ideally consist of can be derived from a speech given by Director Hartzog in which he expressed the opinion that the "single and abiding purpose" of the National Park System should be "to bring man and his environment into closer harmony." The Director described the parks as "places of highest inspiration," having "scientific, cultural, esthetic" and "educational" values. Yet, the lady "doing" the parks through the window of the cocktail lounge, the overnight camper seeking to escape the cost of a motel room, and the weekend teen-ager who comes looking for age-mates and excitement somehow don't fit into this mold. They use the parks for reasons unrelated or only vaguely related to the richness of the natural environment enclosed within their boundaries; and the activities they pursue are largely those that could be performed elsewhere, with little loss to the pursuit, and with great benefit to the task of the National Park Service.

Which brings up the question, if you

happen to be concerned over the welfare of the large natural parks, of the proper use of a park and if somehow the "improper" uses couldn't be screened out, without going so far as to administer lie-detector tests to incoming visitors. But then you recall that the National Park Service is a public-serving, self-perpetuating agency that depends, as all agencies do, on congressional appropriations. And appropriations, by and large, are dependent upon numbers—numbers of visitors, buildings, highways—easily counted physical numbers. Remembering this, it's easy to imagine that each year when the Director brings his case before the Bureau of the Budget, he must be somewhat grateful that he has not guarded his gates too closely and that park visitation has risen over the preceding year. The National Park Service is already a low man on the totem pole of budgetary priorities. Would it enhance their competitive position against such pork-barreling giants as the Army Corps of Engineers to greet Congress with the message that: "Through the exclusion of visitors whose recreation could easily have been obtained outside the natural areas of the parks, and by our refusal to destroy any more parkland for construction of parking lots and access roads, we have reduced visits to the National Park System by 2 per cent"? Probably not.

Furthermore, the National Park Service is wedded to the philosophy that a visit to one of the country's areas of outstanding natural beauty is a right and not a privilege. Anyone who happens to have a \$7 Golden Eagle pass can visit any park, any place, and can pursue almost any type of recreation; the Superintendent doesn't ask if you are going on a nature hike or whether you are going to play poker somewhere among the canvas and metal shelters of the public camp-ground.

And so, while the Park Service may on the one hand be rightly concerned because the park experience may not foster an appreciation, or even an understanding, of the natural environment, their actions might at times lead you to believe otherwise. Their policy to date has been one of accommodation; accommodation of rapidly increasing numbers of visitors, of automobiles, camp trailers, and other gadgets that the modern outdoorsman demands for "roughing it."

The meaning of *roughing it*, quite naturally, varies from park to park, just as it differs among people. At Isle Royale, a roadless half-million-acre island in Lake Superior, visited by only 13,000 persons per year, the practice probably embodies pretty much of what George Hartzog would describe as the "challenges and . . . rewards" of the wilderness. Here, the challenge might be summed up as survival in an environment that has not been hand tailored to minimize the reality of the struggle for existence. The reward, in addition to the sounds, sights, and smells of wilderness, might amount to the development of a greater appreciation of the forces that have been shaping man for the last 100,000 years, and perhaps a heightened awareness of the shaping that he, in turn, has performed during the last few centuries. Then, too, there is the thought that we most appreciate those things for which we work hardest. And this may well be the case at Isle Royale, where the park experience is now provided along the guidelines mentioned by the Director.

At any rate, a considerable number of people feel that as many as possible of the natural areas within the system can be managed so as to achieve the "single and abiding purpose" of building an awareness of the natural environment—even in such heavily visited natural areas as Yosemite and Yellowstone. They suspect that the appropriate aim of the National Park Service should be to make the parks as *different* from the urban environment as possible, rather than to provide the outdoors with "hot and cold run-

ning," and are skeptical of the real value of the night club entertainment, the \$30 hotel rooms, and the souvenir stands made available in the parks. And, looking forward to the day when population has doubled or trebled 1968 levels, they somehow feel that the largest item in the Park Service's budget should not be "Construction, Parkway and Road Construction" (\$49.6 million in fiscal '68) but "Management and Protection" (\$40.7 million).

It may still be difficult to appreciate just how prosperity—that condition to which we ascribe magical qualities—may have any sort of negative consequences or how it may have brought about deterioration of the park experience. For it is, in fact, the economic affluence of American society that has provided the time, money, and mobility to make your visit to the parks possible. In essence, prosperity has been a great source of freedom, and more than likely, you are grateful for your two-week vacation, and for your high-speed automobile and the multilane highways, which contribute to it.

But after a number of vacation visits to any of the more popular national parks, the realization is thrust upon you that the workings of the same set of social forces have simultaneously removed an equally large amount of freedom and that the evidence of deterioration is abundant. In Yosemite Valley you find, not a pleasant outdoor experience, but a transplantation of suburbia, with all the accompanying ills of smog, noise, crowding, and juvenile delinquency. At the Grand Tetons you are unable to find a free site in which to park your lovely new camp trailer. Throughout the million acres of Everglades National Park, you discover the flora and fauna dying as a result of nearby drainage canals built to accommodate agricultural and real estate development. And on a drive over the Blue Ridge Parkway, connecting Shenandoah and Great Smokies national parks, you are caught in a two-hour traffic jam that is no more enjoyable than one you could have experienced back home on the Long Island Expressway.

Delving into these few manifestations of deterioration leads to the unfortunate conclusion that most of the problems of the National Park Service have their origins outside the boundaries of the park system. And although the problems may be alleviated (or compounded) by actions of the Service, the fact remains that they are equipped to deal only with symptoms and not with basic causes.

If this were not the case, if the Park Service were ordered by Congress to deal directly with the causes of their current headaches, then probably they could begin by dispensing birth control pills at the main gates of each of the national parks. But short of that, and lacking a popular appreciation of the consequences of overpopulation, the National Park Service must direct its attention to the other end of the problem and hope that it can continue to acquire land in adequate amounts to keep pace with the demands of the spiraling number of park visitors.

For this purpose, Congress in 1964 established the Land and Water Conservation Fund, which, it was hoped, would provide the primary source of funds from which new parklands could be purchased. Money flowing into this fund is derived in part from fees paid by the public for the privilege of using the recreation lands administered by the federal government. These lands include not only national parks but reservoir projects administered by the TVA, Army Corps of Engineers, Bureau of Reclamation, and three other agencies. The only problem with the fund is that it is inadequate. A recent study conducted by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation concluded that in the next ten years the fund will fall \$2.7 billion short of the financial requirements for needed land. And other facts complicate the issue. At this writing, for instance, there is before Con-

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gress a bill that would relieve the Army Corps of Engineers of the responsibility of collecting user fees on the reservoir lands it administers.

Meantime, the price of land still available for inclusion within the National Park System continues to rise at something like 5 to 10 per cent per year. Since it takes Congress years to appropriate money for a park once a site has been recommended, land prices have a strange way of doubling and tripling in the time period prior to purchase. And, while Congress hesitates to purchase land that has undergone what President Johnson calls "artificial price spirals," the prices continue to rise and the region's suitability for national park status continues to decline as local interests hasten to make maximum use of the area's resources before the government finally takes possession.

With circumstances like these, it seems clear that potential parkland is now as inexpensive and pristine as it will ever be. But this fact has no apparent effect on the urgency with which Congress views the situation. The proposed Redwoods Park in California and Cascades Park in Washington, for instance, were suggested as national parks 50 years ago and 30 years ago, respectively, but have been ignored until recently when the aggressive campaigns of conservation groups brought the issues to the forefront.

At times, if you follow the disputes over establishment of new national parks, you wonder if perhaps the poor bargaining position of the National Park Service isn't a manifestation of something larger than price disputes. In the case of the Redwoods Park, for example, the Park Service in 1964 gave top priority to the Redwood Creek site after conducting a survey of possible park locations. Sometime later, however, after lumbermen had voiced opposition to the preservation of this area, Secretary Udall suddenly announced that he had decided instead to champion a park in the Mill Creek region, which had already been heavily cut over. In his explanation for the change of heart, Udall noted that he "wanted to pick a park, not a fight," which might make you wonder if the intention of the National Park Service to set aside the finest scenery for the benefit of the American people was being accorded a lower priority than the economic interests of West Coast lumber firms.

Udall's dislike of fighting apparently is not shared by either conservationists or lumber companies who now employ full-page newspaper ads to voice their opposing points of view in the bitter struggle over the redwoods. But while they battle to maintain a favorable public image, timber firms are still using their saws on the redwoods, pending a congressional decision on the boundaries of the proposed park.

There is an important instance of the Secretary changing his mind in an opposite direction. In 1965, the U.S. Government Printing Office (whose expenses are borne by taxpayers) published thirty pages of glossy finished color photos and text advocating construction of two hydropower dams on the Colorado River. Marble Canyon and Bridge Canyon dams would be built by the Bureau of Reclamation as a money-making project, and would, as the book implied, provide the least expensive source of power for southwestern states. Among the points listed in favor of the dams was that the man-made lakes thus created would somehow "bring man a little closer to God."

For some reason, the book skimmed over the violent public opposition to inundation of 150 miles of the 10-million-year-old Colorado gorge and to impingement by one of the lakes on both Grand Canyon National Park and Grand Canyon National Monument. Alternative means of providing the power—nuclear or coal-driven plants—were regarded as "confused concepts." Written contributions to this unsatisfactory document were made by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation and by Secretary Udall.

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After a prolonged and colorful battle, one seasoned group of conservationists proved, to the apparent satisfaction of the administration, that one of the confused concepts—coal-powered plants—could supply the needed power at less cost than could the hydro plants. Early in 1967, Secretary Udall agreed that perhaps the dams were not really necessary after all. The proposal was laid aside, to the relief of those who suspected right along that the man-made lakes might not, in fact, bring the nation any closer to God. (In all fairness, and using the common conception of God's geographical location, it should be admitted that a few waterskiers stood a chance of being brought closer to Him by about ninety feet—the distance by which the dam advocates wished to raise the level of the Colorado River.) In any event, if you are inclined to worry over the money we wasted in printing the hydropower propaganda, your concern is probably unfounded—the booklets will most likely be used when the proposal comes up again.

In this instance, a spectacular display of some of the world's oldest geology, including portions of two units of the National Park System, escaped destruction by a hairbreadth, largely on the basis of that most potent of criteria—money. It makes you wonder if all irreplaceable resources will eventually be subjected to the test of the marketplace, as if they were refrigerators or automobiles. You may even question the claim to sophistication of a society that embraces materialism as the hallmark of the good life.

And perhaps you ponder the fate of the whole of the National Park System. How "inviolate" will be the boundaries of Rocky Mountain National Park if a rich oil-shale deposit is revealed to a nation of 400 million persons owning 300 million automobiles? To 600 million owning 450 million automobiles? Who will question commercial intrusion, providing a "need" for the oil can be established?

"Need" is a concept often employed in disputes over the national parks. You are told, for instance, that the 35,000 annual visitors to Mount McKinley in Alaska need a wider, straighter road to provide easy access to the park. (Director Hartzog has even advocated helicopters and "motor nature trails" as a means of access to the wilder areas of some parks.) The present road into the park, with minor modifications, is more than adequate to handle visitors, but is being widened regardless.

In ten years, when visitation at McKinley has expanded, largely as a result of the road, the statistical increase will be quoted to justify construction of new parking lots and mass camping facilities needed by the new visitors. And in twenty years, increased visitor density at the original visitor center and resulting damage to the landscape will dictate the need for a new road into another part of the park so that the camping pressure can be disposed. And on and on, the "need process" repeats, not only within the parks but, to a much greater extent, in areas adjoining their boundaries.

Statistical "proof of need," for new highways, dams, power lines, mineral leases, grazing lands, parking lots, residential space, and farm land, is easy to come by. Each year the chambers of legislative committees are inundated with the "evidence" in attempts to obtain authorization for a variety of park-related projects that involve substitution of man-made, mass-produced devices for portions of irreplaceable natural environment. But each of these projects is underlain by a value system, a set of assumptions seldom explored with the same painstaking care with which congressmen scrutinize statistics. It might be worth restating the "need" involved in some of the more troublesome proposals that have faced the National Park System, in an attempt to provide a rough framework for consideration of such projects as will arise

with increasing frequency in the future, and to strip away some of the superficiality that mere statistics sometimes imply. If you were to undertake this project for one or two representative situations, your prospectus might read as follows:

We feel the need for a drainage canal close to the boundary of Everglades Park, under the assumptions that (1) the residences to be located on the land thereby reclaimed could not be situated elsewhere (as they can), (2) the speculative profits derived by local real estate firms outweigh the loss to the country as a whole of the consequent destruction of portions of the park, (3) the lives of any creatures thus destroyed are singularly unimportant, and (4) the ecology of regions surrounding national parks can be disregarded insofar as protection of the park is concerned; or, in a more general sense: We propose that cutting of timber be permitted in Olympic National Park, based upon the beliefs (1) that the proliferation of material objects thus created is of greater value to the American civilization than are any of the esthetic and non-material contributions of the natural environment, (2) that the mere fact that the country is endowed with a rich environment dictates that resources shall be exploited to the fullest, and (3) that derived economic gains shall be transformed into additional population growth, which in turn will justify further exploitation.

Somehow it sounds different this way.

REPORT FROM PARIS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau, ranks among the greatest journalists of the 20th century. He is presently covering the United States-North Vietnamese Communist conference in Paris. His column in yesterday's Chicago Tribune featured a very profound, penetrating historical analysis which I feel is especially appropriate.

The column follows:

REPORT FROM PARIS: STUDENT UNREST ADDS TO POLICYMAKING TROUBLE

(By Walter Trohan)

PARIS, May 19.—Student unrest, which is at its most violent in Paris but serious enough in the United States, serves to emphasize the difficulty of formulating international and domestic policies in the last third of the 20th century.

Policy is old hat in the eyes of the young even as it is being formulated. Peace talks, if one can call the propaganda waltz in Paris a step toward peace are viewed with suspicion by the young.

In the last century British statesmen were able to forge a domestic policy, with foreign applications that lasted for more than a half century. Under this policy, Britain operated on the thesis that what was best for Britain was best for whatever corner of the world where the British flag was flying.

Through a mixture of pride and patriotism and under the administration of dedicated pro-consuls around the world, the policy was so successful at home and abroad that it gave the name of Queen Victoria to an age.

In the Victorian age Britain was the most powerful nation on earth. Bleeding white of the flower of its manhood in two wars, Britain lost its reservoir of pro-consuls. Under pressures of its young people, Britain dropped the torch of world leadership.

U.S. GRASPS TORCH, NOT THE THESIS

The United States grasped the falling torch, but not the thesis that what was best for the United States would be best for nations with which we shared our resources. In a sense, American policymakers are the last of the Victorians, believing in the Victorian virtues—integrity, morality, and legality.

American influence has been further complicated by the fact that it had to share or compete for world leadership with Russia. Only a decade ago, the United States and the Soviet Union were riding high, with the world divided between communist and non-communist blocs, altho there were some purported neutrals. Some were neutral for communism and some neutral against communism.

In recent years both Russia and the United States have been losing influence and posi-

tion. Not only has the communist world suffered a sharp split into Moscow and Peking rivalries, but relaxation has grown on communist rule in Russia and in the so-called captive nations.

And the United States is confronted by political and economic crises which are changing its stance around the world from the war in Viet Nam to reduction of foreign aid and cutting back bases and troop commitments.

In both countries pressure for change has come from the young. Even if the policy is good, the young don't seem to want it, or even if it is good, they don't want to implement it. The young seem to glory in deviation from the Victorian virtues.

YOUNG WANT AN INSTANT TOMORROW

The young are impatient with policy, even before it is formulated in peace or in war.

They are impatient for change in society, the business world, the campus, and in government.

What the young apparently want is an instant tomorrow which they probably wouldn't like if they could get it. Meanwhile, appeals to love of flag or country, love of home and mother, or love of honor and virtue go largely unheeded.

A generation ago many were predicting that a brave new world would come out of World War II. The new world is emerging but it is a world of the young, who are weary of tradition and dedicated to change.

The old idols are being discarded and new images are revered, chiefly because they are new. The world was made for young and old. If few know how to be old, it is also true that fewer know how to be young, for one day they will be old and discover their policies are old hat.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, May 22, 1968

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Cast all your cares upon God, for He cares for you.—1 Peter 5: 7.

O God, our Father, whose grace is sufficient for every need and whose spirit makes us adequate for every worthy endeavor, we take this time to lift the windows of faith, to open the doors of hope, and to part the curtains of love that the of Thy way may be made known to us. In Thy light may we see the way clearly greatness of Thy truth and the wisdom and by Thee be given courage to walk in it this day and all our days.

Bless our men and women over the world who live and fight and work for freedom. As free men and as good men may we make our Nation Thy channel for the light of liberty to shine upon the people on this planet.

"Unite us in the sacred love
Of knowledge, truth and Thee;
And let our hills and valleys shout
The songs of liberty.

"Lord of the nations thus to Thee
Our country we commend;
Be Thou her refuge and her trust,
Her everlasting friend."

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 3068. An act to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSING, COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on

Banking and Currency may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

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

There was no objection.

FLAG DAY CEREMONIES—AUTHORITY FOR SPEAKER TO DECLARE RECESS ON JUNE 14

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the 191st anniversary of Flag Day will be celebrated on Friday, June 14, 1968. It was on Saturday, June 14, 1777—the very day on which the Continental Congress commissioned Capt. John Paul Jones to command the ship *Ranger*—that the Continental Congress adopted a resolution providing:

That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white: That the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

During the ensuing 190 years, 37 stars have been added to that blue field, and the American flag has continually stood as a true symbol of liberty.

In 1917, during the First World War, President Wilson issued the first Presidential proclamation calling upon the entire Nation to hold appropriate ceremonies on June 14 to honor our flag. Last year the House of Representatives, under the able leadership of Representatives BROOKS, NICHOLS, ROUDEBUSH, and HALL, reinstated dignified and appropriate Flag Day ceremonies in this Chamber which had for many years been inspired by our now deceased colleague Louis C. Rabaut.

Mr. Speaker, because I believe it important that the House of Representatives continue this tradition to again give honor to our Stars and Stripes and to the principles which our flag symbolizes, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order at any time on Friday, June 14, 1968, for the Speaker to declare

a recess for the purpose of observing and commemorating Flag Day in such manner as the Speaker may deem appropriate and proper.

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

There was no objection.

DESIGNATION OF MEMBERS TO COMMITTEE ON FLAG DAY CEREMONIES

The SPEAKER. The Chair may state for the information of the Members of the House that after consultation with the distinguished minority leader the Chair has informally designated the following Members to constitute a committee to make the necessary arrangements for appropriate exercises in accordance with the unanimous-consent agreement just adopted:

The gentleman from Texas, Mr. BROOKS; the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. NICHOLS; the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. ROUDEBUSH; and the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. HALL.

RESURRECTION CITY VISITS

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, in fulfillment of a commitment to a constituent, I paid a visit to Resurrection City this morning and was courteously but firmly denied access to the campgrounds. I was first informed that visitors were not permitted there until after services. I waited until after the services which were then in progress and was informed at the conclusion of the services that no visitors except the press would then be admitted. Now, since the evident purpose of the march is to present the case of these folks to the Congress, it seems strange to me that a Member of Congress would not be permitted to visit them and try to get the facts. Second, it would seem passing strange to me that any American citizen should be denied